

THE IMAGE OF JERUSALEM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TRAVEL BOOKS

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by

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1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

2. The advanced study in the English Language and Literature graduate program of which this thesis is part has consisted of:

- i) Research Methods courses both in the undergraduate and graduate programs.
- ii) English literature as well as American literature including novel, poetry and drama studies, a comparative approach to world literatures, and examination of several literary theories as well as critical approaches which have contributed to this thesis in an effective way.

3. This thesis is composed of the main sources including several books by the major authors discussed in comparison; and the secondary sources including scholarly articles from academic journals as well as newspaper articles, and theoretical books on the history and improvement of the feminist movement.

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ABSTRACT

THE IMAGE OF JERUSALEM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TRAVEL BOOKS

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The aim of this thesis is to discuss the image of Jerusalem from the perspective of three nineteenth century western protestant travelers; Pierre Loti, Mark Twain and William M. Thackeray. The travelers are deliberately chosen amongst those who are known as authors rather than travelers or explorers. Such choice is important to give emphasize the line between the fiction and reality. In the writings of the travelers, representations of Jerusalem are influenced by Protestant teachings that the writers raised by. Also while depicting the city, the writers benefited from their ability to create fiction to transfer their ideas and feelings about Jerusalem.

Key words:

Travel Writing, Jerusalem, Post-colonialism, Protestant Writers.

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KISA ÖZET

19. YY SEYAHATNAMELERİNDE KUDÜS TASVİRİ

Bu tezin amacı ondokuzuncu yy Avrupası Protestan yazarlarından Pierre Loti, Mark Twain ve William Thackeray'in seyahatnamelerinde tasvir edilen Kudüs tasavvurunu tartışmaktır. Bu seyyahlar özellikle asıl mesleği yazar olan kişiler arasından seçilmiştir. Şehir tasvirlerinde Kudüs hakkındaki fikirlerini okuyucuya iletirken yeteneklerinden fazlasıyla yararlanmaktadırlar. Eserlerindeki Kudüs temsilleri ise içerisinde yetiştikleri Protestan değerlerinin ışığında şekillenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Seyahatnameler, Kudüs, Sömürge Sonrası Edebiyat, Protestan Yazarlar.

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PREFACE

Jerusalem is one of the most appealing cities of the world because of its ancient and wealthy history. Both for Eastern and Western reader, it is the city which is seen too precious to abandon. Historically, Jerusalem has never been a monotype city. It has always been in the center of the national and especially religious debates. The situation is also true for the nineteenth century, the most productive area in which more than three thousand travel books have been written about Jerusalem by the Western writers. Naturally, the city is evaluated in regard to the dominant conjectures of the West. Here, despite the changing characteristics of the travel writing, particularly after the age of discovery, Jerusalem always protected its value as a destination point.

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INTRODUCTION

Jerusalem has always been in the middle of controversy between the East and the West. Travelers who visited the city can not stay impartial in this matter. Especially in the nineteenth century, Jerusalem and the Middle East is about to go through massive changes. Meanwhile, the declining economical and political status of the Ottoman State contributed the sufferings of the city and the geography it is located on. Therefore, the city visited by western travelers is both a part of a Muslim state and also fit in the Orientalist descriptions of the East in a form of economical and political poverty. By its multicultural structure the image of Jerusalem also provided a wealthy source for travelers to witness and testify the

In the first chapter of the thesis, travels to Jerusalem will be focused on through the historical development of the travel writing. Western travel writing in the nineteenth century takes more secular form in comparison to previous centuries. This secularization is caused by the developments in the technology of navigation and transportation. Consequently, Jerusalem as the primary destination of travel lost such a privilege. Travel is expected to be more of an exploration, rather than a pilgrimage.

The reader profile and expectation also influenced by the changes of technology. Especially after the printing press, travel writing appears as one of the major genres of prose writing. At the same time the new middle class constituted the reader necessary for the mass production of the books. The new middle class reader expected to hear from the different and remote corners of the world. Therefore, travel writing is seen as a source of information and communication. This changing role of travel writing affected the nature of travels to Jerusalem. Although the real

purpose of traveling to Jerusalem is always done for the better understanding of the Bible, nineteenth century travelers visited Jerusalem bearing the secularist intentions of the century. Especially Protestant travelers are disturbed by Jerusalem formed by Catholic and Orthodox Christianity.

In the chapter two, Mark Twain's *The Innocents Abroad or the New Pilgrim's Progress* will be evaluated. *The Innocents Abroad*, being one of the major travelogues of the American literature represents Jerusalem through the eyes of a patriot. Indeed, Twain's representation of city is not different from his pre-conditioned perspective in his overall travel. For Twain, visit to Europe is an attempt to underline his American identity. Similarly, his visit to Jerusalem tries to reveal how a modern American would behave in Jerusalem which includes different religious "others". Twain does not impress by the holy places and for the most of the time he is disturbed by witnessing the Muslim presence within the city.

In the third chapter, Pierre Loti's *Jerusalem* will be evaluated. As a well-known Oriental writer, Loti's visit to Jerusalem is depicted in his book through a tolerant perspective for the oriental "other". Actually "the other" for Loti is not a remote or foreign concept. Loti familiarizes and identifies himself with the Orient. Nevertheless, his tolerance does not include Jewish, Catholic or Orthodox parts of the city. Meanwhile, city's closeness to the original or nostalgic forms appears as an important criterion for Loti.

In the chapter four, William Makepeace Thackeray's *Notes of Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* is focused. Being the well-known writer of the middle-class England, Thackeray anticipates to the local public. Yet, like Twain and Loti, he also disturbed by the Catholic, Orthodox and Jewish presence in the city. Coming

from a family which has been in the colonial India, Thackeray is seen as a figure who is accustomed to “the other”. Although he accepts the social differences and complexity of the city, Thackeray cannot do the same for the history of Jerusalem. He accuses Jerusalem for having an extremely gory history.

In the conclusion, a comparative analysis of three travel writers will be done through formalistic and postcolonial examinations of representations of Jerusalem by the writers. The image of Jerusalem for these writers depends on the identity and perception types of these writers. Here, during the identity formation process, some specific changes happen on the psychological level. The identity of the traveler changes from being home, to being abroad. Usually, traveler evaluated its surroundings through a perspective of a foreigner. Yet, being located on the identity formation of a Christian traveler, Jerusalem represents an exceptional case. Despite his/her attempt to see a city fulfilling the expectations, particularly for a Protestant, Jerusalem appears as a place of disappointment. Firstly, Jerusalem’s Christian heritage is substantially formed by Orthodox and Catholic taste, and it is the city of the Christian conflicts. Secondly, the Oriental characteristic of Jerusalem is depicted through the writer’s pre-determinant ideas about the Orient. . Therefore, the image of Jerusalem for Loti, Thackeray and Twain is depicted through their previous perspectives.

CHAPTER 1

PLACE OF JERUSALEM IN WESTERN TRAVEL WRITING THROUGHOUT HISTORY

1.1. Travel Writing Throughout History

Travel writing, as a form of literature, exhibits features of fiction and reality simultaneously. In terms of its nature, it nourishes from journalistic, historical and literary sources. Travel writing has always been considered as a primary source for history but at the same time its validity as historical evidence has always been approached by a special suspicion due to its subjective structure. Meanwhile, travel writing exhibits enormous range of data in terms of postcolonial literature, especially after Edward Said's hugely influential book of *Orientalism*.

History itself is all but equated with the history of travel. Travel becomes the great common thread that explains nearly everything. Life itself, when elevated to the level of the meaningful, seems travel writ large. The children of Adam, unlike the animals, can live anywhere on earth. They are like the kings who move from villa to villa, or like the city-dweller (the habitable world is "like a great city") who goes down one street and up another." The children of Noe spread across the earth as "these first restorers of the human race." Abraham was one of the first travelers (*voyageurs*) mentioned in history. Socrates was the most splendid example of the cosmopolite. Hercules's journeys were legendary ... The voyages of Christ are something of an embarrassment, but ones quickly gotten over: Christ's voyages may not have been *longs* (a prized attribute in the modern dispensation of travel as represented by collectors), but at least they started almost at birth with the

flight into Egypt and were *continuels* during his ministry. The Apostles divided up the world among themselves. Paul, of course, was especially celebrated as a traveler. (Noonan 71)

It would be right to state that travel and travel writing construct most of the early historical events. A huge body of historical events contains in somehow, a story of a travel. Modern history in that sense is developed over the stories of travel. Especially for Abrahamic religions, the origins of mankind starts from the Middle East and spreads over the world, conjuring travel stories. In that sense, Jerusalem as the city praised by God of Abraham, witnessing many saints, prophets hold an exceptional volume in the body of travel writing. Starting from the earlier days of Christianity throughout the medieval ages, pilgrimage to Jerusalem stands as the primary destination for European travel writing.

The reason behind the popularity of Jerusalem is the religious reader profile. The key point is that in a world that, from *our* perspective, was medieval Christendom in the throes of becoming modern Europe, pilgrimage remained the literature of travel. The question is not whether pilgrims were the only ones out and about in the larger world (they clearly were not), but whether pilgrimage was overwhelmingly the kind of movement that was thought of as travel and that therefore deserved notice, a narrative, and a noetic framing. (Noonan 51)

Jerusalem is always considered as the destination for pilgrimage. Travels to Jerusalem are always done for better understanding of the Bible in which the Holy Land is the primary setting of its stories. Jerusalem has an endurable meaning for Christian mind as the city in which Jesus Christ lived and died. Nevertheless, the

meaning of Jerusalem has not been the same for Christianity. Samman examines the shift of the center of Christianity from Jerusalem to Rome.

The success of the Christian community, therefore, depended upon its ability to become versatile and mobile, most of all by freeing itself from the Temple of Jerusalem ... Many centuries after David's hard won efforts to locate Jerusalem and its Temple at the heart of Jewish sacredness, and only decades after the Temple was rebuilt by King Herod, this new Christian-Jewish sect attempted to transform the meaning of Jerusalem from a place belonging to God's Chosen People to a city belonging to the kingdom above. This move to disassociate itself from Jerusalem in the first two centuries would turn out to be the first major move of the Christian movement towards that elusive other kingdom, not the one in the heavens but rather the one, conveniently, located at the center of empire.

Paul understood this more clearly than any other figure in his time. He consciously negated many of the particularistic claims the Hebrew Scriptures offered, of which land in general and Jerusalem in particular played a central role. The method he adopts is one which would slowly but surely begin to break from a purely "Judeocentered" world view of Jerusalem and adopt an attitude that was more akin to notions of sacred space outside of Israel. This is one of the essential strategies that would ultimately transform this marginal Jewish sect into a powerful player in the Roman Empire. (72-73)

This shift from Jerusalem to Rome brings an important change of vision for the Christian perception of the city. By founding Rome as the center of the Christianity, Jerusalem, though never been completely forgotten, is intentionally

neglected to provide one supreme power center for Christianity, especially in the early periods. This is partly caused by the hidden struggle between the Eastern and Western Rome. The Eastern Rome as the strongest threat against Western Christian of the Rome conduces the concept of heavenly Jerusalem by reducing the importance of earthly Jerusalem.

On the other hand, by the spread of Islam, Byzantium begins to lose its power and eventually claims over the leadership of Christianity. The capture of Jerusalem by Muslims in 638 marks the politic and militaristic power of Islam in the geography. After Byzantium's call for help from the Western catholic brothers due to its increasing loss of power, the West decides to restart claiming the political dominance rights over Jerusalem. Later following several crusade attempts, a Christian kingdom is finally established in Jerusalem. Although the kingdom is ended by the Saracen recapture nearly a hundred years later, idea of the kingdom of heaven never diminishes in Christian ideology.

English (and in fact European) interest in the Near East came with the rise and spread of Islam all over the lands associated with the Holy Scriptures, as an antagonist religion to medieval Christianity, and this interest found its expression in the waves of pilgrimages to the Holy Land . Those pilgrimages took a peaceful character at the beginning, but later became militant and resulted in the short-lived Crusader-states in Syria and Palestine. The routes of the early pilgrims in the eastern Mediterranean were taken over as fixed routes by succeeding generations of travellers. The discovery of the rich Indian and Far Eastern merchandise by the mercantile adventurers and navigators of the 16th and 17th centuries revived the ancient importance of

the Near East as a bridge of communication and mediation between Europe and the East. (Hachicho 196)

Meanwhile Jerusalem continues to be the city of pilgrimage, and apart from a century long Christian reign, the city remained under Muslim dominion until the 20th century. Indeed, as a consequence of Ottoman sieges towards Europe and further into Asia and Africa, the entity of a superior power in the Holy Land assured a preset perception of travel to Jerusalem. “The fall of Constantinople in 1453, and particularly the Ottoman conquest of Jerusalem in 1516, the pilgrimage to the Promised Land of eternal life was not merely a purer and safer journey; it was the only journey possible,” says Bar-Yosef, “as the actual The Holy Land remained, for decades, virtually inaccessible.”(27). As a matter of fact, travel in the middle ages was a luxury, not open for public. Travelers in general belonged to a specified level of society.

Tourism as it is understood today is a relatively recent development. In this context, travel writing as a form of literature that needs a certain audience, should address the audience of the medieval setting, who are primarily interested in scholastic and religious literature. Therefore, even famous and rule-breaking voyages of Columbus are required to be seen as pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Although in the age of discovery a new kind of travel writing is going to appear, travel remains as pilgrimage in the middle ages.

Alter all, travelers who sound loudly in the modern ear—so loudly in fact that moderns are likely to mistake them for typical examples of “medieval” travelers ... were not typical of their times, nor had they given rise to a new travel literature in the fourteenth century. There were many Europeans

abroad in the East in the fourteenth century, but this reality was not reflected in the literature of the time. Reports of a Marco Polo and his like, whether or not harbingers of a future “modernity,” were oddities that existed in a sea of pilgrimage notices and narratives. Modern travel literature in the fourteenth century remained pilgrimage literature. (Noonan 50)

Nevertheless, the nature of travel was about to change through the 18th Century. The Europe was about to go through massive socio-political issues, which would be felt in every level of society. Especially as a result of several currents in religious thought like Renaissance, Puritanism and Protestantism, a new secular and more scientific world view was dominant in the general European approach. Especially following the industrial revolution, travel is also triggered as a means of discovery, which is seen by the different perspective to world. “By the end of the century, the newly enriched middle classes-products of the Industrial Revolution-who earlier would never have dreamt of crossing the channel, began touring abroad, many of them with their entire familie.” (Hachicho 7-8) The world now is required to be discovered and identified, which will lead to eventual colonialism of the world by European Orientalism.

Histories of Tourism demonstrated the onward march of modernism, as particularly expressed in the spread of the technology of steam, the telegraph, sanitation, urbanism and western science and medicine. In the European empires, travellers pursued an essentially schizophrenic purpose. On the one hand, they appeared to seek other cultures, of both past and present, other climes, other landscapes, other flora and fauna, sometimes other morals; on the other hand, they also charted the comforting extension

of what they saw as their own achievements and their own mores. For the British, being imperial was being modern and that was the fundamental value to which all other values referred. (Mackenzie 20)

The travel is now facing a new mission. It is the era called as the age of discovery. In terms of travel writing, the change reveals as the good indicator of the change in European mind. Even in the late 15th century, travels of Columbus require to bear the prestige which can only be obtained by pilgrimage to the Holy Land .

Columbus's focus on Jerusalem meant that his voyage had (in his mind) no autonomous nature of its own; lack of autonomy and novelty, however, was also a potential strength; for an account of a voyage that had retained a Jerusalem-centered focus would have found a ready place in late fifteenth - century travel literature. Such travels of discovery would have made immediate sense. Columbus in manuscript was a figure of transition and continuity in the history of travel rather than of disruption and revolution. Columbus's deeds and thoughts shared a preexistent tradition with Mandeville or with a work such as Pierre Dubois's early fourteenth-century on the *Recovery of the Holy Land* rather than with Marco Polo's *Il Millone*. (Noonan 53)

However, the change in both Columbus' travel and travel at large is destined to share the secularist and exploratory soul of the era. The growing popularity of discovery voyages, which are possible after the invention of better-built ships, conveys a nature of exploration and discovery. The new age in the travel writing

does not tolerate the former religion-oriented types of travels. Jerusalem as a destination lost its popularity of the former ages.

