THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

ANKARA UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TURKS

IN TWENTIETH CENTURY BRITISH TRAVEL WRITING ON ASIA MINOR

PhD THESIS

VEYSEL İŞÇİ

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Examination Date: 13th July, 2020

TO

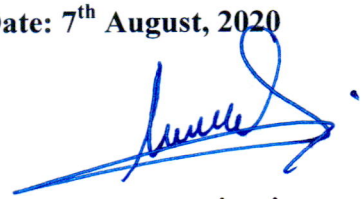
The Graduate School of Social Sciences,

ANKARA UNIVERSITY

THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

I hereby declare that all the scientific knowledge and data in this PhD thesis, titled REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TURKS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY BRITISH TRAVEL WRITING ON ASIA MINOR, have been collected and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical codes. I further declare that, pursuant to these rules and codes, I have completely cited and partly referenced all the material that is not an original part of this thesis. I also acknowledge that if any of these prerequisites are not met in this study, I will bear all legal consequences.

Date: 7th August, 2020



Veysel İŞÇİ

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In his book *The Norton Book of Travel* (1987), Paul Fussell argues that, after the great Renaissance age of colonial exploration and expansion, a systematic empiricism made travelling through the earth and seeing new and different things "something like an obligation for the person conscientious about developing the mind and accumulating knowledge" (129). Therefore, a new notion of travelling through Europe for educational purposes, which is called the Grand Tour, emerged in Europe in the late seventeenth century and became popular among young men of the ruling classes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to Thomas Nugent, the entire purpose of the Grand Tour was "to form the complete gentleman" (xi). In the essay "The Grand Tour and After (1660–1840)", James Buzard argues that, in these *Tours*, the desirable or even quasi-obligatory destinations, where the appropriate kind of experience was to be acquired, were Paris and Italy (41). Buzard further suggest that while France was regarded as "the natural habitat of the refined manners and gracious behaviour necessary to civilised men", Italy was "both Nature's Darling to the visitor from colder northern lands and the home of classical civilisation, both in its original (ancient Roman) and its recreated (Renaissance) manifestations" (41).

Turkey has also attracted many Western travellers for centuries. While some travellers have been fascinated by its unique natural lands involving sublime and picturesque beauties, others have been interested in antiquity, Christianity and the Biblical past in the south eastern part of Turkey, generally referred to as 'Asia Minor'. Particularly in the eighteenth century, antiquarian travellers and wealthy tourists journeyed to Italy and Greece, some coming as far as Turkey, to start their Classical education by visiting famous places portrayed in literary texts such as Rome, Athens, and Istanbul. Along with the Grand Tour, another significant factor that resulted in a

growing interest of the Western Europe in the Turks was the movement of Turquerie, an Orientalist fashion for mimicking Turkish art and culture. In his book *Turquerie – An Eighteenth-Century European Fantasy*, Haydn Williams defines Turquerie as a means of entertainment and pleasure, which has a figurative role that stresses social status and magnificence in Western Europe (5). Becoming more popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this fashionable phenomenon affected many aspects of the Western culture, including weddings, floor decorations (carpets), gardening (tulips), and drinking (coffee). Therefore, focusing on certain categories such as art, architecture, sculpture and theatre, Turquerie reflects an interesting echo of a weird European phantasm. As a result of this movement, Western intercourses with Turkey, which was initiated as fear and curiosity, was replaced by admire and emulation.

However, by the nineteenth century, the dilettante traveller had been largely joined by official parties, sent abroad specifically to study Classical sites and obtain sculptures for their collections. The major aim of these travels was to discover ancient relics and take them back home in order to preserve them for future generations because it was believed that the indifference of the Turks to these ancient sites and their lack of knowledge would result in the decomposition and eventually annihilation of great artefacts which represented antiquity, Christianity and Biblical history (Chandler 219, Fellows 45). Thus, many carved friezes, capitals and statues found their way into European museums during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Likewise, in the first half of the twentieth century, when the new Republic of Turkey launched a significant social and cultural transformation process with a radical programme of secularization and modernization reforms, a similar approach about the representation of the Turks and Turkey was adopted. Some early British travellers to modern Turkey, like those in former centuries, similarly felt superiority and dominancy

in old Ottoman lands. They mostly had a political agenda which focused on similar imperial aims such as restoring ancient sites back to their medieval (or former) glory.

In the second half of the twentieth century, however, Turkey's process of becoming a member of NATO[1] and the EU[2], and opening up to modern tourism put the country on the ordinary holiday-maker's itinerary, as well. Thus, contemporary British travellers' attitudes towards Turkey and the Turks have shifted in the 1950s. This change is clearly reflected in many travel accounts written in the second half of the twentieth century. Unlike former travellers who merely reflect ancient qualities of Turkey's southwest region by ignoring its present situation, many contemporary travel books record daily customs, habits and mannerisms of the Turkish people. Since they are mostly acquainted with the local people and get into the heart of the country without any imperial agenda, they represent Turkey as it is throughout their journeys without referring back to its Biblical, medieval or Christian past. They also portray the Turkish image in an unbiased way by solely focusing on the Turk's daily customs and habits. Moreover, in these travelogues, ancient sites in southwest Turkey are represented in a different manner, too. Contrary to orientalist and imperialist narratives of former travellers, such travel accounts include criticism of European archaeological malpractice involving smuggling artefacts into European museums.

In these contexts, this study aims to examine the change in the attitudes and perceptions of British travellers towards Turkey in the second half of the twentieth century and to analyse how this shift has been represented in selected travel narratives. The study sets out to provide a comprehensive literary analysis of representations of modern Turkey and the Turks by assessing different travel books and travellers. Since travel writing provides the framework for contextualizing and exploring arguments and

[1] Turkey has been a full member of NATO since 18th February, 1952.
[2] Turkey applied to accede as a full member to the EU on the 14th April, 1987.

perceptions of a country, selected travelogues in this study are believed to be instructive for better understating the representations of the Turks in British travel literature. However, only those travelogues that include real journeys are examined in the present study. Since it is aimed to analyse how the change in the attitudes of British travellers visiting Turkey has been represented in the twentieth-century British travel literature, fictional travelogues that are based on adventures and guidebooks that are of no literary value are ignored. Therefore, realistic works, which comprises of facts and truths and in which travellers have the opportunity to observe and reflect the Turks' changing image, are mainly included in this study. As a result, by particularly focusing on the change in the British perceptions of the modern image of the Republic of Turkey, the study seeks to contribute to the postcolonial travel literature studies by aiming to explore the subject of 'Orient' from a different point of view.

The study pays special attention to the 'orientalism' debates, and its engagements with the critique of imperialism and colonialism, and to the way stereotyping and imaging operate within the historical realism of twentieth-century travel literature. Therefore, the theoretical framework is mainly built upon examining how relevant Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) proves in this particular juncture when, for the first time ever, British officials are actually in a position of direct authority over areas formerly ruled by the Ottoman Sultan and therefore British authority have been instrumental in re-shaping the political landscape following the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire at Lausanne[3]. As a result, it is hoped that, regarding the politics of East–West discourse, the study might provide a pathway through which one can examine the issue of the "Eastern Other" in Western societies, and its association with the "Western Self".

[3] The treaty of peace signed in Lausanne, Switzerland, on 24 July 1923 which officially finished the war that had been fought between Turkey and the allied powers since the beginning of World War I.

The study consists of four chapters: an introductory chapter focusing on literature and theory on British travel writing as a distinct genre will be followed by three chapters dealing with distinctive periods of British travel writing on Southwest Turkey and the Turks in general. In these chapters, the perceptions of British travellers towards the Turks and Turkey will be presented in a chronological way so that individual differences regarding representations of the Turks are better emphasized. Therefore, it is supposed that the historical narrative will help better understand the linear *change* in the image and stereotyping of the Turks in modern British travel narratives.

The first chapter will include a detailed description of British travel writing tradition from the medieval period till now, a comprehensive review of existent scholarship on travel writing to Turkey, and the theoretical framework that the study relies on. The present study will focus on travel narratives in selected works of British travellers. In this respect, first, the historical development of travel writing as a literary genre will be examined. Since travel literature is relatively a new field, studies about travel writing to Turkey are not too many. Even so, a broad literature review that includes works on representations of the Turks in both the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey will be presented. The theoretical approach to be employed in this study will mainly focus on investigating post-colonial literary theories and examining how Edward Said's theory of orientalism and Mary Louise Pratt's critique of imperialist ideology prove useful for understanding the way British travellers write about Turkey. Moreover, since the study is built upon representations for its analytical researches, theories regarding representing a country will also be discussed in this chapter.

In the second chapter, it will be aimed to reveal the roots of imperialist representations regarding the Turks and Turkey. Therefore, three travelogues written by eminent antiquarian travellers who visited southwest Turkey during late Ottoman period

will be examined. In this respect, primary sources that will be analysed in this chapter include Richard Chandler's *Travels in Asia Minor, or an Account of a Tour Made at the Expense of the Society of Dilettanti* (1776) and Charles Fellows' *A Journal Written During an Excursion in Asia Minor (1838)* and *The Xanthian Marbles: Their Acquisition and Transition to England* (1842).

The third chapter will deal with the representations of Turkey and the Turks in the early years of the Turkish Republic, from 1923 until the 1960s, during which period Atatürk's reforms were modernizing Turkish society. In this respect, it will focus on whether travel narratives of British travellers who journeyed to Turkey during this period still bear similarities to those of former travellers. The travel accounts that will be examined in this chapter will be Harold Armstrong's *Turkey and Syria Reborn: A Record of Two Years of Travel* (1930), Freya Stark's *The Lycian Shore: A Turkish Odyssey* (1956), and Patrick Kinross' *Europa Minor: Journeys in Coastal Turkey* (1956).

The fourth chapter, focusing on British travel literature on Turkey in the second half of the twentieth century, will examine whether a change occurred in British travellers' attitudes towards the modern image of the Turks during this period when Turkey began to be widely recognized as a strategic partner of the West due to its efforts to become a NATO and EU member. Therefore, the main purpose will be to analyse how the modern culture in New Turkey, shaped by European and American models after the 1950s, is reflected in selected travelogues. In this respect, the works to be analysed in this chapter are Nancy Phelan's *Welcome The Wayfarer: A Traveller in Modern Turkey* (1965), Richard Percival Lister's *Turkey Observed* (1967), Craig Mair's *A Time in Turkey* (1973), and Brian Sewell's *South From Ephesus: Travels through Aegean Turkey* (1988).

Throughout all these chapters, this study will mainly seek to examine how differentiated images and stereotypes created by selected British travel narratives contribute to the understanding of modern Turkish image. To do so, travel accounts are intentionally chosen since they are believed to demonstrate true codifications regarding the image of the Turks. Therefore, rather than fictional representations found in novels, plays and film studies, objective portrayals of travellers presented in their genuine reports are included in this thesis.

Travel writing has been regarded as a discipline and received critical attention since the 1980s (Pettinger and Youngs 1). As it involves challenging political, social, cultural and generic conventions and bases on identity, ethnicity, gender, sexuality and other characteristics, an important heterogeneity is generally found in travel literature. However, the present study follows the general, though not universally agreed-upon principle that "travel writing consists of the narrative of an actual journey told by the person or persons who undertook it" (Pettinger and Youngs 4). In their *Research Companion*, Pettinger and Youngs frame the act of travel into various categories, including scientific travellers, nature writing, migrant narratives, the expatriate life memoirs, pair travelling, footsteps, and vertical travel. In this study, archaeologist-travellers, who seek to acquire knowledge of the unknown and involve intensive first-hand observation and information gathering from local residents, are mostly examined to illustrate the imperial aim of carrying ancient artefacts into Britain. Therefore, the imperialist discourse that involves dominancy, hegemony and fantasy seen in the narratives of these travellers is often emphasized in the literary analyses of travel texts published in former centuries. Moreover, accounts of those travellers who engage with former travel writers and attempt to duplicate their itineraries by following their footsteps in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are also included in this study to show the fixity and persistence of the imperial language and to examine how

the accounts of these ‘second journeys’ frequently figure the motifs of nostalgia, authenticity and oversaturation.

Regarding modes of writing, the study also examines some of the most commonly used literary forms, including epistolary and narrative. By doing so, it is aimed to recognize the dynamics between the act of travel and how it is made. Particularly, in accordance with Mary Louise Pratt’s *Imperial Eyes*, the part played by sight and looking in travel is emphasized to stress domination, appropriation and recognition in the narratives of travellers that visited Asia Minor in earlier centuries. The study also dedicates large space to analyses of the construction of self and other in travel texts by focusing on the differentiation along the lines of nation, gender or cultural practice. Therefore, those travelogues that include the exchange of communication and the relation between Western self and Eastern other receive a particular attention in this PhD thesis.

As will be illustrated throughout the whole study, in this doctoral research, it is argued that perceptions of British travellers regarding the image and stereotype of the Turks change in the second half of the twentieth century due to Turkey’s westernization and modernization efforts. Therefore, while determining analytical categories, the study becomes selective in travelogues written on modern Turkey. Particularly, in order to clearly demonstrate the shift in the attitudes of British travellers towards the Turks, travelogues that reflect favourable representations of the Turks in the spheres of religion, education, culture, economy, clothing, and the status of women are included in the present study. These particular writers are more influential than others in forming the British travellers’ changing attitude to the Turks in the second half of the twentieth century.

Similarly, to show the contrast between unfavourable representations of earlier travellers and favourable portrayals of contemporary travellers, a chronological approach that starts from the eighteenth century and continues till the end of twentieth century is adopted. During this period, along with some familiar travel books already known in the literature, new and less popular travelogues are mostly analysed to present original data for the field. By doing so, the study also proposes to pay a special attention to individual dissimilarities of the travellers, which, are often neglected in orientalism and imperialism debates of postcolonial criticism.

In sum, the study hopes to offer a wide-ranging reflection of the state of travel writing by defining common denominators of the genre and examining how narratives of Western travellers describe Asia Minor in historical context. It also aims to arrive at a West-East discourse liberated from the obstinacy of the colonial legacy. However, a serious effort will be made to review and reject a great many inherited representations as these inherited representations are so persistent, and so damaging.

Chapter 1 – The Development of Travel Writing as a Literary Genre in Britain and British Travel Writing on Turkey

1.1. The Emergence and Development of British Travel Writing as a Literary Genre

Travel literature, in the most general sense concerns the spatial movement or travel between the self and the other. Thus, it is a literary genre that reflects similarities and differences which are observed during this journey (Thompson 10). In a broader sense, travel literature can be defined as the literary genre in which, by adding his own values, prejudices and assumptions, the traveller shares explanatory reports about a large and unfamiliar world, and sets up new relations between source and target cultures on a similarity-difference basis. However, while defining travel literature, it is also important to clarify what cannot be considered as travel writing. For, as Paul Fussell suggests, not every journey is travel and, likewise, not every travel book – particularly guidebooks – is a form of travel writing (15). Therefore, it is crucial to note the differences between guidebooks and travelogues.

In knowledge transfer, a guidebook widely includes visual narrative models such as maps, illustrations, lists, tables and symbols, whereas a travelogue consists of large prose texts which remind us novel both formally and stylistically. In these narratives, the traveller retrospectively recounts his experiences about a particular journey and unfamiliar place(s) with first-person singular, and expresses his feelings, opinions and impressions about that place in a literary manner. Similarly, while in guidebooks, the main objective is to share practical information on the place, in a travelogue, the traveller's idiosyncratic sensitivity to the place and his stylistic devices are clearly observed. Therefore, in such texts, the style has an equal importance as the content.

Although resembling the novel in terms of style and content, travel writing must be differentiated from novel, as well. For, in travel writing, the journey, which is the main aspect of travel literature, should be really undertaken (Fussell 3). In this context, it is not possible to classify Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1902) or Laurence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* (1768) as travel literature. Although *Heart of Darkness* includes a narrated journey on the Congo River, it implicitly comments on imperialism and racism and mainly highlights the difference between 'civilized' West and 'savage' Africa. Even if it includes certain semi-autobiographical facts related to Conrad's brief stay in Belgian Congo, it is mostly a fictional account of the events and characters it describes. Similarly, Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* tends to describe his travels in France and Italy in an emotional way rather than on reason. In contrast to former travelogues that emphasize classical learning and adopt a non-personal point of view, Sterne's book focuses on personal tastes and sentiments, manners and morals. Therefore, *Sentimental Journey* is often classified as a form of sentimental novel.

On the other hand, the famous Canadian critic Northrop Frye defines travel writing as 'displaced quest romance' (209). According to him, these romances come in two different modes, 'picaresque' and 'pastoral'. While, in picaresque mode, certain adventures and misadventures are chronologically narrated, in elegiac or pastoral mode, the traveller emphasizes last remains of a disappearing culture which he finds less complicated and stressful when compared to his own (Frye 215).

As seen above, it is not correct to define travel writing as a genre that only involves real journeys. On the contrary, when the fact that travellers recount their memoirs *after* they complete their travels is taken into consideration, it is not surprising that they tend to narrate these memoirs in a vivid way identical to novelists. To do so, travellers employ certain techniques such as being economical in representing the truth, hyperbolic in disclosing the facts, and selective in using free indirect discourse

(Thompson 28). In the travelogues, where fiction and reality are intermingled, in order to highlight the heroic mode that encompasses his travel adventures, the traveller employs first-person narratives as if he were carrying out the whole journey on his own without any help. In addition, in these narratives, the free indirect discourse, which is associated with modernist and postmodernist novelists[4], is often employed. The dialogues are also quoted verbatim as if the traveller remembers all these conversations. Also, the traveller avoids including all parts of the journey in order to avoid 'boring' the reader, and instead, expands on certain parts in order to make it more appealing for the reader.

It can be clearly seen that in the travelogues, which were published particularly in the second half of the twentieth century, fiction and reality are mostly intermingled. As is the case in Bruce Chatwin's *The Songlines* (1987), Chatwin travels around less-known parts of Australia, accompanied by a fictional guide called Arkady. Through philosophical inferences that he bases upon the communication method (Songline) of the local people (Aboriginals), Chatwin adds a new dimension to travel literature.

