

A Travel Guides' View on a (Post)colonial Place: Tsingtau/Qingdao, China

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Abstract

Travel guides and travel reports constitute an important source for the generation and spread of popular geopolitical epistemes and assumptions. With regard to colonial attitudes and their possible perpetuation, it is therefore of great interest what kind of information such texts convey regarding (post)colonial places, and how they contextualize it. The paper compares descriptions of Qingdao (Tsingtau), a German colonized territory between 1897 and 1914, in travel guides and related material from colonial and postcolonial times and in different European languages. It investigates what differences can be found between these descriptions in relation to time, language, and medium (print or online) of publication. Of particular interest is the question whether, and in what ways, colonial perspectives are perpetuated in present-day (especially German) travel literature.

Keywords: Travel guides, Tsingtau, colonialism, postcolonialism, popular knowledge

1. Introduction¹

Travel guides offer information about places that are (to be) visited by an interested audience. These places are described with a focus on characteristics that are deemed attractive or relevant for prospective travellers. Certain features are selected and receive closer attention while others are left out. Also in terms of linguistic means, such descriptions are geared towards the expected audience. Lexical and other linguistic choices can be seen as reflections of what authors and publishers of travel guides assume to be attractive for their (intended) readers. Thus, travel guides equally feed and reflect the audience's attitudes and expectations.

During the period of German colonialism, travel guides were produced for different parts of the German colonial empire. One example is the historical German colonial area in China, Tsingtau (Qingdao)². Tsingtau was under German colonial rule between

¹ My thanks go to two anonymous reviewers for their constructive and insightful comments which contributed to a better paper, and to the editors of this issue for their support and the friendly and productive cooperation. All remaining shortcomings are, of course, my responsibility.

²The names "Tsingtau" and "Qingdao" are used in this paper to indicate that, from a place-making perspective, Tsingtau and Qingdao (while referring to the same geographical location) indicate two different places: the place of the German colonially restructured town (Tsingtau) and the present-day Chinese city (Qingdao). ("Tsingtau" was the German spelling in use during the German colonial period while "Qingdao" is the current transliteration of the Chinese place name. As one anonymous reviewer pointed out, the history of transliteration systems for Chinese is complex, and "Tsingtau" is neither limited

1897/1898 and 1914.³ In the travel guides, the structure of the town and its different sections were presented, together with architectural characteristics, the mention of microtoponyms (street names, names of buildings) and, frequently, historical and economic information. This information was intended to help visitors and newcomers find their way in Tsingtau, be it in reality or in imagination.

The paper focusses on a comparison of ways of describing place(s) in historical and present-day travel guides and related materials⁴. Tsingtau/Qingdao serves as an example since a number of detailed German travel guides are available for the German colonial period. These travel guides are compared to European, primarily German, present-day descriptions of the same geographical place. The paper investigates what entities (buildings, landscape features, etc.) are chosen for closer description and what linguistic means are employed to describe them. Further, the paper discusses to what degree colonial certainties are included and reinforced in the colonial-time travel guides, and to what degree they are taken up (unreflectedly) in present-day descriptions of the same places, thus perpetuating colonial views of travel destinations.

The limitation to German/European travel guides follows from the constraints of comparability. With a focus on the German colonial period in Tsingtau, it is German guides from this period that are expected to mirror the colonial attitude most obviously. For an informative comparison and an investigation of (change of) attitude across time, it was decided to change as few variables as possible, which makes modern German (and European) travel guides the closest present-day equivalents.⁵

With Fandrych & Thurmair (2011: 53), we assume that (present-day) travel guides advertise and highlight features (buildings, places, practices, etc.) of the travel destination that are expected to meet or rouse the audience's interest and that can be assessed and contextualized by the audience. Therefore, the selection and evaluation of places, objects, qualities, or activities do not necessarily reflect the authors' point of view but mirror their expectations of what the audience will deem relevant. In addition, travel guides pay special attention to what is perceived as characteristic of a specific place, distinguishing it from other destinations. (It is likely that objects/aspects of the travel destination that are not considered special are simply not mentioned.) In this way, travel guides (and tourism language) "produce (...) and stage difference" (Held 2018: 4) between those locations that are discursively constructed as worth visiting, and those that are not and thus remain or become (discursively) invisible.

The still visible (mainly architectural) remnants of the historical German colonial period in Qingdao combines these two factors, that is, staging difference and meeting (assumed) audience expectations: It is a feature that sets Qingdao apart from other

to German contexts nor is it the only form used there. As this matter is not central to the further arguments of this paper, though, it is not discussed in detail here.)

³ This period is also referred to as "German concession time". Tsingtau was subsequently under Japanese colonial rule (1914–1922 and 1938–1945), in between and afterwards being part of China officially and administratively.

⁴ For an inventory of the materials and publications analyzed, see section 3.

⁵ One anonymous reviewer correctly pointed out that a lot of information is to be gathered from Chinese and Japanese sources from the period following the German concession time. Including this material would make the current project a much larger one, however, and is therefore left for future investigation.

Chinese cities and towns, and, for a German readership in particular, it is a point of special interest due to the historical link and the effect of familiarity (from a German or European perspective) in an unexpected environment. Consequently, almost all of the analyzed travel guides make reference to this characteristic. Descriptions of the colonial-time architecture and urban planning features thus offer themselves for comparison across time (in historical and present-day travel guides), for different languages (mainly, but not exclusively, German and English) and in different medial forms (printed and online material; travel guides and travel-related information materials). This paper, therefore, focusses on the description and treatment of German (historical) elements in Tsingtau/Qingdao based on a varied range of written materials for comparison and investigation.

Another important reason for focussing on the presentation of Qingdao's colonial-historical features is the difference in perspective between historical and present-day travel guides in presenting Tsingtau/Qingdao. The historical travel guides to Tsingtau do not simply inform the reader; they very clearly advertise the town and emphasize the achievements and accomplishments of the German marine and colonial administration. We are also interested in examining in what ways present-day travel guides differ from this approach.⁶ Our analysis thus compares (the presentation of) colonial practice in historical guidebooks and the presentation, or construction, of colonial heritage in contemporary ones.

2. Travel guides as representations of space, place and power

2.1 Conceptualizing space and place

For classifying conceptions of space in antiquity, Dan et al. (2016) propose the concept of "common sense geography". This concept, though developed for a different historical period, parallels the concept of popular geography (and, by extension, popular geopolitics) in certain respects. Dan et al. (2016: 572) suggest a distinction between "the everyday and the expert" knowledge and their representants, lay people and experts. This distinction can be compared to Pickering's (2017) differentiation between elite geopolitics (represented by experts) and pluralist, or popular, geopolitical knowledge. As in common sense geography, it is highlighted that there are different kinds of geographical and geopolitical entities of knowledge (or epistemes). To assess this type of knowledge properly, one has to account for different communities who share a common type of knowledge, belief system, or conceptualization of geographical and geopolitical space and place relations.

Wikipedia and other online sources (including online travel reports and travel features/travelogues in newspapers or magazines) do not usually make explicit mention of their intended target groups. By virtue of the medium (and its accessibility), they address "everybody". The choice of style or register supports the assumption that the

⁶ The paper chooses a discourse-analytic approach. Please note that from this perspective, it is not always relevant whether the sources provide correct or complete information. What is in focus is the *selection* and the *presentation* of information, which allows conclusions on attitudes and discursive forms of self-representation.

targeted audience are non-experts (in the sense of Dan et al. 2016) or non-elites (in the sense of Pickering 2017). Printed travel guides, on the other hand, are explicitly framed as expert sources by statements from the publishers in highlighting the comprehensive knowledge of the travel guides' authors.⁷ It is implied in these text genres that expert knowledge is broken down and transmitted to lay people who, in turn, make use of such texts because they seek just this kind of accessible expert information.

For the historical travel guides included in this study, there are indications that the intended audience is, in fact, an elite, although more in a socio-economic sense (cf. Groeneveld 2016, 2019) rather than in the sense of being experts on the topic. A link between expert and elite can be seen, in this case, to arise from the accessibility of in-depth information and the opportunity to travel.⁸

Travel guides (and related materials) construct, describe and present space and are involved in language-based place making. They are less about space as object but about the interpretation of space and spatial structure with the general aim of creating and presenting the coherence of a meaningful place. That is, meaning is created and interpreted into the focussed space in order to influence the readers' perceptions of this space as a meaningfully structured and designed place (cf. Held 2018). This applies to the early travel guides (pre-WW I) in particular, part of whose function it is to advertise the newly acquired colonial area specifically and the German colonial project in China in general.

Dan et al. (2016: 576) point out that (in European classical antiquity) "the cartographic drawings (...) must be studied together with the texts in order to allow us to understand properly their relationship with the perception and *the mental construction of spaces by their authors.*" (my emphasis, DS). For present-day travel guides, the relationship between cartography and text is different, relying on a clear division between distinct sciences and literary genres (cartography, geography, travel literature, etc.). The maps, however, are "texted" by names, and these create an interpretable text themselves. Questions that help identify such interpretable features are: What is named in German? That is, what entities, objects and locations carry German names in the maps? In what areas do German names appear (most)?⁹ To what extent (if at all) do travel guide maps and other documentation of toponyms in Tsingtau reflect a relationship or connection between German and Chinese names? The documentation of names in maps links to the travel guide texts themselves, where names in a way constitute a subtext: Who is

⁷ For all present-day printed travel guides investigated here, such statements are available online on the publishers' websites.

⁸ While during the colonial period probably not many people travelled to Tsingtau for plain tourist reasons, the existence of hotels and other lodging options (as well as tourist information on hiking trails etc., for example Bergemann 1912) still indicates a certain demand. The travel guides appear to have been also aimed, however, at those who went there for occupational or business matters, individuals as well as families. In addition, such information was likely consumed by people generally interested in Tsingtau, for literary, geographical, economic, or political purposes. An interest of this kind is evidenced by the well-received contemporaneous travel literature on Tsingtau (cf. Weijian 1998).

⁹ Schöner (2018: 231/Abb. 2), for example, indicates clusters of German names in a historical map of the Jiaozhou area.

honored/commemorated (anthroponyms)? What intertextual¹⁰ reference is made to German place names (e.g., *Kaiserstuhl*, a mountain (range) in Germany and near Tsingtau)? A toponymic approach not only reveals a specific kind of “mental construction of spaces” (and places), as Dan et al. (2016) put it, or a network of conceptions laid out over the German colonized area in China. It also shows how names are used and allocated in the text proper and linked explicitly with appellatives that conjure a culturally German image (as, for example, in “Forsthaus¹¹ Iltisberge”, Behme & Krieger 1904a: 60).¹² Mühlhäusler (2011: 196) notes that the actual linguistic landscape of German-colonial Tsingtau corresponded to this image, pointing out that “die starke visuelle Präsenz der deutschen Sprache im öffentlichen Bereich [...] den Eindruck entstehen [ließ], dass Tsingtau eine deutsche Stadt sei“ (‘the strong visual presence of the German language in public space left the impression that Tsingtau was a German town’).