...it is to be clear that in an “age of discovery” denotes, or requires, not only an increase and rearrangement and deepening of geographical knowledge and perspective, but a transformation of travel itself. That an audience existed that was prepared to attend to such a new-travel can be inferred from the reception of Columbus’s letter, first primed in Spanish and immediately followed by translations into Latin ... These printed versions suggest possibilities; that the new discoveries will generate a literature of discovery; that the ethos and ambitions of discoverers will become lodged in Europe’s grid of preoccupations. But something more than an echo is required for the advent of a new age, something more than a letter reproduced again and again. Echoes cease to reverberate. They die out. (Noonan 55)

This changing nature of travel writing also contributed to the formation of a travel reader who shares the enthusiasm of discoveries. Travel writing used to be one of the main contributors to the general prose writing in the medieval literature whose main genres are poetry and drama. Always being in a mutual relation with prose writing, travel writing this time contributed to the visions of writers. “We took their effects, to the fruits they bore in geography, cartography, natural history, anthropology, astronomy, and to their capacity to produce data sufficient to fill the head of every European reader...we think of Montaigne -in his ruminations on cannibalism, for example- being fed by the reports of travelers.” (Noonan 63) By the time Jonathan Swift’s 1726 *Gulliver’s Travels* appearance, it reaches a great popularity in general Europe. It also emphasizes that the reader’s complete

familiarity to the travel writing. Indeed, cogency of the travel writing reaches to a level that an Irish priest requires to make a serious public announcement to state that the story is a work of fiction, not reality. (Urgan 471) The reader trusts travelogues' validity even to believe in giants, minuscule peoples as well as speaking horses. About the persuasiveness of *Gulliver's Travels*, Swift's identity as a cleric should also be noted. Jules Verne's science-fiction novels are obvious examples of the expansion of scientific improvement and exploration in the 19th Century. In this context, both the reader and the traveler of the nineteenth century feel themselves responsible for the pilgrimage-travel to Jerusalem in a new sense of travel. "Discovery was to become an embedded, integral, and inextricable element in modern Europe, much as pilgrimage had been in medieval Europe." (Noonan 61) Travel writing in the age of discovery in this context, undermined the value of classical travel writings to Jerusalem as a means for the better understanding of Bible. The travel collections as the valid form of publication for travelogues also emphasized the disfavor of Jerusalem as a destination of travel.

It is in the late Renaissance that travel writing finds itself with roughly two types of narratives: the logbooks and journals of sailors and explorers collected avidly by Haklyut and others for a reading public eager to have them, and these newer works whose narrator comes unabashedly to the forefront of his own tale. Both types of narratives—the scientific and the sentimental—would eventually become the two dominant models for the travel genre. (Blanton 11)

Travels to Jerusalem, then, fails to be the interesting destination for readers. By the fading influence of Bible as a device for interpreting the world, Jerusalem's

popularity as a destination weakens. In the age of discovery, the new trend focuses on the rest of the world which is exotic and undefined, compared to Jerusalem. “Collections of travels had always articulated a cultural agenda. They had been about heroes (Columbus above all) and about high purposes almost as much as they had been about navigational technology, newfound real estate, and commercial possibilities.” (Noonan 77) By the new discovery phenomenon, travel collectors are required to keep an eye on the fashion of the era. “Nothing could seem more remote to the eighteenth-century collector or historian than bygone days of voyaging on inland seas that had been left far behind in the wake of discoverers’ marvelous deeds. And most remote of all, it seems, were voyages from Europe across the Mediterranean to the derelict port of Jaffa” (Noonan 72). But the popularity of Jerusalem is eternal and many travels to the Middle East, the Holy Land and Jerusalem are undertaken between the 17th and 19th centuries. Consequently, undiminished travels to Jerusalem shift their structure. Growing colonial race and new political movements contribute to this change, as well.

Indeed we often miss the fact that the British and other empires were not only empires of war, of economic exploitation, of settlement and of cultural diffusion. They were also increasingly empires of travel. They were playgrounds for the rich or the merely comfortable. They were places where various forms of cultural heritage could be explored. As well as locations for the spread of Christianity, the supposed working out of a divine and evangelical purpose, they offered the best evidence of progress, that defining bourgeois philosophy of the age. (Mackenzie 19)

Russia-Ottoman Wars threatened British interests in the Levant, causing rising interest in the Ottoman Land, including the Holy Land. The loss of power will eventually cause the Ottoman State to follow a skillful balance policy in the 18th and the 19th centuries. Therefore, while the growing power of Russia appears as a possible threat to British interests, Ottomans are able to ask for help from the European forces against the Russians.

The increasingly aggressive behavior of Russia and Austria towards the declining Ottoman Empire was becoming an alarming threat to British trading interests in the Levant...Britain had formed the Triple Alliance with the United Provinces and Prussia *against* Austria in 1788; and by 1780 all parties were eager for peace between Turkey and its aggressors, not least because the Triple Alliance were anxious to direct their energies against the tide of the French Revolutionary army. With the turmoil, indeed even disintegration of European affairs, following a decade on from the loss of America, it seems likely that Britain was anxious to preserve trading links with a safely weak but intact Ottoman Empire, which might indeed offer itself as an arena ripe for colonial domination by British rather than Russian or Austrian interests. (Turner 115)

Loss of power of The Ottoman Empire which had been the most threatening force against Europe affected the Western point of view towards the Middle East. In the 18th and the 19th centuries Ottoman land is regarded as the land which has to be shrunk. This dividing process can be realized either as direct invasion or by supporting national minorities in their efforts for individual nation states. Considering the historic and religious links, Jerusalem cannot be an exception.

While the mercantile activities of the Levant Company were fading out at the end of the 18th century, and while Britain's conviction in the futility of Near Eastern trade blinded her to the strategic importance of Egypt as a stronghold of India, Napoleon was planning to make Egypt the base from which he could direct his blow at British India. The Napoleonic campaign against Egypt was a surprise even to the sharp-eyed and alert-minded Nelson; but it was successfully checked by British naval and military operations which ended with the French evacuation and a short period of Anglo-Turkish administration... The Napoleonic and subsequent British campaigns close a chapter, and open a new one in the history of European-Near Eastern relations in general, and Anglo-Egyptian in particular. (Hachicho 198)

Actually, the sovereign power of Egypt appears as the determining factor for the image of Jerusalem in Western mind. Egypt particularly after the construction of the Suez Channel becomes one of the conflict points among the colonialist empires, especially Britain and France. The characteristic of Jerusalem as main destination for pilgrimage and travel which is destined to be foreign land under Muslim occupation, changes by Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798. "It was only the Napoleonic scheme that made the English change their outlook and attitude, and that brought the Near East into the foreground and made it important for British interests during the 19th century." (Hachicho 199) As an incident which revives the ancient crusader soul, the invasion triggers the conception of Jerusalem as the place to be colonized.

Napoleon's 1799 campaign marked the emergence of the Eastern Question, which dominated nineteenth-century diplomacy: how much of the Ottoman

Empire had to be preserved, and in what form, to protect the interests of each of the European powers? With its strategic location and religiocultural significance, Palestine soon became central to this struggle. (Bar-Yusef 61)

The perception of the Middle East is also affected by the Napoleon's and later British invasions of Egypt. Said says that for the English travelers or the Orient "India, of course, an actual British possession; to pass through the Near Orient was therefore to pass en route to a major colony. Already, then, the room available for imaginative play was limited by the realities of administration, territorial legality, and executive power." (Said, Orientalism 168) Therefore, Jerusalem as a part of the Orient also signifies an important geopolitical meaning for European debate over the colonization of the world. "England had defeated Napoleon, evicted France: what the English mind surveyed was an imperial domain...from the Mediterranean to India. To write about Egypt, Syria, or Turkey, as much as traveling in them, was a matter of touring the realm of political will, political management, political definition." (Said, Orientalism 169) Said also claims that the British dominion over Egypt affects the French perception of the Middle East. According to him, a French traveler suffers from the loss of the political privilege;

In contrast, the French pilgrim was imbued with a sense of acute loss in the Orient. He came there to a place in which France, unlike Britain, had no sovereign presence. The Mediterranean echoed with the sounds of French defeats, from the Crusades to Napoleon. What was to become known as "la mission civilisatrice" began in the nineteenth century as a political second-best to Britain's presence. Consequently French pilgrims from Volney on

planned and projected for, imagined, ruminated about places that were principally in their minds... (Said, Orientalism 169)

Therefore, both for English and French travelers of the nineteenth century, visits to the Jerusalem are possible under some preset circumstances. Indeed, these political argumentations over the meaning of the Middle East, including Jerusalem can easily be applied to general European traveler's perceptions. The Holy Land which is deeply linked to their own identity is occupied by the other, especially by a force which has been the most eminent rival for centuries. Furthermore, unlike the previous centuries, in the nineteenth century, this occupation is possible to be ended by the new, strong colonial economy and military. So for a nineteenth century traveler, multicultural complexity of Jerusalem is a thing which is pretty much avoidable.

New travelers constructed their identity by traveling among the other. "Discovery became a mirror in which Europe glimpsed its heroic self in the foreground of an ever expanding background" (Noonan 64). The eighteenth century is the age of discovery, which is heroic and secular in essence. "By the early nineteenth century, travel writing had clearly become a matter of self-discovery as well as a record of the discovery of others." (Blanton 13) Discovery thought of Europe is also the discovery of its national identity. "Discovery also taught, however, lessons of brawn and love of liberty, and helped to define national identity in relation both to other European nations and to those outside the European community." (Noonan 78) Starting in the 18th and continuing to the 19th century, the success of a travel book comes from its ability to present the reader with good

heroic stories of different worlds. That is why Said describes travel books as one of the main contributors to the Orientalist knowledge.

1.2. Narration: the Legacy of Travel Books

Travel books or guidebooks are about as “natural” a kind of text, as logical in their composition and in their use, as any book one can think of, precisely because of this human tendency to fall back on a text when the uncertainties of travel in strange parts seem to threaten one’s equanimity. Many travelers find themselves saying of an experience in a new country that it wasn’t what they expected, meaning that it wasn’t what a book said it would be. And of course many writers of travel books or guidebooks compose them in order to say that a country is like this, or better, that it is colorful, expensive, interesting, and so forth. The idea in either case is that people, places, and experiences can always be described by a book, so much so that the book (or text) acquires a greater authority, and use, even than the actuality it describes. (Said, Orientalism 93)

The Orient in travel books is shaped according to the descriptions of travelers. Thus, the traveler is the one that discovers the world and gives new meanings to it. For the reader of the age of discovery, travelers are the heroes who conquer the world. It should be noted that each traveler does not have to be a soldier or a crusader, armed from tip to toe. The conquest of the world is the one which is done through intellect and descriptions. Under the light of colonialism, the conquest of the world depends on the knowledge of “the other”. Therefore, if travel writing lacks the personal characteristics of the conquest, it decreases the quality of the book.

It is the traveller’s individual personality and literary power, shining throughout the account, that really give a lasting merit to a travel-book. In

earlier times, when readers knew less about other parts of the world, their curiosity was satisfied by stories about completely, or partly, new areas, and they were ready to pardon a weak style, and wander with great patience through long and weary journeys under the traveller's guidance. But with the continuous development of technical science and modern means of communication, there will be hardly anything new left for a traveller to communicate to his readers. Then, the only books of travel that will survive will be those "in which the personality and literary power of the writer count for more than his theme, books which need not treat of anything new, but merely of something sufficiently unusual to provide an interesting topic for a writer who, in any case, would be interesting." (Hachicho 173)

Travel books as works of fiction follow a simple narrator structure. This actually, on the other hand, makes it harder to reach a certain quality in a travel book which would meet the high expectations of the 19th century reader. "Even the travel-books that have been considered of some literary value are very few in number, and their writers are known rather as authors than as travellers, whereas most writers on travel are remembered as travellers rather than as authors." (Hachicho 172) That is to say that in the 19th century success of a travel book comes from its ability to use literary techniques. Nevertheless, as Blanton states, travel narrative traditionally has to develop on a determined agenda:

What may go further toward explaining travel literature's longevity is its narrative power, both literal and symbolic. The travel narrative is a compelling and seductive form of storytelling. Its reader is swept along on the surface of the text by the pure forward motion of the journey while being

initiated into strange and often dangerous new territory. The traveler/narrator's well-being and eventual safe homecoming become the primary tensions of the tale, the traveler's encounter with the other its chief attraction. Indeed, the journey pattern is one of the most persistent forms of all narratives—both fiction and nonfiction. Works as various as the *Odyssey*, *Gilgamesh*, *Moby-Dick*, and the travel books of Mungo Park, Gertrude Bell, and Jan Morris all follow this ancient pattern: departure, adventure, and return. (Blanton 2)

Therefore, in the 19th century in order to write a good travel book, the narrator is both required to follow the natural pattern of the travel and at the same time he is required to put innovative and realistically attractive elements into his or her travelogue. This may be accomplished through fulfilling the requirement of Blanton's destination adventure and return pattern, yet the narration also needs to reflect the narrator's inner world, observations, definitions, emotions and thought so that it would attract reader's attention. Every travel is in essence a heroic action and every travel book tells the story of a round-trip voyage by following the same pattern. So as a work of literature, travel writing is, in a way, a monotonous genre.

Even though a few travel-books have distinguished themselves as masterpieces of literature, this distinction is due to the intricate literary qualities of the writers in one limited field of human expression: the descriptive. There is much entertainment in a travel-book, but it lacks the exposition and treatment of human problems, whether individual or social, and, unlike authors of other literary fields, the writer of travel-literature is hardly given sufficient scope for literary and artistic creation. Yet, it would be unjust to deny completely any place for travel-books among other literary

categories. But it must be stated that its rank remains modest and secondary.

(Hachicho 184-85)

Despite this uni-color or secondary structure of travel writing, they have undiminished popularity. Especially for 18th and 19th century reader, travels are the source of inspiration. Although most of the world has already been visited before, the new and up to date stories of the world are required to be told. By the help of improvements in transportation and expansion of colonial empires, the world is an exciting concept. Moreover, travel writing is still a valid form of communication with the world in the 18th and 19th centuries. “They are the earliest accounts that really paved the way for the modern English travel movement to the Near East, and they were the first relatively reliable source of information for the English public about this area.” (Hachicho 199) According to Hachicho, the popularity of travel book is also caused by what it means to the reader. For him another factor:

...that contributes to the popularity of travel-books in general are the readers themselves. In reading a travel-book, the ordinary reader has only one desire: “to escape from the circumstances of his every-day life into a new glamorous world. The reader of travel-books is the supreme escapist.” Braaksma calls him “a pure romantic at heart,” and refers to the literature of travel as “the crudest and the purest form of romantic literature.” This shows itself with particular clarity during the late eighteenth century, preceding the Romantic Movement. A strong passion for the picturesque possessed men of the time, and travellers with the taste for scenery went in search of the romantic and the picturesque. Thus travel-books became “an important ingredient in the

general ferment of the pre-Romantic period, satisfying a craving for remoteness both in space and in time.” (Hachicho 173-74)

Popularity of travel book, in that sense, comes from its close relationship with a literary movement, for the 18th and 19th centuries, romanticism. Travel narratives are better when they use the story structure. Similarly, Blanton states that low quality travel writing is caused by the low level of personal evaluation of the travel:

These two types — neither pure as we shall soon see — adopt different narrative strategies. The impersonal journey narratives usually have a rather flat, linear structure — flat in the sense that there is no rising and falling action, no organizing dramatic strategy. The events are reported chronologically, following the itinerary of the trip. On the other hand, a more consciously crafted work of travel literature, while usually existing within a chronological framework, often borrows from the world of fiction to establish motivation, rising and falling action, conflict, resolution, and character. (Blanton 4)

Therefore, structurally speaking, the narrative form of travel writing has an effect upon the quality of the travel book. It should also be considered that the quality of a travel book which has to follow the logical patterns of departure, adventure and return, also benefits from the narrative style of the literary compositions. Hence, any description of travel demands a proper literary ability to use tools that will enable travel story to emphasize rising action, climax and falling action structure. In a closer examination, this classical narration technique with ups and downs is the one which renders the well-being of the travel book. Generally the

rising action of the narration can be observed in an introductory part of a new destination. Introductory pages of a new place and its significance in the general voyage demonstrates the rising action of the narrative. The climax, then, is the confrontation of the place, while the departure from the place can be seen as the falling action part. Therefore, to reach a certain level of quality in travel writing, vividness of the introductory rising action part and the climax in which the incidences in the destination is told, comes out the main determinant of the narration. Actually it is the writer himself, which determines the utilization of these elements. Both as the narrator and the writer of the story, the role of the traveler goes further than its appearance in the book.

As every travel writer knows, maps and books can tell only part of the truth. By what process, using what models, does the traveler presume to describe, to interpret, to represent people and places who are other to him? What encounter is included, what person omitted? What vistas extolled, what river left behind? Despite these very real difficulties, every travel writer also knows that he or she will find a way. And the large, unruly, amorphous set of discourses we call “travel literature” is a testament to that effort. (Blanton 1)

The one-dimensional narrative style, of course, is most common among the classical travel books, in which the travel is the main action. But then, the literary quality of the narration in travel writing ought to be supported by the secondary adjunct elements. The characterizations and quoted stories within the narration belong to these assistant tools. The vividness of the story is possible through the success of its characters. In that sense, narrator, as the protagonist of the story, is the main actor who determines what to say next. Narrator’s descriptions, thoughts and

feelings about the destination, therefore, are the causal factors in the presentations of the place. Therefore, by using these techniques, its traveler's responsibility to make cementation or definition of a place, incident or person he meets in the destination. In Orientalist terms, it is also this necessity of labeling that delivers the colonial messages to the reader.