Even in the eighteenth century, we can see similar examples of fictional travel writing such as Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). As a parody of then popular travel narratives, Swift's book satirizes human nature, English customs and the politics of the eighteenth century. In the book, Lemuel Gulliver visits remote regions of the world and narrates four different adventures, each of which describes the people of an imaginary place for satirical purposes. Although the book contributed greatly to the emergence of novel form, it can be considered as an example of 'fictional' travel writing involving both quest romance and mockery rather than an actual travel account. In their *Companion to Travel Writing*, Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs argue that forgery

[4] Such as James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, D. H. Lawrence, and the French novelist Gustave Flaubert

has close relationship with travel writing (5). According to them, *Gulliver's Travels* is perhaps the most significant modern version of such travel parodies.

Increasingly, travellers are defined against the figure of the tourist. As Hulme and Youngs argue, notions of movement and individuality stand out against the democratisation of travel marked by the appearance of Thomas Cook's first tour in 1841 (7). Therefore, modern travellers often distance themselves against subjects of packaged itineraries. In this respect, they seek to gain literary value, which makes them a significant part of travel literature.

Although travel literature had not been regarded as a literary genre till the 1960s, this perception has gradually changed since then. Since it includes certain significant literary devices such as narrative, description, characterization, dialogue, imagery, and representation, travel writing, like the novel, is now considered to be an important part of prose (Adams 13). However, travel literature has a long history or tradition.

Being significant examples of oral literature, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (c. 1000 BC) and Homer's *Odyssey* (c. 600 BC) involve the theme of travel (Thompson 30). Consisting of twelve different tablets, the *Epic* includes three significant travels across ancient Mesopotamia undertaken by main characters. First, after being initiated into ways of civilized life, the wild man Enkidu travels to Uruk to challenge Gilgamesh, the divine king. Secondly, after these two characters become friends, they take a trip to a legendary forest called Cedar Forest for a dangerous mission. Finally, in the second half of the epic, Gilgamesh sets out on another perilous journey to acquire immorality (Sandars 33). These travels form a significant part of the epic and add motion and vivacity into the literal narrative. Similarly, in *Odyssey*, the Greek hero Odysseus' home-bound journey after the Trojan War is the main theme. Although, in the beginning, the epic poem does not follow a linear chronology of Odysseus' ten-year-

long wanderings, it mostly focuses on the main character's harrowing journey in the second four books. These travel narratives constitute a major part of the epic poem's main themes of disloyalty and revenge. For, during this journey, Odysseus' plans to take revenge when he returns home are often emphasized (Jones 27). Thus, "the ambiguous figure of Odysseus – adventurous, powerful, unreliable – is perhaps the appropriate archetype for the traveller" (Hulme and Youngs 2).

There are important travelogues in the Middle Ages, as well. In her book *Europe's Myths of the Orient: Devise and Rule* (1986), Rana Kabbani argues that "medieval and renaissance travel accounts as a genre came to depict voyages of a deliberate and self-conscious strangeness as they catered to the needs of sedentary audiences desiring depictions of the extraordinary" (3). In this respect, narratives of fantasy, exaggeration and supernatural abound in travel accounts circulated in medieval times.

In this era, *The Travels of Marco Polo* (1276-1291) can be considered as the first example of travel literature since – as the title clearly indicates – it focuses solely on travel. The travelogue, written by a romance writer Rustichello da Pisa, is based on Polo's experiences and accounts of his long journey through Asia between 1271 and 1295. Therefore, like *The Epic of Gilgamesh* and *Odyssey*, it includes some fabulous stories, which makes the reader suspicious of the authenticity of Polo's accounts. As a result, it is often likened to medieval romances that include miracles, myths and supernatural events. However, although whether Polo really travelled to China or not is still debatable, his *Travels* can still be considered as a pioneer of travel literature as a distinct genre (Prestwich 118).

In English Literature, Sir John Mandeville's *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1375) is considered to be a crucial milestone for British travel writing since it includes

narratives of certain travellers as well as additions that Mandeville describes as his own adventures. Mandeville's travel accounts also include history, traditions, beliefs, and myths of the places that he visits. As a result, he remains popular as the greatest traveller of medieval times (Moseley 19). As Hulme and Youngs argue, "the narratives of both Marco Polo and John Mandeville mark the beginnings of a new impulse in the late Middle Ages which would transform the traditional paradigms of pilgrimage and crusade into new forms attentive to observed experience and curiosity towards other lifeways" (3). According to Hulme and Youngs, even Christopher Columbus was, as a writer, "deeply influenced by both Mandeville and Marco Polo" (3). Columbus' early descriptions of the Caribbean islands echo their words.

Moreover, since its main subject is a holy pilgrimage journey, Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (c.1387) can also be regarded as a work of travel writing, penned in verse form. During this holy but perilous journey, each pilgrim tells a story which symbolizes different social classes in fourteenth century England. Although these allegorical tales constitute the main theme of the work, using a pilgrimage journey as a framing tool enables the author to bring together people from various social backgrounds, like monk, merchant, clerk, knight, pardoner, and miller. Even though the pilgrimage is basically considered to be a religious practice in the Middle Ages, the narrated tales add pleasure into the journey and make it more like a spring excursion. Therefore, Chaucer enriches his work by providing multiple social types and presenting a much valued literary combination of travel writing and storytelling (Prestwich 215). As well as the framing device for Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, "the centrality of the pilgrimage to Christianity produces much medieval travel writing" (Hulme and Youngs 2).

On the other hand, William H. Sherman argues that "documentation had always played an important role in travel, particularly in overseas ventures" (17). In the travel

accounts of English merchants and mariners in the Age of Discovery, one can clearly see that they were instructed to keep careful records of their movements, to direct the travellers who would follow in their footsteps and fill in the gaps of geographical knowledge. Since they include accounts of any features that are strange to English and shapes and manners of people that are differing from them, Sherman begins with his survey of early modern travel writing with works of these English merchants and mariners such as Thomas Bavin and Francis Drake. According to Sherman, the main aim of these travel accounts was to put the world on paper so that "the English could play a role in the apprehension of the wider world" (18).

However, since the English were not be able to travel to, write about or take possession of other parts of the world, the first English travel publications were translations of foreign works in the sixteenth century. But, by the end of seventieth century, England saw a boom in the publications of travel books (Sherman 19). As travellers made contact with new regions and peoples, travel writing emerged as one of the early modern period's most popular and flexible genres. Sherman argues that it not only "educated and entertained readers", but also "inspired national pride and commercial investment, and contributed to a public record of the world's markets, trade routes, personalities, and cultures" (20).

Hulme and Youngs claim that, when the new world of America was discovered, the greatest impact on English writing in the early sixteenth century was seen in Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), in which the fictional traveller, Raphael Hythloday, is said to have journeyed with Amerigo Vespucci to the New World (4). According to Hulme and Youngs, "*Utopia* then became a foundation for subsequent travel writing, influencing the form of both expectations and reports" (4). The history of such reporting and instructions runs unbroken into the early twentieth century and sets the foundations for some scientists whose travels were fundamental to their research.

On the other hand, it can be argued that travel literature has made certain contributions to the rise of novel in English Literature, as well. Hulme and Youngs also argue that "travel writing and the novel, especially in its first-person form, have often shared a focus on the centrality of the self, a concern with empirical detail, and a movement through time and place which is simply sequential" (6). For example, being considered as the first example of picaresque novel, *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594) by Thomas Nashe is written in a travelogue form. Similarly, Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), Henry Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* (1742) and Tobias Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker* (1771) can all be acknowledged as works of travel literature since travel is the main theme in these well-known 18th-century novels (MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel* 77).

The Unfortunate Traveller narrates a violent tale of adventures undertaken by the book's rogue hero Jacke Wilton through Europe. However, as is the typical of picaresque genre, it mostly includes petty crime such as trickery and fraudulence. Although the focus is on Wilton's adventures, the narratives suddenly jump from country to country. Therefore, its style bears many similarities to works of travel literature and is, thus, considered to be one of the early examples of this genre (Steane 33).

Likewise, similar to *The Unfortunate Traveller*, Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* can also be regarded as a work of travel literature that mainly focuses on the misadventures of the main character on the road. Although written as a parody of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740), it can be associated with travel writing since it includes its protagonist's journeys from the countryside to the town. After being sexually harassed by the landlady in the household, in which he works as a footman, Joseph Andrews sets off on a journey, for which he is later accompanied by Parson Mr. Adams. During this journey, they are both challenged by various misconducts, including fraudulence and fallacy.

Even though Fielding establishes his work around a web of major communal themes such as the vulnerability of being good, charity, religion, providence, vanity and hypocrisy, the themes of travel, roguery, vagabondage and rascality make *Joseph Andrews* a good example of the eighteenth-century British travel literature, too (Cleary 19).

Likewise, the epistolary novel *Humphrey Clinker* mainly narrates a journey undertaken by Matthew Bramble with his family and servants, during which he writes letters to their friends, describing their summer holiday. However, the letters mostly represent some satirical observations regarding eighteenth-century British and Scottish daily life. In each letter, episodes are viewed from different points and thus much comedy arises from the differences while describing the same events and places visited by travellers. Although the book can also be neatly classified as a form of picaresque novel, the theme of journey and variety in the perspectives of the participants make us consider *Humphrey Clinker* as a work of travel literature, as well (Simpson 173).

On the other hand, Defoe's much acclaimed work *Robinson Crusoe* can also be regarded as a form of travel writing since, like *The Unfortunate Traveller*, it narrates adventures of Crusoe. However, the focus of the work is on his imaginary/fictional overseas journeys. During these journeys, Crusoe experiences and manages to overcome many difficulties. Particularly, in one of his journeys, which takes Crusoe to Brazil, he sets up a plantation and soon earns a great deal of money. Similarly, he takes advantage of every occasion related to the hardships of travel. In most of his narratives, Crusoe acts as a single survivor of life-threatening events. Therefore, the reader has to rely on his personal narratives for the authenticity of knowledge presented.

Rana Kabbani argues that "the forging of racial stereotypes and the confirmation of the notions of savagery were vital to the colonialist world view" (4). According to

her, “in colonial America, for instance, there was a systematic attempt to portray the Indian as an abductor of women, a killer of children, and a collector of scalps, as an apology for white brutality against him” (4). However, as can be seen in the relationship between Friday and Crusoe, the savage could sometimes win favour if he aided the white man in the latter's attempt to dominate the environment. Therefore, as will be illustrated in detail below, *Robinson Crusoe*’s style and language have often been adopted by many travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thus, it can be argued that it contributes greatly to the understanding of colonial travel literature in Victorian era (Severin 98).

Travel writing became more popular in the eighteenth century since the themes of exploration and tourism became more widespread in Europe. In this era, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724) by Daniel Defoe, one of the most significant prose writers of the century, and *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775) by Samuel Johnson contributed greatly to the development of travel writing as an independent genre. Defoe’s *A Tour* offers a picture of the kingdom, a form of descriptive statistics which relates back to the Elizabethan surveys and choreographies. However, as will be examined in more detail in the fourth chapter of this study, Defoe’s travelogue mainly consists of biased narratives that present the Scots in an inferior fashion. In accordance with his secret political mission that aims to find support for the Union of Parliaments, Defoe employs an imperialist discourse while portraying the Scots in his travel accounts. Particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this discourse has been adopted as a standard, especially by the travellers who view the East with ‘imperial eyes’ (Pratt 141).

Likewise, a few years later, Dr. Johnson took a similar journey to Scotland, travelling to the Highlands by carriage, horseback, and boat. Similar to Defoe’s approach, who was interested in commerce and civility, Johnson represents the Scots as

primitive, barbarous, and impoverished. Likewise, he portrays Scotland to be romantic and wild. Due to its potential union with England, Scotland attracts much interest for English travellers in the eighteenth century. Therefore, Johnson's narratives abound in many things about Scottish life, such as the happiness of the Scots, their poor life style, flora and fauna, whisky, clothes, buildings, faith, and language (Johnson 432). As a result, contrary to imperialist style of Defoe's narrative, Johnson presents localities in Scotland and thus establishes a different standard in British travel literature. According to Hulme and Youngs, "by the end of the eighteenth century many travellers, under the sway of Rousseau and Romanticism, were in search of various forms of the primitive" (6). Therefore, like Johnson and Defoe, they journeyed to such places as Scotland, South Wales, the Lake District – in search of types of scenery that became known as 'picturesque' or 'romantic' or 'sublime'.

In Victorian Literature, travel writing serves as a realm where British travellers could realize their imperial aims (Thompson 37). These travellers, who claim to be representatives of civilization, progress and enlightenment, often reflect the differences that they observe between locals and themselves in distant parts of the world through a hegemonic discourse. To do so, they highlight heroic adventures and fantastic tales in order to attract reader's attention (Thompson 38). According to Kabbani, in Victorian travel writing, "classical sensibility was appropriately revamped to accommodate a Victorian glorification of individuals" (7). Therefore, the traveller became "Pilgrim and Hero and Christian Soldier" and "his reputation could quickly take on mythic proportions" (Kabbani 7). Kabbani further argues that "although the travel narrative of Victorian England did reflect the personal idiosyncrasies of individual travellers, it was mainly a recapitulation of inherited ideas" (10). Particularly, when Victorian travel writing on the Orient is examined, it is clearly observed that these ideas include hegemony, supremacy, fantasy and heroism.

In this context, Richard Burton's *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina* (1855), in which Burton narrates his travels to the Middle East, sets a good example.

Getting financial support from the Royal Geographical Society, and disguising himself as a Muslim, Burton set out on a pilgrimage journey to two holy Muslim cities[5] in 1853. Different from that of Chaucer's, such a hajj journey is a trip that few Britons are familiar with in the mid-19th century. In this respect, Burton is bold in undertaking such a dangerous journey. Therefore, in his narratives, one can easily notice a bit of pride. This vanity stems from a controversial perception of superiority over the locals that he sees. Similarly, Burton's travel accounts mostly focus on content that would capture Victorian interest, such as female circumcision and the description of an exotic young beauty, which create both fear and awe. As a result, his travelogue clearly reflects the colonial and imperial discourse that involves fantasy, heroism, sexism and hegemony (Ghose 75).

This imperialist tradition continues in the first half of the twentieth century and leads many different travellers to be deeply interested in societies, called 'primitive' by former explorers and anthropologists (Thompson 38). Edwardian travel writing, however, also focuses on authentic experience since most travellers seek an authentic engagement with other places and people. Particularly, some cultural and aesthetic values regarding sublime and picturesque dominate perceptions of British travellers in the era. On the other hand, nostalgia accompanies creative combinations of adventure and natural exploration. Therefore, various travelogues including narratives of past glory and ancient splendour continue to be published in the first half of the twentieth century. Likewise, Hulme and Youngs also argue that "the culture of the 1930s, looking

[5] Mecca and Medina

both outward to the world of politics and inward to the world of the unconscious, was a rich decade for literary travel writing" (8). According to them, works by Evelyn Waugh, Graham Greene, and W. H. Auden and Louis MacNeice received much acclaim from publishers in that period (8).

Peter Hulme suggests that the last significant shift in travel writing can be dated to the late 1970s, during which period Edward Said's *Orientalism*, usually seen as the beginning text for postcolonial studies, was published(8). According to Hulme, "*Orientalism* was the first work of contemporary criticism to take travel writing as a major part of its corpus, seeing it as a body of work which offered particular insight into the operation of colonial discourses" (8). Therefore, scholars have begun to analyse relationships of culture and power found in the settings, encounters, and representations of travel texts. Hulme further claims that "another impulse behind recent work in travel studies has been provided by feminism" (8). Particularly, the relationship between women as observers and as observed has come under a scrutiny, and in these scholarly debates, the question of whether and how women travellers write differently from men remains central.

As a result, particularly in the second half of the twentieth century, the number of academic studies on travel literature increased dramatically. In this period, travel writing took up a large space in critical analyses about postcolonial studies and other fields of social sciences and humanities[6]. In particular, it greatly contributed to reveal the differences deemed to be existent between 'we' and 'they', 'self' and 'other', and 'home' and 'abroad'. Moreover, in analysing such terms as imperialism, expansionism, and capitalism, which leads to globalization in the end, and in understanding the impact of these ideologies on non-Western societies, many scholarly studies employed certain

[6] Such as history, geography, archaeology, ethnography, and even botany

theories such as orientalism, contact zone, and imperial eyes which are mostly attributed to travel literature (Thompson 3).

As can be seen above, travel writing is best considered as a broad and ever-shifting genre, with a complex history. In this context, the present study explores travel writing on modern Turkey and sets out to examine where travelogues written on modern Turkey stand in the historical development of the genre. The study first analyses travel accounts of scientist (archaeologists) who carried out archaeological experiments in southwest Turkey in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In these travel narratives, which are defined as explorative or scientific travel writing by the scholars in the field, it is demonstrated that portrayals of travellers regarding the Ottoman Turks bear many similarities to those of explorers/travellers that set out to British colonies in and after the Age of Discovery. Therefore, they reflect the imperial discourse that involve fantasy, hegemony and supremacy. Similarly, the study also analyses travel accounts of those who follow the footsteps of former travellers in their second journeys and represent identical images and clichéd stereotypes regarding the Turks. However, since the main aim of the study is to illustrate the change in the perceptions of British travellers regarding the Turkish image, it also analyses life narratives of adventurers or memoirs of missionaries, which can be categorized as nature writing, expatriate live memoirs, and vertical travel accounts.

As a result, although considered to be a genre that highlights racial and cultural superiority originating from imperial ideas, travel writing now plays a significant role in understanding emerging nations like Turkey by shortening cultural distances that stem from a Euro-centred pride and racist intolerance. Therefore, the present study on contemporary British travel writing that involves the representations of modern image of Turkey and the Turks might reveal some novel and different inferences about West–East relations which are now being transformed from hegemony into cultural intimacy.