This “entextment” of the colonial space can be compared diachronically and cross-medially. Printed and online sources, for example, differ in that present-day printed travel guides contain much more reference to street names, especially to the historical German ones, than online (travel-)information does; less so, however, than the historical travel guides do. Haupt (1927) takes an intermediate position, covering much of the information (and from a similar viewpoint) the older travel guides do, while acknowledging the new conditions by using the then current Chinese and English names for hotels, streets, etc.

2.2. Travel guides and travel reports

Travel guides are directed (primarily) towards readers who intend to visit the described places. Therefore, they contain practical information relevant to travellers’ needs as well as more general background information. Their focus is on what can and will be done in the focussed destinations (in the future), and the descriptions tend to imply objectivity, except for explicitly marked sections (indicated as personal favorites for activities, sights, etc.). Travel reports, in contrast, describe what has been done already (in the past). That is, travel guides and travel reports can be distinguished with respect to their directedness in time, relative to the (intended) travel. In addition, information in travel reports and travelogues tends to be presented in a more subjective and individuated, sometimes ‘off-road’, way compared to travel guides, implying a contrast to mass tourism.

Held (2018: 12f.) remarks that “the ‘tourist gaze’ is initially stimulated as an anticipated imagery, it is then locally experienced as a momentary and sensual performance, and it is later recorded and remediated as an unforgettable memory.” The preparatory function (“anticipated imagery”) is covered by travel guides and encyclopedic information. The concept of “imagery” is connected to “visioning”, that is,

¹⁰ Focussing on toponymic inscriptions in maps, maps are treated as text-like here, even though they are not texts *sensu stricto*.

¹¹ cf. Groeneveld (2016: 71) on the cultural relevance of the forest for the perceived Germanness of Tsingtau.

¹² “Forsthaus Iltisberge”, like “Kaiserstuhl” (Behme & Krieger 1904a: 92), are examples of German toponyms in Tsingtau that help construct Tsingtau as a German place since any indication of their geographic non-German location has been erased. It thus also contributes to the invisibilization of their Chineseness. The aspect of negating the existence of the colonized by erasing their names is taken up in the final section.

travel guides can also guide through imagined travels, and a concrete realization of the travel is not necessary.

Travel reports and travelogues occupy the other end of the timeline that is sketched by Held: For these genres, the concrete realization of the travel is a necessary prerequisite. So, while both, travel guides/encyclopedic information and travel reports/travelogues are consulted in order to prepare for a travel (or to imagine (travelling to) a place), the former provide information that is not (or little) individualized and person-bound while the latter highlight the individual travel experience and thus mark, in a way, the endpoint or result of a real travel.

2.3. Travel guides as a text genre

Travel guides as a text genre are supertexts, typically consisting of different parts or modules, i.e., non-autonomous subtexts, not all of which need to be implemented (Fandrych & Thurmair 2011; Baumann 2015). Within this structure, the implicit and sometimes explicit assumptions the authors of travel guides make regarding their audience(s) are expressed in specific ways (Fandrych & Thurmair 2011: 52):

- through the selection of the entities described;
- by connecting these entities geographically or through activities (such as walks, view points, visits); by correlating them with compass points and geographical directions.

With respect to travel guides on Tsingtau/Qingdao, further audience-directed measures are:

- providing (selective) information regarding the historical background and the link with German history;
- (selectively) embedding this information and the chosen entities within the German and Chinese historical setting of the colonial period.

Travel guides work with different degrees of specialization and granularity. While the historical travel guides considered here focus on Tsingtau and its closer environment, no present-day travel guides could be identified that specialize on Qingdao or the Jiaozhou Bay area. For travel information on present-day Qingdao, travel guides on larger regions, such as China or East China, had to be consulted; many of them include a section on Qingdao (of variable length and informativity). This difference links immediately to the difference in contextualization between Tsingtau and Qingdao: Tsingtau was interpreted as a (new and therefore to be introduced) part of the German Empire, while Qingdao is part of China and thus receives no isolated treatment.

Fandrych & Thurmair (2011) identify specific textual and language-use features that characterize travel guides as a text genre. They distinguish between subtexts with different functions (first orientation, practical advice, description of sights, background information) that can be presented separately but can also be combined. A crucial feature of travel guides is related to the requirement of combining a high amount of information on a complex topic to a heterogeneous target group (Fandrych & Thurmair 2011: 53). As a result, travel guide authors are forced to select according to what they deem worth knowing and seeing, and also to what they assume to be the needs and expectations of

their addressees. By doing so, they direct the attention and the gaze of the readers, leaving invisible what might disturb the picture. Negative aspects are either touched upon very lightly and with little detail, or they are left out altogether (cf. Fandrych & Thurmair 2011: 57).

Travel guides are marked by a high frequency of adjectival attributes and appositions. Their function is to express evaluations, to assign qualities and to provide condensed background information (Fandrych & Thurmair 2011: 67). Another important feature is their taking a spatial perspective; it is motivated by their function of guiding the reader through foreign places. This spatial perspective triggers an imagination of the space in the reader's mind and implies a setting in which the author of the travel guide text can be perceived as an expert and the information provided as expert knowledge.

Baumann (2018: 184) points out that when (present-day) travel guides' texts are translated from and into different languages, these translations include adjustments to the changing addressees of the texts and to what their different cultural backgrounds are. The translations respond to the readers' expectations and converge with their cultural and epistemic certainties (Baumann 2015: 31). In the historical travel guides analyzed here, such modifications only occur to a limited degree. The English edition of Behme & Krieger (1910) is a very close translation of the German edition (Behme & Krieger 1906), the adjustments being restricted mainly to cases where explicit reference is made to Germany; in the English translation, they are replaced by corresponding mentions of England.¹³ All cartographic material in the English edition is identical to that of the German editions, including map titles (in German). Another historical travel guide (Tsingtauer Verkehrs-Ausschuss 1911) includes a German and an English text version that are fully corresponding to each other, with no obvious adjustments.

In present-day travel guides, as in other forms of tourist communication, places are discursively made significant, and they are commodified, as Held (2018: 1) points out:

With the economically oriented goal of promoting mobility in space, even insignificant places are discursively turned into unique holiday destinations; natural environment, cultural identity and material commodities are strategically synthesized in different kinds of textual procedures, in order to construct territories as special places of consumption worth to be visited (...).

During the colonial period, this is also true, but with some modification: The goal was not to "sell" the place in a strictly economic sense. Rather, the presentation aimed at creating an acceptance for the colonial project as such and for the colonized areas, and at evoking a desire, or at least a willingness, to see these places and (possibly) to live there. This goal was, of course, economically motivated in a wider sense, since colonial and economic motives were closely intertwined (though not identical). In addition, there was also a political motivation to make these places appear attractive and desirable. What Held describes as tourism discourse is also a marketing discourse in many respects (Held 2018: 3–4, 11–12), and it is about "destination branding (...) and image construction"

¹³ Cf. the first sentence in Behme & Krieger (1906: 5) and Behme & Krieger (1910: 1), respectively: "Es ist wirklich kaum zu glauben, wie wenig bekannt der Name Tsingtau ist, besonders in *Deutschland*." and "It is strange how little the name Tsingtau is known in *England*." (my emphasis, DS)

(Held 2018: 4). Both apply to the historical travel guides, too. In sum, colonial travel guides advertise space just as much as current travel guides do but possibly from a different angle.

2.4. “The tourist gaze”

Gaze is an important concept for a better understanding of the way relationships and interactions are created, shaped and impacted in (post)colonial travel guides and in tourism more generally. While in the current paper the main focus is on *language*-based strategies of presenting and constructing travel destinations, we also refer to the role of gaze because it is a crucial element of social practice in tourism and travel as well as in colonialism (and its representations). Due to the specific focus on language means, however, the concept of gaze is drawn on less centrally in the remainder of the paper.

Held points out that Urry (1990), in his seminal work on the tourist gaze,

has grasped [the] increasing ‘touristification’ of space [...]. With his metaphor he conceived [of] tourism as a bundle of *discursively skilled practices of ‘vision’*. The generic notion of ‘gaze’, however, does not only involve pre-patterned ways of seeing, thus turning places into attractive ‘sights’ seen through an economically profitable lens. It also refers to any kind of socio-culturally framed ways of being. (Held 2018: 1; my emphasis, DS).

Urry thus identifies gaze as a social experience (Urry 1990: 2) as well as closely linked to social practice (Urry & Larsen 2011: 15). According to Pomering (2013: 692), Urry & Larsen (2011) further expand the concept of the tourist gaze “beyond the visual to rethink the concept as ‘performative, embodied practices, highlighting how each gaze depends upon practices and material relations as upon discourses and signs’” (Pomering 2013: 692, citing Urry & Larsen 2011: 14–15).

Urry & Larsen (2011: 19) distinguish between “different kinds of gaze authorised by various discourses”, including education, health, group solidarity, pleasure and play, heritage and memory, and nation. Of these discourses, and the according kinds of gaze, “education” and “heritage and memory” seem to characterize best the travel information on German-colonial Tsingtau (the latter category for postcolonial sources only). Urry & Larsen (2011: 19) exemplify the category of “heritage and memory” by referring to “the development of indigenous histories”, among other examples, thus taking the heritage perspective from the inside, the we-perspective. With respect to Tsingtau, it is important to note that the perspective of and on heritage is an exogenic one (looking at China from the outside) that is made to look endogenic (i.e., German) to the addressees. This is achieved by extending Germanness to the historical colonial territory when focussing on the colonial-time architecture. Although clearly not all descriptions and characterizations of the visible colonial heritage entail a positive evaluation, they are nevertheless explicitly associated with being German and representing German features (including regional, for example Bavarian, ones) and are thus connected with being German. Through this attribution, colonial practice is linked to colonial heritage, and vice versa.

According to Held (2018: 3), “language of tourism” takes the role of a “mirror of the ongoing development of postmodern leisure culture”. This interpretation can be applied

to colonial-time travel guides, too, which are representative of a colonial-time language of tourism. Do they also reflect a “leisure culture” (though not a postmodern one)? We argue that this is the case, for example, when the role of Tsingtau as a seaside resort (framed as *Bad Tsingtau* ‘Tsingtau Spa’, cf. Behme & Krieger 1904a: 58, 1904b: 64, 1905: 64, 1906: 82) is claimed and comparisons are made with Brighton (“The Brighton of China”, Tsingtauer Verkehrs-Ausschuss 1911: cover, 2). The aspect of (upper class) leisure culture is strongly emphasized here, and similarly so when walking and hiking paths, presumably beautiful views, and routes for interesting and informative inland trips are suggested and described.

Trade-related, economic and military information, on the other hand, that are also included in colonial-time travel guides, highlight a different function of these publications. While also advertising, they do not focus on selling “embodied emotions and sensations” (Held 2018: 3) but rather on enhancing the image of the German Empire as a colonial and trading power.