1.3. Jerusalem and the Formation of Identity

Categories of “home” and “not home” in both of these narratives, in other words, appear to be stable and clearly set forth: the traveler-narrators here not only know their own desire—know what they do and what they do not like—they also know where in the space of their travels they reach the limit of their desires’ satisfaction. They appear to know in all certainty, in other words, where the line of racial otherness begins. (Lomperis 150)

Therefore, traveler who is telling the story of moving from home to a destination comes to a full realization of his own personality and especially in more specific terms his national identity. Considering Jerusalem, an integral part of the traveler’s identity, the descriptions takes a preset form. “But still, English travellers to the Arab Near East in the eighteenth century, though less in number and different in their outlook and approach, have to be studied as a prelude to an age when the Near East became well known to almost every English reader.” (Hachicho 10)

Pilgrims of Jerusalem are travelers from the West who came to find themselves.

Every pilgrim sees things his own way, but there are limits to what a pilgrimage can be for, to what shape and form it can take, to what truths it reveals. All pilgrimages to the Orient passed through, or had to pass through, the Biblical lands; most of them in fact were attempts either to relive or to liberate from the large, incredibly fecund Orient some portion of Judeo-Christian/Greco-Roman actuality. For these pilgrims the Orientalized Orient, the Orient of Orientalist scholars, was a gauntlet to be run, just as the Bible, the Crusades, Islam, Napoleon, and Alexander were redoubtable predecessors to be reckoned with. Not only does a learned Orient inhibit the

pilgrim's musings and private fantasies; its very antecedence places barriers between the contemporary traveler and his writing... (Said, Orientalism 168)

Jerusalem as the three times holy city, exhibits a definite but not specified or identified character. Jerusalem belonging to the religious past of the Christian history represents the most fundamental part of the traveler's identity. On the other hand, as a part of the Orient, it is also the city that belongs to the inferior other. But the meaning of Jerusalem in general travel writing has always been romanticized by its direct connection to Western identity.

One of the strangest things for me to grasp is the powerful hold the locale must have had on European crusaders despite their enormous distance from the country. Scenes of the crucifixion and nativity, for instance, appear in European Renaissance paintings as taking place in a sort of denatured Palestine, since none of the artists had ever seen the place. An idealized landscape gradually took shape that sustained the European imagination for hundreds of years. (Said, Orientalism 180)

Nevertheless, especially by the reformation process in Christianity, Jerusalem also appears as a source of confusion for Western travelers. Especially for Protestant travelers, the image of Jerusalem signifies a different characteristic. It is a city that has been formed and even imagined by the Catholic and Orthodox faiths. In the nineteenth century, the travelers often confuse and trouble about this imagination of Jerusalem's sanctities. They often tend to detect the touch of Catholic faith in the determination of the sacred sights, and so their pilgrimage is spoiled.

Finally, before closing this chapter, I would like to point out some of the important characteristics of Protestant thought. In terms of Jerusalem, it should be noted that pilgrimage is not a necessity as it is for Muslims, and it is also quite rare among Protestants to visit Jerusalem in comparison to Catholics. As it is stated in the definition of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Protestantism depends on the acceptance of the Bible as the sole source of revealed truth and the doctrine of justification by faith alone. “Protestants reject any kind of two-tier spirituality (clerical/monastic and lay); a lay spirituality based on Bible reading and a high standard of personal morality have been the norm. In general Protestant worship is marked by the participation of the whole congregation, by the public reading of the Bible in the vernacular, and by an emphasis on preaching.” Therefore, it is always be on mind that in a city like Jerusalem, probable perception of a Protestant depends on a simpler connection with the God. Since Bible is the primary source, the expected behavior of a Protestant is not limited by devoted religious biases and Jerusalem is, hence, seen by a more daring perspective.

CHAPTER 2

MARK TWAIN

2.1. *The Innocents Abroad* as a Travel Narrative

Thousands of miles were passed over, Europe, Asia and Africa visited by the party. Fortunately, among the group one whose ready and facetious pen has been able to do something like justice to the thousands of queer and ludicrous incidents which must have occurred, and to the many adventures that must have been encountered in these travel by sea and land; one who had the forethought to secure his memorandums upon the spot, and who relates things as they occurred, without fear or favor, and describes places and things as they really without prejudice or bias.

Prospectus blurb (1869)

As it is stated in the prospectus poster of the book, *The Innocents Abroad* is a travel writing “being some account of the steam ship Quaker City’s pleasure excursion to Europe, and the Holy Land : with descriptions of countries, nations, incidents and adventures as they appeared to the author”. Even from the advertisement, the subjective nature of Twain’s travel account can easily be observed. This subjectivity is not for the evaluation of the places, incident or people but, it does not mean there is not such an evaluation. Twain’s humor and criticism bring the evaluation and this evaluation is provided by the freedom of modern tourism. The travel is innovative, and so does the tourism in the era when the book is written. “It was to be a picnic on a gigantic scale” (Twain 19). Here, it should be noted that travel for pleasure is quite an innovative concept even for the nineteenth century reader.

In this context, writing the travelogue of a pleasure trip is also an innovative style of travel writing. Travel during the middle ages used to carry a higher purpose like religion and by the age of discovery, travel is the tool of exploration of the new scientific or nationalistic spirit. Therefore, traveling for pleasure is a new form, as much as writing about it. Besides, to write an account of a pleasure trip encloses book more to fiction, since it gives writer more free space to write whatever he or she pleases. Since there are no serious expectations from the trip, except for the documentation of the pleasures of the journey. Since the travel is supposed to be for pleasure, anything which would enable it is welcomed, unlike a tourist guide, informative book or account of a pilgrimage.

The Innocents Abroad owns its well-known fame to Mark Twain, who not only wanders the old world, but also gives reader a perfectly enjoyable book, even after its prejudicial narrative and quickly made descriptions. Twain's success in composing absurdities makes the book one of the most prominent travel narratives ever written. The key element behind the success of the book is Twain's ability to detect comical nuisances even in the most serious situations. Nevertheless, the element that brings this comicality and the success lies in Twain's self-confident identity, which is in numerous incidences proved and proud to be American.

The Innocents Abroad is the travel book which visits Europe and the Holy Land, yet it also represents the cities and nations through stereotyping, exaggeration, and generalization. The elements of criticism and humor used in *The Innocents Abroad* serve for two main purposes; how America is different from Europe and the Old World, including the Holy Land and how an American with his independent

character would see the world. Twain's Jerusalem reproduces a city unmasked by screening the absurdities of the Christian superstitions and fatuous Muslims within.

One of the characteristics of literature is, no matter if it is a part of an actuality or fiction, to form a reality. That is to say literature represents different situations, but it is done by creating its own alternative reality. Therefore, for travel writing the representation of reality is formed through literature and its loyalty to truth depends on the objectivity of the writer. The closeness between the alternative reality and actual reality depends on the capability and choices of the writer. *The Innocents Abroad*, we see representations of cities through Twain's imagination and when the case is Jerusalem, it can be claimed that this representation bears diversity.

2.2. Understanding Twain as a Critic and Twain as a Humorist.

On Twain's criticism in *the Innocents Abroad*, McCloskey underlines Twain's unrestricted perspective for an American of the 19th century. However, he combines Twain's negativism in the second half of the travelogue to the travel wariness, which he claims Twain has after Italy (151). According to McCloskey, Twain's representation of the places he visited, against the agreement of many critics, follows unexpected pattern of a traveler who is able to feel enthusiastic about visiting new places. Although McCloskey builds his argument against the common view of critics, Mark Twain as a fanatic nationalist, he acclaims that Twain has views of an ordinary travel writer. Actually, Twain's ideas can neither be restricted to a stereotypical American Yankee, nor can possible weariness be denied, and naturally these have affected Twain's perception and writing. However, as McCloskey accepted -as well as many more critics including Twain himself- Twain is not able to evade his prejudices against Catholics, and in a larger sense against his strong personal perception of "the other". Yothers says,

Twain presents himself as an American Everyman—skeptical, shrewd, businesslike, considerably less cultured than the real Samuel Clemens, and invariably candid in his reporting of his impressions. Twain's account of the Holy Land therefore becomes, more than any of the previous accounts, an account of the American psyche as well. (96)

The Innocents Abroad can be regarded as a manifestation of Americanism in many extents. Being a Yankee, even calling himself so, Twain compares everything to its American counterparts, like comparing streets of Broadway to ones in

Jerusalem or Anylake to Lake Tahoe. Therefore, his American identity is the chief device through which Twain sees the world. But this vision is not to be found in modern travel writings, rather a perception lacking the ability to define its own shortcomings. Mark Twain is an American who lived in a period where colonialism and imperialism is deeply felt. The world which Mark Twain visited is the one before the two world wars and belongs to an old world order.

Fleck states that starting from the beginning of *the Innocents Abroad*, Twain compares the America and Europe and later Middle East, which later turns to the evaluation of humanity through a standard of judgment (42). Fleck's theory of Twain having a specific criterion behind his evaluations of otherness is suitable for his narration throughout the book. Fleck explains further that Twain does not use any American cross references, but rather "...any nation approximating his international social philosophy would serve as example. He is, indeed, measuring nations X, Y, and Z according to the universal standard of the welfare of common man." (45) Nevertheless, somehow Twain's severest criticism can be observed on religious differences.

According to Fishkin, one of the major points in *The Innocents Abroad* "is the crass commodification of the cultural and religious sites being visited" (63). Catholics are the confessed example of Twain's preconceived labeling, since Twain admits in *the Innocents Abroad* that he is raised against anything Catholic. However, representation of Muslims receives the most malicious criticism relatively to any other in the book. Therefore, even if there is a criterion of welfare; by his pessimism over Catholic and especially Muslim worlds, Twain proves that *The Innocents*

Abroad carries a significant religious intolerance. At this point, while it is hard to agree to the existence of an objective criterion, Robinson's theory of Twain's binary consciousness in his travel books exhibits a better understanding of Twain's moments of enthusiasm, in which he tends to pass his negative opinions to the reader.

Thus to look at Venice (or any other prominent tourist site) from a distance is to be placed in a frame of mind characterized by "dreamy," moonlit, artificial perspectives on the past in which the romantic deeds and style of aristocratic antiquity are viewed with respectful awe and wide-eyed credulity...Naples up close is a broadside of "disagreeable sights and smells"; but to survey it "in the early dawn from far up on the side of Vesuvius, is to see a picture of wonderful beauty". "A street in Constantinople is a picture which one ought to see once—not oftener"; but to view the city "from a mile or so up the Bosphorus" is to be pleasantly reminded of "the quaint Oriental aspect one dreams of when he reads books of Eastern travel." Surveyed from the proper distance, "Constantinople makes a noble picture."(Robinson 51)

In his evaluation of *Patterns of Consciousness in The Innocents Abroad*, Robinson talks about binary sensibilities in Twain's writing. According to him, Twain's consciousness works in a binary reality. Things Twain sees in a distance are more favorable than enclosed descriptions. Indeed, this binary structure is both an intentional and unintentional choice. It both helps Twain to make comparisons to constitute his evaluations of the places or people he witnessed and also unintentionally drives the narrative away from the boundaries of reality.

This pairing of points of view is quite evidently related to prominent juxtapositions of Venice by night and by day, in moonlight and in sunlight, in “dreamy” and in fully waking states of mind, as it was in the past (both in history and personal memory) and as it is in the present, and as it is experienced in art and in “reality”. Such related perspectives, all featuring a variation on the contrast between proximate and distant points of vantage, are cognate with thematic oppositions between romance and realism, the “literary” and the “vernacular” styles, “pilgrims” and “sinners,” Europe and America, and, by extension, with a whole world of highly polarized cultural—social, political, religious—values. (Robinson 51)

The binary consciousness is an utterly correct detection. That proves a major characteristic of Twain’s *Innocents Abroad*: Twain uses fiction and imaginary situations in his descriptions, which also unsurprisingly brings implausibility to representation of reality in his travel book. This would be regarded as an expected situation from the most celebrated American fiction writer. Twain’s ideology and his predetermined mental representations of the cities crash with the realities of them as juxtapositions of close up vs. panoramic or real vs. imaginary. As a fiction writer, Twain tends to like what he sees through his imagination and so the reality he witnesses disappoints him. Twain’s binary consciousness also helps to explain his later contradiction to the perfectionist views of previous traveler writers of Jerusalem, as much as his disappointment in the Holy Land.

It should be noted that Twain himself believed in the importance of travel to overcome “prejudice, bigotry and narrow-mindedness” (650), which he felt through

his journey. Especially Jerusalem, The Holy Land and Palestine are places about which he mentions the misinformation and indirections of other travelers before him. Particularly coming from a Protestant background, pilgrimage to the Holy Land is one of the most important methods that would offer him a better understanding of the Bible, the unique source of Christianity. Jerusalem is the city which belongs to his past and his personal identity. While evaluating the journey, in the last pages of *the Innocents Abroad* Twain recognizes that he “must try to reduce [his] ideas of Palestine to a more reasonable shape” (486). So, Twain recognizes that Palestine in his imagination is different than the real city. Therefore, the binary consciousness works perfectly during his visit to the Holy Land. Twain’s negativism over Catholics, Muslims and welfare of individuals oppose to his ideal picture of Holy Land.

Writing about Jerusalem in *The Innocents Abroad*, Twain’s biggest impression of the city can be summarized as a big disappointment. From all cities and nations he visited, Twain’s perception of the Holy Land is unique. As Fleck states, “The ironic thing for Twain was that of all foreign nations he had seen during the 1867 voyage of the Quaker City, the most unholy, wretched of places were the Holy Land s themselves” (46). For Twain, the reason behind his disappointment underlines irony of the meaning of Jerusalem and the Holy Land for a believer. After all, The Holy Land is part of Twain which he has been hearing and reading about since his childhood. Thus, he recognizes the misrepresentations of other writers. As McCloskey says:

The Holy Land , Twain reported, was hot, dirty, and ugly. The scenery was dismal, monotonous, and uninviting. “It is a hopeless, dreamy, heart-broken land.” It was populated by people little better than squalid, ignorant savages, diseased, filthy, and sunk in beggary. He exposed the cant and second-hand enthusiasms of travelers and the romantic exaggerations and false theatricalities of travel books about the Holy Land . His journey through Syria and Palestine left him disillusioned and cynical. (McCloskey 150)

According to Fleck, this misrepresentation of the Holy Land also helps Twain’s personal development; Fleck claims that Twain is introduced to inferior lifestyle of the other nations for the first time. This will help Twain’s later humanist and democratic ideas and political stand:

What he saw and experienced there may well have affected his social thinking for the rest of his life. This was the beginning of his painful exposure to the damned human race-the basic cause of inhuman cruelty which knew no national boundaries. The misery of nation X became microcosmic of all nations. Again, it was the degradation of humanity under oppressive systems and not human indolence (according to Budd, Salomon, and others) that enraged him. (Fleck 46)

It is not completely true that indolence is the only thing that attracts Twain’s anger. Twain already has quite preset perception of a Muslim world and Middle East. A city like Jerusalem, which is located in the middle of Muslim culture and geography, would hardly satisfy Twain’s desires and assumptions. Twain wants to see a Jerusalem fitting into a Protestant scheme but it does not. Furthermore,

Catholic, Jewish and Orthodox existence also disturbs Twain, especially when he sees different sects of Christianity who are not in a proportionate relation even within the land of god. Catholic superstitions about the historical places do not help this disturbance neither. More prominently, Twain's real sadness is not for the residents of the Holy Land, but because of the crash down of his utopian vision of the secret geography.