1.2. Theories on the Representation of the East in Travel Literature

An examination of various texts in travel literature illustrates how biased stereotypes and unfavourable perceptions of other cultures are passed down through generations (Bassnett 99). Therefore, Foucault argues that politics of representing the East in travel literature is centred upon a theoretical base which “takes discourse analysis as a starting point for understanding the mechanism of the transfer of ideas and the relationship between ideology and other forms of power” (191). Particularly, as a result of the increase of nineteenth century European interest in the Orient that led to vast expansion of colonialism and other types of dominancy over the East, a systematic cataloguing of non-European peoples was required. To identify and classify other cultures, the colonisers needed some knowledge of their civilisations. In this respect, many travellers’ narratives had a significant place in the formation and projection of the knowledge regarding Eastern images (Lewis 297). As seen in Foucault's discourse-analysis which presents the framework for Said’s theory of Orientalism, “it is the problematic nature of that knowledge and its relation to western cultural and political ideology that have led to the current debate about Orientalism” (Aydin 5).

Orientalism is defined by Said to be "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" (2). In a broader sense, it is described by Said to be a British, French and then American cultural enterprise that, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, has been “dealing with the Orient by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it” (2). According to Said, Orientalism, in short, is "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (3).

As understood from the definitions above, dominancy and hegemony are the main tropes that both give Orientalism durability and strength. It is built upon “an idea of Western identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-Western peoples and cultures, particularly reiterating Western superiority over Oriental backwardness” (Said 7). However, one should never assume that “this durability and strength comes from nothing more than a structure of lies or of myths which, were the truth about them to be told, would simply blow away” (Said 10). For, Orientalism is claimed by Said to be "a created body of theory and practice in which, for many generations, there has been a considerable material investment" (6). According to Said, this material investment is made through “a *distribution* of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts” (12).

Travel writing, as a genre of sociological, historical, and philological texts, might be one of the best ways of such investment described by Said. For, travel literature provides travellers a privilege of being in close physical contact with the people and places that they visit. Therefore, it gives the travellers an authority of creating a 'geopolitical awareness' in their readers' geographical mind-maps through delivering useful academic knowledge of subject place and its people in question. This knowledge of the Orient “is somehow tinged and impressed with, violated by, the *so-called* gross political fact”, which Said calls as orientalism (25). The knowledge, shared with the masses owing to what Benedict Anderson calls “print-languages” in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (44), lays the bases for a collective consciousness regarding the subject places and peoples. Therefore, Western readers form a particular embryo of a nationally inferior community in their imaginations. By enabling nearly infinite reproduction, the printed books maintain a long-lasting form of this imagined consciousness. Thus, this form avoids individual divergences and unconscious attempts of modernizing events.

The increasing popularity of travel literature that includes imaginary utopias, moral voyages, re-enactments, cultural representations and scientific reporting has created a "discourse that simply starts with a well-organized sense that these people over there are not like 'us' and do not appreciate 'our' values" (Said xv). This oriental discourse mostly relies on emphasizing inferiority, backwardness and primitiveness of the Orientals in contrast to superiority, progress and modernity of the Occidentals. This ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and 'the Occident' results in marginalization of the Orientals in Western representations and therefore generates a sense of "otherness" which is one of the strongest institutions of Orientalism. The term 'otherness' has for long become a crucial concept in identifying representations of differences in race, language, ethnicity, religion, gender and national identity in colonial and post-colonial political and social studies. According to Carl Thompson, it “refers to the processes and strategies by which one culture depicts another culture as not only different but also inferior to itself” (132). Similarly, through a strategy of manipulating useful knowledge that travel writing provides, the Orient is transformed by Orientalist travellers into very threatening Otherness figures as a result of their political and ideological interests. Thus, the Orient becomes “West's political and cultural contestant, one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other” (Said 15).

However, this whole general theory of Orientalism that is built upon otherness and political ideology is not always true when the abundant range of texts about the Orient is taken into consideration. For example, in his essay called *Of Cannibals,* Montaigne criticizes those Westerners who name everything that is not seen in home country as barbarism (144). According to Montaigne, those things that are labelled barbarous and savage are, in fact, cultural patterns peculiar to that local nation. He further argues that since it stems from a feeling of vindication rather than hunger, even

cannibalism cannot be regarded as barbarism (147). On the other hand, Said claims that "the difference between representations of the Orient in the eighteenth and nineteenth century and those after it [that is, those belonging to what he calls modern Orientalism] is only that the range of representation expands enormously in the later period with the advent of electronic, postmodern world" (22). According to him, there is even "a reinforcement of the stereotypes by which the Orient is viewed in the twentieth century" (26). Said does not accept any change in the attitudes of the West towards the Orient. In his critical evaluations, a great number of texts and studies that are produced in different contexts are melted in the same pot of Orientalism. Not only does Said neglect periodical divergences in social and political contexts, he also disregards political, institutional, and ideological dissimilarities of the individual author. By discarding the author's individual stance in a text as regards the Oriental information he produces, Said creates a union of a huge group of textual material that he analyses.

However, an ontological change in the representations of the Orient is observed when travel narratives about modern Turkey and the Turks living therein are examined. Said suggests that in order to identify a place 'the Orient', it must geographically be in the East, and to define a people 'Orientals', they must ethnographically be Arab and/or Muslim (17). Moreover, according to Said, one can speak of Orientalism when there is a first European and then American experience of political interest in the Orient as well as hegemony and dominancy over it (12). In Turkey's case, no one doubts that it is in the East regardless of how 'near' it is. Furthermore, although it has to sever its ties with the Arabs after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey is still one of the eminent centres of Islam. However, as to the notion of 'political interest', Turkey's situation that constantly shifts between enemy and ally in the West's eyes makes it quite complicated to determine how the Western world views Turkey without referring to historical context. Therefore, while analysing Said's theory of orientalism, one should, on the one

hand, focus on Britain's supremacy and hegemony over the Republic in the first half of the century, and on the other, examine the West's changing behaviour after Turkey becomes a member of NATO in the 1950s and then takes over the role of a civilization bridge between the West and East.

It has already been stated that personal differences between writers are underplayed by Said. He argues that all travellers "come up against the Orient as a European or American first, as an individual second" (11). According to him, “to be a European or an American in such a situation is by no means an inert fact, and it means being aware that one belongs to a power with definite interests in the Orient, and more important, that one belongs to a part of the earth with a definite history of involvement in the Orient almost since the time of Homer” (11). On the other hand, Said argues that Western travellers often saw the Orient as “harems, princesses, princes, slaves, veils, dancing girls and boys, sherbets, ointments, and so on” in past centuries (47). According to him, some even get entertained by “the imagery of exotic places, the cultivation of sadomasochistic tastes, a fascination with the macabre, with the notion of a fatal woman, with secrecy and occultism” (180). Nevertheless, not all travellers to the Orient bear the same political ideology as the one argued by Said to be a 'conscious fact'. The passion for travel with no specific purpose, also regarded as wanderlust, might be a significant part of a humanistic custom of fancy in a foreign culture or society in travel literature. In this respect, as Landry and MacLean argue, Anatolia - the heartland of modern Turkey – “has peculiarly been synonymous with human travel and with one of travel's results, travel writing” (337).

Similarly, modern Turkey still presents certain images such as hospitality and noble savageness as well as modernity and urbanization that continue to fascinate Western travellers although they have no peculiar political or ideological interest within the country. While some get simply fascinated by the picturesque and sublime

landscapes of the country, and delighted to see Roman and Christian ruins in new Turkey, others enjoy seeing the change in metropolises, urbanization, progress and development in an emerging country. Therefore, contrary to Said's generalization, the disparity in cultural and social representations of an Oriental country, and divergences in different approaches of travellers towards modern Turkey should also be reflected in a study that aims to emphasize personal diversities among Western travellers.

On the other hand, in her monograph titled *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992), Mary Louise Pratt argues that travel writing has often been "an aspect of both imperialism and colonialism" since navigational surveillance made it possible to penetrate into interiors of non-Western world (206). According to Pratt, although it starts with "such traditions as survival literature, civic description, or navigational narrative that includes ethnography, natural history, military reminiscence, hunting stories, social description, survival tales, anti-slavery critique, and interracial love"; colonial and post-colonial travel writing then appears to be a representation of 'contact zone', which is used by Pratt to refer to "the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (6). In this respect, it has been successfully adapted to the ongoing imperial plan to control non-Western world. Passed down through generations as a part of this colonial plan, a hegemonic discourse has become a part of linguistic reality and the imperial *lingua franca* in earlier centuries. In his book titled *The Location of Culture* (1994), Homi Bhabha claims that this discourse's predominant strategic function is "the creation of space for subject peoples through the production of knowledge in terms of which surveillance is exercised" (101). According to him, it "seeks authorization for its strategies by the production of knowledge of colonizer and colonized which are stereotypical but antithetically evaluated" (102).

Starting with writings of scientific explorations such as the one Swedish scientist Carl Lineus conducted in the interior parts of colonial Spanish America in eighteenth century (Pratt 19), explorative travel writing, which not only classifies flora and fauna but also provides 'knowledge' of indigenous peoples, becomes a significant imperial tradition in travel narratives of later centuries. Said argues that scientific travel books, hundreds of which are supported perhaps by one of the Asiatic societies or a geographical exploration fund or a government grant, "has contributed to the density of public awareness of the non-Western world" (191). In these travelogues, knowledge of unknown places and peoples gives the travellers power and authority. However, according to Said, "more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control" (192). With an imperialist ego and an impartial impersonality, travellers retain their secret Western power, to comment on, acquire, and possess everything around it. Said further suggests that "being as a self-sufficient, monadic source of knowledge, the Western subject of first-person pronoun moves through the customs, rituals, festivals, infancy, adulthood, and burial rites of indigenous society" (205). Therefore, according to him, "their narratives become in reality an imperialist device for capturing and conveying valuable, otherwise inaccessible information" (206).

As far as Bhabha is concerned, "the objective of this colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction" (101). According to Bhabha, this discourse cultivated by imperial purposes depicts subject races as "an undifferentiated type called African, yellow, brown, or Muslim" (103). Bhabha suggests that "skin, as the key signifier of cultural and racial difference in the stereotype, is recognized as common knowledge in a range of cultural, political and historical discourses" (112). However, Bhabha claims that "the most important feature

of colonial discourse is its dependence on the concept of fixity in the ideological construction of otherness" (90). According to him, "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" (94).

Pratt argues that, in these imperialist travel writings, travellers portray indigenous peoples "not as undergoing historical changes in their life ways, but as having no life ways at all, as cultureless beings" (51). According to her, "whatever changes might have been taking place are not expressed as changes, but are naturalized; as absences and lacks" (53). Pratt claims that "the place is deterritorialized and extracted from the landscape in which natives still live. They are thus taken out of economy, culture, and history too" (55). So, even though these imperialist travellers reject the discourse, and likely the practice, of defeat and control, their descriptions still present themselves as timeless truth. They represent the place and peoples to be exactly the same as in old imperial days without any civilized change. They just remind their readers of the classical greatness without any reference to modern practices of the people that inhabit the region. With a postcolonial rhetoric that challenges modernity by highlighting archaism, ancestry and historical sites, only glorious medieval past of Christianity is emphasized as if no life ever exists in modern history, and the modern inhabitants are portrayed to be oriental assailants who barbarically come to spoil Biblical lands.

Similarly, it can be argued that Turkey's historical and cultural legacy were also related to imperial desires of many British travellers in the beginning of twentieth century, when Britain was, for the first time, in a dominant position both politically and culturally. In her article titled "A Wartime Tourist Trail: Mesopotamia in British Imaginations, 1914-1918", Nadia Atia claims that having been under the Ottoman

control for so long, Mesopotamia and Anatolia were “part of the land route to Britain's Indian empire” (400). She further suggests that “particularly before the opening of the Suez Canal, the route was vital to British interests” (400). Therefore, it attracted many British agents, in the disguise of archaeologists, biologists and travellers, who delivered useful knowledge about political, social and economical conditions of the place and its peoples for Britain's sake. In these western representations of eighteenth and nineteenth century, Mesopotamia and Anatolia were described “as a place with potential that had suffered from many years of Ottoman neglect” (Atia 404). According to Atia, “it was regarded as a region where chronic mismanagement had combined with the laziness and the lack of initiative believed to be characteristic of oriental fatalism” (401). In these travel books, “the backward, unchanging, monotonous nature of Mesopotamia was emphasized with descriptions that drew on classical, historical and biblical sources” (Atia 405). Similarly, Atia suggests that “its landscape, where no progress had been made in millennia, was dominated by ancient landmarks that reflected the region's religious or historical significance” (405). As argued by Bhabha above, 'fixity, disorder and degeneracy' dominated imperial discourse of Western representations in the Ottoman-ruled areas.

On the other hand, in *Archive Fever,* Jacques Derrida states that etymologically the term ‘archive’ is associated with power, hegemony, and management (2). Therefore, it can be said that the West’s passion for archiving is fed with its desire to possess and manage everything that it sees. For, knowledge obtained as a result of archiving can be used for exerting power and hegemony in the future. In this context, modern Turkey, with its deep root in history and cultural richness encompassing ancient civilizations, sets a good example of a prolific library for Western travellers interested in Biblical lands and monuments although the country has been undergoing a significant cultural transformation. Therefore, even in the twentieth century, it has attracted many British

travellers whose intention is to carry out an Oriental re-enactment project that can simply be defined as following the traces of Christian past in medieval places once ruled by the Romans and Greeks.

Said argues that Western travellers “still continue to see the Near Orient through the perspective of its Biblical origins” (86). Oriental countries, therefore, “connotes in the mind's geography as being an Old World to which one returns, as to Eden or Paradise, there to set up a new version of the old” (Said 90). Consequently, in the travelogues of many travellers, such as Freya Stark and Patrick Kinross, the main aims have often been “to restore a region from its present barbarism, primitiveness and backwardness to its former classical greatness; to formulate the East, to give it shape, identity, definition with full recognition of its place in past memories, its importance to imperial strategy, and its 'natural role' as an appendage to Europe” (Said 88).

In these formulations and definitions, main focus is on representations since, as Said argues, “cultural discourse and exchange within a culture is commonly circulated by representations rather than truths” (21). However, Said argues that “one should also consider the fact that a representation is implicated, intertwined, embedded, and interwoven with a great many other things besides the 'truth'” (23). Therefore, the representations should not be simply accepted as *true* codifications, or a canonical verdict about a subject country or its image. Instead, they can be used as analytical patterns to re-examine major theories, such as orientalism and imperialism, in both colonial and post-colonial studies.

A representation of a subject country or people is putting it into standardized cultural stereotypes. Homi Bhabha defines stereotype “as a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated” (95). Therefore, a stereotype offers, at any

time, a secure point of identification. In these spontaneous and visible stereotypes, identity is presented through images of colour as sign, and skin as natural identity. However, the same stereotype might be represented in a different way at other times and places. Not always equivalence between image and identity is established. Bhabha claims that "through the *negation* of any sense of originality or plenitude, and the process of displacement and differentiation; the image becomes just an illusion of identity" (73). In these representations, the repetition of orientalism and its imperialist past are actually re-presented, or made present culturally. According to Bhabha, this results in "loss of identity", and creates "imagined' communities through succession of plurals and final vocabularies that allow imaginative identification with the other" (275). Consequently, the immediate definition of images as favourable and unfavourable is replaced by a stereotypical discourse that emphasizes the point of cultural intervention of supremacy and hegemony in the backward status of the other.

Similarly, Benedict Anderson defines the nation as "an imagined political community" (6). According to him, since the members of even a small nation does neither know many of their fellow-members nor meet them, the image of their communion lives in the minds of each member (6). Therefore, in their mind-mapping, the nation is mostly contemplated as a deep, horizontal comradeship. By the same token, representations of travel writers have historically come into being through the ways analogous to building a national consciousness. Therefore, they command a profound emotional legitimacy over the masses in many Western societies. However, as stated above, since many travellers assimilate representation to "fabrication and falsity, rather than to imagining and creation" (Anderson 6), their meanings change over time.

However, these theories, emphasizing power and ideology-oriented relationships between the West and the East and highlighting the idea that the West developed a hegemonic discourse in their representations of the East, have received much criticism

over the past decades. For example, in his monograph titled *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and their Enemies* (2006), Robert Irwin claims that scholars of orientalism have been unified not by politics or by ideology but by their shared obsession with the love of knowledge (viii). Writing a polemic as a counterattack against the late Edward Said's public criticism of orientalism, Irwin stands for the traditional view that it is the study of eastern languages, history, and culture. Therefore, he denies that there is ever a problem with Europeans treating Orientals as inferior.

Similarly, in another book called *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts* (1995), John MacKenzie argues that "the Orientalist thesis can be revised in a more positive and constructive ways by considering the relationships among different cultural forms, both elite and popular in character" (xii). He suggests that, to better understand imperial culture and the heterogeneity of its forms, "the example of the Orient can become the means for a counter-western discourse, by offering opportunities for literary extension, spiritual renewal and artistic development" (xi). By illustrating certain examples from various forms of art, including architecture, design, music, and theatre, and providing elaborate empirical proof of Orientalism's original support to Western arts, MacKenzie presents Orientalism "as a complex, but broadly appreciative cultural response by the West to the encounter with the East" (7). As a result, he redefines Orientalism as "one element within a wider search for folk and exotic sources of inspiration" (171).

In these contexts, it is crucial to re-examine Said's uniform treatment for those who study Oriental languages, history, and culture and seek to present knowledge through representations. Considering changes in the Western perceptions of the East and shift in European attitudes towards the Orient, it should be noted that not every academic scholar that venture forth into the labyrinthine field of orientalism can be regarded as 'Orientalist' in the ways Said suggests that all of them are. Similarly, when

the increase in popularity of travel writing and variety in portrayals of the East in these travelogues are taken into consideration, Said's theory emphasizing a knowledge-power dichotomy becomes irrelevant. In particular, various representations of some Oriental countries that aim to reform former hostile portrayals challenge Said's view on the static nature of Oriental representations. In this respect, portrayals of Turkey's modern image that is in direct contrast to unfavourable representations in the past could provide a good analytical tool to re-investigate scholarly debates on orientalism, imperialism and post-colonialism.