3. Research question & research design

3.1. Research interest

Formerly colonized regions have, in various cases, been turned into travel destinations that are advertised as ‘exotic’ places. For historical, i.e. colonial-time, travel guides, it is likely that they carry colonial beliefs in the way they represent their chosen destinations, due to their rootedness in the colonial period. Within present-day travel guides and similar information materials, travel-advertising photographs sometimes present a perspective (for example, of landscapes) that is reminiscent of the photography of the colonial period (cf. section 6 below). The question arises whether such parallels can also be found in texts that are intended to inform about these places.

Travel guides, generating popular geopolitical knowledge and beliefs, contribute to popular knowledge formation regarding formerly colonized regions. It is therefore of relevance for decolonization processes how these regions are pictured, advertised and presented to potential travellers because this will influence the way such regions, and the people living there, are perceived and imagined.

In order to investigate parallels and differences between colonial-time travel guides and present-day travel guides (and similar travel-related informative texts), sources from different points in time are compared with respect to a number of features (cf. section 3.3).

3.2. Sources

The sources analyzed for the current paper include printed travel guides as well as travel reports, (short) online travel guides and other kinds of travel-related information. These texts belong to different categories. Wikivoyage articles, for example, with the implicit aim to inform objectively about specific travel destinations, can be placed between travel guides and travel reports in the terms described above (section 2.2). They combine general information with a stronger subjective note than printed travel guides do, yet take a more objective stance than travel reports by individuals. Newspaper travel reports, on the other hand, are very similar to other travel reports in describing selected individual experiences, that is, describing the chosen destination from a very personal viewpoint with smaller portions of general information.

Publishers of travel literature target different audiences (cf. Baumann 2015, 2018; Held 2018). Authors who write for several different publishing companies adjust their focus to the publisher's respective target group. In this study, present-day travel guides are included even when written by the same authors, as long as the publications are clearly distinct regarding publisher and title. In contrast, different editions of the same publication have not been included. This was done, however, for the travel guides up until 1927, because the colonized area changed rapidly between 1898 and 1914 (in terms of architecture, urban planning, infrastructure, etc.), and later editions covered these changes, in contrast to earlier ones.

German colonial period:

- *Führer durch Tsingtau und Umgebung* 'Guide to Tsingtau and Surroundings' (Behme & Krieger 1904a, 1904b, 1905, 1906, 1910 [English])
- *Eine Erinnerung an Ostasien* 'A memory of East Asia' (Winter 1911)
- *Tsingtau: ein Führer durch das deutsche Schutzgebiet* 'Tsingtau: A guide to the German concession' (Tsingtauer Verkehrs-Ausschuss 1911)

Early postcolonial period:

- *Führer durch Tsingtau und Umgebung* 'Guide to Tsingtau and Surroundings' (Haupt 1927)¹⁴

Postcolonial period/present-day:

- sections/subchapters on Qingdao in eight German-language travel guides to China (2011–2019)
Five of these are written in German originally (Schütte, Berger & Krüger 2011; Fülling 2014, 2015; Krücker, Gerstlacher & Lorenz 2016; Schütte & Krüger 2019). Three are translations from English into German (Bedford et al. 2013; Bond, McDonald & Schütte 2015; Harper et al. 2017).
- online travel literature on Qingdao (community/group-authored):
 - Wikipedia: entries for *Qingdao* and *Tsingtao Beer/Brewery* (in Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, Russian, Spanish)
 - Wikivoyage: entries for Qingdao (in English, French, German)
Fandrych & Thurmair (2011: 62) note that encyclopedic texts are comparable to background texts in printed travel guides. We assume here that Wikipedia and Wikivoyage texts can thus be seen to show some vicinity to certain sections of the travel guides. To increase comparability, the history sections of the Wikipedia entries were specifically focused on for comparison.
- online travel literature on Qingdao (single-authored):
 - online travel guides and travel reports
This group of sources consists of three travel guides (in German) and three travel reports (two newspaper articles, one in English and one in German, and one travel blog in German).

Urry (1990: 3) and Urry & Larsen (2011: 4) make a distinction between tourism as a mass phenomenon, and individual travel ("the mass character of the gaze of tourists (as

¹⁴ Haupt had been living in Tsingtau before 1914, and his travel guide is in structure and attitude comparable to those of Behme & Krieger. Haupt uses the current (micro-)toponyms of 1927 rather than the German ones, however, reflecting the changed setting.

opposed to the individual character of 'travel'"), noting a historical shift from the 'individual traveller' to the 'mass society tourist' (Urry 1990: 7). In the historical travel guides, this distinction is reflected, for example, by a focus on differing kinds and presentations of practical information and on a more extensive contextualization of the information given (extended historical background, personalized details regarding accommodation, etc.), indicating an expectation that the period of stay may be longer and be characterized by an attitude of (temporarily) settling down in the new environment, in contrast to modern mass tourism travel patterns. As a result, the location's advertised features can be expected to be carved out more sharply and presented more pointedly and, consequently, in a more reduced and condensed manner in present-day travel guides.

3.3. Method and approach

The sources were selected to differ in several ways in order to allow for controlled comparisons: They are from different time periods (colonial, postcolonial), they are written in different languages, and they appear in two different medial representations (printed and online).

The analyses combine quantitative and qualitative aspects. To examine how historical and present-day travel literature describes and constructs Tsingtau/Qingdao as a place and a travel destination, a number of categories was explored, guided by the structure the sources offered. First, the selection of (what was constructed as) "sights" was identified as one important element directing the traveller's eye and making characteristics of Tsingtau/Qingdao as a (formerly) colonial place visible or invisible. Fandrych & Thurmair (2011) note that travel guide texts often contain a high number of adjectives to inform and to evaluate. The sources examined here are no exception. A closer, and comparative, look is therefore taken at the kind of adjectives used to describe the colonial-time architecture of Tsingtau/Qingdao. The treatment of two of the sights, Zhan Qiao pier ("Landungsbrücke") and Tsingtao Brewery, was examined more closely because of the attention they receive in almost all analyzed sources.

Macro- and microtoponymy has been shown to be employed functionally in colonialism to mark power and possession (cf. the contributions in Stolz & Warnke 2018a and in Levkovych 2020, among others). We investigated if and how Tsingtau's/Qingdao's colonial-time microtoponyms are presented across time, and what languages (German, Chinese, English, combined) were chosen when reporting the names.

Finally, it is looked into the way in which the colonial period is staged as a "success story" for Tsingtau/Qingdao in the examined sources.

The selection of the categories chosen for comparison is based on the information foci in the sources, ensuring that comparability across time, languages and medium was given. The restriction to entities from the German colonial period is due to the fact that later buildings and constructions were not described in the colonial-time travel guides; therefore, their descriptions could not have been compared across historical and present-day sources.

We would like to emphasize that the present-day sources contain a lot more information on Qingdao than what has been examined in this paper, for example on Qingdao's contemporary economy or on earlier Chinese history. They do by no means

focus exclusively on colonial-time Tsingtau/Qingdao. In the current paper, this information has been ignored for the sole reason that we are concerned here with a comparison of how colonial-time aspects of Qingdao are treated.

4. Analysis

In this section, the results of our analyses are presented. This is done differently for different categories, depending on the features investigated. Section 4.1 looks at what locations, buildings etc. are listed, and thus constructed, as sights worth paying attention to. Historical and present-day printed travel guides (in German) are compared. Here, a quantitative approach was chosen, based on how many of the travel guides referred to each sight, and how that may have changed over time. Sections 4.2 to 4.4 take a qualitative approach by comparing what linguistic means are employed to describe these sights, what they are compared to, and what features are highlighted. The comparison is made between historical and present-day sources, including printed as well as online material, the latter in different languages. In section 4.5, a comparison of the street names used at different times is carried out and presented in a quantitative and qualitative manner, again based on printed travel guides in German across time. This is followed by section 4.6 on misrepresentations, based on present-day sources only (print and online), which are understood to reflect implicit assumptions in a specific way. The final section, 4.7, analyses the narremes used to create a narrative about colonial-time Tsingtau by identifying what implicit colonial assumptions and certainties can be found in print and online sources across time and in different languages.

4.1. Selection of “sights” (and sites)

Ten colonial-time buildings and places were identified that still exist and therefore feature in historical as well as present-day travel information on Tsingtau/Qingdao. Table 1 lists all printed travel guides and indicates which entities are mentioned, that is, which entities have been selected by the guides for presentation to the reader.

Table 1. Selection of sights/sites in printed travel guides

	1904–1927 ¹⁵								2011–2019 ¹⁶							
	BK 04a	BK 04b	BK 05	BK 06	BK 10	Ts 11	Wi 11	Ha 27	Sc hü 11	Be 13	Fü 14	Bo 15	Fü 15	Kr ü 16	Ha 17	Sc hü 19
Catholic Mission building (SVD ¹⁷)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	--	X	--	X	--	--	--
Christuskirche (church)	--	--	--	X ¹⁸	X ¹⁹	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	X	--	X	X
City hall ²⁰	--	--	--	X ²¹	X	X	X	X	X	--	X	--	X	--	--	--
Governor's residence	X	X	X	X ²²	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	X	X
Holy Ghost Monastery	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	--	X	--	X	--	--	--
Train station ²³	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	--	X	--	X	X
Tsingtao Brewery ²⁴	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X ²⁵	X	X	X	X	X	--	X	X
The villa quarter	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	--	X	X
Zhan Qiao pier	X	X	X	X	X	--	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	X	X

The historical travel guides name (almost) all of the entities listed in Table 1 (Christuskirche and city hall from 1906 onward, once they were being built; Zhan Qiao pier is not mentioned in Tsingtauer Verkehrs-Ausschuss 1911), but also most of the present-day travel guides point out several of these sights. The Zhan Qiao pier, the Tsingtao Brewery and the Governor's residence (now a museum) are mentioned by all

¹⁵ BK04a = Behme & Krieger 1904a, BK04b = Behme & Krieger 1904b, BK05 = Behme & Krieger 1905, BK06 = Behme & Krieger 1906, TS11 = Tsingtauer Verkehrs-Ausschuss 1911, Wi11 = Winter 1911, Ha27 = Haupt 1927.

¹⁶ Schü11 = Schütte, Berger & Krüger 2011, Be13 = Bedford et al. 2013, Fü14 = Füllung 2014, Bo15 = Bond, McDonald & Schütte 2015, Fü15 = Füllung 2015, Krü16 = Krücker, Lorenz 2016, Ha17 = Harper et al. 2017, Schü19 = Schütte & Krüger 2019.

¹⁷ SVD = Societas Verbi Divini, Society of the Divine Word, a German catholic mission society.

¹⁸ It is mentioned that the church is currently being built (Behme & Krieger 1906: 71).

¹⁹ It is mentioned that the church is currently being built (Behme & Krieger 1910: 53)

²⁰ Behme & Krieger (1906: 68) refer to this building as "Gouvernementsdienstgebäude" ('government's office building'), mentioning that it was finished in 1906. In the 1910 English edition this is translated into "Government Administration Building" (Behme & Krieger 1910: 44). In the 21st century sources, it appears as "Rathaus" 'city hall'.