I am sure, from the tenor of books I have read, that many who have visited this land in years gone by, were Presbyterians, and came seeking evidences in support of their particular creed; they found a Presbyterian Palestine, and they had already made up their minds to find no other, though possibly they did not know it, being blinded by their zeal. Others were Baptists, seeking Baptist evidences and a Baptist Palestine. Others were Catholics, Methodists, Episcopalians, seeking evidences indorsing their several creeds, and a Catholic, a Methodist, an Episcopalian Palestine. Honest as these men's intentions may have been, they were full of partialities and prejudices, they entered the country with their verdicts already prepared, and they could no more write dispassionately and impartially about it than they could about their own wives and children. (512)

Twain's observations about Christian travelers before him indeed, deserve to be a material for humorous criticism. As Twain underlines, any traveler who visits the Holy Land and writes about it extensively tend to reflect his or her own subjective previsions. Yet it is not surprising at all to hear a comment from a Protestant whose religious ideology is based on the purification of Christianity from former superstitions, which are mainly manufactured by Catholics and the rest of

older Christian sects. Nevertheless, Twain also brings his own prejudices such as belonging to a superior world, or assuming that he has the righteous belief system. Although Twain exhibits all the symptoms of colonial and orientalist prejudices, he gives correct observation on how a standard pilgrim sees the Holy Land:

Our pilgrims have brought their verdicts with them. They have shown it in their conversation ever since we left Beirout. I can almost tell, in set phrase, what they will say when they see Tabor, Nazareth, Jericho and Jerusalem—because I have the books they will “smouch” their ideas from. These authors write pictures and frame rhapsodies, and lesser men follow and see with the author’s eyes instead of their own, and speak with his tongue. What the pilgrims said at Cesarea Philippi surprised me with its wisdom. I found it afterwards in Robinson. What they said when Genessaret burst upon their vision, charmed me with its grace. I find it in Mr. Thompson’s “Land and the Book.” They have spoken often, in happily worded language which never varied, of how they mean to lay their weary heads upon a stone at Bethel, as Jacob did, and close their dim eyes, and dream, perchance, of angels descending out of heaven on a ladder. It was very pretty. But I have recognized the weary head and the dim eyes, finally. They borrowed the idea—and the words—and the construction—and the punctuation—from Grimes. The pilgrims will tell of Palestine, when they get home, not as it appeared to them, but as it appeared to Thompson and Robinson and Grimes—with the tints varied to suit each pilgrim’s creed. (512)

The claims above are right as they indicate how a moderate pilgrim would be influenced by travel writers he/she have read. That is also unfortunate to see how

American reader would react after Twain's encouraging accusations, personifications and stereotyping over the East. Yothers has a good explanation for the Twain's description of how a traveler's perception shaped:

In his discussion of Palestine in *The Innocents Abroad*, Twain consistently foregrounds issues of epistemology and "seeing." Twain explores self-consciously the ways in which travelers either construct a The Holy Land of their own or allow their predecessors to construct a The Holy Land for them. Most of his fellow travelers, Twain suggests, are content to see the Holy Land that has been constructed for them by Robinson, Thomson, Prime, and other generally pious travelers who wrote widely popular narratives about Palestine. Consequently, Twain portrays the Holy Land as the one place where Americans are most likely to be dazzled by the sight of lands other than their own, where the hard-headed empiricism that can criticize so easily the splendors of Europe and even those of other portions of the Orient breaks down into reverent awe. (94-95)

Apart from Twain's ideas on his fellow traveler's original of perception, the American reader addressed by Twain also needs to be considered. Twain's ideas in anti-Catholic or Oriental basis are also written under certain conditions, for certain reader. According to Harvey, American national identities are reflected in an American traveler and thereby his or her travelogue is "reconfirmed, interrogated, or at times contested in ways that encompass yet also extend beyond the two paradigms that traditionally have inflected how we understand the era..."(3). Harvey gives these two paradigms as the national identity in postcolonial setting,

causing the nation's fondness of independence from the Old World and imperialist task which foresees the New World Expansion.

This point in a sense forces Twain to follow two different directions: first Twain tries to emphasize his difference from the mother Europe and second he needs to clarify his imperialist and colonialist observations to fulfill the realistic expectations of the reader. The reader, who is very fond of the comparatively new prose writings like novels or travel books, expects them to be written in a strict realistic setting. Considering that Twain has managed to reach an extensive sales rate by *The Innocents Abroad*, the nineteenth century United States reader accepted the book with enthusiasm. In his evaluation of Twain's post-colonial representation of Azoreans, which carries the very same characteristics of the representation of the Muslim East, Silva talks about Twain's response to the expectations of American reader. Mentioning Twain's ability as a humorist, Silva says that "as long as he sold more and more copies to entertain nineteenth-century readers, that would be fine, considering his voracious appetite for making money" (18). Silva's aspect is actually prominent to explain Twain's real intention for his journey. He is assigned to write travel stories for a newspaper mainly for the entertainment of the people, due to his previous fame as a humorist. Naturally, *the Innocents Abroad*, the later book form of these letters and newspaper articles, tends to follow the commercial success of the articles. Yother's explanations of Catholic criticism also point out another characteristics of Twain's criticism in *the Innocents Abroad*:

In ridiculing these traditions he is overtly merciless, perhaps because his audience in largely Protestant America is unlikely to be angered by his tone.

In fact, Twain's criticism of the hagiographic tradition in the Holy Land is quite similar to that of Prime and Thomson. Twain goes beyond Prime and Thomson in his willingness to extend his critique to the biblical narrative itself. He is nonetheless much more careful in his criticisms of the biblical narrative, which would likely offend many of his Protestant readers....

Twain's attack on the Protestant vision of the Holy Land proceeds by subjecting the Bible itself to close scrutiny. Twain's comments on the Bible are more restrained than his comments on hagiographic traditions, and quite often the irony in these passages is heavily veiled. (Yothers 101)

Twain addresses to a colonial reader. His commercial advertisement to sell his book suggests that *The Innocents Abroad* is the travelogue of the “phunny phellow”, the celebrated writer of the *Jumping Frog*. So the American reader, who has their expectations of a frontier, expects Twain to have both the spirit of an independent explorer and humorous tone.

2.3. Twain's Representation of the Muslim World in *the Innocents Abroad*

To understand the image of Jerusalem in *the Innocents Abroad*, Twain's attitude to the Muslim world should be taken into account. Morocco is the first stop to the old world in Twain's voyage of the Holy Land and it is his first contact with the old world. As the first Muslim city Twain has visited, representation of Tangier exhibits curious characteristics that would help us to understand Twain's vision of the Holy Land. Twain's descriptions and references about this city reveal what will follow in the further chapters of his travelogue, and especially in his perception of the Holy Land. Twain says that,

Tangier is a foreign land if ever there was one, and the true spirit of it can never be found in any book save *The Arabian Nights*. Here are no white men visible, yet swarms of humanity are all about us. Here is a packed and jammed city enclosed in a massive stone wall which is more than a thousand years old. All the houses nearly are one-and two-story, made of thick walls of stone, plastered outside, square as a dry-goods box, flat as a floor on top, no cornices, whitewashed all over—a crowded city of snowy tombs! And the doors are arched with the peculiar arch we see in Moorish pictures; ...what there is in Moorish ones no man may know; within their sacred walls no Christian dog can enter. ... Isn't it an oriental picture? (76-77)

Twain's description of a Muslim city also divulges quite an Orientalist argumentation. Attesting Said's concept of *Arabian Nights* as a piece of fiction that holds a major place in the Orientalist imagination, the only way to describe the city of Tangier is possible through the *Arabian Nights*. Rather than being a real city

where real people live in or even try to cope with probable harsh conditions of the imperialist world; the city is preferred to be described in an imaginary way. Tangier is a city of Twain's expectations by its appearance and architectural structure.

It does not take too much time for Twain to draw a conclusion about Muslim Moors even though it is his first visit to a Muslim city. After landing on Spanish shores, Twain takes a small trip. Then he comes across some watchtowers which he first thinks belonging Moorish architecture and he starts to give the account of the towers' history he learns from an unknown source. According to the story, Morocco rascals used to attack on a safe opportunity to Spanish villages to take away the pretty women and as a caution to these attacks, the towers are built. (63)

Leaving the historical accuracy of the scene aside, the narration emerges in a sided point of view. Mark Twain who does not hesitate to make a reference to such a spurious and baseless story will later acclaim Moors as ignorant and savage people who are afraid only of Spanish. "The reason is that Spain sends her heaviest ships of war and her loudest guns to astonish these Muslims, while America and other nations send only a little contemptible tub of a gunboat occasionally" (86) says Twain in the end of the chapter. This is again a hasty and prejudicial accusation against Moors. Most importantly none of these claims has a valid starting point. Twain continues his accusations as follows:

The Moors, like other savages, learn by what they see, not what they hear or read. We have great fleets in the Mediterranean, but they seldom touch at African ports. The Moors have a small opinion of England, France, and America, and put their representatives to a deal of red-tape circumlocution

before they grant them their common rights, let alone a favor. But the moment the Spanish minister makes a demand, it is acceded to at once, whether it be just or not. (86)

Ironically, the savage Moors who used to capture pretty Spanish women are at the same time afraid of Spain. Furthermore, according to Twain, Moors should be afraid more of Americans, British or French, if they were more intelligent than they are. Another irony is found in Twain's story of a disordered clock (83). The clock in the tower of the mosque gets out of order. The Moors got worried as there is no Muslim to mend it. The great men of the city discuss the matter thoroughly but arrive at no solution. Finally, a patriarch arises and says:

“Oh, children of the Prophet, it is known unto you that a Portuguese dog of a Christian clock mender pollutes the city of Tangier with his presence. Ye know, also, that when mosques are builded, asses bear the stones and the cement, and cross the sacred threshold. Now, therefore, send the Christian dog on all fours, and barefoot, into the holy place to mend the clock, and let him go as an ass!” And in that way it was done. (84)

Even after exhibiting a solid subjective point of view ornamented by prejudices, Twain gives a depiction of narrow-minded Moors. The story obviously has its humorous characteristic; however, in the undertone a disturbing Christian chauvinism can be observed. After all, it is a pilgrimage to The Holy Land, as much as a pleasure trip. The actuality is in that part of the world, non-Muslims are still not allowed to go in the mosques. However, the main point of the story is Muslim's perception of Christian. By his representation of hopeless Muslims, Twain proves

his belief in the polarization of Muslim and Christian worlds. With no surprise, the ignorant party of this separation is the Muslims.

Unfortunately, Moors are not the only nation that attracts Twain's harsh criticism and meaningless antipathy. Morocco as a Muslim country carries the signature characteristics of the East. It is a country full of filthy, ignorant savages who live in an imaginary world of the Arabian Nights with flying carpets and Geniis. In the representations of Muslims, there is no significant difference between Moors and Ottomans. They are all part of a whole, since they are the subjects of the same faith. Indeed Ottomans are seen as the main representative of the East.

...no other nation received a more vitriolic attack from Twain than Turkey. Here religious intolerance, filth, misery, and disease abounded. The poverty of Italy was tame in comparison. Twain was even further appalled by the apparent apathy and indolence of the peasants who seemed contented with their lot, probably because of centuries of oppression. (Fleck 46)

Ottomans conform to his general perception of the Muslim East. Since Ottomans hold most of the Muslim geography at that time, Mark Twain's perception of Ottomans is no different from his perception of the Muslims. Although Twain exhibits similar attitude towards the other nations in one way or another, Muslim world is exposed to the most of the negative criticism.

Twain's descriptions of Abdulaziz, the sultan of the Ottoman State, carry Twain's typical point of view for the Muslim world. During his visit to Paris, one of the most favorable cities in *the Innocents Abroad*, meeting of Abdulaziz and Napoleon III is an unexpected coincidence both for the reader and the travelers, who

would expect to see the sultan in Istanbul visit. However, Twain hesitantly starts insulting the Sultan, as well as the whole the Ottoman citizens.

Abdul-Aziz, the representative of a people by nature and training filthy, brutish, ignorant, unprogressive, superstitious—and a government whose Three Graces are Tyranny, Rapacity, Blood. Here in brilliant Paris, under this majestic Arch of Triumph, the First Century greets the Nineteenth! (126)

This description of the Sultan and all of Ottoman nations is outrageous. These insults are vital to understanding Twain's intentions. It is true that Twain uses stereotypes, exaggerations, generalizations and personifications, but these are in most of the cases used for giving a humorous tone or criticizing something and they tend to have a standpoint. Yet, here the description of Ottomans exceeds the limits of criticism and points to Twain's biases about the East. It should also be noted that to some extent, later scenes in the Holy Land which deeply disturb Twain are definitely byproducts of such biases.

Individual descriptions of Abdulaziz, which are either the first impressions as they occurred to Twain and used for mockery such as “a short, stout, dark man, black-bearded, black-eyed, stupid, unprepossessing—a man whose whole appearance somehow suggested that if he only had a cleaver in his hand and a white apron on, one would not be at all surprised to hear him say: ‘A mutton roast today, or will you have a nice porterhouse steak?’”(126), or depend on Twain's imagination, hearsay information and their combination with Twain's democratic perception, like “weak, stupid, ignorant”, “who holds in his hands the power of life and death over millions”, “idles with his eight hundred concubines” (128). After all,

for a writer like Twain, who examines the world through his western humanistic-democratic criterion, it would be acceptable to see the antipathy towards a monarchy leader to some extent. It is a common Orientalist practice to see himself responsible for the evaluation of people or nations according to his personal criteria.

The mode of western discourse continued into the 19th century, even though western imperial power was well-established in the Middle East and the Ottoman Empire enfeebled... the sultan himself reigned without any purpose beyond simple retention and enjoyment of the pleasures of the domination; his minions existed merely to curry his favor and to extract plunder from the realm, and the people were an inert source of revenue... from this point of view Iraq's Saddam Hussein is an unexceptional representative of a long lineage of arbitrary tyrants who serve as images of the Western democratic tradition. (Lindholm 5)

“I think I was a little surprised to find that the grand Sultan of Turkey was a man of only ordinary size.” (486) says Twain later on, proving that he has a preconceived image for the sultan, yet it does not take much effort to overcome this surprise. Seeing himself responsible for the dissemination of democracy, Twain looks at the Sultan as the representative of a tyrannical monarchy and the head of evil. But of course, that is not a thoroughly surveyed criticism. For Twain, the Sultan is a person “who believes in gnomes and genii and the wild fables of The Arabian Nights, but has small regard for the mighty magicians of to-day, and is nervous in the presence of their mysterious railroads and steamboats and telegraphs” (128). It is needless to say that Napoleon, in comparison, is seen as “the

representative of the highest modern civilization, progress, and refinement” (126) and of course France is the country of civilization representing the rest of the modern world. Therefore, the existence of common criteria valid for all nations fails. Twain’s pre-conception is too much for such thing to happen.

Representation of Muslim intolerance towards Christians can be found in various places. It is interesting that through Twain’s vocalization, Christians are addressed as “infidel dogs” by Muslims in each of these situations. This stereotypical representation is ironically subjective. Below is a curious recitation of a Christian massacre happened some years ago, prior to Twain’s visit to Damascus, and constitutes a good example of Twain’s description of Muslim intolerance:

Then we called at the tomb of Mahomet's children and at a tomb which purported to be that of St. George who killed the dragon, and so on out to the hollow place under a rock where Paul hid during his flight till his pursuers gave him up; and to the mausoleum of the five thousand Christians who were massacred in Damascus in 1861 by the Turks. They say those narrow streets ran blood for several days, and that men, women and children were butchered indiscriminately and left to rot by hundreds all through the Christian quarter; they say, further, that the stench was dreadful. All the Christians who could get away fled from the city, and the Mohammedans would not defile their hands by burying the “infidel dogs.” The thirst for blood extended to the high lands of Hermon and Anti-Lebanon, and in a short time twenty-five thousand more Christians were massacred and their possessions laid waste. How they hate a Christian in Damascus!—and pretty

much all over Turkeydom as well. And how they will pay for it when Russia turns her guns upon them again! (463)

Naturally Arabs and Muslims are also victims of the Ottoman government; Twain explains “If ever an oppressed race existed, it is this one we see fettered around us under the inhuman tyranny of the Ottoman Empire”(443). The heavy taxation particularly provokes Twain. As stated by him heavy and unjust taxation “is a most outrageous state of things” (443). However the solution to that heavy taxation is done by force. Furthermore, Twain supports Russia to fight Ottomans to punish them. It is a childish proposal, since it is likely that these taxations are heavy because of Russia-Ottoman wars that have been ongoing for many decades then. Nevertheless, Russia as a part of Western culture is seen as the righteous force that can show infidel Ottomans their place.

It is also remarkable that Russia is preferred to France, Britain or United States. Twain says “I wish Europe would let Russia annihilate Turkey a little—not much, but enough to make it difficult to find the place again without a divining-rod or a diving-bell” (443) and several pages later, “I never disliked a Chinaman as I do these degraded Turks and Arabs, and when Russia is ready to war with them again, I hope England and France will not find it good breeding or good judgment to interfere” (463). England and France are not seen responsible for fighting with Ottomans unlike Russia who is depicted as the sword of Damocles, but this time bringing justice.

In view of this one can see Mark Twain’s hatred of the Ottoman State and the Muslim world. Naturally, these descriptions of Ottoman residents exhibit the

very same attitude that is used in the visit to the Holy Land. Obviously, Twain adopts an Orientalist view of the East.

Twain's Jerusalem is a city where "a god has stood, and looking upon the brook and the mountains which that god looked upon" (442); in a country which Twain "could not conceive of a small country having so large a history" (486). Yet Jerusalem for Twain is also a source of disappointment. As a skeptical Protestant American, Twain sees the superstitious construction of the holy places and the misrepresentations of the city by the former travelers. This blocks his vision of a possible pleasure pilgrimage. Rural part of the city is seen as the geography which represents the same characteristics of the first century, while the city and monuments are productions of the Catholic Church. Secondly, Jerusalem is a city which is located within Muslim geography. It is a city full of beggars, who righteously bothers Twain is by their continuous demand for baksheesh. Closely examined, the Muslims of Jerusalem are part of the general Muslim community of *the Innocents Abroad*, who are never seen as people doing any good at anytime.