1.3. Studies on British Travel Writing: Travels to the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey

Existing studies of western travel writing to the Ottoman Empire have been plentiful in recent decades, but travel writing about the modern Turkey has not received comparable attention. In studies about British travel writing on the Ottoman Empire, one can mainly find descriptions of hardships and dangers to health and lives, of routes and accommodations, of natural and architectural beauties and classical ruins, of everyday life in the cities and in the country, of the Turkish character and the nature and position of women, of ethnic diversity and Oriental sameness, and of Muslim devotion and hospitality.

For example, Gerald MacLean's *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire* (2004) retells the accounts of four journeys undertaken by Englishmen[7] across the Ottoman Mediterranean in the seventeenth century. In contrast to common belief, MacLean's work illustrates that "English travellers in early modern period did not have any uniformly hostile or fearful attitudes towards the Ottomans" (*The Rise of Oriental Travel* xiv). He argues that although crusading rhetoric had established "hostility between Christian and Muslim nations", there was also "enormous admiration and great envy of the magnificent courtliness, immense wealth and exquisite splendour of Ottoman culture" in the Elizabethan era. Similarly, according to MacLean, as a result of trading agreements and diplomatic and cultural exchanges between the Queen and Murad III of the Ottomans, life within the Ottoman Mediterranean was totally "a different story from one of inevitable conflict" (*The Rise of Oriental Travel* xv). Rather, it presented an extremely pleasing alternative to those who visited the

[7] Thomas Dallam, William Biddulph, Henry Blount, and 'T.S.'

Ottoman Empire. Therefore, they sought to redefine what it meant to be English by basing on their own travel narratives (McLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel* ix).

Similarly, in his second monograph titled *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire Before 1800* (2007), MacLean argues that, "to better understand Anglo-Ottoman – and more broadly 'East–West' – relations during the early modern period", one needs new theoretical paradigms that are based upon mutuality, dialogue and reciprocity rather than conflict and incommensurability (*Looking East* x). According to MacLean, the best term to describe "the evolving dynamic of early modern English travellers' responses to encounters with the Ottomans is 'imperial envy'" (*Looking East* xi). MacLean further suggests that, in following centuries, when the English became more familiar with the Ottomans as a result of the arrival of traded goods, direct encounters, and experiences of earliest travellers to the Empire, conceptions regarding Englishness were challenged owing to the English's pursuit of an empire of their own to refashion themselves as British (*Looking East* xi). However, MacLean claims that, in the eighteenth century, after the English achieved maritime supremacy and became the imperial British, they "began regarding themselves as equal, if not superior, to the Muslim Ottomans" (*Looking East* xi).

In a similar fashion, in his *Britons in the Ottoman Empire, 1642-1660* (1998), historian Daniel Goffman introduces the lives of some Englishmen[8] who sought to accommodate to daily life, trade and political issues in the Ottoman Empire during the mid-seventeenth century. Through accounts of some series of feuds and rival claimants to authority from the Levant Company, Goffman often emphasizes how these Englishmen accommodated themselves to great diversity and a profoundly foreign society in the Ottoman realm. Therefore, in the book, Goffman demonstrates that an

[8] Henry Hyde, a royalist adventurer; Sir Sackvile Crow, Charles I's ambassador in Istanbul; and Sir Thomas Bendysh, an authority at the Levant Company

English merchant or diplomat who ventured to the Ottoman Empire in this era is mostly considered to be a sheer outsider against a powerful Ottoman state. He claims that his image is far from certain 19th century realities which viewed the Englishman abroad as an imperialist incarnate (54).

However, there are some other studies on British travel writing to the Ottoman Empire which also show us that British travellers who actually meet Ottoman Turks are usually hostile in their reports and maintain and develop an antagonistic attitude towards them.

For example, throughout a biographical study on Paul Rycaut, who was a consul for the Levant Company in Izmir in the mid-seventeenth century, Sonia P. Anderson provides a wide range of source material to portray the life of the English community in İzmir. In her book titled *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna 1667-1678* (1989), İzmir is identified to be the most significant centre of the English trade in the Levant. Therefore, Anderson explores social backgrounds and various economical gains of English merchants, factory officials and sea-captains that visited eastern Mediterranean in the era. Anderson's textual sources mostly include individual dreams and disappointments, attempts at cultural anthropology, anecdotes, and emotionally stated views, whether friendly or inimical.

Moreover, Anderson also presents an unusual account of Rycaut's journeys in the Ottoman Empire. In these accounts, Anderson often represents unsavoury aspects of the Turks. For instance, she claims that Rycaut once saw thirteen Christians executed on the orders of Ottoman grand vizier (40). Anderson further suggests that, in contrast to portrayals of MacLean and Goffman, the Englishmen were mostly treated by the Turks with great respect in the era (178). In Anderson's critical evaluations, rather than the image of an outsider who admires at exquisite splendour of Ottoman culture, British

travellers are portrayed to be preoccupied with ideologies regarding superiority and dominance.

On the other hand, in his work *Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey* (1999), Reinhold Schiffer examines how British travellers experience and describe Ottoman Turkey in the nineteenth century. His *Oriental Panorama* surveys the practice of dressing for the Turks, images of the countryside, moral character of the Turks, manifestations of Islam, and the hazards of piracy and banditry. Therefore, throughout the book, it is clearly revealed that British travellers mostly portray pistols and tobacco thievery in multi ethnical communities, highway robbery, hostile and contemptuous attitude of Muslims towards Christians, and the villagers' undesirable closeness that oversteps the bounds of tolerable curiosity and so creates disturbance and even claustrophobia (Schiffer 129). As a result, Schiffer concludes that the Anatolian adventure is made a challenge to mental and physical resilience for the most British travellers to the Orient.

Schiffer further suggests that British travellers frequently share a set of cultural assumptions as regards superiority: Christianity over Islam, British institutions over Ottoman ones, British morals over those of the Turks (2). However, in an attempt to undermine Said’s Orientalism theory, which he finds an ahistrocial approach, Schiffer pays great attention to changes in the discourse of British travellers over time. According to Schiffer, the attitude towards foreigners depends on the period of time, the region, and the attitude of the travellers themselves in the Ottoman Turkey (57). Contrary to generalizing assumptions of Said that emphasize racist, imperialist, and ethnocentric representations of every European, Schiffer argues that, in the nineteenth century, some travellers felt an empathy with the Anatolian spirit as a result of their psychological disposition (129). Others got fascinated by the divine and historical places of old Turkey (130). An impressionist and fundamentally aesthetic appreciation

of Turkish landscapes was also observed in some eminent travellers (130). In sum, according to Schiffer, biblical and antiquarian travellers were joined by travellers in search of the picturesque and sublime in the nineteenth century (63). Therefore, their representations were filled with sublimity of landscapes, classical ruins and melancholy.

As clearly seen from the reflections of these studies, in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Ottoman Turkey is either celebrated for its natural and architectural beauties, classical ruins, ethnic diversity and its Muslim population's piety and hospitality, the grandeur in the court of the Sultans, and the exotic mysteries of the harem; or it is criticised and even ridiculed for dangers to health and lives from plague and bandits, Oriental sameness, derogatory behaviours of Muslims towards non-Muslim societies, and its backwardness and inferiority when compared to civilized communities.

On the other hand, there are not many studies on the representations of modern Turkey. Some of few existent critical evaluations are Kamil Aydin's *Images of Turkey in Western Literature* (1999) and a collection of essays edited by Gerald MacLean in *Writing Turkey: Explorations in Turkish History, Politics and Cultural Identity* (2006). There are also some useful essays in the special issue[9] of *Studies in Travel Writing* (December 2012) edited both by Gerald MacLean and Donna Landry. Furthermore, an article[10] by Tabish Shah published in *Nationalities Papers* (April 2010) contains analysis of some eminent post-1989 travel writers to Turkey.

Although he mainly seeks to explore twentieth century images of Turkey in the West in popular fiction and travel writing, Kamil Aydin also focusses on the continuity

[9] The title of the special issue is *Travelling in Anatolia, the Ottoman Empire, and the Republic of Turkey*. Spec. issue of *Studies in Travel Writing*. 16.4 (December 2010).

[10] Full title of the article is "Securitized Identities and Less Secure Western Multi-Ethnic States: A Critical Geopolitics of the East-West Discourse - Turkey and Beyond." *Nationalities Papers*, 38.3 (2010): 393-412.

of earlier patterns of imagery, which represent Turkey in a negative way. He suggests that as a result of a cluster of ideas that include chivalry, manliness, patriotism, racism and imperialism, a great many of early travellers to the Orient adopted a negative attitude towards the East. For example, as Aydin clearly illustrates, most nineteenth century travellers to Turkey, such as Eliot Warburton and Charles Doughty, emphasize superiority of Christianity over Islam and portray the Turks as ignorant, fanatical, tyrant and imbecile (18). Similarly, Aydin argues that many accounts regarding twentieth century images of Turkey are "embedded in some historical facts chronologically going back to the Middle Ages, and even to the Crusades" (53). For instance, he demonstrates that "Philip Glazebrook sets off to Turkey to revere the experiences of the previous travellers by following Marco Polo's route to Jerusalem with the expectation of seeing a typical Oriental state with similar unusual elements represented in the previous accounts" (54).

In addition, Aydin's book has also some analytical chapters on representations of the modern image of the Turks in travel writing. With particular references to Rose Macaulay's *The Towers of Trebizond (1956)*, Paul Theroux's *The Great Railway Bazaar (1975)*, Philip Glazebrook's *Journey to Kars (1984)*, and Christina Dodwell's *A Traveller on Horseback (1987)*, Aydin shows hostile images of the Turks and Turkey containing violence, barbarism, sexual abuses and political harassments in twentieth century British travel writing.

On the other hand, in his study, Aydin's another main concern is detective stories, thrillers and spy novels set in Turkey. Through some particular texts[11] that he chooses as typical examples of the genre, Aydin demonstrates that

[11] such as *The Eunuch of Stamboul* (1935) by Dennis Wheatley, *Diamonds Bid* (1967) and *Trip Trap* (1972) by Julian Rathbone

> via intriguing stories of murder embellished with historical peculiarities, exotic locales such as the historic sites of Istanbul, the eccentric figures with bizarre reputations such as the eunuch of the harem, … and some cold war trappings such as espionage, counter espionage and uncovering of political assassinations, similar historical, cultural and religious misconceptions and stereotypes are revealed in attribution to the Turks (42).

He further suggests that "certain patterns and consistencies can also be traced in these texts under diverse headings such as drug and antique smuggling, robberies, hashish growing and producing, coup attempts and above all, various acts of brutality and masochism occasionally leading to perversion" (42). As a result, Aydin concludes that, in many cases, a negative attitude towards the Turks is introduced "through imaginary characters of unusual traits who are usually described as villains, or this unfavourable manner is implicitly or explicitly conveyed through the personal interpretation of the narrator" (43).

Similarly, the essays in Gerald MacLean's *Writing Turkey: Explorations in Turkish History, Politics and Cultural Identity* examine the modern image of Turkey in various aspects, highlighting Turkey's cultural, literary, political and historical past and present. MacLean argues that "the continuing negotiations concerning Turkey's accession into the EU provides the immediate context for *Writing Turkey*" (vii). Therefore, his work seeks to demonstrate the aim of the new Republic to modernize Turkey in line with western values. The book also aims to illustrate the change from a meritocratic, multicultural and multinational pluralist empire to a nationalist, democratic and modern country. In addition, although the essays have no significant reference to the studies in travel writing, a great deal of work is put forward in order to correct orientalist misconceptions of the Turkey, the status of woman being on a particular focus.

First, within the framework of both politics and culture studies, Turkey's position in cultural context is discussed in MacLean's study. In the book, with an attempt to refuse an Oriental colour, Turkey is claimed to be neither European nor Asian, but Eurasian. According to the critical evaluations presented in the essays, the geopolitical location of Turkey that connects two continents results in a combination of two different stereotypes. For instance, in their essay, titled "Writing Change: Middle Eastern and Western Women in Dialogue", although Reina Lewis[12] and Nancy Micklewright[13] mainly investigate the status of woman in Turkey, they argue that "Turkey is Eastern in its beliefs and social structures, Western in the more tangible worlds of business, urban life and entertainment" (35). Likewise, in her article, titled "Western Eyes: Contemporary Turkish Literature in a British Context", Alev Adil[14] surveys late twentieth century Turkish literature and examines how it has been received by contemporary readers in Great Britain. Adil claims that, in modern Turkey, "the old and new, Orthodox Christianity, secularism and Islam, the rich and the poor, the East and West, the ancient and the postmodern all co-exist in a rural and urban kaleidoscope" (139). On the other hand, in another essay titled "Writing the Gender Regime of Republican Turkey", Nukhet Sirman[15] emphasizes this duality, as well. Sirman suggests that while family violence, wife beating and harassment are all samples from the violent Orient and so serve as indicators of the 'Turkish Otherness'; western-style amusement, urbanised life-style and modernity show the European side of the country (49). As a result, in the scholarly examinations regarding the image of the Turks by Lewis and Micklewright, Sirman, and Adil, a huge difference is observed among various

[12] A British art historian and author. She is currently a Professor of Cultural Studies at the London College of Fashion, the University of the Arts London.
[13] A specialist in the history of Islamic art and architecture, the author of the book titled *A Victorian Traveller in the Middle East: The Photography and Travel Writing of Annie Lady Brassey*
[14] An internationally recognised writer, artist and academic, she is also a literary reviewer for *The Times Literary Supplement*
[15] A Turkish anthropologist, Professor of Sociology at Boğaziçi University since 1989

representations of the rural and urban areas of new Turkey, and portrayals of the elite and the masses of the Turkish society.

On the other hand, along with brilliant studies of travel writing in the Ottoman Empire period, there are two significant articles in the special issue of *Studies in Travel Writing* that examine the modern narratives of travellers to the Republic of Turkey. In her article titled "Recording the Transformation of Urban Landscapes in Turkey", Patricia Blessing[16] examines two travel diaries kept by scholars at Istanbul University in the 1940s and 1950s. Her study addresses the process of urban transformation and modernization in small places such as Sivas, Tokat, Kayseri and Amasya, focusing on diaries written by two German-speaking art historians, Ernst Diez and Kurt Erdmann. Blessing suggests that both Diez's and Erdmann's travelogues that include observations of medieval monuments, modern roads and housing, improved education, expanded electricity networks and rural communication, reflect "the far-reaching changes to provincial cities in Turkey that began in the late 1950s and profoundly affected the historical urban fabric of these cities in 1960s and 1970s" (422).

Moreover, Blessing also argues that the modernity and urban development in the provincial cities, which were also reflected by Diez and Erdmann in their travel accounts, were actually modelled on major urban centres of Turkey – Ankara in particular (422). She argues that, during the early years of the Republic, new projects concentrated on Ankara (422). However, she further suggests that rural communities received increased attention, as well (422). According to Blessing, as a result of these projects, "schools were established, electricity expanded, and access to education improved" (422). Therefore, many provincial cities were subjected to modernisation projects which significantly changed the historical structure of these cities. The

[16] A historian of Islamic art, architecture, and the arts of the medieval Mediterranean, currently, an Assistant Professor of Art History at Pomona College in Claremont, California

implications of the concepts of modernity were also emphasized in the travelogues of Diez and Erdmann. Blessing suggests that "they both represented how major projects including renewal and modernity profoundly changed the relationship between the historical fabric of the provincial city and its emerging character as a modern metropolis" (423).

On the other hand, in another article titled "*Mavi Yolculuk* (Blue Voyage): A Journey of Self-Discovery During the Early Decades of the Turkish Republic (1945-1969)", Özlem Berk Albachten[17] analyses travel accounts of three eminent Turkish men of letters[18] that embarked on a fish boat called *the Blue Voyage* and travelled along the south-west coast of Mediterranean in the summer of 1945 (428). Different from an analysis of the texts that show biased stereotypes and unfavourable perceptions of *other* cultures, Albachten's essay focuses on "what happens when people travel inside their own country" (428). She seeks to examine "how travellers within their own country define themselves vis-à-vis their own culture and people" (428). Therefore, she analyses "a small group of Turkish intellectuals' visits to (re)discover the ancient sites that were then unknown to many of them and to establish links with ancient civilisations that they saw as their ancestors" (429).

In her essay, Albachten argues that the main purpose of the national narrative developed by the blue voyagers (translators, artists and educators in particular) is "to revise the Orientalist discourse which represented the Levant as an unchanging civilization in permanent contrast to Europe and which saw the Turks as inferior to Arabian and Persian civilizations" (428). She suggests that far from representing their own country or nation in a modern sense, travel narratives of these scholars include "history, archaeology and mythology of the places they visit in a poetic style" (431).

[17] Professor of Sociology at Boğaziçi University
[18] Azra Erhat, Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı, and Sabahattin Eyyüboğlu

Rather than a cultural venture, this voyage is described by Albachten to be a political and ideological one that aims at establishing links between the former civilizations of Anatolia and the modern Turks (435). According to Albachten, by rejecting and revising 'philhellenic scholarly tradition', these travellers “help create a new identity based on the nationalist ideology that propounds a historical connection between Central Asian Turks and ancient Anatolian civilizations” (428).