²¹ The building was finished in 1906.

²² The previously (1904–1905) mentioned "Gouverneurhaus" ('governor's home') is now qualified as "provisorisch" ('provisional') since currently a new "Gouverneurhaus" is being built. The new one is the building all later travel guides refer to.

²³ the colonial-time building

²⁴ the colonial-time "Germania-Brauerei"

²⁵ Haupt (1927: 71) refers to the brewery as the "jetzt japanische[...] Tsingtao Brewery" 'the now Japanese Tsingtao brewery', without further explanation.

but one current travel guides, closely followed by the Christuskirche (protestant church) and the Villa quarter with six out of eight mentions.

While the selection is restricted by what buildings already existed (in the past) or are still in existence (today), obviously not all existing buildings are presented in every travel guide. This fact reflects that a selection has taken place. Presumed relevance and the interest of the readers are likely criteria for this selection. A focus appears to be on the function of the buildings/sites (especially for the older sources) and on the historicity of the architecture (for present-day sources), the latter coinciding with the visibility of Germanness.

In the following three sections, first the description of architectural features of the (now) historical part of Qingdao is compared across sources, with a special focus on the governor's residence, the protestant and the catholic church and the villa quarter. Then, the descriptions of the remaining most frequently mentioned sites, the Zhan Qiao pier and the Tsingtao Brewery, are examined and compared individually.

4.2. Architectural style descriptions

Historical and present-day sources describe the colonial-time architecture in Tsingtau/Qingdao in terms of style classification and aesthetic assessment. In these descriptions, the generous use of adjectives, a special trait of travel guides (cf. Fandrych & Thurmair 2011), is particularly noticeable. Some of the classifications of architectural style are very general (e.g. 'German architecture', 'old German buildings'), while others refer to architectural and design styles ('neoromanic', 'Art Nouveau'); finally, some choose ascriptions that link to popular knowledge about Germany ('Bavarian', 'Prussian') without having a specified meaning with respect to architecture. We focus on the description of the governor's residence, the Christuskirche (protestant church) and the villa quarter as well as general statements of the colonial-time urban architecture in Tsingtau/Qingdao. The architectural classification of the St. Michael's Cathedral (catholic church), frequently mentioned in present-day sources, is additionally included.²⁶

4.2.1 The governor's residence

This building, the private quarters of the German governor during the German-colonial period, was completed between 1906 and 1910. Behme & Krieger (1906) mention it being under construction, and in 1910 they describe the finished building with its outdoor facilities, noting that it is "prominently situated" in the villa quarter. It is characterized as "a conjunction of imposing dignity and power (...) a picture of German architecture in its entirety." Also the interior is depicted positively as representing "in a very pleasant effect German manual art" (Behme & Krieger 1910: 54). Winter (1911: 10) refers to it as a 'stately' building ("stattlich"), and Tsingtauer Verkehrs-Ausschuss (1911: 13) includes a photograph of the building with the park-like grounds surrounding it. Haupt (1927: 25) refers to it as 'the beautiful governor's villa' ("die schmucke Gouverneursvilla").

²⁶ The church was built between 1932 and 1934 and is therefore not mentioned in the colonial-time travel guides. Its construction was carried out under the responsibility of the SVD mission, and it is located within the colonial-time part of Qingdao. This seems to be the reason why present-day travel guides include it in their presentation of Qingdao's German historical architecture.

The present-day sources in German describe the building as combining Jugendstil (Art Nouveau) elements with a rustic Heimatstil (Füllung 2015; Schütte & Krüger 2019). Schütte, Berger & Krüger (2011: 68), in addition, evaluate it as “Höhepunkt der wilhelminischen Protzerei” (‘the peak of Wilhelminian swanking’), indicating their attitudinal distance from the architectural preferences of the colonial period.

Present-day sources in languages other than German²⁷ are less specific in terms of architectural terminology, and they allude to different aspects of cultural Germanness. In one case, reference is made to the Jugendstil elements of the interior (Harper et al. 2017), but aside from that, the building is variably framed as a “Bavarian-style castle” or as being built in the style of a “Schloss” (‘castle’). It is also referred to as “le palais du gouverneur kitch et coloré” (‘the kitschy and colorful governor’s palace’, Wikipedia/French), indicating an impression of overabundance in architectural and decorative provisions. The sources further include more general terms of style assessment, such as “Architektur aus der Konzessionszeit” and “historische deutsche Architektur” (‘concession-time architecture’ and ‘historical German architecture’, Harper et al. 2017: 250) or “architettura coloniale tedesca dell’amministrazione prussiana” (‘colonial German architecture of the Prussian administration’, Wikipedia/Italian).

4.2.2. Christuskirche (protestant church)

The protestant church was completed in 1910 and is therefore not included in the sources before that. In Winter (1911: 8), it is described as a ‘modern-romanesque building’ situated on the ‘church hill’. Haupt (1927: 25) refers to it as “hübsch” (‘pretty, lovely’) and also mentions its romanesque style.

In the present-day sources, again the descriptions cover a wider range. The German print sources refer to the building as representing a combination of Historism and Jugendstil (Füllung 2015; Schütte & Krüger 2019), while one German online source attributes a ‘byzantine’ style to it (“byzantinisch”, Hufschlag 2012). One English online source identifies it as “folksy Art Nouveau style known as Jugendstil in Germany” (Spano 2008), linking the architectural classification explicitly to German culture.

4.2.3. St. Michael’s Cathedral

The description for this church shows the highest convergence across the (present-day) sources. In German and non-German sources alike, it is almost uniformly referred to as neo-romanesque and/or neo-gothic, in one case more specifically as “romano-rhenan” (‘Rhenish-romanesque’, Wikipedia, French). One German online source, however, refers to the architectural style as “barock” (‘baroque’, Hufschlag 2012).

4.2.4. The villa quarter

The villa quarter (Bā Dà Guān ‘the eight great passes’ in present-day Qingdao) today includes detached mansions from the German and the Japanese colonial periods as well as later buildings that were constructed to fit into these architectural environments. The

²⁷ This includes the three German travel guides that are translations from English (i.e. Bedford et al. 2013; Bond, McDonald & Schütte 2015; and Harper et al. 2017), the non-German entries in Wikipedia, Wikivoyage and one online travelogue (Spano 2008).

colonial-time sources make reference to single mansions/villas (maybe due to the fact that at the time only a smaller number of buildings had been finished but also to acknowledge the owners) as well as to the area as a whole. A general assessment of the quarter's urban structure is given as "die offene Bauart der Stadtanlage und ihres Villenviertels" (Tsingtauer Verkehrs-Ausschuss 1911: 6) / "the healthy style of architecture adopted in the laying out of the town and in the building of the 'villa-quarter'" (Tsingtauer Verkehrs-Ausschuss 1911: 7).²⁸ The quarter is described in positive terms, for example as being bordered "by pretty gardens of green foliage" (Behme & Krieger 1910:52), adding that "[n]umerous villas, partly cottages, liven the surrounding heights" (ibid.: 57). Haupt (1927: 49) projects the image of a picturesque scenery one allegedly encounters when approaching Tsingtau/Qingdao by ship, depicting the quarter as "das hinter der Huitschin-Bucht mit Badestrand und Strandhotel sich weiterstreckende, an grünem Berghange sich anschmiegende Villenviertel Tsingtaus" ('the villa quarter of Tsingtau, which extends behind the Huitschin Bay with its beach and beach hotel and nestles up against a green mountain slope'). The impression that is communicated is that of a green, attractive and prosperous living quarter.

The present-day sources emphasize as well that the area is green and quiet (e.g., Fülling 2014: 219). The buildings are pointed out as colonial-time architecture. Various style ascriptions can be found in the different sources. They include 'Wilhelminian style' (Schütte, Berger & Krüger 2011: 68) in a German travel guide as well as 'Bavarian style', 'hybrid style' and 'European style' in non-German sources (print and online). The mansions themselves are referred to as 'old German villas' and 'beautiful German houses' (Wikivoyage/French) or as German and Japanese architecture (Wikipedia/French and Italian) built during the German period (Wikipedia/Spanish). One English online source (Spano 2008) offers a range of architectural style detail, noting "Renaissance Revival facades, Victorian gingerbread, Art Nouveau grillwork, half-timbered."

4.2.5. General descriptions

The historical travel guides do not include an overall architectural assessment of Tsingtau. Haupt (1927) summarizes different views and impressions of Tsingtau describing it as beautiful and adorned, with nice-looking official buildings, red roofs, forest, and the blue sea, giving a picture-book impression of a neat place with friendly colors. This is not unlike the descriptions found in present-day print travel guides where also red roofs, yellow sandstone walls, forest and green areas are listed among the features that (allegedly) make Qingdao special and attractive (e.g. Schütte, Berger & Krüger 2011: 67; Bedford et al. 2013: 146; Fülling 2014: 219; Harper et al. 2017: 250; Schütte & Krüger 2019: 390).

Regarding architectural characteristics, present-day travel guides include style-related terminology as well as descriptions that call up popular assumptions of features and characteristics representing Germanness. Among these are (in the German sources) 'Wilhelminian architecture', 'like a Prussian spa' (both in Schütte, Berger & Krüger

²⁸ The emphasis on "healthy" and hygiene-conscious urban construction is a recurring topic in the colonial-time travel guides.

2011: 67), 'German model settlement' (Schütte & Krüger 2019: 386) and "Musterländle" ('model province', a reference to the neatness and orderliness historically attributed to the Grand Duchy of Baden) (Füllung 2014: 208). The non-German (and translated) sources are in part rather vague ('historical German architecture', "German-style buildings", "former foreign styles", 'colonial German architecture', 'German-imprinted', 'typical German building style', etc.). Those that are more specific make explicit reference to Bavaria: "Bavaria-on-the-East-China-Sea" (Wikivoyage/English), "architecture bavaroise" ('Bavarian architecture', Wikipedia/French), "arquitectura colonial alemana con el estilo de Baviera" ('Bavarian-style German colonial architecture', Wikipedia/Spanish), and an older museum building is compared to an "old Bavarian hunting lodge" in its appearance (Spano 2008).

With these phrasings and comparisons, popular (geopolitical) assumptions about (post)colonial Qingdao, Germany and Bavaria are shaped and confirmed.

4.3. Zhan Qiao pier

The Zhan Qiao pier is mentioned in almost all sources, partly motivated, it seems, by the fact that the pavilion at its end is depicted in the logo of Tsingtao beer bottles. According to the colonial-time travel guides, the Zhan Qiao pier was built by the Qing dynasty before the German colonial period. In later sources, however, it is repeatedly attributed to the Germans.