Consequently, the image of Jerusalem for Twain can be said to bear several typical characteristics. First of all, it is a city no different than what he sees through his Protestant perception. That is to say that Jerusalem as the city produced by Catholic ideology is not the city that Twain would like to see. Besides, as a colonialist, Twain sees Jerusalem as a city that is full of and surrounded by inferior and hopeless Muslim primitives, mostly Arabs and Turks. However, the literary quality of the narration and characterization, together with Twain's ability to compose absurdities make the book worth reading. Unfortunately, the image of Jerusalem in *The Innocents Abroad* is not welcoming and pleasant at large.

Further analysis of Twain's image of Jerusalem in *the Innocents Abroad* will be in the conclusion of this thesis.

CHAPTER 3

PIERRE LOTI

3.1. The Perception of the Writer: Loti as the Nostalgic Man of Unbelief

Verily my book will not be able to be read and endured save by those whose great grief it is that they once possessed and now have lost the only hope; by those who, doomed as I to unbelief, come yet to the Holy Sepulchre with a heart full of prayer, with eyes filled with tears, and, for a little while, would linger, kneeling, there... (*Jerusalem 2*)

Chen maintains, “The pilgrims always had a variety of motives for coming to Jerusalem: to visit the holy places, to atone for their sins, or to improve the efficacy of their prayer” (114). Demonstrating similar motives, Pierre Loti’s *Jerusalem*, first of all, is a personal religious quest, taken by an unbeliever. Thus, Loti exhibits a personality of an unbeliever and seeks a religious salvation in his voyage to Jerusalem.

Loti primarily underlines losing his belief and faith in God. Nevertheless, this does not stop him from writing a pilgrimage travel, in which a quest for the memory of long lost Jesus Christ is sought. The reason behind this kind of quest is not only seen as a journey of an unbeliever, but also as a reflection of a sincere documentation of an unbeliever’s pilgrimage. Therefore, the pilgrim portrayed in *Jerusalem* is not that of bigotry-stricken devout Christian, but of a character who feels the remorse of losing his faith. This remorse, in many cases, is seen as the main motive behind Loti’s perception of Jerusalem.

Loti often uses spiritual and religious subjects in his books. Especially, when he was young – the period when he wrote *Aziyade*, – we can say that he

mentally travels back and forth between belief and unbelief. We can even see that from time to time he goes through a faith crisis that leads to religious denial. In this case, he may even mock Christianity. (Baldiran 65)

Baldiran's claims about Loti's early unstable faith can also be seen in his *Jerusalem*. This unbelief goes back to Loti's first novel *Aziyade* which he wrote when he was 27 (Baldiran 60). The phenomenon does not change in his *Jerusalem*. Loti's identity as an unbeliever also brings a secondary outcome: as an unbeliever Loti, can easily assess the value of the things he sees in the city accordingly. Therefore, Loti's evaluation of the city can be said to be a secular criticism. Loti's final outcome about Jerusalem and his eventual failure in his efforts to be a good believer remark that. However, the only determined of Loti's perception of Jerusalem is not his religious search. As Baldiran states:

In Loti's conscious, "nostalgia" bears a special importance, because deriving new meanings out of the nostalgic, actually means referring to self-experiences and in a sense freezing the time. By clasping the nostalgia, Loti actually, to some extent, loads a special meaning to his own self-historical process. Perhaps between the lines, he gives a message to the reader that; "even what I live seems ordinary for you, it still matters for me." (76)

For Loti, nostalgia is seen as devotion to the past and the original forms. It is a fundamental point of view for his religious ideology and, of course, his perception of Jerusalem. This nostalgia is also nourished by Loti's fear of death. "For Loti, the scariest and unbearable thing is to get old and the fear of death, happening as the time passes. For Loti this fear becomes obsessive" (Baldiran 71). Such fear strengthens the remorse that drives Loti's visit to Jerusalem. Nevertheless, Baldiran

describes Loti's nostalgia as to be identified with a lifestyle, a history, "a love towards the past", even with stability. But there is no room for implications to humiliate. On the contrary for Loti, the older an object is, the more respected it becomes. (Baldiran 76)

That is to say, Loti's evaluation of Jerusalem is done through the criterion of nostalgia. For example, while writing on his spiritual journey to Via Dolorosa, Loti goes back and forth between reality of the city and fiction of his flashbacks about the time of Christ. These flashbacks are the moments when Loti feels intimacy to Christ and therefore he gets closer to restore his faith. Here, the moments or objects which trigger these flashbacks are objects that remind him of the original and the nostalgic. Throughout the story, the flashbacks happen more than one time and each time they are evaluated according to their closeness to the nostalgia.

Apart from that, nostalgia also helps Loti's inner-balance "Loti finds peace, tranquility and particularly sadness in nostalgia. We can say that this writer who depicts the old for us, in a sense, enjoys the sadness he felt after the time that had passed." (Baldiran 78) In this context Loti's perception of Jerusalem is occupied by the nostalgic sadness of seeing Jerusalem being changed into a different form than the one Jesus had been. For Loti, it was a grief to see that too much has been accomplished upon the simple teachings of Jesus who himself lived quite a simple life. Commenting on Loti's representation of Istanbul, Baldiran says that:

Loti considers cities in a historical integrity; for him, a city is as valuable as its ability to reflect its history. He can find tranquility, not in a technological city like New York, but on a wooden chair under a thousand years old plane tree. These scenes soothe Loti as long as they are not spoiled. Loti voices

cities which exist by structures and environments that do not change frequently. A humble city, away from vanity amply unifies with his inner-mood. (78)

Similarly, anticipating the greatness of the past, Loti feels sad for his own time. Loti's travel to Angkor represents the same characteristics of the one to Jerusalem. "Loti's pilgrimage to Angkor is initially envisaged as a part of an open-ended series of 'secular' travels of discovery of the world and the self" (Petsalis-Diomidis 97). That is to say, Loti who visits Angkor, Istanbul or Jerusalem has the same secular characteristics of an individual who is raised in a Christian setting, but feels the remorse of his lost. Therefore, it can be said that Loti in Istanbul, and in Jerusalem or in Angkor bears the similar attitude and perception. Loti who can see the bad side of the industrial revolution and colonialism all over the world, senses the enclosure of the Orient he used to adore. The change in the Orient is the source of his sadness. Unfortunately, that worry for the future turns out to be right, especially for the Jerusalem which has been exposed to a series of wars which started a decade later than Loti, and continued to the present. Loti stands against the changing world. He connects his religious confusion to the circumstances of the century he lives in:

Perhaps I shall also tell about the impression of a soul—my own—which was amongst the tormented spirits of this closing century. But other souls are in similar case and they will be able to follow me; we are of those whose lot is to suffer the gloomy anguish of the present day, who stand on the brink of the dark chasm into which everything seems destined to fall, there to perish utterly; who nevertheless can still descry, in the scarce distinguishable

distance, rising out of all the outworn trappings of human religions, the promise of pardon which Jesus brought, the consolation and the hope of heavenly reunion. Oh! Surely nothing else had ever any reality. All the rest is void and negligible...And thus, out of the depths of our despond, there continues to ascend towards Him who once was called the Redeemer a vague, desolate adoration. (*Jerusalem* 1-2)

Therefore, what we see in terms of Pierre Loti's perception of Jerusalem has two aspects. First, Loti who visits Jerusalem is pre- conditioned to find his religious salvation and he feels the remorse of being an unbeliever. Second aspect is during this search he makes his evaluation according to a criterion of nostalgia. Loti seeks for the city of the Saviour.

3.2. Loti's Jerusalem as the Holy City

...amongst us there is only a small minority that has freed itself from the accumulated traditions so as to be able to embrace the cult of the Bible in spirit and in truth. And on the other hand, when faith is dead in our modern souls, it is to this veneration of places and mementoes, so human, so natural, that unbelievers like me are brought back by the heartbreaking regret for the Saviour we have lost. (*Jerusalem* 56-57)

Loti's loss of faith motivates him to see Jerusalem as the city in which it is possible to reach religious salvation. Loti sees the modernization as the cause of losing his faith. Loti suggests that only a few among the pilgrims succeed in reaching the true level of a good Christian. After losing faith, what Loti can do is to seek for Christ in places and mementoes of Jerusalem:

Following the same urges he feels for the beauty and magic of nostalgia, Loti seeks the city through the original objects preserved since the time of Christ. It is important that this seek is not a conscious quest, Loti's unstated doubt that prevents him from accepting the current representation of Christ wholeheartedly even in Jerusalem, influences his vision of the city. Doubting about finding true Jesus among the walls of the city, Loti feels remorseful.

...I shall never be able to join the ranks of the multitudes who scorn Christ or forget Him...And here now I am seeking everywhere His shadow, which perhaps does not exist, but which for all that remains adorable and benign. And I submit, without understanding it, to the spell of His memory — the sole human memory that has kept the power to release the tears that heal. . . .

(98)

Yet, this quest can also be seen as the natural soul of writing about a pilgrimage. Nevertheless, Loti as a literary man gives us a good picture of the time of Jesus. In his visits to an under-passage that has been excavated at that time, gives Loti what he seeks for: the original relics of Christianity. In its similarity of Gibson's famous movie, *the Passion of Christ*, Loti's imaginary re-construction of the *Passion of Christ* demonstrates a good example of a religious story:

Now, I can almost see them; see the soldiers of Pilate, sitting playing there, while Jesus is being questioned in the Praetorium. Involuntarily, spontaneously, I seem to see with my mind's eye the scenes of the Passion with their intimate realities, their details at once very human and very small; they appear to me now strangely actual, without any great concourse of multitudes, shorn of the glory with which the centuries have surrounded them, diminished— as all things are when seen at the time of their accomplishment— and reduced, no doubt, to their true proportions. There passes before me the little group of sufferers dragging their crosses over these old, red pavements. ... It is the dawn of a typical day of the cloudy springtime of Judaea; even here they pass, between these walls that have so long been buried, on which my hand is now resting; they pass accompanied chiefly by a horde of early risen vagabonds and followed timidly at a distance by little groups of disciples and women, whom anxiety had kept wakeful throughout the preceding cold night, who had watched and wept about a fire. . . . (*Jerusalem* 90-91)

Loti skillfully depicts the punishment of Christ. Meanwhile this re-imagination of the incident spoils the delusion of the moment he depicts. According

to Loti, the imaginary incident is smaller than its descriptions by various churches. Yet, the descriptions as well as the incidents is claimed to be the real factor behind the significance of Jerusalem for Christians. Loti continues by underlying that after nineteen hundred years multitude still comes to Jerusalem, mourning for their loss because of this event and he contrasts that to the very little disturbance of the lives of the actual habitants who witnessed that (*Jerusalem* 91). Loti connects the importance of the city with the punishment of Christ. Between the lines, what Loti does is simply to identify the setting with the actions of a historical story. Actually, Loti tells the story through narration which he inspires from being in the ancient vaults. Loti being on the vaults which he thought to be the original anticipates to the original incident. “When we ascend from the vaults, putting foot once more in the present day and among actual things, it is as if we were emerging from the thick night of Time into which we had been plunged, and in which our fanciful eyes had perceived the reflections of very ancient phantoms.” (*Jerusalem* 92) The scene closes by ascension to reality. Loti, one more time faces the greatness of the past and the fakeness of the present. This depiction is also important to indicate what really Loti looks at. It is the real incidents and objects that attract his attention. Jerusalem that reflects its original form from the time of Christ is the one Loti seeks for. By combining his imagination and the originality, Loti receives his most intimate moment to Christ, this is the time that he encloses to restore his faith:

Never had I felt myself so humanly close to Christ — to the Man, our brother, who, as all must admit, lived and suffered in Him. It was the mysterious influence of those underground places that caused it, it was that Herodian pavement on which our feet trod, it was that little diagram traced

by the soldiers of Pontius Pilate — all the subtle effluvia of the past which seemed to be exhaled there from the old stones. . . . (*Jerusalem* 93)

Unfortunately, Loti's attempts to reach the complete revival of faith are destined to fail. Despite his vivid re-imaginings of Christ, his journeys are interrupted by the reality of the day. Loti who has been back from his trip to other towns of the Holy Land to search the atmosphere Jesus spent most of his life, only finds disillusionment:

Afterwards, in the melancholy countryside, and in the exhumed ruins of the Herodian roads, a reflection of Him again appeared to me; but tinged with something already more terrestrial, scarcely divine and scarcely comforting. And now it is all over. Today, returning to Jerusalem after these three days of absence, I saw again coldly the place of the Great Remembrance — and my visit to the Treasury of the Franciscans, I am not able to explain why, has completed the freezing of my heart... (*Jerusalem* 152)

Loti's quest for Christ, in the book can be evaluated in two different ways. Firstly, looking for Christ, Loti seeks a religious reunification to diminish the pain of the remorse he feels and secondly it is a good way to evaluate the value of Jerusalem as a city. It is a kind of evaluation that turns out to be a negative criticism of Christianity. Criticism against what he sees as the representation of real Christ and Christianity disturbs Loti who feels and observes the imaginary representations within the churches and overall Jerusalem.

These prelates of Jerusalem, with their gracious airs, to whom, without any thought of smiling, one says: "Your Highness," "Your Blessedness," "Most Reverend Father" — by virtue of the fact that they are here, in these old

churches and these old dusty dwellings, observing superannuated rites — seem to have become men of the Middle Ages. One cannot blame them individually for following in old- established ways; but in what a strange fashion have the Catholics and members of the Orthodox religion interpreted the lesson of simplicity that Jesus came to give the world! ... (151)

Therefore, the source of Loti's discomfort is originated by his disillusionment. On the one hand, Loti realizes that Christ has lived a very simple life. On the other hand, Loti comes across the representation of Jesus quite different than that. Loti states his discomfort with the representation of Jesus. He says, "Behind this conventional Christ, who is shown here to everybody, behind this Christ aureoled with gold and precious stones and strangely belittled by having passed during the centuries through so many human brains, the true figure of Christ is now more hidden from my eyes than ever." (*Jerusalem* 151) This can be explained by Loti's Protestant background. Nevertheless, Loti as a character depicted in *Jerusalem* is not limited by Protestantism. Loti is a person who has his set of values. He is confident about how to evaluate his environment and one of the main criteria is the object's closeness to its original form. In this context, Loti as unbeliever with his own terminology looks for the city that Jesus left, in which the nostalgic and the original is the valuable. But as it is wrong to assess Pierre Loti as a Protestant, it is also deficient to see him as a mere unbeliever. Pierre Loti is a writer with multi-cultural and multi-religious personality.

3.3. Multiculturalism in Loti

For Loti, the task facing the true traveller was something far more demanding than merely following a guide or a guide-book around selected places. The act of 'seeing' was a rare privilege: one which few people were granted, and of which still fewer seemed capable of taking advantage. It was only the experienced, persevering, sensitive Orientalist traveller who could mobilize such qualities from within himself. It is then, and only then, that the 'true' Orient can be seen. (Gemie 162)

Loti sees a multicultural city which causes an intimacy with his own multicultural identity. Perhaps the reason behind Loti's affection towards Jerusalem is a result of the harmonious connection of Loti's constantly changing, multiple personality, which comes and goes between belief and unbelief, with Jerusalem in which different beliefs are sheltered together. Writing about Jerusalem of the nineteenth century, he actually underlines the changeability and variety within himself.

There is an ongoing discussion among the critics about the characteristics of Loti as an orientalist. Despite the general fame of Loti as the friend-of-Turks, widely accepted by Ottomans and Turkish Republic, the recognized categorization of Loti undeniably puts him among the nineteenth century French orientalists. Loti, who has been a naval officer in French army for many years, has a great number of travels around the world, and these travels constitute the subject matter and the settings of his fictions. "Writing about 'the Orient' had become mainstream. Loti's undemanding, cliché-ridden narratives were of fundamental importance, for they popularized the Orientalist concepts which had previously only circulated among

educated elites” (Gemie 155). Thus, it can not be denied the orientalist identity of Loti.

About the limits of Loti’s Orientalist character, Gemie states that “Loti’s life was permanently marked by this pattern of shifting, deceptive, marginal identities. This man, it was claimed, did not simply visit the Orient: he *became* an Oriental” (152). Gemie further interprets Loti’s affection to the orient by Ali Behdad’s definition of ‘cultural transvestism’. Then again, Loti as an orientalist who travels a lot is not a mere critic of the places he has visited. He never keeps himself from modifying his identity by different cultural elements he witnessed. His love affairs, which are also subjected in his novels like *Aziyade* and *Madame Chrysantheme*, indicate Loti’s courageous and daring character to interfere in cross-cultural relations. But, at the same time he is also criticized for these love affairs, referring to an Orientalist cliché; finding local women sexually attractive. This point can actually be seen as a part of his general cross-cultural relations.