In another article titled "Securitized Identities and Less Secure Western Multi-ethnic States: A Critical Geopolitics of the East-West Discourse - Turkey and Beyond", Tabish Shah[19] uses travel accounts by Western European and American travellers to Turkey from 1989 onwards in order to explore “the implications of monolithic notions of 'East' and 'West' for security within ethno-religiously diverse nation-states” (397). She argues that "there are two common tropes within Western travel writing about Turkey in the post-1989 era, and both use Turkey as a symbol of the East to discuss issues of identity, difference, diversity, and integration between the Western Self and its Other" (398). According to Shah's findings, modern travellers to Turkey view the country “in terms of both its usefulness to Europe and its threats” (400). By questioning the ethnicity of Europe, she examines how Western travellers reflect the way in which the Turks possessing European characteristics outside of Western hegemonic norms build a nation based on West's own criteria and principles such as secularism, tolerance, modernity and civility.

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Chapter 2 – Imperialist Travel Writing on Southwest Turkey in the Late Ottoman Period (18th and 19th Centuries)

In the early eighteenth century, Britain began to obtain imperial power. As Gerald MacLean suggests, "by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht signed in 1713, Britain acquired extensive territories in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Acadia from the French and took over the slave trade into Spanish America, as well as Gibraltar and Minorca, from the Spanish" (*Looking East* 197). Having control on these two western harbours, the British Naval Forces began to command the commerce of the Mediterranean, and thus, Britain became Europe's superior naval and imperial power (MacLean 297). By mid-eighteenth century, Britain's rich merchants began arriving at the Mediterranean with benign plans of neo-colonial presence for the sake of enhancing trade. MacLean argues that, according to the geographer John Green, "strategically, alliances with the Ottomans who governed such vast territories served British trading and imperial interests" (qtd. in MacLean 216). Thus, the Ottoman Empire gained a political importance that was centred upon British mercantile interests which actually targeted the Indian subcontinent. MacLean further suggests that "due to these commercial and diplomatic alliances with the Ottoman court, the British were first able to set up a significant commercial presence in the Mediterranean and directly entered the Eastern trade through factories in Izmir, Aleppo and other Ottoman ports" (299).

On the other hand, although the Ottomans, who sometimes posed a threat, became a benevolent partner of the Britons in commerce, they increasingly lost power in both political and military spheres in early eighteenth century. MacLean argues that, particularly, "the withdrawal of Ottoman armies from Vienna in 1683 established the final borders of the Ottoman presence in Europe, and the Treaty of Karlowitz signed in 1699, was widely regarded to be a sign of a long-anticipated decline in Ottoman power"

(*Looking East* 301). Therefore, according to MacLean, "seventeenth and eighteenth-century Britons, cheerful at their own growing status as imperial power, mostly considered themselves as equal, and often superior, to the Ottomans" (299). As a result, MacLean concludes that "once imperial pride began to replace imperial envy, a process that continued throughout the eighteenth century, a new form of familiarity and even condescension towards the Ottomans began appearing in works by the new generation of travel writers such as Alexander Drummond (d. 1769), Elizabeth Lady Craven (1750-1828), and Sir Charles Eliot (1832-1931)" (305).

Throughout this mercantilist period, the English who had been abroad mostly felt their public identity in a different way. MacLean claims that the Orient "served a distant but progressively familiar repository of values, ideas and practices against which British pride and progress might be compared" (*Looking East* 231). According to MacLean, "during the course of the eighteenth century, matters and manners Ottoman and more generally Oriental became standard topics and themes in all kinds of English writing" (233). Therefore, for MacLean, "it should be little surprise that when Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote home from the Ottoman Empire in 1717, she did so with all the self-confident assumptions of her privileged class and nation, eagerly seeking to set the records straight on what was and was not the case in regard to the Ottomans" (248).

Similarly, Reinhold Schiffer asserts in his monograph *Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey* (1999) that, in the late Ottoman period, British travellers to Turkey often held some formulaic assumptions that regarded supremacy (2). In their representations, many travellers highlighted Britain's superiority over Turkey in not only political but also cultural, religious, institutional, ethical and aesthetical spheres. In this respect, they portrayed clichéd stereotypes that were attributed to the inferiority of the Turks, including backwardness, danger, hardships,

primitivism, savageness and ignorance. Therefore, in these travelogues, travel to Turkey was made to be a misadventure that threatened the traveller's physical and mental wellbeing (Schiffer 33).

In a similar fashion, in his article titled "Some English Travellers in the East", Bernard Lewis argues that, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for many Britons, travel "was a quest – a pilgrimage to the Holy Land or Hellas or The Thousand and One Nights; a search for the benighted heathen, the exotic oriental, or the noble savage; an inspection of the achievements of Empire or the evils of imperialism; a visit to the heirs, custodians or destroyers of ancient glories" (300). However, Lewis further suggests that "from time to time a traveller managed to achieve and communicate some new insight, and thus to illuminate a patch of reality for his own and future generations" (300). In this respect, according to Lewis, the traveller might be "a journalist or a diplomat, a soldier, sailor or gentleman of leisure" (301). Travels to the Ottoman Empire included all types.

One of the most significant figures was Lady Mary Wortley Montagu[20]. She "was between myths – the old one of the Muslim as barbarous infidel, the new ones of the oriental as the embodiment of mystery and romance, and, later, as the paragon of virtue, wisdom and wronged innocence" (Lewis 301). Lady Mary claims that "Turkey was a country and the Turks were people, to be respected, studied, and as far as possible understood, through the medium of their own language and culture, and in reference to their own standards and values" (105). Therefore, as Lewis illustrates, "she took several advantages of being able to enter freely into the harem, and penetrate the exotic mysteries that had tantalized and preoccupied so many less fortunate males" (303). As stated above, Lady Mary's representations of the Turks in her letters, sent to her

[20] who followed her husband to Istanbul, where he was ambassador, in February 1717, stayed there until July 1718, and recorded her impressions in a number of letters.

immediate family members and close friends at home, mostly included self-confidence, privilege and pride. However, she also sought to reform former hostile portrayals. For example, in her last letter from Istanbul, Lady Mary suggested that "Thus you see, Sir, these people are not so unpolish'd as we represent them. 'Tis true their magnificence is of a different taste from ours, and perhaps of a better. I am allmost of opinion they have a right notion of Life" (68).

Likewise, in 1754, Alexander Drummond published his *Travels Through Different Cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and Several Parts of Asia, As Far As the Banks of the Euphrates*, which described "various observations in a precise and witty style" (MacLean, *Looking East* 145). A Scottish Freemason, Drummond "was also an artist and his book came complete with numerous illustrations of exotic landscapes and ancient ruins based on his field sketches; several of these include portraits of the artist at work" (MacLean 146). However, Drummond's portrayals of the Turks often include the imperial pride and supremacy that were accompanied by his self-assumption of privileged class and nation. For instance, in one of his poetical representations, he argues that:

> For ages past, a savage race
>
> O'erspread these Asian plains,
>
> All nature wore a gloomy face,
>
> And pensive mov'd the swains.
>
> But now Britannia's gen'rous sons
>
> A glorious lodge have rais'd,
>
> Near the fam'd banks where Meles runs,

And Homer's cattle graz'd;

The bri'ry wilds to groves are chang'd,

With orange trees around,

And fragrant lemons fairly rang'd,

O'erspread the blissful ground.

Approving Phoebus shines more bright,

The flow'rs appear more gay,

New objects rise to please the sight

With each revolving day. (qtd. in MacLean, *Looking East* 150).

Calling the Turks as a 'savage race', Drummond argued that Asia Minor was wreathed in gloom after they arrived. However, emphasizing the changing status of power relations between the Britons and Ottomans, he further reflected that Britain's generous sons – probably rich merchants – altered the dreary outlook of the landscape by bringing in prosperity and benediction. Therefore, the flora and fauna in these Biblical lands now pleased the sight more. Drummond's portrayals were epitomes of the general attitude that was adopted by many travellers that visited Turkey in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Like many British travellers who highlighted the supremacy and mastery of their home country in this period, Drummond hinted at the idea that the Turks ravished the glory of the Greek and Roman lands, and therefore these places were better off at the hands of superior Britons.

In the same spirit, regarding backwardness and inferiority of the Ottoman Turks, similar representations were recorded in the nineteenth century. For instance, in his famous poem *The Giaour, A Fragment of a Turkish Tale* (1813), Lord Byron reflects

his impressions of the Turkish culture. Byron had a *Grand Tour* of Albania, Greece and Turkey in 1810-11. During these journeys, he made many observations regarding the Turks. In Byron's representations of the Turks in the poem, one can find oriental narratives of fear, murder, misery, secrecy and pain. Likewise, in his *Turkey in Europe* (1908), Sir Charles Eliot laid great emphasis over the long-established 'nomadism' of the Turks. According to him, the Ottomans were still strangers in Europe. Eliot described them "as pastoral marauders who had used the country but contributed nothing to it, and who had never really adapted themselves to urban or sedentary living" (12).

However, in some other accounts, the Ottoman Empire was appreciated as a primarily aesthetic landscape and so celebrated for its picturesque and sublime beauty. The grandeur in architectural beauties and classical ruins, and the melancholy that stemmed from both the traveller's psychological disposition and the picturesqueness of the place dominated the narratives of eminent travellers in that period.

For instance, Sir Adolphus Slade[21], better known as Mushavir Pasha in Turkey, travelled extensively in the Ottoman Empire during the 1830s, and published two books. He was sent to the Turkish Navy in 1849, and stayed there as advisor (Lewis 303). He wrote a book on the account of the Crimean War in 1867. However, his narratives included profoundly interesting comments and analyses - political, social, and cultural. In these comments and analyses, Slade's approach, however, was unusually dissimilar to that of many European observers of the era. Lewis argues that Slade "did not share the common assumptions of the time that the old order was irredeemably bad, that the only way of improvement was liberalizing reform, and that such reform was necessarily conducive to greater happiness, prosperity, and freedom" (304). Lewis

[21] a British naval officer who first went to Turkey in 1829

further suggests that “on the contrary, he found much that was good and admirable in the old order, and noted that the effects of the reforms have often been less happiness, less prosperity, and even less freedom” (28). Contrary to the portrayals of his contemporaries, Slade defended the Ulema, the Janissaries, and the Sultans and had praised old-style Turkish manners and government, and even celebrated the Turks’ attitudes towards the Greeks and other Christians (Lewis 39).

In these contexts, as will be seen below, Richard Chandler and Charles Fellows set two good examples that might represent the inextricable status that characterized Turkey and the Turks in late Ottoman era. Although, in their travelogues, both Chandler and Fellows respectively took up a figurative discourse that introduced and denominated the Turkish image in an obviously inferior manner, they also reflected their appreciation for the place, which was termed as picturesque and sublime and admiration for the people, identified to be ‘noble savage’.

2.1. Richard Chandler's *Travels in Asia Minor, or an Account of a Tour Made at the Expense of the Society of Dilettanti* (1776)

Anatolia, better known as Asia Minor[22] in Western literature, has made a most conspicuous figure in history. The changes it has undergone, with its present state and remaining antiquities, have deservedly been regarded as objects of enquiry. In the past, Asia Minor hosted many kingdoms and cities such as Bithynia, Pontus, Phrygia, Thrace, Galicia, and Lycia[23]. Therefore, it was home to many ancient civilizations and abounded in ancient sites. For example, it consisted of two of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World: The Temple of Artemis at Ephesus[24] and the Tomb of Mausolos at Halicarnassus[25]. In addition, Asia Minor was home to many significant figures of history, including the great philosophers Thales and Heraclitus, historian Herodotus, the Apostle Paul, and mathematician Pythagoras. Consequently, it attracted many Western travellers who had been interested in antiquity, Christianity and the Biblical past. Particularly in the eighteenth century, antiquarian travellers and wealthy tourists journeyed to Italy and Greece, some coming as far as Turkey, to start their Classical education by seeing the famous places of literature – Rome, Athens, Istanbul.

Richard Chandler (1738-1810) was one of these dilettante travellers. A graduate of Oxford College, Chandler was a British antiquarian who had profound expertise in classical history and literature. He was assigned by the Society of Dilettanti, which supported the study of ancient Greek and Roman art in the eighteenth century, to collect data regarding history of ancient civilizations and make observations about the status of classical ruins in Asia Minor. Therefore, he embarked on a general cargo ship called Anglicana at Gravesend in London in June 1976 and, after a long and exhausting sea

[22] a geographical area situated in the south-west Asia, consisting of what is modern Turkey
[23] For a full list, see https://www.ancient.eu/Asia_Minor/ Accessed 23.03.2020
[24] in the region of Ionia
[25] well-acknowledged as The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, in Caria

voyage, arrived in Turkey in August 1764 (Chandler 10). Chandler travelled along nearly all ancient cities in southwest Turkey, such as Thrace, Tenedos, Troas, Scio, Smyrna, Antiochia, and Scala Nova. After completing his observations in these sites, he left Anatolia for Athens in March 1765 to take on another mission regarding antiquities in Greece. When he returned home in November 1766, he published two travelogues, one being about his travels and excursions in southwest Turkey.

Chandler equally recounts his recollections regarding archaeological artefacts, geography, history, and contemporary people of the southwest Turkey in his *Travels in Asia Minor*. His travelogue also includes narratives of some cultural patterns, such as clothes and food. In these travel narratives, by illuminating the reality in a simplest and truest from, he employs a style that includes a unique plainness, certainty and comprehension. Although instructed by the Society to ignore style or language, Chandler consciously adopts a style that reminds the readers of the journals of scientific expeditions carried out in different parts of the world in earlier centuries. Therefore, as stated in the first chapter of the present study, his language bears many similarities to that of – say – Carl Lineus, who performed a scientific exploration in the interior parts of colonial Spanish America at nearly the same time as Candler. Even though their ostensible purposes of mission were different in these expeditions, both Chandler and Lineus intended to capture and convey valuable knowledge of indigenous places and peoples. This knowledge was characterized as ‘valuable’, for, it would be inaccessible if those explorations had not been made. Thus, while transferring it through their accounts, both travellers employ a style that focuses mainly on representing the true knowledge of places, people, and even flora and fauna with a simple but certain language. For example, writing about the ancient site called Alexandria Troas in Ezine, Canakkale, Chandler narrates that

> We immediately began a cursory survey of this deserted place; ascending to the principal ruin, which is at some distance from the shore. The whole site was overspread with stones and rubbish intermingled with stubble, plantations of cotton and of Turkey wheat, plats of long dry grass, thickets and tress, chiefly a species of low oak which produces valonea or large acorns for exportation, to be used in tanning. (22)

As seen in the quote above, the description of the place includes many stylistic devices that remind us the colonialist language. First, descriptive adjectives demonstrate the current status of the place in a clear way. Secondly, as in a scientific expedition, the sequential narrative technique adopted here defines every single step of the examination. Thirdly, directions that lead us throughout the visionary journey and numbers that provide precision both give the reader a clear picture of how the edifices look like in Chandler's time. Lastly, minute details about flora and fauna that are found in the sites during that period add legibility into the essence of the knowledge identified to be valuable for the purpose of the undertakings.

The explorative language used by Chandler and many other travellers in the eighteenth century is not limited to the stylistic devices described above. By frequently observing his watches and pocket compasses, Chandler neatly calculates the distances between the ruins and provides a geographical mapping for the sites. For instance, he states that "Smyrna is situated in the latitude of 38^{d}. 40^{m}. at the end of a long bay" (56). Likewise regarding a temple in Ephesus, Chandler asserts that it "fronted 22^{m} east of north" and its length is "about one hundred and thirty feet, the breadth eighty" (124). The site in Hierapolis is computed by Chandler to be "about two hundred paces wide,

and a mile in length" (228). For these distance calculations, Chandler mostly refers to Peutinger Table[26] and Antonine Itinerary[27].

In sum, by using exploration tools such as compasses, watches, thermometers and other distance measuring equipment, Chandler collects data in accordance with the instructions given by the Society that funds his expedition. He then includes these measurements, as well as detailed weather reports of some places like İzmir, into his travelogue to transfer data for the Society of Dilettanti. Therefore, the account of his travel narratives abounds in scientific descriptions that include calculations, reports, mappings, and copies and transcriptions of the inscriptions which have preserved to the Society a specimen of writings antiquated above hundreds of years ago.

Chandler's first impression of southwest Turkey was quite favourable. Referring to the two castles erected by Mehmet the Fourth in Hellespont (Dardanelles) in 1659, Chandler suggests that "these structures, with the houses, the graceful minarets, and cypresses, the mountains, and the islands, and shining water, formed a view exceedingly delicious" (10). The sublime and picturesque are the two things that fascinate Chandler during his travels through southwest Turkey. In many occasions, he reflects his amazement at the beauty and charm of the country. For example, about Troas, Chandler states that "the beauty of the evening in this country surpasses all description. The sky glowed with the rich tints of the setting sun, which now, skirting the western horizon, raised as it were up to our view the distant summits of the European mountains" (23).

Similarly, while leaving Urla in İzmir, Chandler recounts that "we passed many small pleasant spots, well watered, and green with corn, or with myrtles and shrubs" (95). In Milas, he comes to "... a beautiful and extensive plain covered with vines, olive

[26] The Peutinger table is an illustrated itinerary, demonstrating the road network of the Roman Empire.
[27] Antonine Itinerary is a register of the stations and distances along some roads in the Roman Empire

and fig-trees, and flocks and herds feeding, and skirted by mountains with villages" (196). This romanticism continues to catch Chandler's eyes in many other places. He argues that "the site of Myus is as romantic as its fortune was extraordinary" (165). The island Scio (Sakız in modern Turkish) is also a place that enthrals Chandler with its romantic glamour. Regarding his observations on the island, he suggests that

> The groves of lemon, orange, and citron-trees, regularly planted, at once perfume the air with the odour of their blossoms, and delight the eye with their golden fruit. Myrtles, and jasmines are interspersed, with olive and palm-trees, and cypresses. Amid these the tall minarets rise, and white houses glitter, dazzling the beholder. (48)

Surprisingly, rather than churches, minarets and mosques are often celebrated for their beauty in Chandler's travelogue. Therefore, they add grandeur and sublimity into the general atmosphere of picturesqueness in his travel narratives. For example, about the principal buildings in İzmir such as the public baths, the bezesten, the mosques, and the khans or Inns, Chandler claims that "some of these are very ample and noble edifices" (67). Likewise, regarding one of the two mosques in Magnesia (Manisa), which had been lately beautified, Chandler recounts that

> The inside was as near as possible, and the floor covered with rich carpets. The ornamental painting pleased by an odd novelty of design, and a lively variety of colour. The dome is lofty, and of great dimensions. The lamps, which were innumerable, many pendant from the ceiling, with balls of polished ivory intermixed, must, when lighted, amaze equally by their artful disposition, their splendour, and their multitude. (267)

Sublime is defined by Edmund Burke to be "the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling" (39). According to Burke, although it includes danger, pain and

terror, the sublime is "delightful at certain distances and with certain modifications" (40). In this respect, Chandler's portrayals of beauty, glamour and grandeur of the place can be regarded as representations of the sublime in Burke's terms. The place that he travels along is unknown and/or unfamiliar for Chandler in the beginning. Moreover, the difficulties and dangers that the expedition brings about create a sense of pain and terror. However, despite Chandler's physical proximity, the historical and temporal distance between the place and its original significance converts this sense of terror into delight and pleasure. Therefore, as in those of many other travellers, Chandler's portrayals of the place include this strongest emotion of sublime. As a result, along with picturesque, sublime becomes one of the key terms that represent the place in Chandler's portrayals of southwest Turkey.