(a) Colonial-time travel guides

Behme & Krieger (1904a: 19, 1904b: 20, 1905: 20, 1906: 26, 1910: 17) attribute the pier to the Chinese and report 1891 as the year of construction. Haupt (1927: 2, 13) also explicitly mentions that the pier was built by the Chinese but gives 1896/97 as the construction year. Tsingtauer Verkehrs-Ausschuss (1911) does not refer to the pier, while Winter (1911: 7) mentions it but does not include any information regarding its construction.

(b) Postcolonial travel guides (printed)

Füllung (2014: 218; 2015: 245) claims that the pier was built on the model of a similar one on the island of Usedom (Germany, Baltic Sea), implying that it was built under German rule. Schütte & Krüger (2019: 387), in contrast, note that a first pier was built in 1891, and that it received its current size and length in 1931. Schütte, Berger & Krüger (2011: 68), Bedford et al. (2013: 146), Bond, McDonald & Schütte (2015: 88) and Harper et al. (2017: 250) mention the pier; Bedford et al. and Bond et al. additionally note its being pictured on the Tsingtao beer label, but neither adds any historical information. Krücker, Gerstlacher & Lorenz (2016) do not refer to the pier.

(c) Wikipedia

The German entry lists the pier among the sights from the German colonial period (without giving a construction date), thereby implying that it was built under German rule. The English entry states that the pier was built in 1891 "and frequently enlarged". It also notes that the pier is pictured on Tsingtao beer labels. The French and Spanish entries mention its appearance on the Tsingtao beer label.

The Italian entry lists the pier as a “major attraction” without providing any further information. The Danish and Dutch entries do not mention the pier.

(d) Wikivoyage

Only the English Wikivoyage entry makes reference to the pier, noting that it was “extended by the Germans”. It is further claimed that the “famous pavilion” at the end of the pier (and included in the Tsingtao beer logo) was built in 1931. The French and the German Wikivoyage entry do not mention the pier.

(e) Online travel guides

China Tours and Chinareise.com both mention the pier and the pavilion at its end. Chinareise.com notes further that the pier was built in 1892. Go East does not refer to it.

(f) Online travel reports

Spano (2008) mentions the pier and its being pictured on the beer label, with no further information. Hufschlag (2012) claims that the pier was built to resemble a similar one in Heringsdorf (on the island of Usedom, Germany, Baltic Sea), just like Füllung (2014, 2015). Liebenberger (2010) does not mention it.

4.4. Tsingtao Brewery

4.4.1. Colonial-time travel guides

The Germania Brewery was founded in 1903 and opened in 1904. Behme & Krieger (1904a, 1904b, 1905, 1906) include advertisements for the “Germania-Brauerei” (‘Germania Brewery’) and its beer. In the editions from 1904b to 1910, there is a picture of the brewery and a short reference to it in the text. In the 1906 (p. 43) and 1910 (p. 27) editions, the existence of the brewery is positively commented on.²⁹ In the German edition (1906: 43), the brewery is referred to as “deutsche Germania-Brauerei” while, in the English edition (1910: 27), it is “the Germania Brewery” or “the Anglo-German Brewery” (1910: 72). Tsingtauer Verkehrs-Ausschuss (1911) contains an advertisement (with a picture of the building) but no mention in the text. Winter (1911: 13) names the brewery (“Germania Bier-Brauerei”) in his description of buildings and landmarks to be found in Tsingtau. Haupt (1927: 71) equally lists it as a landmark to be passed on a walking tour of Tsingtau. He refers to it as the “jetzt japanische[n] Tsingtao Brewery” (‘the now Japanese Tsingtao Brewery’) without further explanation. He seems to assume that his readers are familiar with the brewery’s former affiliation.

²⁹ “Biertrinker wird es interessieren, daß nach Eröffnung der deutschen Germania-Brauerei Ende 1904 die Biervhältnisse ausgezeichnet in Tsingtau sind.” (Behme & Krieger 1906: 43) / “To beer adepts it will be of interest to learn that since the opening of the Germania Brewery in 1904, the beer question has been eminently solved.” (Behme & Krieger 1910: 27) (In the German version of 1906, the final part of the clause translates into, ‘that the beer conditions are excellent in Tsingtau’.)

4.4.2. Present-day travel guides (printed) and online sources

The present-day sources contain information on recurring sub-topics with respect to the superordinate topic “Tsingtao Brewery/Beer”. These sub-topics appear in variable combinations and include different degrees of detail. Those that occurred most frequently, and therefore were best suited for comparison across all present-day sources, were bundled into features (e.g. “founding date”). The specific information (e.g., “1903” as the year of foundation) is referred to as specification. The following sub-topics and specifications were identified (Table 2).

Table 2. “Tsingtao Brewery / Beer”: *Sub-topics and specifications*

<i>sub-topic</i>	<i>specifications</i>
foundation date	1903 (founded / built / opened / first beer brewed)
	1904 (built / first beer brewed/served)
	German colonial time
founders	Germans/Germany
	a German-English company / the Anglo-German Brewery Co. Ltd.
motivation	to satisfy the Germans'/German soldiers' demand
ingredients / purity	Laoshan spring/mineral water; German purity law
award	1906 gold medal at Munich International Exhibition
continuity	still brewed [implying continuity since the colonial period]
prominence	famous beer; famous/important brewery
festival	international beer festival [in August] (like Oktoberfest)

The present-day sources were bundled into three groups: (a) printed travel guides; (b) individually authored online sources (travel guides, travel reports), and community or group authored online sources (Wikipedia, Wikivoyage). Within the groups, we distinguished between sources written in German and sources written in other languages. For the printed travel guides (a), which are all in German, a distinction was made whether they were originally written in German or had been translated from English. The resulting groups for comparison are:

- (a) Printed travel guides
 - originally German (5)
 - translated from English into German (3)
- (b) Online sources, individually authored
 - German (5)
 - non-German (1)
- (c) Online sources, community/group authored³⁰
 - German (3)
 - non-German (16)

³⁰ These sources include Wikipedia and Wikivoyage entries on “Qingdao” and Wikipedia entries on “Tsingtao Brewery/Beer” in the following languages: Wikipedia: eight languages (Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, Russian, Spanish); Wikivoyage: three languages (English, French, German).

There were some differences but also convergences and parallels between the groups. The most prominent sub-topics (in terms of number of mentions) are foundation date/founders and prominence/festival.

None of the sub-topics were listed in all sources but all of them were listed at least occasionally. The foundation date (with a preference for 1903) is mentioned in the large majority of sources, German and non-German. The same is true for information on who founded the brewery. Here, usually “Germans /Germany” is the preferred specification (even though it was an international English-German company). There is a small peak on information about ingredients or purity of the beer (repeatedly making reference to the German “purity law” for brewing beer). The highest number of “hits” concentrates on the sub-topics prominence and festival. Almost all sources mention the beer (or the brewery) as ‘famous’, ‘legendary’, ‘the best’, etc., or they point out that Tsingtao beer has a high position and wide distribution in the national and the international market. German sources like to add that the annual international beer festival (started by the Tsingtao Brewery in 1991) resembles or echoes the Munich Oktoberfest.

It can be generalized that there is a preference for certain pieces of information, in particular on the founding circumstances and the high popularity of the beer (and the brewery). This information seems to play the role of connecting Qingdao to its colonial past, and it fits in with other features that are advertised about the city (colonial-time sights/sites and architecture). It also converges with the image of Germans as a beer-drinking nation and can well be integrated into the overall narrative of a special (and continuing) German imprint in Qingdao that adds to making it different from other Chinese cities (and therefore touristically advertisable).

Similar to attributing the architectural style to a Bavarian influence or model, this link contributes to building and consolidating popular geopolitical knowledge not only about Qingdao but also about Germany.

4.5. Street names

For colonial settings, toponyms have been shown to carry a considerable part of the colonial message by inscribing the colonial power relation into the colonized space (cf. Stolz & Warnke 2018b). Street names, as a subcategory of microtoponyms, offer themselves for comparison in the current study because they are mentioned in all of the historical and most of the present-day printed travel guides examined. Online sources were not considered here because they rarely mention street names, so there would have been no sufficient base for comparison.

Re-namings (toponymic palimpsests) from different periods are reflected, and they can be related to each other, either based on the reference made to older names in present-day sources or by comparing the city maps that are included with several of the sources. Our interest here is to explore what languages are used when referring to streets that were built during the colonial period in the European-settled part of Tsingtau. Only those street names that appear in at least one of the present-day travel guides were considered.

4.5.1 General observations

The German-language travel guides from the German colonial period (Behme & Krieger 1904–1906; Tsingtauer Verkehrs-Ausschuss 1911; Winter 1911) use German colonial street names without exception. These street names contain a German modifier and a German classifier, the modifier usually being either an anthroponym or an oikonym³¹ (cf. Stolz & Warnke 2018b). In the European part of Tsingtau, all these names are culturally German. The English edition of Behme & Krieger (1910) uses English translations or adaptations of the German street names, with one exception where the German name appears unchanged (*Diederichsweg*).

Haupt (1927), after the Japanese colonial period, gives evidence of the renaming of all streets in the sample. Most names consist of a Chinese modifier and the English classifier “Road”. Only in two cases (*Pacific Road*, *University Road*), an English modifier appears.

In the present-day travel guides, three variants occur: (1) current Chinese street names are used on their own; (2) Chinese street names are juxtaposed with the corresponding colonial (German) street names; (3) colonial German street names are used on their own. For (1) and (2), in some cases the Chinese characters are included (Schütte, Berger & Krüger 2011; Füllung 2015; Schütte & Krüger 2019). When both Chinese and German forms are used, the ordering can be Chinese-German or German-Chinese.

Table 3 summarizes the occurrence of the street names examined and shows the correspondences between colonial and postcolonial forms. Street names are ordered according to the number of present-day sources they appear in. For the present-day travel guides, all naming variants that appear in the sources are listed. (There is no variation in the historical sources except for occasional spelling or hyphenation inconsistencies.) Diachronic spelling variation is mainly due to differing transcription systems (cf. no. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, and 12 in Table 3).

Bold print highlights expressions contextualizing names with reference to time, either by referring to the past (“ehemals” ‘once’, “ehemalig/früher” ‘former’, “einstig” ‘erstwhile’, “alt” ‘old’) or by pointing out a recent change (“heutig” ‘present-day’, “jetzig” ‘current’, “heute” ‘today’). Such expressions indicate a change in place or in name, and they seem to be mainly restricted to the three most-mentioned street names.

The two right-most columns show how many of the German and the translated travel guides include the listed street names.

³¹ *Oikonoms* are proper names of inhabited locations such as villages, towns or cities, as well as houses or residential buildings.