Besides, Loti’s multi-cultural personality conveys an alienation from his own culture and religion. Coleman mentions Loti’s attempt to find some kind of affinity with a foreign belief system, and estrangement from his own culture. He says “...this narrative cultivation of a form of self-displacement is reinforced in yet another way:...Loti can accommodate the possibility of failure in his personal pilgrimage, resulting in a lack of resolution that is passed on to the reader. (Coleman 11) The connection between the alienation from his original culture to a cross-cultural setting also enables Loti to hear the different voices of “the other”. Although his understanding and acceptance of the religion, as mentioned in *Jerusalem*, drives him away from being a good believer, it also leads to the

affiliation with other cultures. Loti is able to see the multi-cultural structure of Jerusalem.

Loti's perception of the Orient or his positive attitude for the multicultural structure of the city is partly caused by this affection. Gemie states on the subject by these words, "...there was something implicitly conservative or nostalgic about Loti's writing: it carried with it a hatred for the new global culture represented by the railway and the steamship" (156). About Loti's affection to the nostalgia, Gemie combines this to Loti's perception of the Orient; "He had discouraged contact, development and change, and had suggested that the true greatness of any civilization lay in its unswerving respect for its past." Gemie's ideas correspond that of Baldiran's explanation of the affection for the original. However, separating from Baldiran's definition, Gemie continues his theory by taking it one step further; "For Loti, the only true vocation of the 'other' was to remain 'other' – distant, separate, and unthreatening" (Gemie165). So, combining Baldiran's and Gemie's theories, Loti's opposition to the oriental hegemonies of the West is both caused by his affection for the nostalgic and as a result requires a total separation of the two opposite East-West relationship. Nevertheless, Gemie underlines negative features of Loti's personality:

Loti was a professional liar, a conman. A 'cultural transvestite', he told Arabs that he was a Moslem, and French people that he considered himself an Arab. A serving officer for a Republican navy, he claimed to despise the Republic and oppose French imperialism. While abusing girls in Japan and Constantinople, he deplored the decline of moral standards in France. (Gemie 164)

Despite from the fact that Loti as an orientalist who seeks for the preservation of two separate worlds, Loti's affection to the orient also reaches a great extend. He furnishes his house in France in an oriental style, which includes carpets, arches and even actual Turkish tombs. Loti may be seeking for a preservation of two different East and West, yet he never tries to do the same with his own life or the way of thinking. Loti may be an orientalist, but he is an orientalist who, by his lifestyle, likes the orient. Loti in *Jerusalem* follows the very same attitude. In *Jerusalem*, he travels in Arab clothes and exchanges salaams with other Arabs. He is thought to be great sheiks from "maghreb" (the Occident) by other Arabs under disguise (*Jerusalem* 18-20). Loti even tries to be a Muslim, which also proves the orientalist structure of a person that is actually affected by the orient. The confession comes when Loti makes a visit to Haram al-Sharif, on which the Dome of the Rock and Mosque of Omar is located.

In particular, this silent Haram-esh-Sherif, with its melancholy and its magnificence, is an isle of dreams which brings no emotion, no tenderness, but only calm and enchantment. And for me it is the refuge most fitting today just as that Islam to which I once upon a time inclined might, understood in a certain way, become later on the form of exterior religion, compact of imagination and art, in which my unbelief would find a home. (197-198)

Indeed, Loti's visit to the Haram al-Sharif signifies an interesting reality. Loti's good personal relation with different people from different cultures also enables him an exceptional sightseeing within Jerusalem. Unlike a moderate pilgrim, he is able to visit any interesting chapel or church from any sects of

Christianity as well as his visits to Muslim Mosque of Omar, which can only be done by a special permission and Loti manages the visit by a presence of a Janissary friend. Consequently, the picture of Jerusalem has a colorful variety, which for instance can be seen as juxtaposition of Islam and Christianity:

In the course of my lonely walk I meet only a group of old, white-bearded Arabs, in long robes and green turbans, muttering to themselves ancient and sombre things as they tell their amber beads. It is a picture of antique Mussulman times, under the familiar veil of sand and dust. And suddenly from the city comes the chime of the Christian bells. A surprising sound it seems here today, strangely out of place in this scene of pure Islam.

(Jerusalem 165)

In *Jerusalem*, Loti goes through this kind of moments of surprises. He likes to put multi-religious structure of the city in a contrasting but strangely integral manner. Loti, as the main character of his travelogue, both welcomes these sudden striking scenes and also uses them intentionally to reflect the complexity of the city. Nevertheless, Loti seeks for the original city from the time of Christ. That is to say Loti sees these different cultures on his quest for the long-lost Jesus. Therefore, it is not always a pleasant incident to see “the other”. These disturbances are actually worse when Loti comes across a Jewish sign.

Jews are depicted as the people who have murdered Jesus, the nation on whose faces “truly the crucifixion of Jesus has left an indelible stigma” (117). Clearly Loti’s perception of Jews of Jerusalem is preconditioned by his Christian identity. After all, every pilgrimage to Jerusalem has been the undertaken for the better understanding of the Bible. Seeing Jews in Jerusalem exposes this intention:

“Perhaps it is necessary to come here to be fully convinced of it, but it is beyond dispute that there is some particular sign imprinted on these foreheads, a brand of shame with which the whole race is marked” (*Jerusalem* 118). In numerous cases, Loti clarifies that shame he reads on faces of Jews, whom Loti feels a close loathing. His representation of Jews goes no more than stereotyping:

The robes are magnificent. Black velvets, blue velvets, violet and crimson velvets, lined with valuable furs. All the caps are of black velvet trimmed with long-haired fur which throws into shadow the blade-like noses and the sinister eyes. The faces, which half turn to look at us, are almost all of special, almost an uncanny ugliness; so narrow so emaciated, with eyes so cunning and tearful, under eyelids heavy and dead! A pink and white colouring, as of unwholesome wax, and long corkscrew curls over the ears, similar to those affected by the English women of 1830, complete their disquieting likeness to bearded old women... (116)

Jews are over generalized by Loti, who is ready to find a flaw even among children. When he sees children playing in the courtyard of the Great Synagogue, he is ready to find a deficiency; “children too white and too pink. Some of them would be pretty if their eyes were not so cunning, their movements not so sly. It seems as if they were already aware of the hereditary reproach, as if they already cherished rancour against the Christians” (*Jerusalem* 116). Loti, proving an orientalist characteristic, both sees Jews as “the other” through his prejudices, and also claims that the other is the one that is prejudiced.

In comparison, Loti prefers Arabs over Jews. Perhaps thinking historically, he receives that outcome or may be it is caused by his longer contact with the

Islamic world, which he already stated his sympathy. Nevertheless, Loti both skillfully underlines his preference for Arabs and also gives another example of how easily can a person shift between the city's religious complexity.

In issuing from this haunt of the Jews, where one experiences, despite himself, I know not what childish fears of robbery, of the evil eye and witchcraft, it is a pleasure to see once more, instead of bowed heads, the upright and noble carriage of the Arabs, instead of skimped robes, ample and flowing draperies. (*Jerusalem* 120-21)

Even though Loti is in favor of Arabs and even he says he can be regarded partly Muslim, Loti secretly continues his Christianity on this basis. Just like for restoring his faith, the real treasure Loti seeks is the trail of Jesus on the soil of the Holy Land. He occasionally feels the discomfort of being in a “Saracen” city. “The muezzins are shepherds standing on their earthen roofs, and they sing all together in a kind of perpetual fugue; and always it is the name of Allah, the name of Mahomet, surprising and gloomy, here, in this land of the Bible and of Christ...” (6) says Loti in the early pages of *Jerusalem* to underline his expectations from the pilgrimage. Nevertheless, Loti does not separate himself from the realities of the city. He sees and comments on the Jewish and Muslim visions. Jerusalem Loti sees is the one which is “thrice holy place”. Loti says that “It commands the highest reverence of all those who worship the God of Abraham whether they call Him Allah, Rabbi, or Jehovah — and its forlorn melancholy attests Jerusalem” (*Jerusalem* 73). In his visit to the Temple Mount, Loti recites an unvarnished documentation of the Dome of the Rock:

On a close view, one perceives that these elegant and frail little Saracen buildings have been made out of the ruins of Christian churches and ancient temples; the columns, the marble friezes are all incongruous, taken here from a chapel of the Crusades, there from a basilica of the Greek emperors, from a Temple of Venus, or perhaps from a synagogue. If the general arrangement is Arab, calm, imprinted with the grace of the palaces of Aladdin, the detail is replete with commentary on the transience of religions and of empires; it perpetuates the remembrance of the great wars of extermination, of the horrible sacks, of the days when blood flowed here like water, and the butchery stopped only when the soldiers were tired of killing. (*Jerusalem* 62-3)

3.4. Power of Narration in *Jerusalem*

Loti's travel to Jerusalem also a travel made by a man of letters. Travel in a time of a transition age. Travel becomes accessible by many people. Until the last phase of the nineteenth century, travel to the East has never been a pleasure based activity, but rather “they were adventures, pilgrimages, or quests which conferred on the traveller a prestige not available to the majority” says Gemie and continues “...By the time of Loti’s success, however, travel was no longer such an expense. This in turn changed the nature of travel-writing” (Gemie 155). It may be so, yet, According to Henry James, Loti is still an exceptional, old fashioned traveler. Finding Loti different and exceptional in his literary style, Henry James defines him as a well qualified literary man who writes a travelogue.

It would of course never be easy to find in any caravan a pilgrim with so absolute an esteem for his own emotions. Loti belongs to the precious few who are not afraid of being ridiculous ...The duty of not being ridiculous is one to which too many travellers of our own race assign the high position that he attributes to right expression, to right expression alone. It has led him, this gallant point of honour, to say, at Jerusalem in the volume with that title too many things about himself, even to appear indeed to have made the wondrous pilgrimage too much in search of a presentable figure which is not quite the one we might have guessed... Jerusalem, on the other hand, I admit, is a trifle spoiled for the rigid Lotist by being, in all the list, the book that gives out most wandering airs, most echoes already heard, of “literature” (James 17-8)

As a character, Loti is sincere in *Jerusalem* unlike Cook's travelers, whom he heavily criticizes. Thomas Cook, who has one of the early travel agency owners, is explicitly accused for blighting the travel which was once an upper-class activity. So, "Cook's traveler" becomes a symbol of the loud crowds that can be observed in tourist sights. Loti dislikes this phenomenon since he sees these travelers as a factor ruining the originality, tranquility and nostalgia of the voyage. "Loti's model remained that of the aristocratic pilgrimage" (Gemie 156).

Loti's manner is so all his own the manner of intimate confidence in his reader, of talk, of anecdote, of sequences neglected and lost, a part of the work obligingly done for him that quite equally at his best and at his middling he offers the constant interest of a thorough concealment of his means.(James 10)

Henry James' definition of Loti, in a way, is an alternative way to understand Loti's *Jerusalem*. As a famous writer who gained the honorary rank of the Académie Française, Loti's books are among the bestsellers of his time. Even *Jerusalem*, which is not as famous as his other works of literature makes fifty-nine editions within three years (Gemie 150). The alternative way, suggested by Henry James, is the success of a writer to make the connection with the reader. Henry James even states that "I prefer his memory to my own, and am ready to think it no hard rule of life to have had, in my chair, to take so much of the more wonderful world from a little lemon-covered book" (16). Loti's representation of the world recognized by Henry James can be found in *Jerusalem* as the descriptions of joyful, pastoral scenes.

Often this is through the use of sonorous, but impotent phrases, which frequently recur in his long descriptive passages. Loti writes of the unknowable, the un-sayable, the unintelligible...In the words of one relatively appreciative contemporary critic, Loti showed 'how the universe is incomprehensible to everyone'. Readers could imagine that these empty terms signified some profound mystery. (Gemie 151)

Loti's references to unintelligible or abstract subjects are appraised by Henry James as Loti's intimate communication with the reader. These abstract subjects emerge in two different cases. They are either subjected within his visions of Christ or in pastoral depictions of the Holy Land. In the briefest way, two examples of this point would be the subjective meanings appointed by Loti, to the sufferings of Christ and enthusiastic moments that he feels or tranquility and happiness within the natural settings of the Holy Land.

Loti's romantic landscape narration is actually a continuation of his other works of fiction. Gemie states that Loti tends to use both in his early and later works "often first-person or third-person accounts, with little material presented in the form of a sub-plot. His novels contain large passages of description (usually of landscapes or cityscapes) or of dialogues, probably the simplest forms of narration to follow" (151). This general characteristic of Loti's novel is also applicable for his *Jerusalem*. Although Loti's first person narrator in *Jerusalem* is a requirement of a travel narration; as a reflection of orientalist characteristics of Loti, descriptions of urban and pastoral environment occupy a significant place in his narration style. Prominently, the first person narration enables the close relation with the reader.

In Pierre Loti's *Jerusalem*, descriptions of nature hold a significant importance as much as the descriptions of the city. Especially, during his travels in and around Jerusalem, Loti composes brilliant natural sceneries. Comparing to Twain who also traveled on the same geography, but during a drier season; Loti has the chance to depict the beauties of the spring. Depicting nature is indeed a common practice among the French and European romantic and naturalistic movements. Pierre Loti, who is first of all a crafty writer, wouldn't be expected to neglect these pastoral depictions since they are widely popular. Rural areas of the Holy Land exhibit a pleasant floral view of cyclamens.

Truly a valley of the Promised Land, "flowing with milk and honey." Green it is, with the exquisite green of springtime, of a meadow in May, amid its hills, which olive trees, vigorous Jerusalem and superb, cover with another green, magnificently sombre. Underfoot the thickly growing herbage is speckled with red anemones, violet irises and pink cyclamen. The air is filled with the perfume of flowers, and in the centre of the valley gleams a little lake, where at this hour sheep and goats are drinking. (4-5)

Loti who uses pastoral depictions also makes references to biblical themes, through symbolism. The pastoral Holy Land is the land on which children, lambs and shepherds are located. "While our camp is being set up, on the tall, flowered grass, there passes before us an endless procession of cattle and sheep, which climb to the enclosure of its earthen walls, conducted by long-robed, turbaned shepherds, like saints or prophets. A number of children follow, carrying tenderly in their arms the new-born lambs" (5). Such descriptions reveal the subconscious of the writer, who seeks his salvation and revival for his faith. The pastoral, which is also

symbolically referred as an element that never been changed since the time of Christ, gives Loti an opportunity for an imaginary vision where he can witness a scenery from Jesus' life. "The pastoral life of olden times is still to be found here - the life of the Bible, in all its grandeur and simplicity" (5). Depictions of nature in that case are among the few that can give Loti's inner-tranquility, which are also shared with his reader.

Throughout *Jerusalem*, Loti goes through blackouts from reality, which is seen as visions. These visions are important for indicating Loti's binary construction of imagination and reality. As a traveler who comes to the city together with a bunch of prejudicial expectations, Loti looks for the city of Christ. Although his final failure, his visions mark his attempt to find his imaginary or utopian Jerusalem. Like Twain, who seeks an imaginary beautiful city from a distance under dreamy reflections of moonlight, Loti can only reach Jerusalem he looks for through these visions. In one of his attempts to find Jesus or the Jerusalem of Jesus, Loti says about the Valley of Jehoshaphat that, "all this part of Jerusalem is mournful enough in broad daylight. At night, walking there alone, it becomes almost a place of religious awe; one seems to feel there all the horror of that great legendary name..." (*Jerusalem* 159) The reality brings illusion and sadness in both cases. However, unlike Twain's, Loti's visions are conscious choices. Being aware of that he is producing fiction; Loti tries to express himself and his utopian Jerusalem in a clearer way. Furthermore, curiosity raising introduction of a new setting facilitates Loti to make reader feel what he feels:

"That," says, pointing to it, the white-robed Father who has been good enough to accompany us and to place his erudition at our service — "That,"

he says, "I need not name for you; you know what it is, do you not?" And lowering his voice, as in respectful awe, he pronounces the name: "Gethsemane!" ...No, I did not know it, for I am still but a pilgrim newly come to Jerusalem. But the sound of the name moves me to the fibres of my being and I gaze at the still distant apparition with complex and indescribable feelings, in which tenderness and suffering are mingled. At a point where the platform looks sheer down upon unsuspected ravines there are some narrow loopholes pierced in the enclosure wall. -" Look," says the White Father, pointing with his hand to one of these openings; and following his gesture I look through. (78)

Characterization in this scenery is exceptional and highly bold for an introduction of a place. The white robed father seems like a saint of the old times. This introduction is used to raise the expectation of the reader about the place as well as enabling them anticipation for Loti's feeling about the place. Loti's power of persuasion comes from this ability to make good introductions and descriptions in which he uses sensory elements to give the symbolic imagery for the personal anticipation of the setting. In the passage, the white father is seen as the messenger of a religiously important place which is also expected by Loti as a chance to find faith. In another case, Loti gives us a scenery depicted by smell; "under the cloud of incense which hangs motionless at half the height of the superb columns lurks a sinister human odour of poverty, of decay, of death, which for ever fills these vaults, becoming, at the time of the great pilgrimage, as heavy as that of a battlefield on the morrow of a rout" (157-158). The olfactory imagery prepares the reader for the future comment of the scene; "It serves to remind us of our nothingness, this odour

defiling so much magnificence, to tell us of the vileness of which our flesh is compact; it evokes the most gloomy thoughts of death...” (158).