Along with the sublime and picturesque, there is one more thing that is championed by Chandler in his representations of ancient sites in southwest Turkey. By referring to Dr. Richard Pococke's travels[28] between 1737 and 1740, Chandler often celebrates the discovery of unexplored sites in the region. He features virginity and intactness of these sites by presenting a detailed description of the edifices found by himself and former travellers. For example, in Ephesus, Chandler finds that "many names of persons and sentences are written on the wall in Greek and Oriental characters. This perhaps was the oratory or church of St John, rebuilt by the emperor Justinian. It is still frequented and had a path leading to it through tall strong thistles" (126). In the wall of a spacious court before the house of the Aga in Stratonicea (Eskihisar), Chandler also finds that "the stone is in two pieces, the characters large, with ligatures intermixed, and of a late age. In the same wall were other inscribed fragments; and near it an altar, and many marbles embossed with round shields" (194).

[28] Pococke's chronicle was later published under the name *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries* in 1743

In Nysa, too, he finds “a large theatre in the mountain-side with many rows of seats, almost entire, of blue veined marble, fronting westward” (213).

On the other hand, Chandler’s descriptions of ancient sites are not always favourable in his *Travels in Asia Minor*. Particularly, in his observations, Chandler constantly reflects desolate, derelict and ruinous status of ancient Greek and Roman sites in southwest Turkey. According to him, many magnificent structures appear “as the boundary of a forest or neglected park” (26). For example, on an island close to Tenedos (Bozcaada), Chandler runs across a “miserable” church, consisting only of loose stones piled for walls, without a roof (21). In Troas, he finds some pedestals “half buried in rubbish” (28). In addition, the city-wall in İzmir “has been long since demolished; and even its ruins are removed” (63). He finds Teos – another Ionian city in İzmir – “almost as desolate as Erythrae and Clazomene” (97). Therefore, he recounts that

> Instead of stately piles, which once impressed ideas of opulence and grandeur, we saw a marsh, a field of barley in ear, buffaloes ploughing heavily by defaced heaps and prostrate edifices, high trees supporting aged vines, and fences of stones and rubbish, with illegible inscriptions, and time-worn fragments. (97)

Due to the marsh, defaced heaps, fences of stone and rubbish, it is with difficulty that Chandler discovers the temple of Bacchus at Teos, which, according to him, is “one of the most celebrated structures in Ionia” (97). According to Chandler, “the two cities Ephesus and Smyrna [İzmir] have been termed the eyes of Asia Minor” (109). However, in his representations, like İzmir, Ephesus is in a prostrate situation, as well. To highlight its deplorable status, Chandler recounts that

> Its streets are obscured, and overgrown. A herd of goats was driven to it for shelter from the sun at noon; and a noisy flight of crows from the quarries

> seemed to insult its silence … The glorious pomp of its heathen worship is no longer remembered; and Christianity, which was there nursed by apostles, and fostered by general councils, until it increased to fullness of stature, barely lingers on in an existence hardly visible. (130-131)

In Chandler's observations, contemporary inhabitants of the ancient sites are also compared to their past glory and elegance. According to him, the Ephesians, for example, "are now a few Greek peasants, living in extreme wretchedness, dependence and insensibility" (130).

Chandler also expostulates with the Turks for using ancient columns, marbles and other materials for their own sake. For instance, in Tenedos (Bozcaada), Chandler sees "a fluted column converted into a mortar for bruising corn" (18). Likewise, in İzmir, Chandler argues that "the ancient city has supplied materials for the public edifices erected by the Turks. The Bezesten or *Market*, which was unfinished in 1675, and the Vizir-khan, were both raised with the white marble of the theatre" (54). In Didim, a district of Mugla, he also recounts that "some fragments of architecture, to be seen in the Turkish burying-grounds not far from hence, it is likely, belonged, with the above relic, to the temple of Apollo" (85). In Mylasa (Milas), another district of Mugla, regarding the Temple of Augustus, Chandler claims that "the ruin had been demolished, and a new mosque, which we saw on the mountain-side, above the town, raised with the marble" (188).

All these textual excerpts above clearly illustrate that, in Chandler's portrayals of ancient sites in southwest Turkey, silence and solitude prevail. The marbles, which lie scattered about, the broken columns, and mutilated statutes all witness a remote antiquity. In his representations, desertion and depopulation are friendlier to antiquity than prosperity. Prostration and forlornness replace elegance and grandeur. Examples of

misuses of ancient architecture are often highlighted to demonstrate the Turk's ignorance of and disrespect for antiquity. In sum, Chandler simply argues that the whole region has undergone frequent ravages from the Turks.

As will be seen in following chapters, the desolation of the place or negligence of the people are often emphasized to be valid grounds for the idea of moving ancient ruins off to European countries for preservation. However, in his travelogue, Chandler does not assert such an imperialist argument. On the contrary, in many occasions, he informs us that the remains of antiquity have been engraved and renovated by the Society of Dilettanti (98). On the other hand, he sometimes refers to instances of the smuggling of ancient artefacts that happen in the eighteenth century. According to Chandler, it is then believed that if one gains the permission or convenience of papas and persons concerned, archaeological smuggling will become "a proper application of all-prevailing gold" (39). For, he asserts that "the commanders of ships in the Levant trade bring necessary equipment and men and take the ruins off to their ships" (39). For example, in Troas, Chandler claims that a Venetian officer has removed one of the statues, dedicated to the deities, on board his ship (28). Similarly, regarding a marble, once reposited in the precincts of the temple of Minerva, Chandler argues that it is "now preserved in the library of Trinity college in Cambridge" and that "it was purchased of the Papas or Greek priest by Edward Wortley Montagu, then going ambassador to Constantinople" (37). He adds that "perhaps no place has contributed more than Smyrna to enrich the collections and cabinets of the curious in Europe" (63).

Ruins, relics and works of antiquity in southwest Turkey have always allured collectors in Europe. But, since Chandler's main duty is restricted with making observations, mappings, and calculations and with collecting valuable knowledge, he does not aim to take any objects of art away. In addition, as he is assigned by the Society to be the leader of a reconnoitring triad, he might regard his undertaking only as

a pioneer of any potential British initiatives that will attempt at carrying ancient ruins off to the Great Britain for exhibition. For, as will be discussed later in the present study, nearly a century later, such an enterprise will be embarked by Charles Fellows under the auspicious of British Museum. On the other hand, the political conjuncture of the era that determines the power relations between Britain and Turkey is also significant in analysing Chandler's motivation of not daring to conduct a malpractice that would exceed the limits of his mission. For, it is explicitly understood from Chandler's own representations that, in that period, British travellers have to receive a firman (imperial order) from the Sublime Porte, which is strictly controlled by the local authorities during their travels. Chandler is no exception. Therefore, he cannot act freely during his mission in southwest Turkey. Conversely, in many occasions, he has to obtain permission for even visiting ancient sites from the local governor called Aga. For instance, in Güzelhisar, Chandler argues that they cannot dare to go out of the gate before they have permission from the Pasha and therefore suffer "alike from extreme heat and from chagrin" (206).

Although, as Said argues, knowledge of unknown places provides power and authority for Chandler, his lack of Western hegemonic power causes many sufferings that include retention, usurpation, menace and verbal offence in certain occasions. Therefore, as a result of the power relations, which require close scrutiny and compulsory obedience, it is not easy for Chandler to carry out any operations that include historical artefact smuggling.

When the lack of motor-cars and other luxuries of our modern era is taken into consideration, sufferings and hardships can be regarded as an indispensible part of the phenomenon of travel in the eighteenth century. Chandler experiences many difficulties during his expedition in southwest Turkey, as well. He argues that "our mode of living in this tour had been more rough, than can well be described" (246). For, he adds that

"we had seldom pulled off our clothes at night, sleeping sometimes with our boots and hats on, as by day; a portmanteau or large stone serving instead of pillow or bolster" (246). Even while eating, they have to use their finger since they have no plates, or knives and forks (12). Moreover, the lodging becomes a major problem, too. Chandler asserts that, in Turgutlu, Manisa, "the khan was most exceedingly wretched, and our stay, though for a single night, seemed tedious" (265). In Sedicui, İzmir, Chandler and his accompanies "had an earthquake, which agitated the whole house, the beams and joists of the roof crashing over our heads" (277). However, the biggest trouble that bothers Chandler during his visits is the plague. It is defined by Chandler as "remarkably destructive" (13). For, he informs that it visits the inhabitants every year and seldom fails to make a long stay (13). The calamity was the severest in that year. Chandler recounts that "of the Greeks alone sometimes above an hundred and thirty were buried in a day" (278). These fatigues and hardships make Chandler's mission even more challenging. As a result, he concludes that "it was natural to wish for a speedy removal from a country, in which we had been exposed to so many dangers" (283).

On the other hand, another thrilling experience that Chandler includes in his travelogue is the episode they come across on the way to Laodicea (Eskihisar). Some time after dark, Chandler and his men are surrounded by armed men who demand Bac-shish[29] for their Aga (223). Despite the instrument (a firhman or Travelling Card) which enjoins all the officers not to molest them, Chandler argues that "… the Aga declared he would have at least a hundred and thirty piastres" and adds that "if we hesitated to comply with his demand, he was determined to cut us in pieces, and take possession of our baggage" (223). The Janissary, one of the fellow travellers of Chandler's, describes

[29] Tip or a present, mostly in cash

this Aga as “uncommonly fierce and haughty” and bids them apprehend “the very worst consequences from his intemperance and savage disposition” (Chandler 223). Similarly, upon hearing of their late ill usage, the Aga in Pambouk also states that “he was a man of a bad character, of an imperious temper, and, from his superior power, the tyrant of that country” (Chandler 230). Therefore, Chandler agrees to pay him twenty zechins[30] as their tribute to the Aga, who, fearing that they might complain of his behaviour, later says he will be responsible for their safety (Chandler 224).

Incidences of theft and robbery are mostly included in the narratives of many travellers that had been to the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century. In Chandler’s travelogue, too, there are many similar representations that lead to the portrayal of an unfavourable Turkish image and stereotype. Particularly, the Turcomans are defined by Chandler as “rebels and robbers … , a lawless and desperate people, who committed often the most daring outrages with impunity” (243). He also argues that “they vary in savageness and violence” (111) and that “The Turcomans ... had very lately plundered some caravans, and cut off the heads of the people who opposed them” (244). Moreover, Chandler claims that even the British consul in Smyrna has been attacked by robbers in his way to Gallipoli, after parting from them at Tenedos (41). As illustrated above, by abusing the power conferred to them by the Sultan, the Agas also constitute a significant part of the Oriental panorama that includes scenes of robbery, impunity, violence, plunder and murder. Drawn by many British travellers of the era in a similar manner, this panorama of the Turks has made it into the canon of British travel writing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Chandler’s unfavourable portrayals of the Turks are not restricted with the narrations of theft and murder incidences. As discussed earlier, he often highlights the

[30] A former gold coin of Turkey, weighing 3.5 grams (0.12 oz) of .986 gold

Turks' negligence for the grandeur of ancient sites within the country. For example, referring to the temple of Apollo in Didim, Chandler claims that "the magnificence of the building had never excited in them one reflection, or indeed attracted their observation, even for a moment" (153). Moreover, in another narrative, Chandler recounts that a Turk's emptying the ashes from his pipe causes a fire which would nearly damage the ancient site in Troas (31). Similarly, in Chandler's representation, although the houses of the Agas or local governors abound in ancient relics, they do not allow Chandler to examine them. For instance, In Milas, Chandler argues that, when they treat a Turk for admission, he affirms that "we could see nothing; and added, that there was his Haram or the apartment of his women, which was an obstacle not to be surmounted" (188). As a result, in his overall portrayals, Chandler defines the Turks as "fatally ignorant and negligent" (269). Thus, Chandler endeavours to "avoid, as much as possible, communicating with the people of the country" (145).

Likewise, Chandler's encounters with the Turks do not yield any positive feeling for him. Similar to those of earlier travellers, his portrayals often include solipsistic definitions that highlight an imperial and colonial superiority and cultural hegemony. For instance, he calls the Turkish boatmen, who help them disembark the ship, as "savage figures" (11). His first representation of the Turkish image is also controversial. Referring to a group of Turks who assemble on the beach to look at their ship, Chandler argues that they seem as if they were "a new species of human beings" (11). Along with the stereotyped figures of the Agas who are mostly described to be fierce, cruel and tyrant, common Turkish people are also portrayed by Chandler as "wild, bigoted, obstinate, rough, impoverished and wretched" (45, 153, 281). Particularly, by referring to the plague incidence in İzmir, Chandler reveals a clear vision of the stereotyped Turkish image in his mind mapping. He argues that

> Smyrna would be affected as little perhaps as Marseilles, if its police were as well modelled. But this is the wisdom of a sensible and enlightened people. The Turk will not acknowledge the means as efficacious, or will reject them as unlawful. A bigoted Predestinarian, he resolves sickness or health, pleasure or pain, with all, even the most trifling, incidents of life, into the mighty power and uncontrollable will of the Supreme Being. He views the prudent Frank with insolent disdain, and reproaches him with timidity or irreligion. He triumphs in superior courage and confidence, going out or coming in during the plague with a calm indifference, as at other times; like the brute beast, unconscious of the road, which leads to his security or destruction. (281)

By comparing the image of the Turk to that of the Frank, Chandler points out his orientalist vision which emphasises a clear dichotomy between the superior European and inferior Turk. For, regarding their attitudes towards the plague, Chandler contrasts the prudence, wisdom and sensibility of the Frank with the fatalism, ignorance and unconsciousness of the Turk. Therefore, as can be seen in the travelogues of many contemporary travellers, he highlights an imperial and orientalist difference between his European self-identity and the stereotyped Turkish image. Similar to his geographical mapping of the ancient sites in southwest Turkey, Chandler also reflects the differentiation between the images of the Western and Eastern people in his mind mapping.

The status of women in the East plays a great role in constructing the differentiation between stereotyped images of the Occident and Orient, as well. For, in their narratives, many travellers represent a concealed identity of Oriental women who are deemed to be kept away from the social life. Similarly, in Chandler's portrayals, the women often inhabit a separate quarter and are mostly concealed. He argues that each Turkish woman is "wrapped in a white sheet, shapeless, and stalking in boots" (16). By

comparing them to the “beautiful” Greek girls who are “the most striking ornaments of Scio” (50), Chandler claims that “the women of the Turks, and of some other nations, are kept carefully concealed; and, when they go out, are enwrapped in white linen, wear boots, and have their faces muffled” (67). Therefore, his portrayals of the Turkish women contribute to his overall panorama that depicts a Turkish stereotype including many unfavourable features.

On the other hand, there are some characteristics of the Turks that Chandler finds sympathetic. For instance, contrary to the despotism of the Aga on the way to Eskihisar, Chandler claims that he is well pleased with the “manly politeness and civility” of the Aga in Soke who say that the English and Turks are brethren (150). Similarly, regarding the Aga in Eskihisar, he further states that “this aga was polite and affable beyond any Turk we had seen” (194). Moreover, contrary to the extreme wretchedness prevailing in the whole country, Chandler celebrates that “Smyrna continues a large and flourishing city. The bay, besides numerous small-craft, is daily frequented by ships of burthen from the chief ports in Europe, and the factors, who are a respectable body, at once live in affluence and acquire fortunes” (66).

Another feature that Chandler highlights in his portrayals of the Turks is the comradeship and sense of sharing among their travel accompanies. Although Chandler mostly avoids communicating with the Turks, in certain occasions, he enjoys the attachment between his entourages and the Turks who help and protect them during their journey. Particularly, the janissary, called Baructer Aga, is portrayed by Chandler to be “polished in person” (45). When they stop for a short break, Chandler mostly admires his entertaining music that he plays on a Turkish string instrument. He enthusiastically recounts that “some accompanied him with their voices, singing loud ... Two, and sometimes three or four, danced together, keeping time to a lively tune, until they were almost breathless (24). Moreover, Chandler also celebrates the Turks’ sense

of sharing even though they have little. He states that “they were liberal of their tobacco, ... presenting them to us, as often they saw us unprovided” (24).

However, in Chandler’s travelogue, these favourable representations do not reform the stereotyped Turkish image that consists of an oriental inferiority. For, as discussed above, the recurrent frequency of the Orientalist discourse gives Chandler’s portrayals cohesion and coherence, and therefore forms a rigid image. When compared to this unfavourable discourse, portrayals of politeness, civility, dexterity, affluence and comradeship do not change Chandler’s attitude that includes a bigoted solipsism, racial antagonism and indifferent stereotyping. As a result, in his travel narratives, he maintains his position that is comprised of a Eurocentric conceit and domineering perception.