Table 3. *Street names in Tsingtau / Qingdao (colonial and postcolonial periods)*

	German colonial period ^{32 33}	Early postcolonial period ³⁴	Present-day print sources ³⁵		
			Street name	German	Translated
1	*Friedrichstraße/ <i>Frederick Street</i>	Shantung Road	Zhongshan Lu; Zhongshan Lu, ehemals Friedrichstraße; Zhongshan Lu (Friedrichstraße); “Friedrichstraße” Sun- Yatsen-Straße (Zhongshan Lu); früher (...) Friedrichstraße	4	2
2	*Kaiser-Wilhelm- Ufer / <i>Kaiser Wilhelm Esplanade</i>	(jetzige / heutige) Pacific Road	ehemalige [s] Kaiser- Wilhelm-Ufer (heute Taiping Lu); das ehemalige Kaiser- Wilhelm-Ufer; Kaiser-Wilhelm-Ufer / Uferpromenade; das einstige Kaiser- Wilhelm-Ufer / Uferpromenade	4	--
3	Kronprinzenstraße / <i>Kronprinzen Street</i>	Hupei Road	Hubei Lu, ehemals Kronprinzenstraße; Hubei Lu (Kronprinzenstraße); Hubei Lu, [die] alte Kronprinzenstraße; Hubei Lu (“Kronprinzenstraße”)	4	--
4	Berliner Straße / <i>Berliner Street</i>	Chufu Road	Qufu Lu (Berliner Straße)	2	--
5	Bismarckstraße / <i>Bismarck Street</i>	Kiangsu Road	Jiangsu Lu (Bismarckstraße)	2	--
6	Bremer Straße / <i>Bremer Street</i>	Feicheng Road	Feicheng Lu; Feicheng Lu (Bremer Straße)	2	--

³² The names marked by an asterisk appear in all of the colonial-time travel guides.

³³ Behme & Krieger 1904a, 1904b, 1905, 1906, 1910; Tsingtauer Verkehrs-Ausschuss 1911; Winter 1911. English names from Behme & Krieger 1910 are set in italics.

³⁴ Haupt 1927

³⁵ Originally German (5): Schütte, Berger & Krüger 2011; Füllung 2014; Füllung 2015; Krücker, Gerstlacher & Lorenz 2016; Schütte & Krüger 2019; translated from English into German (3): Bedford et al. 2013; Bond, McDonald & Schütte 2015; Harper et al. 2017.

7	*Diederichsweg	Yishui Road	Yishui Lu; Yishui Lu (Died(e)richsstraße)	2	--
8	Hauptmann- Müller-Straße	Tengchow Road	Dengzhou Lu; Hauptmann-Müller-Straße (heute Dengzhou Lu)	2	--
9	Luitpoldstraße / <i>Leopold Street</i>	Chekiang Road	Zhejiang Lu (Luitpoldstraße)	2	--
10	Ostpaßstraße / <i>East Pass Street</i>	Tsingchung Road	Daxue Lu ³⁶ ; Daxue Lu (Ostpass- Straße ³⁷)	2	--
11	Kiautschoustraße ³⁸	Kiaochow Road	Jiaozhou Lu	1	--
12	Wilhelmstraße / <i>Wilhelm St.</i>	Tsingtau Road	Qingdao Lu ³⁹	1	--

The early postcolonial source Haupt (1927) strictly uses the English/Chinese street names, in contrast to present-day travel guides, which frequently offer the older German names. Only in one case does Haupt use a change-marking qualifier, i.e. with “Pacific Road”, similar to his attribution of Tsingtao Brewery (cf. above). The present-day travel guides that were translated from English (Bedford et al. 2013; Bond, McDonald & Schütte 2015; Harper et al. 2017) do not include German colonial names. In these sources, only one street name from the colonial-time quarter is mentioned at all (no. 1 in Table 3), even though the quarter as a whole is described as a place of interest in most of these guides.

Overall, eight out of eleven modifiers of street names from the early postcolonial period are continued to be used (in slightly changed transliterations) for the same streets.

³⁶ Fülling (2014) makes reference to the city's history in the street name's contextualization: “die Daxue Lu mit der alten Bismarck-Kaserne, heute Sitz der Ozeanografischen Hochschule” (‘Daxue Lu with the old Bismarck barracks, today seat of the University of Oceanography’) (Fülling 2014: 218). Fülling (2015: 249) equals “Daxue Lu” with “Ostpass-Straße”, however, this attribution seems to be not fully correct. *Dàxué lù* means *University Street*, a name appearing already in Haupt (1927: 71 *inter alia*, and in the street map). The 1927 map contains more streets (and street names) than the earlier maps provided by Behme/Krieger, no doubt due to ongoing construction activities. A comparison of maps implies that it is *Tsingchung Road* (in Haupt 1927) that corresponds to the former *Ostpaßstraße*, not *University Road*.

³⁷ Behme & Krieger (1906: 79, 92, 93) have *Ostpaßstraße* which is rendered as *Ostpass-Straße* in Fülling (2015: 249).

³⁸ This is the only street name in the sample that has a Chinese modifier (in German transliteration). This street was in Ta Pau Tau, a section of the town that had been planned and constructed by the German colonizers to house Chinese families and to function as a trading quarter between the Chinese and the Germans.

³⁹ Similar to Daxue Lu (no. 10 in Table 3), this street name is historically contextualized by being connected to ‘the former seat of the German-Asiatic Bank’ (“der **ein**stige Sitz der Deutsch-Asiatischen Bank”) (Schütte & Krüger 2019: 389)

4.6. Misrepresentations: A reflection of colonial certainties?

In a few cases, erroneous information is included in the sources. The following examples illustrate the kind of errors that occur.

- (1) *eine deutsche Musterstadt (...), die über das ausgebaute Bahnnetz mit Berlin verbunden war.* (Schütte, Berger & Krüger 2011: 67)

‘a German model city (...), which was connected to Berlin via the expanded railroad network’

The train connection was to Ji’nan, not to Berlin. There was no direct connection from Tsingtau to Berlin at the time Schütte, Berger & Krüger (2011: 67) explicitly refer to in this paragraph (“[b]innen weniger Jahre” ‘within few years’ after 1897).

- (2) *Diese Villa aus Granit und Marmor wurde im Jahr 1930 als Wohnhaus für einen russischen Adeligen gebaut; später nutzte sie der deutsche Gouverneur als Jagdschloss.* (Harper et al. 2017: 251)

‘This villa of granite and marble was built in 1930 as a residence for a Russian nobleman; later, the German governor used it as a hunting lodge (lit. ‘hunting castle/manor’).’

There was a German governor in Tsingtau between 1898 and 1914 but not beyond that. It is possible that this information was meant to refer to the German ambassador. (There was a German Embassy in Qingdao between 1926 and 1945.)

- (3) Fülling (2015) and Hufschlag (2012) claim that the Zhan Qiao pier was built on the German model of a similar one at the Baltic Sea (on Usedom [Fülling 2015: 245] or in Heringsdorf on Usedom [Hufschlag 2012]), implying that it was built under German rule.

The pier was begun in 1891 or 1892, several years before the German occupation. It was completed in 1899, so a German influence was possible in principle. As a functional construction, fulfilling the same purpose as similar piers in Germany (and elsewhere), however, the pier exhibits no particular features making such influence obvious or necessary.

A shared feature of these errors is that they overestimate the effects of German colonialism on Tsingtau/Qingdao. It is easy to see what correct information they connect to: the expansion of the railway network (1), the pompous architecture (2), the parallels between colonial-time building structures in Tsingtau and in Germany (3). It is assumed that Tsingtau came into noticeable existence only with the beginning of the German colonial period. This shared (popular) knowledge is likely to have contributed to the erroneous assumptions. Against this backdrop, the diachronic order is blurred (in (2) and (3)), and geopolitical information is ignored (in (1)). Regarding the latter, the historical travel guides (Behme & Krieger, Haupt) provide detailed information about how to get to Tsingtau on different routes. They all included travel sections by rail but also by ship. It was not possible to reach Tsingtau by overland travel alone.

Tsingtau, as the forerunner of present-day Qingdao, was planned and constructed under German colonial rule. The residential structures that existed in the area before then

were largely erased before the new colonial city was laid out. There was, however, a large number of Chinese residents in the Tsingtau area, contributing crucially to its development. In addition, German activity and influence decreased drastically after 1914. These aspects are ignored in the popular belief of colonialism as being linked to modernity and progress that provides the basis for the narrative examined in section 4.7.

4.7. A narrative of modernity and progressiveness

Most of the sources contain a short section on how German colonialism affected Tsingtau/Qingdao between 1897 and 1914 (and beyond). The content of these sections can be broken down into four “building blocks”, which recur across the sources in different degrees of elaboration and in varying combinations. Taking the totality of the background information as a narrative about German colonialism in Tsingtau, we refer to these “building blocks” here as narremes, that is, smaller narrative units.

The following narremes appear in historical as well as present-day sources in different combinations:

- (1) When the German navy, in 1897, occupied the area to become (colonial) Tsingtau, there were small and unimportant settlements/villages in this place. These settlements were bought up and demolished. The inhabitants were resettled.⁴⁰
- (2) (In the place of the former settlements,) Tsingtau was built up as a modern and healthy city, with high hygiene standards and up-to-date infrastructure – European quarters and Chinese quarters were strictly separated, for sanitary reasons.⁴¹
- (3) Economically important structures (railway, harbor, etc.) were constructed quickly and effectively.
- (4) Tsingtau became (and remained) an important place for trade [and/or] a clean/comfortable/beautiful place to live.

For the comparison carried out here, the sources were grouped together according to time of production and to medium (print/online). They were compared regarding to what extent and in what distribution the narremes were used. The sources are distinguished as follows: (a) colonial-time travel guides (printed); (b) present-day travel guides (printed); (c) online sources, community-authored (Wikipedia, Wikivoyage); and (d) online sources, individually authored (travel guides, travel reports) (cf. section 4.4).

Across all four groups, narreme (2) showed the highest frequency. It constitutes the core of the narrative. The separation of living quarters for Chinese and Europeans, however, is not mentioned in present-day sources. While referring to the historical part of Qingdao as the ‘historical European quarter’ (“[das] alte Europäerviertel”, Füllung 2014: 218) can imply separated living areas, information on the strict segregation that was part of the colonial structure of Tsingtau is not offered.⁴² This coincides with

⁴⁰ Jüttemann (n.d.) lists eight villages that were demolished between 1899 and 1905 (cf. also Warner 1998).

⁴¹ This latter information is given in the historical travel guides, marking it as a high achievement in sanitary respects. Present-day sources do not take it up; cf. below.

⁴² Groeneveld (2016, 2019) offers a concise overview of how the segregation rules and restrictions in Tsingtau were spelled out in practice. Rathjen (2021, especially ch. 2) investigates the ideological underpinnings and implications of this segregation. The conceptual interdependence of population segregation with local water management and sewage engineering are discussed in Kneitz (2016).

Fandrych & Thurmair's (2011: 57) observation that negatively evaluated aspects of the travel destination are often downplayed or left out.