Loti’s introductions to a topic and his descriptions of sceneries are also notable for their usage of the sensory imagery. Loti’s persuasion capacity or his successes when he is underlining the importance of a point in his narration mark the cornerstones of his spiritual journey of *Jerusalem*. “Loti’s works successfully provided ordinary readers with a vivid, vicarious experience of travel to far-away places. The distinctive mark of Loti’s genius, however, is his ability to persuade the reader that something of fundamental importance is being evoked” (Gemie 151). That naturally helps Loti to direct reader through the story. Of course making descriptions and creating stories are the profession of Loti who also uses them extensively and skillfully in *Jerusalem*. Reader can feel the intimacy of the moment. This is enabled by Loti’s descriptive ability to addresses five senses.

CHAPTER 4

WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY

4.1. Thackeray as the Voice of Middle Class Britain

When Thackeray is considered, the first thing comes to mind is his criticism and satire against flamboyant aristocratic life style. Although, he is known mostly for his *Vanity Fair*, especially by the modern reader; he is also the writer of welcomed novels of his time like *Snob Book* and *Luck of Barry Lyndon*. Clearly he is one of the most famous authors of his age, generally shown as the second most important writer after Charles Dickens. Olsaretti describes *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* as a book making “an interesting addition to this group as the Levantine travelogue of a novelist renowned for his satire and parody of manners. It was first published in 1846 and it too went through several editions....” (250) The popularity of Thackeray’s travelogue can be understood more clearly by considering the reader profile. Belonging to the new middle class that has been gaining importance since the Industrial Revolution, Thackeray is one of the exemplary figures of new high class. Thackeray both writes about the entity of the middle class, and also addresses them in his narration.

These travelogues, in fact, squarely belong to a time when middle-class leisure had come into its own and was beginning to expand into distant travel... Regular steam navigation was instituted and Curzon, Thackeray and Warburton speedily and comfortably travelled to their destinations on steam liners. They consciously wrote for a public that was largely middle class... Thackeray’s remarks in *Vanity Fair* and in his travelogue leave no doubt as to the social class with which he identified. (Olsaretti 251)

In this context, as a leading figure of the middle class travelers, Thackeray is able to reach the exceptional prestige of travel, which once used to belong to aristocracy. Therefore, Thackeray both owns and addresses the point of view of a middle class British man. In fact, Thackeray's journey to the Orient is sponsored by a Steamship company. According to Prawer, Thackeray in that period of his life is in convenient circumstances to take the journey due to the sickness of his wife.

Since he had no permanent home he travelled a good deal in these years, often in search of copy that would sell and would help his efforts to secure a firm financial future for his children and his mentally sick but physically sturdy wife. ...The traveler that speaks to us is, once again, [Thackeray] who favors us with such details of his private life. (Prawer 147)

Even though Thackeray starts his journey under these circumstances, he does not demonstrate a gloomy attitude during the travel. On the contrary, he displays an optimistic amiability and on his visits to the Orient, reflection of this happy and tolerable point of view is seen. William Makepeace Thackeray also uses such pseudonyms as Michael Angelo Titmarsh, Charles James Yellowplush, and George Savage Fitz-Boodle, and he is known for his humorous literature.

It is not surprising that the initial reviews of Thackeray's essay were favorable, for *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* seems to confirm those collective myths and impressions of the Orient to which much of the Victorian age subscribed, and it does so through a voice already familiar to Thackeray's readers, that of Michael Angelo Titmarsh, an overweight, slightly jaded, and opinionated humorist and observer of human nature. The essay itself, however, seems to belie Thackeray's characterization

of it as well as Ray's later similar description of it as a light-hearted narrative, which testifies to Thackeray's having contrived to remain on good terms with everyone, even with himself, during the whole of the voyage out. (Lougry 228)

Even so, Thackeray's perception of Catholics, Orthodox and particularly Jews in Jerusalem will later contradict to his light hearted and optimistic attitude. Especially his anti-Semitic ideology will be evaluated by Lougy; "On the contrary, it is complex and often troubling, reflecting unresolved and, indeed, often unacknowledged conflicts on Thackeray's part. We find in the essay a voice that is variously aggressive, sensitive, self-denigrating, racist, or insightful and moving." (228) Still, it would be unjust to generalize Thackeray's attitude towards the other ethnicities as racist. But rather his ideology is anti-Semitic and Anglican.

Thackeray's perception of the orient is mystifying, optimistic and indescribable, specifically in the early parts of his visit to the Orient. About the representation of the cities, Angheliescu says that "the real landscape is perceived as less than imagined is characteristic of the continuous overtaking of the object of romantic interest and admiration." (175) Especially the Orient of Thackeray descriptions represents itself by its closeness to *the Arabian Nights*:

Even as he tries to record his first images of the East, Thackeray diminishes the multiplicity and opaqueness of its life, emptying the landscapes and cityscapes of whatever potential they might have to reduce those distances separating them from himself. In the course of visiting cities and gazing upon sights he has not witnessed before, Thackeray admits to the poverty of his own imagination by turning away from the landscapes themselves and

toward Western icons of the East. And like so many of his contemporaries, Thackeray draws upon literary sources, especially the *Arabian Nights*, for these representations. Such is the case, for example, when he describes his first sight of the East—a view, appropriately enough, seen from the ship through a telescope, characterized by both distance and silence. (Lougy 233)

Lougy emphasizes Thackeray's distancing from reality to give the Oriental mood that the narrator puts himself into. One good example can be found in Thackeray's visit to a bazaar in Istanbul. Thackeray who shops and wonders around comes across a bazaar during his visit. A lady from the royal palace and his son, a young "aga" enters the scene, in which the narrator enjoys the colorful atmosphere;

That lady fancied I was looking at her, though, as far as I could see, she had the figure and complexion of a roly-poly pudding; and so, with quite a premature bashfulness, she sent me a message by the shoemaker, ordering me to walk away if I had made my purchases, for that ladies of her rank did not choose to be stared at by strangers; and I was obliged to take my leave, though with sincere regret, for the little lord had just squeezed himself into an attitude than which I never saw anything more ludicrous in General Tom Thumb. When the ladies of the Seraglio come to that bazaar with their cortege of infernal black eunuchs, strangers are told to move on briskly. (85)

Psychoanalysis of the scene is vital to explain Thackeray's perception of the Orient. Characters in the scene show an exact similarity to an oriental painting; a lady from harem, her little child, merchant of the bazaar. Thackeray's role in the scene is depicted as an unwanted stranger who does not fit. Thackeray functions as an observer. Meanwhile, the picture is not flawless. The female character, which can

be found in traditional orientalist tales, is depicted as sexually unappealing. A bazaar scenery in reality contrasts to the imagined one. Thackeray, who likes to think that the lady fancies him, only wishes to observe the happiness of the child. He is ordered to be distanced both from undesired sexual possibility and from a realistic oriental scenery. "...[T]he need move beyond those clichéd icons through which the West has imagined and represented the Orient ... the language he uses in his attempt to capture this world is often distanced and monochromatic." (Lougy 232-3)

Olsaretti describes this phenomenon by the concept which he calls as picturesque tourism.

This interaction between landscape painting and tourism in the search for the picturesque promoted a spectatorial stance in leisure travel... Picturesque tourism meant that the land had to be apprehended and appreciated as if in a picture. It used the language and aesthetic categories of pictorial representation to describe actual landscapes and people. It implied detachment and observation. By the early nineteenth century, interest in the picturesque had begun to be replaced by a naturalism inspired in part by topographical painting which discreetly inscribed in the landscape signs of the progress of industry in the form of canals and mills. Yet the spectatorial stance remained and the specific language of the picturesque survived outside art circles, as these authors abundantly illustrated... Thackeray carried a sketchbook on [his] trips and included some of [his] drawings in [his] published works. Thackeray, in particular, dots his travelogue with mentions of the sketches he made. (253)

To summarize the above, Thackeray's perception of the Muslim orient is enthusiastic and positive. As a caricaturist he seeks for the real familiar Orient. This stand point is also valid for Thackeray's evaluation of Jerusalem. Jerusalem which Thackeray likes to see is the Oriental one. "The city never looked so noble; the mosques, domes, and minarets rising up into the calm star-lit sky." (160) Multicultural and welcoming complexity of the city is the one in which he prefers to be in and feels comfortable.

4.2. Thackeray's Jerusalem

All Europeans, indeed, seemed to me to be received with forbearance, and almost courtesy, within the walls. As I was going about making sketches, the people would look on very good-humouredly, without offering the least interruption; nay, two or three were quite ready to stand still for such an humble portrait as my pencil could make of them; and the sketch done, it was passed from one person to another, each making his comments, and signifying a very polite approval. (158)

However, Thackeray's gladness about the Muslim Oriental structure of Jerusalem does not continue on Jewish, Orthodox or Catholic identity of the city. Thackeray who finds the happiness within the Oriental streets and environment of Jerusalem becomes the victim of his prejudices against Jewish and Christian ones. In short, for Thackeray Jerusalem has a binary structure that both attracts and pushes him away.

I went out at the Zion Gate, and looked at the so-called tomb of David. I had been reading all the morning in the Psalms, and his history in Samuel and Kings. 'Bring thou down Shimei's hoar head to the grave with blood,' are the last words of the dying monarch as recorded by the history. What they call the tomb is now a crumbling old mosque; from which Jew and Christian are excluded alike. (145)

Above quotation is one of the few places where Thackeray talks about the discriminative activities against Jews and Christians applied by Ottoman administration. Actually, the real trouble about the place according to Thackeray is not in the discriminative actions, but again in the bloody incidents happened there.

Another righteous complain about Ottoman administration of the Jerusalem can be found in the entrance of the Holy Sepulcher; “Here crowds are waiting in the sun, until it shall please the Turkish guardians of the church door to open.” (148) These two dissatisfaction about the Ottoman entity in Jerusalem are the only examples of its kind and they do not bear fundamental importance for the representation of the place. The real disappointment comes from either fabricated structure of Jerusalem in terms of Christian heritage, or the city’s bloody history. Apart from that, the whole journey is measured through a globalist perception.

Thackeray's vision of Jerusalem, with its often unpleasant religious structure, does not stop him from talking about how all people are bound together, and should feel compassion for one another for that matter. Thackeray states that “the Maker has linked together the whole race of man with this chain of love” and mentions “the whole family of Adam” needs to bear “kindly feelings” to each other (43-44). Nevertheless, this unifying tone crucially excludes Jews. Below quotation is one of the good examples of how Thackeray sees Jews:

That company of Jews whom we had brought with us from Constantinople, and who had cursed every delay on the route, not from impatience to view the Holy City, but from rage at being obliged to purchase dear provisions for their maintenance on ship- board, made what bargains they best could at Jaffa, and journeyed to the Valley of Jehoshaphat at the cheapest rate. We saw the tall form of the old Polish Patriarch, venerable in filth, stalking among the stinking ruins of the Jewish quarter. The sly old Rabbi, in the greasy folding hat, who would not pay to shelter his children from the storm off Beyrout, greeted us in the bazaars; the younger Rabbis were furbished up

with some smartness. We met them on Sunday at the kind of promenade by the walls of the Bethlehem Gate; they were in company of some red-bearded co-religionists, smartly attired in Eastern raiment; but their voice was the voice of the Jews of Berlin, and of course as we passed they were talking about so many hundred thaler. You may track one of the people, and be sure to hear mention of that silver calf that they worship. (141)

No matter what Jews are always seen guilty for murdering Jesus by Thackeray. Thackeray unmercifully stereotypes them as being dirty, stinky, greasy and penny pinching infidels. In this context, whenever Thackeray comes across a Jew or Jewish symbol in Jerusalem, it spoils the harmonious integrity of the city which is for him supposed to be Oriental. Besides, the case of Jewish converts signifies a separate and more important aspect;

These poor converts should surely be sent away to England out of the way of persecution. We could not but feel a pity for them, as they sat there on their benches in the church conspicuous; and thought of the scorn and contumely which attended them without, as they passed, in their European dresses and shaven beards, among their grisly, scowling, long-robed countrymen. (142)

Thackeray's ideas about the converted Christians indicate his colonialist mind. Although in general he shows tolerance and acceptance to see the different cultures and nationalities, he shows no doubt for their happiness. England appears as the place of safety, the heaven on earth, the key to supply happiness to these converts. Yet, it is also important that Thackeray does not welcome any other sufferers of the East to Britain, apart from these converts. In a psychological

undertone, those who accept the English identity are the ones who deserved to be saved.

In addition to anti-Jewish carping, other Christian sects are also targeted by Thackeray. “Jews, it will then appear, are not the only victims of Titmarsh's bad temper. He has harsh things to say about Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox believers too...and wherever he goes he finds, or suspects, swindlers.” (Praver 148) Particularly Holy Sculpture symbolizes Thackeray's disapproval of different Christian, especially Catholic, sects. Below is the description of Thackeray as a representative of an English Anglican Protestant. Thackeray describes a moderate Englishman;

As for the strangers, there is no need to describe them: that figure of the Englishman, with his hands in his pockets, has been seen all the world over: staring down the crater of Vesuvius, or into a Hottentot kraal-or at a pyramid, or a Parisian coffee-house, or an Esquimaux hut-with the same insolent calmness of demeanour. When the gates of the church are open, he elbows in among the first, and flings a few scornful piastres to the Turkish door-keeper; and gazes round easily at the place, in which people of every other nation in the world are in tears, or in rapture, or wonder. He has never seen the place until now, and looks as indifferent as the Turkish guardian who sits in the doorway, and swears at the people as they pour in. (148-49)

Thackeray's depiction of an English man represents how an average English tourist would feel about Jerusalem. Especially the Holy Sepulcher as the main monument for Christian interest in Jerusalem emphasizes the general attitude of a

Christian tourist in the city. Nevertheless, for Thackeray, the Holy Sculpture is the representation of the Vatican Christianity that is built upon lies.

Jarred and distracted by these, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for some time, seems to an Englishman the least sacred spot about Jerusalem. It is the lies, and the legends, and the priests, and their quarrels, and their ceremonies, which keep the Holy Place out of sight. ... The Roman conquerors, they say, raised up a statue of Venus in this sacred place, intending to destroy all memory of it. I don't think the heathen was as criminal as the Christian is now. To deny and disbelieve, is not so bad as to make belief a ground to cheat upon. ... (151)

According to Lougy, the relationship between Thackeray and the Holy Sepulcher “is one of distance and separation – of barriers that can not be broken down and of an insolence that only partially defends the narrator against fears of a failure not only of will but of love and the imagination as well.” (Lougy 246) Thackeray speaks of the impossibility to understand the devotion of a Catholic believer. Thackeray mentions one of his Catholic friends and in this sense, “The place seemed to me like a shabby theatre; and here was my friend on his knees at my side, plunged in a rapture of wonder and devotion.” (149) Later Thackeray will accuse Catholics for being insincere in their devotions and eventually he will state that he “could get from this church no other emotions but those of shame and pain.” (150) The Holy Sepulcher in particular, and Christian Jerusalem in general is, therefore, a source of disappointment. Proving Lougy’s theory of distance, Thackeray manages to feel alienated even within the very first places of Christian faith. Meanwhile, Orthodox Christian Sects are seen as another source of discomfort

for Thackeray. He states that within the Church, there is a debate between the different sects. According to him, this will consequently bring a sort of alienation for an English man.

The different churches battle for the possession of the various relics. The Greeks show you the Tomb of Melchisedec, while the Armenians possess the Chapel of the Penitent Thief; the poor Copts (with their little cabin of a chapel) can yet boast of possessing the thicket in which Abraham caught the Ram, which was to serve as the vicar of Isaac; the Latins point out the Pillar to which the Lord was bound. The place of the Invention of the Sacred Cross, the Fissure in the Rock of Golgotha, the Tomb of Adam himself—are all here within a few yards' space...and the priests clad in outlandish robes, snuffling and chanting incomprehensible litanies, robing, disrobing, lighting up candles or extinguishing them, advancing, retreating, bowing with all sorts of unfamiliar genuflexions...The priest's authority has so mastered his faith, that it accommodates itself to any demand upon it; and the English stranger looks on the scene, for the first time, with a feeling of scorn, bewilderment, and shame at that grovelling credulity, those strange rites and ceremonies, that almost confessed imposture. (150-51)

In another incident, Thackeray talks about debate between these sects by giving more concrete examples, different from the ones in the Church of Holy Sepulcher. He is excessively disturbed by the hate among these sects. Naturally, as a Protestant, Thackeray is able to make comments more freely about the subject. Indeed, his comment is also affected by his Protestant identity. Yet, the real problem

that he underlines is about the hate among Christians rather than the inferior criticism of the made-up construction of Jerusalem.