2.2. Charles Fellows' *A Journal Written During an Excursion in Asia Minor* (1838) and *The Xanthian Marbles: Their Acquisition and Transition to England* (1842)

Another antiquarian that turned his steps to Anatolia to research early history and existent relics of past ages was Charles Fellows (1799-1860). Regarding his visits[31] to Asia Minor, Fellows published two travelogues in 1838 and 1840, respectively. Fellows' first travelogue, entitled *A Journal Written During An Excursion in Asia Minor* (1838), includes his representations regarding most recent conditions of ancient sites in the southwest Turkey during mid-19th century and his portrayals of the Turks living therein. In these travel accounts, he describes ancient sites, translates Greek inscriptions found in these sites into English, introduces geographical details of the country, and narrates daily life of the local people. These travel books also include some sketches, illustrations and patterns that depict archaeological works, musical instruments, dervishes, and some tools and utensils[32] he used in his travels, undertaken at harsh winter conditions.

Fellows arrived in the town of Smyrna (İzmir) on February 12th, 1838, setting foot for the first time in Asia Minor (Fellows 1). As seen in the map[33] accompanied to his *Journal*, Fellows' route included a small portion of Asia Minor[34]. Therefore, his journey of three thousand miles took only three months (Fellows 293). However, it was enough for Fellows to note his reflections on the manners and character of the Turks and to put down the remarks on the climate of the country, and the features of the scenery of its several districts.

[31] for which he bears all expenses on his own
[32] such as teapot, muslin and mosquito net
[33] for the map, see Appendix A
[34] including Lydia, Mysia, Bithynia, Phrygia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria

Charles Fellows was an enthusiastic and courageous antiquarian whose major aim was to discover ancient Greek and Roman relics, which most Europeans were then unfamiliar with. Therefore, throughout his *Journal*, Fellows' eagerness and resolution while searching for archaeological sites that had not been discovered yet are clearly observed. In fact, excursion and discovery were main motivations for Fellows' visit to that part of Turkey. As he argues in the Preface to his *Journal,* Fellows was informed at the Royal Geographical Society that "parts of his route had not before been traversed by any European" (*A Journal* iii). Thus, he claims that "on this account alone that I am induced to lay my Journal before the Public" (iii). Similarly, as a result of his readings before setting off to Asia Minor, Fellows was informed that some writers like Colonel Leake[35] had mentioned that the valley of Xanthus had not been explored by Europeans, and that cities might probably be traced near its course.

Fellows also heard that on the recommendation of the Trustees of the British Museum, the Government "had given directions for having these monuments of ancient art brought to England" (*A Journal* v). Therefore, by presenting some diligent observations of position and distance, that could help in mapping the country, and devoting much time to examining inscriptions, Fellows hoped that "the comprehensive information which he could furnish might induce other travellers, interested in antiquarian research, to turn their steps to this part of the world, which not only abounded in interest connected with early history and poetry, but was so rich in existing remains of past ages" (v). As a result, like those of Chandler's, Fellows' travel accounts were also penned in a style that was similar to scientific reconnoitre reports which

[35] Leake, William Martin. An English military man, topographer, diplomat, antiquarian, writer, and Fellow of the Royal Society who was sent in 1799 by the government to Constantinople to train the forces of the Ottoman Empire in the use of artillery and made a journey through Asia Minor in 1800 to join the British fleet at Cyprus, which inspired him with an interest in antiquarian topography.

sought to provide useful knowledge and therefore abound in mapping, surveying, measuring, inscribing, sketching and guidance.

Fellows' scientific reports are not limited to archaeological studies or ancient history. He is interested in many other scientific areas including anatomy, geology, botany, ornithology, and entomology, as well. For instance, in nearly all Turkish towns, Fellows examines a vast number of skeletons of the domestic animals, which afford ample opportunity for studying the anatomy of the camel, cow, horse, ass, and ox (*A Journal* 65). He also argues that the peculiarities of this country are so striking that one can easily gain information regarding geology (131). Therefore, he hopes that it may have been visited by Mr Hamilton[36] during his recent excursion (129). On the other hand, Fellows often returns from his walks laden with flowers and draws those with which he is unacquainted (185). He also wants to select some beautiful cabinet specimens but understands that England is too far off for him to carry home stones (74). Similarly, Fellows argues that "in no country have I ever seen or heard such multitudes of birds" (196). Therefore, he collects bird skins, as well. However, while doing so, he sometimes acts too brutal. For instance, to collect its skin, he tortures a vulture to dead. Fellows also suggests that "the entomologist would here find a wide field for study" as, according to him, here the insects, like man, assume a far gayer costume than England (273).

As seen above, the scientific language in Fellows' representations of ancient sites and his authorial style in describing flora and fauna in the southwest Turkey bear many similarities to those of Richard Chandler and Carl Lineus who were regarded to be pioneers in introducing what is called explorative travel writing. As already

[36] Hamilton, William John. An English geologist who became a fellow of the Geological Society of London in 1831 and made a geological tour of the Levant with Hugh Edwin Strickland in 1835, continuing on his own through Armenia and across Asia Minor.

discussed in the previous chapters, like those of Chandler and Lineus, Fellows' travel narratives reveal a significant imperial tradition which is centred upon dialectic of information and control. For, in his travel accounts, acting as a monadic source of knowledge of unknown places and peoples, Fellows seeks to capture and convey valuable knowledge which will provide him power and authority. By using this secret power and authority, he will later mastermind the plot of transferring many valuable relics to his home country on behalf of the British Museum.

On the other hand, Fellows argues that the most interesting period of the history of Asia Minor is the time of its occupation by the Greeks (*A Journal* iv). Therefore, the relics of their civilizations form the main attraction to Fellows as a traveller. In his portrayals of the place, one can see columns, triglyphs, and friezes, of beautiful sculpture, laying on every side and speaking of the glamour of an ancient city. Fellows claims that "the country is perfectly open to the antiquarian and seems preserved for his examination" (v). Consequently, Fellows concludes that the artist visiting Asia Minor will be richly rewarded (303).

According to Fellows, the chief objects of interest in the ancient sites are the tombs, which are very numerous, and of the largest kind he has ever seen. For example, in Assos (modern Behramkale), he informs that some of the tombs in Via Sacra, or Street of Tombs, still stand in their original beautiful forms (*A Journal* 52) and that "many tombs of a Greek date remain unopened" (53). For Fellows, another point of the greatest interest is the relics of early age. Fellows argues that although little of that date now remains standing in its original form, the grandeur and peculiar beauty of the arts among the earlier Greeks cannot be concealed even in the broken materials (110).

For example, in Assos, Fellows finds "a beautiful wall in a very perfect state, exhibiting gateways of the earliest dates, as well as those of the later Greek" (*A Journal*

50). In Sagalassos (modern Burdur), Fellows' examinations reveal that "on the side of a higher hill is one of the most beautiful and perfect theatres I ever saw or heard of, the seats, and the greater part of the proscenium remain, the walls of the front have partly fallen, but the splendid cornices and statuary are but little broken" (167). Also, in Pamphylia, now situated in the south of Antalya, Fellows informs that "upon this promontory stood one of the finest cities that probably ever existed, now presenting magnificent wrecks of grandeur" (172). He also finds the situation of the ancient city Sardis, the last of the Seven Churches, to be "very beautiful" (289).

These representations clearly illustrate Fellows' amazement at grandeur and glory that he sees in ancient sites in southwest Turkey. As an enthusiastic antiquarian, Fellows finds the whole region as an area of investigation and feels the privilege to examine these areas under the auspices of the British Empire. Along with splendour and magnificence of ancient sites, Fellows also gets mesmerized by the natural beauty of the countryside on which these ancient spots are built. While drawing near the coast of Asia Minor, Fellows first sees the Bay of Smyrna and compares its green, rich, and beautiful mountains and woods to the barren and uncultivated Greek islands which he has passed (*A Journal* 1). Similarly, he describes the descent into the Hermus (Gediz) valley as "picturesque" and "wild" (17) and portrays the distant mountains bounding the valleys in Akhisar to be beautiful (22).

As disclosed above, Fellows' favourite ancient site is Xanthus, which he will later plunder to carry its most valuable remains off to his home country. Therefore, he describes it in the most romantic way. Fellows states that

> The site is extremely romantic, upon beautiful hills; some crowned with rocks, others rising perpendicularly from the river, which is seen winding its way down from the woody uplands, while beyond in the extreme distance are the snowy

> mountains in which it rises. On the west the view is bounded by the picturesquely formed but bare range of Mount Cragus, and on the east by the mountain chain extending to Patara. A rich plain, with its meandering river, carries the eye to the horizon of the sea towards the south-west. (*A Journal* 227)

However, during his examinations of the ancient sites, Fellows finds that "the features of the relics are generally destroyed to satisfy the scruples of their present owners, the Turks" (*A Journal* 10). Particularly, Fellows observes that hundreds of Turkish gravestones are made up of the ornamental marbles of ancient remains. He claims that "scarcely one of these tombstones is without some trace of its earlier history, many have upon them Greek or Roman letters" (13). Fellows further suggests that one can easily recognize "parts of inscriptions, and cornices, flutings, capitals, or shafts of columns in nearly all of them" (13). What is more, on entering Milas, Fellows is amused by "a gravestone in a Turkish burial-ground, formed of a robed female statue of white marble, stuck head and shoulders downwards into the ground" (260).

Likewise, Fellows observes that ancient graves and slabs have also been continually torn up by the Turks and used for building purposes (*A Journal* 13). For example, he argues that "several mosques and khans now occupy the buildings of the ancients" (34) and that "the walls of the Turkish houses are full of relics of marble, with ornaments of the richest Grecian art" (35). For example, in Kütahya, Fellows observes that four columns of a temple have been just removed and used in the erection of a Governor's house (145). Similarly, in Ephesus, a place so familiar to an antiquarian mind, Fellows feels disappointed at not seeing all the ideas associated with it realised. For, he observes that "the ruins of the adjoining town, which arose about four hundred years ago, are entirely composed of materials from Ephesus" (275), and therefore, except for the few silent walls, nothing remains (274).

These accounts clearly demonstrate Fellows' disappointment at what he sees in his visits to ancient sites in southwest Turkey. Fellows mainly blames the Turks' ignorance and indifference for the derelict and damaged conditions of these sites. In his portrayals, he often underlines the insensibility of the Turks to the arts and sciences and describes the Turks as having not the least ingenuity. He argues that "the Turks have no traditions of the country, and more ignorant than can be conceived, being not only unlearned, but resolved not to learn. They call all buildings which they have not themselves constructed, whether bridge, bath or aqueduct, temple, theatre or tomb, all *Esky kalli*, 'old castle'" (*A Journal* 53).

Fellows demonstrates that the Turks' main interest in these ancient sites lies on their search for treasure. For, according to Fellows, the men always fancy that they search for inscriptions to find treasure (*A Journal* 115). Fellows also claims that the people spend much time and trouble in cutting pedestals in pieces, imagining from their having inscriptions that they contain treasure (168). As far as Fellows is concerned, "each person produces his fancied treasure, which he has preserved because some Frank gives money for such things" (138). For example, he hears of "a beautiful Greek statue being sold by the Turks for five shillings, and two bronze vases for eight shillings" (139). Therefore, his guide also keeps earnestly begging that Fellows will point out the stones in which he should find gold, thinking that Fellows knows from his books where it is to be met with.

As seen from the travel accounts above, Fellows features greediness, as well as ignorance and indifference, as one of primary causes of how the ancient sites have been demolished by the Turks. Therefore, with an imperialist ego and orientalist insight, he hints that these unfavourable characteristics of the Turks should be taken as valid excuses to acquire and transmit ancient remains into his home country so that they can be better protected. In fact, in his travelogue, he refers to certain cases of archaeological

artefact smugglings by some Europeans. For instance, Fellows informs that, in Patara (modern Kaş), one of three statues has just been dug out, and sent off to Europe (*A Journal* 223). But, he does not name the perpetrator. Similarly, in Bergama, Fellows suggests that "the marbles found here are numerous, and are continually taken off for the museums of Europe. The French set a vessel last year for a bath and statue, which had been for years unnoticed" (36).

In the autumn of 1839, Fellows conducted a second excursion to southwest Turkey, in which he was "more fully prepared for a re-examination of its geography and works of art" (*The Xanthian Marbles* 2). Following the publication of his *Journals*, his discoveries in ancient Lycian capital engaged the attention of many significant men, holding positions at the British Museum. At his urgent request, "they applied to British authorities to ask the Sultan for a firman or letter, granting leave to bring away some of the works of ancient art which he had discovered" (Fellows 2). Before getting the firman, Fellows left England to start his examinations. Prior to his leave, he was formally applied to by the Museum to furnish forthwith full instructions as to what objects were to be removed, and to make maps, plans and descriptions as to where each fragment was to be sought (Fellows 3). Thus, he drew a detailed map of Xanthus to explain the relative position of the objects referred to in the paper and view. However, he was later informed that no funds were to be provided for the expedition. Therefore, knowing that the necessary expenses would be small, he offered to pay his own expenses and provide the fund required (6).

Learning that, despite the sincere friendship existing between two governments, the Sublime Porte was not interested in granting such demands, Fellows paid a formal visit to Istanbul to persuade Turkish officials. For, a probable delay due to lack of required permit made Fellows afraid that ignorance of the peasantry, the curiosity or wantonness of travellers, might do ancient remains injury, or political changes might

hinder the expedition (*The Xanthian Marbles* 24). During his official visit, to assume an appearance of authority, of which he had but little in reality, he requested Captain Graves to accompany him (11). He also provided some presents for the Pashas, and, in spite of his false authority, Fellows obtained an official letter (firman). Fellows informed that "the knowledge of the boundaries of the various Pashalics of the remote districts is very limited at Constantinople" (11). Therefore, he himself gave instruction for the letter.

Fellows' these efforts bore fruit. Following a long and arduous expedition, in which two of Fellows' men were lost (*The Xanthian Marbles* 25), 82 cases, including many valuable ancient relics that weighed 80 tons, were prepared to be shipped. Out of these, 78 cases were safely brought to England in December, 1841 (43). Moreover, for similar expeditions to be carried out in the future, Fellows' colleagues, Rev. Mr. Daniell, in particular, who often came from the ship and made Fellows' hut his home, visited and sketched the neighbouring Lycian cities (38).

Apart from Fellows' unfavourable portrayals that include negligence, insensibility, or covetousness, in his representations, the Turks are also identified by Fellows to be disgustingly fat, unpleasant, ordinary, tyrannical, despot, and childish. In fact, at the beginning of his journey, Fellows is strongly prejudiced against the Turks, and equally biased in favour of the Greeks. He suggests that "I do not like any trait in the character of the Turks which I have yet seen" (*A Journal* 3). Therefore, he often contrasts them with the Greeks, who, according to Fellows, "appear all intelligence, and are certainly simple and unaffected" (3). It seems that, in these prejudiced insights, Fellows is probably influenced by his Greek dragoman, Demetrius who often swears at the whole nation of Turks. For instance, Fellows claims that although the Turks spend too much money on the dress, the appearance of the people generally seems to him "not pleasing" (3) and "disgustingly fat" (2).

Moreover, in a racist manner, he recounts that, in the slave market in İzmir, some men remind him of "the Sun Bears at the Zoological Gardens, eating an orange" (*A Journal* 7). Regarding southwest Turkey, Fellows argues that the people through the whole of this district are in a "very wild state" (216). According to him, like beasts, men are also "in a most wild state" in that part of the country (236). Fellows describes many streets in the town as "dirty" or "filthy" (40). As a result, he informs that, at these towns, many victims are daily carried off by the plague (273).

In addition, in Fellows' representations, women, in particular, are observed to be concealed in white drapery (*A Journal* 2). Fellows argues that the women here are mostly shy and that "they never leave even an eye exposed, and generally retreat into some shelter when met by a man, and if this be in the road, they turn their faces to a bush until he has passed" (64). He further suggests that, in most occasions, a bush or tree is a sufficient barrier. According to him, "without some screen the women would have been almost prisoners while we were near" (219).

Conversely, Fellows portrays the Turkish men to be "extremely sociable", who never read or write, and therefore are very dependent upon each other for amusement (*A Journal* 151). He particularly notices their love of buffoonery and sprightliness of manners. However, he is not happy with the sociability of the Turkish people. Fellows informs that "sociability is here carried almost too far, all travellers joining company, and forming a sort of caravan" (105). Therefore, he complains of not being able to be alone. He recounts that "these people are so sociable that no one is ever alone, and I believe that I must occasionally represent myself as an invalid, in order to get time for writing and the other occupations of a traveller" (158). As a result, he dislikes the system of being lodged with a private family under the authority of a firman (152).

Similar to Chandler, Fellows describes the Chief Judge of the town to be "despotic" and the Governor "tyrannical" (*A Journal* 6). He also argues that they are mostly corrupt figures, who are satisfied by money (6). He often observes that no matter how poor they are, nearly all people feel obliged to slaughter hundreds of lambs on the first appearance of the cavalcade and present them to the Governor to secure the favour of the new despot (163). In Cesme, İzmir, he also detests the Aga's not compromising his dignity by transacting his official business in the street. Fellows recounts that "during the whole interview he never uttered a word, or even looked at me" (44). Fellows also informs that, as a result of this despotism and tyranny spreading across the country, the pirates have been accustomed to carrying away the boys for soldiers or seizing upon the flocks without tendering any recompense (215).

In afore-mentioned representations, one can clearly see Fellows' annoyance at some despotic behaviours of the Agas, the Governors, or principal men, assuming any authority. However, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, power relations between the British Empire and the Ottomans have been shifting in the mid-nineteenth century. Therefore, although, upon seeing a principal man's caravan, Fellows' servant always rides forward to ask permission to be allowed to pass, Fellows often informs that "the Governors now take every opportunity of showing respect to the English, and often come to request to be allowed to go to the ball with the Consuls" (*A Journal* 6). As a result, Fellows manipulates this shifting power for his evil dreams aimed at stealing archaeological artefacts.