Narreme (1), describing the villages in the area of Tsingtau as impoverished and unimportant, often accompanies narreme (2). The forced resettlement of the local inhabitants is veiled, also in the colonial-time travel guides. If it is mentioned, it is usually done so by referring to a '(small/unimportant) fishing village', without mentioning the inhabitants.⁴³ Behme & Krieger (1904a–1910) speak of one 'ruined' village and a newly built one which they describe as having rectangular street intersections "like a chessboard dropped from heaven" (Behme & Krieger 1910: 72), thereby stylizing the German-constructed place in an almost mythological way. Winter (1911: 10) refers to the same new village, commenting that it was built by 'the Germans', and mentions one former village. In a similar way, one of the printed present-day travel guides (Füllung 2014: 216) mentions a former village in the area that allegedly existed until 1891. By continuing that, in 1915, the area was reshaped into a park he implies that the village somehow must have disappeared, but there is no explanation regarding how this happened.

Of the online sources, only the English and the Dutch Wikipedia entries for Qingdao mention the practice of colonial forced resettlement. The English entry cites Matzat (2003/2008)⁴⁴ in describing the resettlement process as a voluntary one. A comparison of the English translation with the German original shows, however, that the original makes clear that the resettlement did not occur due to the activity or wish of the people living there but that they had been either forced or strongly incited to sell their property.⁴⁵

The Dutch entry is among the shortest ones for Qingdao in the sample. It is the only one, however, that explicitly states that 'the local population near the coast was expelled' during the 'German period'.⁴⁶

Narremes (3) and (4) can be seen as extensions of narreme (2), with a focus on technological progress. They are less frequently mentioned in the sources but do occur with moderate frequency throughout historical as well as present-day sources. Examples for narreme (2) (including aspects of narreme (1) and (3)) are provided by the following excerpts.

⁴³ The aspect of 'negating' colonized people is taken up again in the final section.

⁴⁴ The Wikipedia entry refers to this source as Matzat (May 2003), but the text at the corresponding access link gives 2008 as the year of (online) publication (<https://tsingtau.org/landmann-gottfried-1860-1926-uhrmacher-optiker-bierbrauer/>).

⁴⁵ The section in the Wikipedia entry reads, "Having sold their property, they resettled their homes and fields in the villages further east". This information is attributed to Matzat (2003/2008). The original, however, reads, "die Gebäude waren die ehemaligen Häuser der Fischer und Bauern, denen man inzwischen ihre Häuser und Felder abgekauft und die man in die Dörfer weiter östlich umgesiedelt hatte." ('the buildings were the former houses of the fishermen and farmers from whom their houses and fields had been bought in the meantime and who had been resettled [lit.: 'whom one had resettled'] into the villages further east.') In the German original, it is clear that the 'fishermen and farmers' were not the initiators of this measure.

⁴⁶ "Gedurende de Duitse periode werd de lokale bevolking bij de kust verdreven."

Unter deutscher Verwaltung nahm Tsingtau dann einen ungeahnten Aufschwung. (...) Bereits im Jahre 1899 wurde der Bau der Eisenbahn nach Tsinanfu und des Hafens in Angriff genommen (...) Gleichzeitig wurden die Grundlagen geschaffen für den Ausbau der Stadt Tsingtau (...) Ein Straßennetz mit breiten Straßen wurde ausgelegt, Kanalisation und Wasserleitung mit einwandfreiem Trinkwasser, Elektrizitätswerk, Telephon und eine moderne Schlachthofanlage wurden geschaffen. Tsingtau als Stadt entwickelte sich schnell. (Haupt 1927: 17f.)

‘Under German administration, Tsingtau underwent an unexpected upswing. (...) Already in 1899, the construction of the railroad to Tsinanfu and the port was started (...) At the same time, the foundations were laid for the expansion of the city of Tsingtau (...) A road network with wide roads was laid out, sewers and water pipes with clean drinking water, power station, telephone and a modern slaughterhouse were built. Tsingtau as a city developed rapidly.’

Binnen weniger Jahre war aus einem kleinen Fischerdorf eine deutsche Musterstadt mit Ämtern, Villen und Kirchen geworden, die über das ausgebaute Bahnnetz mit Berlin verbunden war. (Schütte, Berger & Krüger 2011: 67)

‘Within a few years, the small fishing village had become a German model city with offices, villas and churches, which was connected to Berlin via the expanded railroad network.’

Im folgenden Jahrzehnt gründeten die Deutschen die spätere Tsingtao-Brauerei, Missionen und eine Universität, installierten elektrischen Strom und bauten die Eisenbahnverbindung nach Ji 'nan. (Harper et al. 2017: 250)

‘In the following decade, the Germans founded the later Tsingtao Brewery, missions and a university, installed electric power and built the railroad connection to Ji'nan.’

[Tsingtao], una ciudad de la provincia oriental de Shandong, bajo control de los alemanes, quienes convirtieron una humilde playa de pescadores en una próspera ciudad con universidad, iglesias, tren a Jin An, mansiones junto al mar, astilleros y plantas potabilizadoras de agua y, naturalmente, su fábrica de cerveza (...) (Wikipedia/Spanish: Cerveza Tsingtao [version of 30 Jan, 2020])

‘[Tsingtao], a city of the eastern province of Shandong, under the control of Germans, who turned a humble fishermen's beach into a prosperous city with a university, churches, train to Jin An, mansions by the sea, shipyards and water treatment plants and, of course, its beer factory (...)

Narreme (4) is exemplified in the following excerpt.

Es brauchte nicht lange, und die deutschen Kolonialisten hatten ein echtes “Musterländle” hochgezogen, sauber und ordentlich, und so sprach es sich unter den Ausländern in China rasch herum, dass “Tsingtau die gesündeste Stadt Asiens und ein bezaubernder Urlaubsort sei”. Der ist es auch heute noch, und man hat in der Stadt ein wenig den Eindruck, als befände man sich in einem deutschen Ort aus der Zeit vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg, so wie man es von alten Fotos kennt. (Fülling 2014: 208)

‘It did not take long, and the German colonialists had built a real “model province”, clean and tidy, and word quickly spread among foreigners in China that “Tsingtau is the healthiest city in Asia and an enchanting vacation spot”. It still is today, and in the city you get a little bit the impression of being in a German place from the time before the First World War, as you know it from old photos.’

The narremes identified here structure the perception of Tsingtau as a place being developed towards “civilization” by the colonial power. Such kind of representation shares parallels with the concept of allochronism (as developed by Fabian 1983 and later), a discursive power strategy conceptually repositioning the “other” in a different time frame that is considered to be rightfully subdued to the own position (since less ‘developed’ or ‘civilized’). This form of temporal control is an important component of the colonial gaze (cf. section 2.4 above and section 6 below). Fabian argues that

one of the most ancient rules [...] states that it is impossible for two bodies to occupy the same space at the same time. When in the course of colonial expansion a Western body politic came to occupy, literally, the space of an autochthonous body, several alternatives were conceived to deal with that violation of the rule. The simplest one [...] was of course to move or remove the other body. Another one is to pretend that space is being divided and allocated to separate bodies. [...] Most often the preferred strategy has been simply to manipulate the other variable – Time. With the help of various devices of sequencing and distancing one assigns to the conquered populations a different Time. (Fabian 1983/2014: 29–30)

Regarding Tsingtau/Qingdao, all three of these strategies can be observed. During the historical period of colonialism, the “autochthonous body” was physically removed by destroying earlier settlements and replacing them by a newly designed colonial town, Tsingtau, with segregated living quarters. In commodifying the colonial heritage in modern Qingdao, the historical buildings in the colonial-time section of the city are presented as an allochronic entity, not only fossilizing Qingdao’s past but even more so the imperial past of the German empire. Some of the travel guides use this allochronic positioning quite openly, for example Schütte, Berger & Krüger (2011: 67) (“Das ehemalige Tsingtau [...] mutet [...] bis heute mancherorts wie ein preußischer Kurort an“ ‘The former Tsingtau [...] still looks [...] like a Prussian spa in some places today’), Fülling (2014: 208) (“man hat in der Stadt ein wenig den Eindruck, als befände man sich in einem deutschen Ort aus der Zeit vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg” ‘in the city, one slightly has the impression of being in a German town from the time before the First World War’),

or Füllung (2015: 245) (“Bis heute fühlt man sich im alten Stadtzentrum in einen deutschen Ort aus der Zeit vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg versetzt.” ‘To this day, the old town center makes you feel like you've been transported to a German town from the time before the First World War.’) Thus, the historic part of modern Qingdao is discursively converted into a piece of ‘our’ own history (the perspective of the travel guides being the ‘we’-perspective). In this way, ownership as well as coevalness (that is, living within the same timeframe, in the sense of Fabian 1983) is denied to the current inhabitants of the place.

5. Discussion

The previous analyses have shown that there are indeed parallels between recent and colonial-times travel guides in the way they describe the travel destination they focus on. Two questions need to be answered in this respect: Do these parallels imply that colonial concepts and perspectives have been perpetuated through time? And: What is a colonial perspective in the case of travel guide descriptions? How is it expressed?

Regarding the second question, it has become noticeable that not all descriptions fit in the same pattern. Some are very clearly based on a fundamental assumption of a (colonial) power asymmetry, including conceptualizations of modernity/backwardness, cleanliness/dirt, etc. Others do not entail clear dichotomies. Also, even the colonial-time travel guides do not always transport colonial certainties. Power asymmetry exists across and beyond colonial borderlines and is perceived, as well as transmitted, as such. Members of the metropole society who travelled to Tsingtau in colonial times, or who were interested in reading about it, belonged to a certain social community (or class).⁴⁷ It is also their higher societal position that is alluded to when power structures are reflected in the travel guides.

If this is the case, the parallels between the historical and present-day sources reflect two (converging) kinds of beliefs or certainties. A colonial attitude can have been preserved and is applied in present-day sources unreflectedly (and unintendedly); and alongside with it, also a specific class attitude towards travelling to (formerly) colonial places may have been transmitted. Considering a possible effect on popular geopolitical knowledge, what is transferred into the present, then, is the construction of a “glorious past”⁴⁸ that is linked to (in this case, German) colonialism, subtly enriched with a narrative of modernity and progress brought to far-away places by progressive European traders, engineers, etc. This construction culminates in evidently false claims such as the alleged train connection between Tsingtau and Berlin (cf. section 4.7).

Dan et al. (2016: 580) point out that “the concept of scientific exploration is in fact a modern one: ancient expeditions [...] were always motivated by military or economic aims and made possible with the help of local people and their knowledge.” This assessment is true for modern colonialism, too, however: The increase of knowledge was

⁴⁷ Cf. Groeneveld 2019, especially 182ff.