These three main sects hate each other; their quarrels are interminable; each bribes and intrigues with the heathen lords of the soil, to the prejudice of his neighbour. Now it is the Latins who interfere, and allow the common church to go to ruin, because the Greeks purpose to roof it; now the Greeks demolish a monastery on Mount Olivet, and leave the ground to the Turks, rather than allow the Armenians to possess it. On another occasion, the Greeks having mended the Armenian steps which lead to the (so-called) Cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the latter asked for permission to destroy the work of the Greeks, and did so. And so round this sacred spot, the centre of Christendom, the representatives of the three great sects worship under one roof, and hate each other! (152)

Separate from the Catholic criticism, Thackeray makes an independent evaluation of Orthodox Church. Like the one in the Church of Holy Sepulcher, Orthodox believers are seen performing devotions that have been described as being insincere and fake by Thackeray. Furthermore, the Orthodox icons or depiction within the church are also labelled as being barbaric and savage. “The legends with which the Greeks and Latins have garnished the spot have no more sacredness for you than the hideous, unreal, barbaric pictures and ornaments which they have lavished on it.” These “savage Gothic caricatures”, on which the Orthodox faith is stored, are also seen to be mistaken. “In either a saint appears in the costume of the middle ages, and is made to accommodate himself to the fashion of the tenth

century.” (150) Therefore, Thackeray makes his point about the righteous wish of Protestant belief which teaches the purification of the Christianity.

Nevertheless, the real point which determines the real value of Jerusalem for Thackeray lies under the past bloody incidents that are repeatedly mentioned by him. Deeply affected by his anti-Semitic feelings, Jerusalem reminds him of the wars of the history recorded in Hebrew past.

I made many walks round the city to Olivet and Bethany, to the tombs of the kings, and the fountains sacred in story. These are green and fresh, but all the rest of the landscape seemed to me to be FRIGHTFUL... It and they, as it seems to me, can never be regarded without terror. Fear and blood, crime and punishment, follow from page to page in frightful succession. There is not a spot at which you look, but some violent deed has been done there: some massacre has been committed, some victim has been murdered, some idol has been worshipped with bloody and dreadful rites. Not far from hence is the place where the Jewish conqueror fought for the possession of Jerusalem. (145)

Apart from all, it has to be clarified that this bloody history of Jerusalem does not belong only to Jews, but also Christians have contributed to this history. Thackeray says that he is always in favour of Saracens in their war with the Crusaders. Although the reason for that is not clear, the possible explanation would be personal disapproval of Catholic blood shed that was done in the name of Christ.

An enormous charnel-house stands on the hill where the bodies of dead pilgrims used to be thrown; and common belief has fixed upon this spot as the Aceldama, which Judas purchased with the price of his treason. Thus

you go on from one gloomy place to another, each seared with its bloody tradition. Yonder is the Temple, and you think of Titus's soldiery storming its flaming porches, and entering the city, in the savage defence of which two million human souls perished. It was on Mount Zion that Godfrey and Tancred had their camp: when the Crusaders entered the mosque, they rode knee-deep in the blood of its defenders, and of the women and children who had fled thither for refuge: it was the victory of Joshua over again. Then, after three days of butchery, they purified the desecrated mosque and went to prayer. In the centre of this history of crime rises up the Great Murder of all . . . (146)

Actually Thackeray is pretty much coherent about the historic documentation of wars that took place among three Abrahamic religions. Therefore Jerusalem for Thackeray is a city of disgrace for humanity. "I need say no more about this gloomy landscape. After a man has seen it once, he never forgets it-the recollection of it seems to me to follow him like a remorse, as it were to implicate him in the awful deed which was done there." (146) Still, the Oriental structure of the city is remembered as a pleasant memory. Therefore Thackeray's image of Jerusalem transforms to be more accurate after his visit. This can also be seen in the following sentences that Thackeray compares himself with his addressee who has not been to the Holy Land . Although Jerusalem is the city that would be pleasantly remembered by its camels and shepherds, it loses its value of being the most sacred place on earth.

-flocks and shepherds, wells and funerals, and camel-trains,-have left on my mind a brilliant, romantic, and cheerful picture. But you, dear M-, without

visiting the place, have imagined one far finer; and Bethlehem, where the Holy Child was born, and the angels sang, “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and goodwill towards men,” is the most sacred and beautiful spot in the earth to you. (154)

CONCLUSION

THE IMAGE OF JERUSALEM IN THE EYES OF WESTERN PROTESTANT TRAVELS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TWAIN, LOTI AND THACKERAY

Travel is fatal to prejudice, bigotry and narrow-mindedness, and many of our people need it sorely on these accounts. Broad, wholesome, charitable views of men and things can not be acquired by vegetating in one little corner of the earth all one's lifetime.

Mark Twain, *the Innocents Abroad*.

Travel writing is a form of literature which is located between imagination and reality, so is the image of the depicted city influenced by this mediate location. Above all, Jerusalem appears as a problematic and complex subject matter for travelers. Following Pratt's theory of contact zones, Jerusalem is among "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other" (519) and also directly connecting to writer/traveler's religious, cultural, national and personal identity, Jerusalem is the city of conflicting images. Pratt states,

A "contact" perspective emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and "travelees," not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power. (7)

Depending on Pratt's definition of "contact", what travelers see during their visits has been shaped by the socio-cultural mechanisms. The value of Jerusalem by

Loti, Twain and Thackeray, who are from three dominant Western countries, is evaluated according to their own personal perceptions of the city. For Loti, Jerusalem is accepted as the city in which it is possible for him to restore faith in God. Jerusalem is considered to be thrice the holy city. Meanwhile, Twain only considers the Holy Sepulcher and especially the spot of crucifixion as a place worthy for praising. But, he is highly disturbed by the Ottoman and Muslim presence within the city. Moreover, Thackeray interestingly enjoys Muslim-Oriental characteristics of Jerusalem. But he is specifically dislikes the city itself for its bloody history. Besides, all three travelers speak of the imaginative characteristics of Jerusalem, mainly produced by the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. But why would these celebrated men of literature choose to represent Jerusalem they way they did?

Musgrove suggests the applicability of formalist travel criticism for the evaluation of travel writing, which has been predominantly considered under the scope of postcolonial literature and especially Orientalism after 1980s and he refers to van Gennep's theory of the territorial passage (2). The theory perfectly suits the formalist evaluation of the travel writing by the revealing the phases in which travel writer is.

According to the theory, a person goes through rites of passage while traveling from a place (home) to another place (destination). During the travel there are some psychological and sociological shifts. Traveler goes through three phases; separation, liminality, and re-incorporation. In the first phase, traveling from one place or status to another, the person departs from the group. There is often a

detachment or alienation from his/her original identity in the first phase. The liminal phase is the transition period, during which person has left one place and identity but hasn't yet adopted the next one. In the third phase, the person reintegrates into the society, completing the rite and assumed his/her new adopted identity. Most of the time, the separation and re-incorporation phases happen traditionally by symbolic rituals. (van Gennep 26-31)

The border-crossing into a neutral zone, however, involves an inversion of value systems: not a lack of identity but a shifting identity, for both landscape and traveller, landscape and traveller are sites of indeterminacy, so that travel is *not* the simple inscription of an established meaning over a neutralised, identityless other. The travelling subject, wavering between two worlds, is by no means the self-assured colonist; rather, that subject is poised to split and unravel. The process of transition, and its associated liminal rites, were always anthropologically theorised as modes of 'unsettlement' rather than transcendence or occupation. And rather than constructing the world from glimpsed fragments - the intellectual motive-force in Greenblatt's 'primal act of witnessing -travel and border-crossing signify a geographic and psychic disunification, anticipating a potential confusion of established order whereby disunification becomes cultural dysfunction. (Musgrove 39)

Considering Twain's, Loti's and Thackeray's travelogues, the application of theory starts with their departure from home countries. Although the border crossing does not include big ceremonies, their identities swiftly change. First of all, by

crossing the border, they adopt themselves the new identity as a traveler or a tourist. This simple change essentially affects their perspectives. However, their identity change depends on their previous personal and national identities. In this case, for Thackeray, what could be observed is a portrait of a traveler, coming from a colonialist family, whose occupation is literature also belonging to the strongest colonialist country of the nineteenth century. This point contrasts to Loti's identity as a French citizen who is defeated by British powers over the colonial race and being an Orientalist, who feels affectionate about the orient and Muslim world. Twain's situation contradicts to the other two. Twain has proven himself as a worthy literary humorist and journalist. Furthermore, Twain as an American wishes for the promotion of his separate national identity. However, since their identities as travelers are highly affected by their previous positions, it is hard to claim a total separation from the original place, situation or identity they used to have.

The transition stage does not take very much time, due to the fact that the change in their identity is not of a ground breaking type. Rather than a denial of their previous identities, it is an alienation from the previous mental state of being home, to another of a person situated on a foreign surrounding. Therefore, depending on the person, the new identity adopted in the re-incorporation phase is expected to reflect specific psychoanalytic pre-determinations. First, the traveler is located 'elsewhere', in a foreign land, secondly he/she is away from the home for a purpose of acquiring new information. Therefore, traveler is eager to make comparisons, descriptions, and accusations to compose a general picture of the

elsewhere to his/her own receiver, in most cases from his/her original nation. Yet, Jerusalem reveals different characteristics from the expected mental process.

As it is seen in all three travelers, Jerusalem is seen and accepted as a part of the personal identity. Therefore, the notion of being 'elsewhere' contradicts to the nature of Jerusalem as a part of personal identity. This situation resembles 'motion sickness' or kinetosis. According to motion sickness, the brain acquires the data of being in motion through three receptors, by the balance mechanism in the ears, by the feeling on the skin and eventually by seeing. When the movement takes place, despite eyes are fixed to a rigid object or environment, the other receptors still deliver the data of motion. The brain expects to be in motion, yet eyes deny it. Therefore, the brain cannot completely accept the fact, causing the motion sickness. Similarly, a protestant traveler in Jerusalem receives knowledge of being on the land of god, but he/she can not see the expected surrounding. Therefore, while brain's expectations are denied by eyes, the complete appreciation of the city cannot be actualized. This can be described as 'perception sickness'. Consequently, it can be claimed that the new identities of Loti, Twain and Thackeray of the re-incorporation phase are not of a tourist type. In an Orientalist sense, their identities and so perceptions are influenced by their reception of 'the other', in many cases appears on Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish or Muslim basis.

Butor talks about the exploration type of travel in his article "Travel and Writing", in which he actually makes distinction between the other types of travel like, roundtrip travels, pilgrimages, migration, nomadic travel etc. However, the distinction between the types of travel is not always clear. Here, travel to Jerusalem

appears as a pilgrimage as well as being round-trip journeys, and naturally they contain an essence of exploration. Butor states that,

The exploratory voyage allows us to rediscover primitive wandering in the parentheses of fixed residence; we must know how to read natural signs. The *récits* of the great navigators or explorers show that this reading generally requires a teacher. Usually, it is a (more or less) settled native who teaches the explorer to recognize the trails, to identify landmarks, to perceive the dangers. The unknown land is already elaborated like a text, even if the native translator is often eliminated in the end by his dangerous pupil. (78-79)

These characteristics of explorative travel are especially valid for Twain, who makes continuous cementation about the value of the place he visits. The denial of the previous explorers is seen in his contradictions to previous travel writers he read. Partly because of this urge of opposition, and partly to manifest his identity, he feels an obligation to re-identify the landmarks, or in other words refines their previous descriptions. Twain's common generalizations also support this argument. Greenblatt states that "The discoverer sees only a fragment and then imagines the rest in the act of appropriation. The supplement that imagination brings to vision expands the perceptual field, encompassing the distant hills and valleys or the whole of an island or an entire continent..." (122) and he concludes that the parts which are seen become the metonymy of the whole, which will be later promoted to the audience through travel writing.

This is also true for Thackeray in the Holy Land, who bears a strong need to represent his English identity. His comparisons and descriptions of a normal Englishmen's attitude in the Holy Sepulcher is a good illustration of this need. Nevertheless, he does not make strong oppositions to the previous travel writers; he tries to pass his ideas and emotions about the place to the audience. So, his exploratory side can be claimed to be less strong than Twain. Meanwhile, Loti follows a significantly different pattern. He does not seek for a way to express his ideas about the city. Instead, he tries to complete a sort of spiritual journey. Although his final failure in his efforts implies to a negative criticism of Jerusalem, his tolerance to the presence of the Muslim 'other' points out the nature of his travelogue. Hence, their perception formation can be said to influence their representation of the city. In this case, Twain, who makes unsympathetic generalizations and representations of "the other", diverse from Loti and Thackeray.

An important feature of colonial discourse is its dependence on the concept of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness. Fixity, as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, is a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition. Likewise the stereotype, which is its major discursive strategy, is a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated... (Bhabha 94-95)

Archetypes and stereotypes are used widely by Twain, Loti and Thackeray. Particularly, the frequent use of stereotypes contributes the image of Jerusalem, as

stereotypes serve for the descriptions formation. Here, stereotypical representations of Jews serve as the common point among these travelers. However, they do not regard Jews as the integral part of the city. Jerusalem is perceived as either an Oriental or a Christian city. Still, through stereotyping, Jews are described as the fixes inferior “other”. Above and beyond, Loti’s stereotyping demonstrates milder attributes. His employment of stereotypes and archetypes are used to depict the intended geographical surrounding such as the innocent shepherd boy or the white robed priest. Loti’s milder employment of such stereotypes can be explained by the general French attitude for the Orient, described by said as

The reverses of policy, losses of colonies, insecurity of possession, and shifts in philosophy that France suffered during the Revolution and the Napoleonic era meant that its empire had a less secure identity and presence in French culture. In Chateaubriand and Lamartine one hears the rhetoric of imperial grandeur; and in painting, in historical and philological writing, in music and theater one has an often vivid apprehension of France’s outlying possessions. But in the culture at large – until after the middle of the century- there is rarely that weighty, almost philosophical sense of imperial mission that one finds in Britain. (Said, Culture and Imperialism 34)

Therefore Loti’s perception of Orient is also in harmony with the general French attitude; but, not restricted to that. Loti perceives the city through his own personal intentions, which are broadly determined by his affection to the East and religious imperfections. Andre says that “...Pierre Loti has been often accused...of having confused the depiction of what was in his heart with the realities he had in front of him.” (40) But Loti’s attitude can also be accounted for French apathy for in

colonial purposes. In the meantime, According to Said, what “the full roster of significant Victorian writers” including Thackeray, “saw was a tremendous international display of British power virtually unchecked over the entire world. It was both logical and easy to identify themselves in one way or another with this power, having through various means already identifies themselves with Britain domestically.” (Said, Culture and Imperialism 126-7) Thackeray can be observed in his suggestions to the Jewish converts for resettlement in England. However, Thackeray does not principally utilize such imperial ideas. Yet, eventually Thackeray’s and Loti’s descriptions of Jerusalem correspond to Said’s ideas for British and French attitudes.

According to Said, geography stimulates memory, dreams, fantasies, poetry, painting, philosophy, fiction, and music. “But what specially interests me is the hold of both memory and geography on the desire for conquest and domination.” (Said, Invention 181). But, Jerusalem for these writers arises to be a domination area between Orthodox, Catholics and Protestants, rather than between Christians and Muslims. Forming the image of Jerusalem writer’s emotions and ideas about Catholicism and Orthodoxy extensively change the consequence. Therefore, the struggle for Jerusalem actually takes place between different Christian sects. For Protestant writers, Jerusalem is a geography that has to be dominated according to their own belief. The Muslim and Jewish presence only appears on the secondary importance, and mostly in conformity with the previous identifications of the travel writer. The image of Jerusalem, in that sense, depends on the former ideas of the writer. As the last world, Said explains this concept quite perfectly;

...Jerusalem, a city, an idea, an entire history, and of course a specifiable geographical locale often typified by a photograph of the Dome of the Rock, the city walls, and the surrounding houses seen from the Mount of Olives; it too is overdetermined when it comes to memory, as well as all sorts of invented histories and traditions, all of them emanating from it, but most of them in conflict with each other. This conflict is intensified by Jerusalem's mythological -as opposed to actual geographical- location, in which landscape, buildings, streets, and the like are overlain and, I would say, even covered entirely with symbolic associations totally obscuring the existential reality of what as a city and real place Jerusalem is. The same can be said for Palestine, whose landscape functions in the memories of Jews, Muslims, and Christians entirely differently. (Said, Orientalism 180)

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