⁴⁸ This is by no means intended to imply that addressees of such travel guides necessarily hold a positive or celebrative attitude towards the colonial past. Rather, when certain aspects of a travel destination's past are chosen to be highlighted, some of its features are foregrounded while others receive less attention. The analyses showed that certain aspects of Qingdao's German colonial past are accentuated in a way that contributes to creating the impression described here as that of a “glorious past”.

a by-product of colonial interests, and it was utilized as an instrument for the exertion of power. Within this context, travel guides from the colonial period also serve, at least in part, an economic purpose and one of cultural colonialism: to make the “colony” appear in a positive light (reflecting the colonizer’s achievements) to the population of the metropole, so socio-political and governmental support as well as an economic interest from investors and trading companies would be strong. In addition, attractiveness to potential/prospective governmental officials and employees may have been aimed at. It seems to have been one goal to conceptually integrate Tsingtau into the national space of the German Empire by way of increasing attractiveness and familiarity.⁴⁹

From a postcolonial perspective, the categories of knowledge and belief include colonial certainties which, within this dichotomic classification, would fall under the heading of beliefs. Examples of such beliefs are errors such as the alleged railroad line from Tsingtau to Berlin (Schütte, Berger & Krüger 2011: 67) or the pier that is attributed to German colonial construction activities, allegedly modelled on a similar pier in Germany (Hufschlag 2012; Fülling 2015: 245). Apparently underlying are colonial certainties, that is, a general belief or conviction that German colonialism brought progress and modernity in terms of technology and urban planning to Tsingtau. Misrepresentations as these appear to be cases of a concrete spell-out of this belief, here in obvious contrast to historically documented facts, i. e., to knowledge. They can be considered examples of popular geopolitical epistemes that reflect colonial attitudes.

According to Dan et al. (2016: 581),

[t]he empiricism, which is the first base of common sense, enables individuals from one social group or region – in some cases even from different communities and cultures – to share broad visions of the world, through common constructions of the reality, common frames of reference, and even common mental models of spaces.

(cf. also Thiering 2014 for similar considerations). This assumption, though stated for European classical antiquity, applies equally to the colonial metropole community. Shared constructions of the reality, common frames of reference and mental models of spaces are likely to have existed at least within the (targeted) audience of the historical travel guides. In contrast, since the readership of present-day travel guides (and related material) is probably more heterogeneous, transferability to these texts is not self-evident. Online travel information that is available in different languages (Wikipedia, Wikivoyage, newspaper articles) seems to point at differences in presuppositions and beliefs. This means, on the other hand, that within such language communities a relationship between mental models/frames of reference and “one social group or region” may apply here, too. Dan et al. refer to these communities as “epistemic communities” and continue that ‘common’ (as in ‘common sense [geography]’) should be understood to mean “shared knowledge, applied and discussed in intellectual circles and thus, forming the canonical level of knowledge.” (Dan et al. 2016: 581).

⁴⁹ Groeneveld (2016: esp. 70ff.) shows that Tsingtau was indeed seen and accepted as a part of the German Empire by the Germans living there.

Most likely, it was a central concern of the historical travel guides to create and shape such “shared” and “canonical” knowledge about Tsingtau. Writing travel guides and distributing knowledge was an effective means to control the development and spread of knowledge and beliefs about Tsingtau, a place few people knew from their own experience. Several re-editions of the Behme & Krieger travel guide (¹1904, ²1905, ³1906, ⁴1910 [in English]) reflect the strong demand for such information. The fact that hardly any alternatives existed highlights the extent to which Behme & Krieger must have dominated the “market” of popular knowledge and generally accessible information on Tsingtau. They were highly influential in shaping common knowledge and shared beliefs regarding Tsingtau between 1904 (first edition) and 1914 (when the political situation changed) not least through the notable number of photographs (by Behme) that were included.⁵⁰ Haupt (1927) cites Behme & Krieger and shows in many respects a conceptual vicinity to their representation of Tsingtau. It seems that Haupt was part of the same community with a common “frame of reference” and taking the same perspective, notwithstanding differences regarding aspects that had changed in the meantime (toponyms, (newly assigned) functions of buildings, etc.).

The situation seems different for present-day travel guides and related material on Qingdao, even though there is a similarly limited number of authors writing for various publishers. This restricted group also seems to achieve a sovereignty of interpretation, as did the historical travel guides. On the other hand, however, and in stark contrast to the historical situation, there are many more sources easily accessible now through the internet, not only different types of texts and information but also in different languages, so that the information is much broader. Nevertheless, we find an astonishing amount of parallels. They are, no doubt, partly due to general facts about Qingdao. But not least, they express a shared, or common, perspective on this (post)colonial place.

6. The tourist gaze and the colonial gaze

Krämer & von Sicard (2020: 82) point out that travel guides intend to “prepare the reader for an experience of difference while avoiding the risk of discomfoting them by openly challenging their self-perception”. This experience of difference includes notions of otherness that can echo colonial concepts. Such notions are not restricted to (formerly) colonial settings, as demonstrated by Baumann (2015: 45), who shows that in German travel guides for Italy, the tourist is sketched as the ‘representative of modern civilization’, and she diagnoses ‘a faint echo of the topos of the noble savage’ in the way the people living in the selected regions are depicted.⁵¹ The tourist gaze, enhanced by specific forms of presentation in travel guides and specific forms of travel, thus shapes a dichotomy in which tourists see themselves as informed while looking at the object of their curiosity, objectifying the people living in the visited places. In colonialism, this objectification is carried further and is marked by what Calvet (1978) sharply highlights

⁵⁰ Behme documented, in his more than 600 photographs, the colonial development of Tsingtau as well as the town’s Chinese regional environment. Only a small number of these photographs are included in the travel guide, but they cover a representative range of Behme’s motifs (cf. Hahn 1998).

⁵¹ “der Tourist als Vertreter der modernen Zivilisation (...) Anklänge an den Topos des ‘guten Wilden’” (Baumann 2015: 45)

as the negation of the people living in (formerly) colonized countries. He points out that ‘this contempt in the naming of the autochthons arises from a more general contempt for the peoples; the countries and their people did not exist at all prior to the arrival of the colonizers (since they did not have names, or at least acted as if they did not)’.^{52 53}

Is this negation repeated and continued in present-day travel guides and similar travel literature? Here, it is interesting to take a look at the pictures that are included. Regarding the colonial-time travel guides, the photographs show buildings, streets, landscapes but only rarely people, depicting silent, controlled or tamed locations. Often, the streets are empty or near empty. This is not only true for the Behme & Krieger editions that include Behme’s photographs. A comparison with pictures in a picture album (Tsingtau: Souvenir, ca. 1910) and the travel guides Tsingtauer Verkehrs-Ausschuss (1911), Winter (1911) and Haupt (1927) shows the same tendency. Held (2018: 6) points out that “the visual has a main role in tourism discourse, having long been the lens through which places are not only to be seen, but also to be ‘visioned’ (or imagined) in comparison with, or in opposition to the familiar world of everyday life.”

What is the role of this lens, or gaze, in travel guides and advertising material for destinations in postcolonial countries? Does it perpetuate a colonial perspective? While an in-depth exploration of this question is beyond the scope of this paper, we note that even today, travel advertisement for, e.g., African destinations tends to show landscapes, animals etc., creating the impression that there are uninhabited lands waiting to be explored. The two pictures below serve as an example of the parallel perspective. They are exemplary instantiations of the “promontory-witness motif” which, in Smith’s (2018: 188) terms, “scrubs the landscape of the tourist destination of any sign of human habitation but that of the tourist, singularly pictured in a position of mastery that confers possession over the destination.”

⁵² “[d]iese Verachtung in der Namensgebung der Autochthonen entspringt einer allgemeineren Verachtung für die Völker; die Länder und ihre Bewohner existierten überhaupt nicht vor der Ankunft der Kolonisatoren (da sie keine Namen hatten, oder sich zumindest so verhielten, als hätten sie keine) [...]” (Calvet 1978: 47)

⁵³ Colonial practices of negation can be carried out by different strategies. Naming is one central case. One anonymous reviewer pointed out correctly that in present-day postcolonial places with their multiply intertwined histories of colonization and decolonization, toponymies can be highly complex and include various languages of different status, and there is no simple answer on what is the “correct” name.



Figure 1. *Iltis-Berge in der Kaiserin-Auguste-Viktoria-Bucht* ('Iltis mountains in the Kaiserin-Auguste-Viktoria Bay')⁵⁴



Figure 2. *Waterberg-Plateau, Namibia*⁵⁵

7. Conclusion

Colonial-time travel guides are positioned at the intersection of colonialism and tourism discourse. Considering that “the ‘tourist gaze’ as a metaphoric reference frame [is] based on the discursively shaped place vision” (Held 2018: 6), the tourist gaze is comparable to the colonial gaze, a gaze that includes notions of power and possession.

In tourism discourse, space/place is re-interpreted as a commodity (cf. section 2), the experience of which can be sold and consumed. Colonial-time travel guides reflect the commodification of space and of a place, or, more specifically: the colonial commodification of a place. An important question (and one of the central ones of this paper) was whether present-day travel literature advertising the postcolonial geographical space (Qingdao) of a former colonial place (Tsingtau) exhibits colonial aspects in its commodification patterns and strategies, given that architectural and infrastructural traces of colonialism belong to the most marketable aspects of this location. The analyses have shown in what ways present-day travel literature continues to construct Qingdao as a European-colonial place.

Held (2018: 4) summarizes that “(...) tourism language turns out to be *an ideologically charged code-system* which, in both ways of writing and speaking, *produces and stages difference*.” (my emphasis, DS). This, clearly, applies to travel guides and travel information on formerly colonial travel destinations as well. It is something to be aware of when considering the role of these texts in the production of popular geopolitical knowledge and their potential interaction with decolonization processes.

⁵⁴ DHM Berlin, Inventarnr. Behme 129 (Fotograf: Friedr. Behme, 1897/1906, Tsingtau) <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/FUR4C67QGRVH25YI4SAEEYJ42TG4S7YN> (5 October, 2020).

⁵⁵ Travel brochure: DERTOUR-Katalog Afrika, Nov. 2020 – Okt. 2021 (p. 106) <https://www.yumpu.com/de/document/read/64124921/afrika> (5 October, 2020); <https://www.dertour.de/ibecontent/service-kontakt/online-kataloge> (5 October, 2020).

Appendix

Historical toponyms mentioned in the text & present-day correspondences
(For historical and current street names, see Table 3 in the text.)

Iltisberge	Tàipíngshān
(Kaiserin-)Auguste-Viktoria-Bucht	Huìquán wān
Kaiserstuhl	Wǔshān
Kiautschou	Jiāozhōu
Tsinanfu	Jīnán Fǔ
Tsingtao / Tsingtau	Qīngdǎo

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Fig. 1: Iltis-Berge in der Kaiserin-Auguste-Viktoria-Bucht. DHM Berlin, Inventarnr. Behme 129 (Photographer: Friedr. Behme, 1897/1906, Tsingtau) <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/FUR4C67QGRVH25YI4SAEYJ42TG4S7YN> (05 October, 2020).

Fig. 2: Waterberg-Plateau, Namibia. DERTOUR-Katalog Afrika, Nov. 2020 – Oct. 2021 (p. 106) <https://www.yumpu.com/de/document/read/64124921/afrika> [05.10.2020]; <https://www.dertour.de/ibecontent/service-kontakt/online-kataloge> (05 October, 2020).

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