On the other hand, Fellows' portrayals of the Turks are not always unfavourable. His unfavourable perception of the Turkish manners is slowly eliminated by a personal closeness to the people. During his journeys, he often meets with instances of the delicacy of the Turks. Therefore, contrary to his earlier representations, Fellows describes the Turks to be neat and clean. He claims that "the Turks are by no means a

dirty people, their hands, feet, and faces are always religiously kept clean. I know no European country where there is so little annoyance from offensive impurities in the streets. I do not remember even seeing a Turk spit: what a contrast to the manners of France, Italy, and Germany" (96). He further suggests that "in the operation of washing is seen a strong instance of the delicacy of this nation; so great is their horror of anything unclean" (153).

Fellows likes the food in southwest Turkey, as well. Particularly, he loves kaymak (skim milk). Regarding food, Fellows informs that "the cooking is excellent, and nothing objectionable is met with in it, no garlic of Italy, sour greens of Germany, or unknown compounds of France" (*A Journal* 154). In contrast to his former portrayals, Fellows represents the appearance of the Turks to be "gay" and "colourful". He argues that "I have in England been at fairs and races, and have witnessed the commemoration days in Paris, and the masquerades and carnivals in Catania and Naples, but all fall short, in gay variety and general beauty of costume, of this Turkish market" (277). Fellows also likes the language of the people. He describes it to be "so poetic, and so often enriched with proverbs and peculiar forms of expression" (299). When a conversation is translated to him by his interpreter, he fancies himself listening to the *Arabian Nights* (299).

In addition, Fellows observes that the pervading character of the Turkish people is their entire devotion to their religion. He informs that "the character, habits, customs, manners, health, and whole life of the people appear formed by their religion" (*A Journal* 294). Fellows sees many signs of the religious devotion in the manners of people – particularly dervishes. This commitment leads Fellows to think so highly of the Turks' moral excellence (299). For example, as a result of his intimacy with the character of the Turks, Fellows concludes that since their religion forbids it, the Turks might not steal (121). Fellows also likes the ezan (call for prayer), which is one of the

most important signifiers of the Turks' religion, Islam. He finds its tone to be "very harmonious" and its meaning "simple and beautiful" (34). According to him, "the words make in the stillness of the night a chant which is solemn and striking" (34). Similarly, Fellows informs that polygamy, one of the serious charges brought against the moral character of its professors, is a liberty of which the people "seldom take advantage" (297).

Furthermore, particularly in Istanbul, Fellows observes some reforms which may pave the way for future alterations in the religious faith of the people and allow more freedom in their daily life. He argues that "here the barriers of the Mahometan law are falling fast, and there is now as much religious freedom in this as in any city in the world" (*A Journal* 100). For example, Fellows informs that, contrary to the concealed character of the Turkish women, "in the seraglio, the ladies show their faces when attended by their music, drawing and French masters" (98). In addition, Fellows observes that, although the Mahometan law does not allow, "some little children dressed up were acting the portion of the life of our Saviour which is commemorated at this season" (208). Likewise, in Fellows' portrayals, the attitudes of people towards non-believers have also changed. He claims that although they would not even look at or speak to an infidel or a Ghiaour a few years ago, he now receives the salutation of all the gazers assembled to see him (82).

In Fellows' travelogue, portrayals of change are not limited to the sphere of religion. The reforms initiated by the Sultan, who is defined by Fellows as "one of the most wonderful men of the age" (*A Journal* 97), include not only the character of the people but also their costume. For example, in Istanbul, Fellows observes that, "upon his going publicly to mosque, the Sultan wears a red cap, or fez, with a star in front, and a military European blue cloak over a plain blue uniform" (98). Similarly, he recounts that "there was scarcely an individual among the thousands that attended, who had not

completely changed costume, manners and almost opinions, during the last few years" (98). Contrary to former portrayals of poverty and destitute, Fellows finds the Turks to have "an appearance both of comfort and wealth" (150). He suggests that "I have seen no beggars except the blind, and few persons looking very poor. The people's wants, which are few, are generally well supplied, and in every tent there is a meal for the stranger, whatever be his condition" (298). In a similar fashion, contrary to old khans or caravansaries, he likens his accommodation (the Navy Hotel) to an English public-house. Consequently, Fellows concludes that "I can scarcely believe that I am in Asia Minor" (2).

Another significant feature that Fellows loves in the character of the Turks is hospitality. He states that "it was proffered to me by all ranks, - from the Pasha to the peasant in his tent among the mountains, - and was tendered as a thing of course, without the idea of any return being made" (*A Journal* 295). For example, in Adalia (modern Antalya), Fellows recounts that, quite contrary to eastern etiquette, a Pasha rises from his seat and accompanies him towards the doors when he comes away (184). Therefore, he concludes that, regarding hospitality, "no question was asked, distinction of nation or religion, of rich and poor, was not thought of, but feed the stranger was the universal law" (295). Similarly, during his expedition aimed at carrying ancient remains in southwest Turkey off to England, Fellows also experiences hospitality and kindness. He informs that eggs, poultry, fruit and milk are brought to us by the peasants who live around their encampment (*The Xanthian Marbles* 17). As a result, he often speaks of the great hospitality he receives and expresses his wish that "as the Turks imitated our costume, we should copy their kindness to strangers" (*A Journal* 182). Along with hospitality, truth and honesty next strike the traveller in Fellows' representations. He suggests that both are "equally conspicuous in them" (296).

Fellows' narratives clearly demonstrate his changing attitude towards the Turks. As a result of a mutual ignorance between Fellows and the Turks, portrayals regarding people and place were mostly unfavourable in Fellows' first encounters with the Turks. However, Fellows' feelings towards the Turks become different from those uncharitable prejudices with which he looked upon them on his first arrival. He becomes not only reconciled, but sincerely attached to their manners, habits, and character, equally as to their costume. Particularly, he finds truth, honesty and kindness to be "the most estimable and amiable qualities" in a people among whom he so little looks for (*A Journal* 294).

Therefore, all these favourable portrayals of the Turks partly reform the oriental image that is often described by former travellers to be backward, inferior, primitive, brutal, cruel, ignorant and impoverished. While, in the first part of his travelogue, Fellows' portrayals contribute to the oriental stereotype of the Turks, his later travel accounts do not comply with this stereotyped image, and so serve for illustrating the change in British perceptions of the Turks in the early nineteenth century.

Chapter 3 – Travel Writing on Southwest Turkey after the Foundation of the Republic of Turkey (Post-1923)

After the War of Independence, fought with West-allied Greek powers, the Turks established a new republican state in 1923. In a just a couple of years, the new government launched a significant social and cultural transformation process with a radical programme of secularization and modernization reforms[37]. In his history book titled *Turkey: A Modern History* (1993), Eric Zürcher argues that "the fact that a non-Western and Muslim country chose to discard its past and sought to join the West made a huge impression in the West, where the idea of springing up an entirely new, modern and different Turkey was generally accepted" (193). However, Britain was among the victorious great powers of the West. So, in this political context, early British travellers to Turkey felt superior and dominant in former Ottoman lands. They had their own political agenda which focused on imperial aims such as safeguarding Christian minorities' rights in Turkey, studying the situation created between the Great Britain and Turkey by the Mosul dispute, and restoring ancient ruins from their ramshackle situation back into their medieval glory. As a result, as will be seen below, many British travellers were indifferent to the westernization efforts of this emerging modern country in the aftermath of the Revolution.

Therefore, in many travelogues, the British travellers have taken up a figurative discourse that introduces and denominates the Turkish image in an obvious inferior manner. In these travel narratives, portrayals of the Turks often bear similarities to those of the Ottomans. During the period in question, stereotyped Eastern images of earlier centuries still dominate British perceptions of Turkey. In some portrayals, the travellers represent a particular political, cultural, or military interest in modern Turkey as well.

[37] For some reports of British Newspapers on the Turkish Reforms, see Appendix B

Particularly in re-enactment travels that portray medieval qualities of ancient history, knowledge of past represents ideological imagery, political authority portrays colonialist dominance and historical studies reflect a certain hegemony. Therefore, in these portrayals, it can be clearly seen that, dominancy and hegemony are still the main themes while illustrating British travel narratives of Oriental images in Turkey.

When compared to later periods, in the first half of the century, there are not many works on Turkey that can be regarded as travel literature. The main theme in existent travelogues is mostly centred upon representations of antiquity and classical ruins in southwest Turkey. However, there are still some travelogues that can help us better understand British perceptions of modern image of the Turks and Turkey in this period. For instance, in his travel book, called *The Changing East* (1926), John Alfred Spender (1862-1942), the British journalist and author, represents his reactions to the modern image of Turkey and the Turks. Spender's travelogue was the result of a journey to Turkey, Egypt and India undertaken for the London newspaper, *Westminister Gazette* during the winter and spring of 1925-6 (Spender 7). Spender's journey to Turkey included only Istanbul and Ankara. As a journalist, his main object was to study the states of opinion and politics in Turkey, and to discover how it fared with British policy regarding Mosul dispute at the time when the decision of the League of Nations was promulgated (Spender 8).

However, Spender's accounts also include his observations regarding the change in the image of the Turks that stemmed from the reforms carried out by Mustapha Kemal Ataturk and his companions. When he arrives in Istanbul, the first thing that engages Spender's attention is men's hats. He sees bowlers and cloth caps all around Istanbul. But, he does not like this new appearance. He argues that "the Western eye considered the fez picturesque and amusing which stung the pride of the Turk" (29). Similarly, another thing that Spender represents as change is the abundance of Turkish

names in shops and restaurants. He claims that "all foreign shops are compelled by law to announce themselves in Turkish" (35). Spender suggests that the focus on the Turkish inscription reeks of the government policy that he calls Turkification[38] (35). However, he claims that the desire to be all-Turkish is hard to reconcile with the desire to be completely modern (9). Therefore, he is not pleased with the overemphasis on the Turkish script since he believes that it leads some foreigners to talk of xenophobia (36). Nevertheless, Spender discloses that, contrary to his Greek and English friends' prejudiced advise on not going to Ankara, he receives "nothing but civility and courtesy" during his stay there (44). Similarly, regarding the people in Istanbul, Spender finds a general change in the manners, customs and traditions of the Turks. In contrast to former representations of ignorance and self-concealment, Spender portrays a vivacious Turkish image. He recounts that

> … young men, and still more, young women, are giving themselves all the airs of the emancipated West in that internationalized or denationalized city. Cinemas and theatres are crowded, jazz bands fill the air, and unveiled ladies with short skirts dance with Parisianized young Turks into the small hours of the morning. (9)

On the other hand, as to the place, Spender's portrayals are different. Although, in general, he describes Istanbul to be "beautiful, historical, and romantic" (32), he portrays its current state to be "lamentable" (34). Spender recounts that "the roads were terrible; the blackened ruins of buildings destroyed by fire two or three years before still cumbered the ground on some of the most famous sites; the places were falling into decay, the sanitary services were below a decent minimum" (34). Therefore, he concludes that "Athens is rapidly becoming a great and populous modern city, while

[38] For a detailed report on the script change, see Appendix B

Constantinople is stagnant and declining" (41). Likewise, during his train journey to Ankara, Spender reports that "hour by hour it is the same featureless landscape; the grass is yellow and sodden, and perpetually fades away into mud and swamp" (45).

However, Ankara strikes Spender's eye with a pleasant relief after this monotony. He describes the new capital to be "quite imposing" (45) and reports that it "still contains interesting Roman remains, especially the fine and well-preserved Temple of Augustus" (45). Spender claims that, to completely understand the true moral of Turkish achievement, one has to realize what Ankara is (48). For, he reports that many foreigners who have known the Turks for thirty years and more say they have never seen such energy and industry as the Turks are displaying at Ankara (49). Spender also hears innumerable plans regarding Ankara's transformation into an urban capital - plans for new railways, new roads, schools, primary and secondary, in all the towns and villages (49). However, Spender suggests that, since Turkey is then a poor country with sadly disordered finances and she lacks capital, according to Western notions, progress is still slow (49-50).

The last thing that Spender includes in his travel accounts in Ankara is the representations of negative consequences that the reforms bring about. Spender argues that although he sees character and determination in one part of the reformist movements, ruthlessness and overweening conceit dominate the other (39). For instance, he reports that he reads in a newspaper that in Angora six 'reactionaries' are sentenced to the 'extreme penalty' on the previous day[39] (50). In addition, Spender claims that "... a still greater number among the peasants of Anatolia was in a state of smothered rebellion against the defection from Islam of the new regime" (39). However, despite these unfavourable outcomes, Spender finds many of the new regime's religious

[39] For a newspaper report on seditious plots, see Appendix B

reforms to be “undoubtedly salutary” (31). Similarly, he also reports that though, in England, there has been lively criticism of the rigid attitude taken up by the Government, the Great Britain profess much sympathy with the new regime in Turkey and with the effort it is making to institute reforms and to bring the country into line with modern progress (56-57).

Likewise, another journalist that travelled to Turkey in the 19030s was Bosworth Goldman. He was a reporter on the staff of the *Evening Standard* during the wartime (Forbes 302). As a journalist, he was naturally interested in politics of Near Asia as well. In his travel book titled *Red Road Through Asia* (1934), Goldman actually portrays a picture of bolshevization of Russian Asia. However, in a small part about Turkey at the end of his book, Goldman also reflects his impressions about modern Turks. As seen in the map[40] attached on the endpapers of his travelogue, Goldman got off the ship and stepped on new Turkish lands through the Black Sea region after a long, unusual and difficult journey through the Soviet Union, carried out with tenacity and resource. Following his small tours in Trebizond and Giresun, Goldman came to Istanbul, the old capital of the Ottoman Empire.

Similar to former orientalist representations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Goldman portrays the Turks to be 'obedient', 'greedy', 'idle' and 'deceitful' in post-1923 period (113). He suggests that the Turks still have simple tastes and little contact with the civilization of the West in spite of changes (256). Instances of despotism, oppression, human trafficking, brutality and counterfeit pervade Goldman's representations in modern Turkey. He does not celebrate any modern outlook of the country. Instead, he emphasizes old, imperial charms of the Turks stereotyped with oriental characteristics. Goldman's many portrayals imply the claim that modernity is in

[40] For the map, see Appendix A

direct contrast to his traditional stereotype of Turkish society. According to him, the Turks are primitive and backward, and therefore they are in an absolute contrast to Western societies (258).

Similarly, a sense of domination is also implicated in Goldman's visits to Turkey. He recounts that

> As I passed the British Embassy an immaculate monocled figure stepped serenely from a high Daimler. On either side of him, heels clicked, hands flew to the salute. At once I felt equally impressive and grand: I too was English; that man had been my representative, and the palace in which he lived was in part supported by my payment of the income tax ... For those days, I felt important. (268)

In fact, this superior and victorious feeling of Goldman's is not surprising when the Britain's political position in the post-Sevres period is taken into consideration. Britain's dominating power in Turkish territories has a profound effect on Goldman's manners. Goldman's feeling himself impressive, grand and important in Turkey bears many similarities to early travellers' authoritarian style while commenting on the Turkish stereotype.

Goldman's orientalist representations about the Turks are not limited to primitiveness, underdevelopment and inferiority. Many of his narratives about Turkey in *Red Road* include fraudulence and counterfeiting instances, as well. Goldman claims that "I was trapped by the wily trader into paying what they were worth for two bronze imitations" and that "I have been happier here, for they are pleasant people, tough ever ready to take advantage of you, partly from avarice and partly because they feel it their duty to punish fallibility of others" (255). The Turks are also involved in dirty works during that period according to Goldman. After telling a brutal story in which all money

of a doctor in foreign currency is stolen by Ogpu[41] forces in the Soviet Union, he claims "I never discovered what they were spent on, but one man told me the demand was considerable on account of the Persians and Turks who were ready 'to run' people across the frontier for satisfactory amounts in foreign currency" (265). Thus, human trafficking, along with brutality and barbarism, become common traits attributed to the Turks in Goldman's many orientalist portrayals.

Similarly, in Goldman's portrayals, the Turks are submissive and obedient in the presence of authoritarian governments. Goldman claims that they preserve their "sedate character and aloofness from outside affairs" (257). As far as Goldman is concerned, although the Turkish society is granted a Western-style democracy after the Independence War, they are still pursuing their placid and docile life as they were under the Sultans. The Turks are also idle and clumsy according to Goldman. He suggests "busy tea-carriers hustled from their stalls to lubricate our bargaining and to soothe other heads still seething with arrack from the night before" (257). Apart from this drunkenness, the Turks are represented to be awkward by Goldman. While narrating a discussion among the ship's crew, he claims "the valve had assuredly been open; 'perhaps a Turkish devil closed it,' he [one of the crew] executed his own forgetfulness" (261). Goldman also reports that "the unshaven Turkish policeman at the customs station at the entrance of Bosporus grunted disconsolately at our early arrival" (267). As can be understood from the portrayals above, submissiveness, filthiness, awkwardness, laziness and idleness are intrinsic qualities ascribed to the oriental Turkish image stereotyped by Goldman in post-Sevres period.

[41] The Joint State Political Directorate (also translated as the All-Union State Political Administration) is the secret police of the Soviet Union from 1923 to 1934.

On the other hand, modern images of the country are also portrayed by Goldman. But Goldman does not celebrate this modern outlook of the country. Instead, he gets fascinated at old beauties of Istanbul.

> We slid slowly down the winding beauty of the Bosporus, which man has ornamented so lavishly where God had already given full measure. I revisited the sights with a brilliant and distinguished Orientalist; it was intoxicating to be back in a country where beauty and culture received the attention they deserved. The museum contained wealth of the past, carefully tended tombs, and acres of exquisite carvings instead of busts of the monotonous heroes of the Revolution. The mosque of Achmed the First confirmed the opulence of the Moslem in the seventeenth century, and symbolized the taste of the leisured potentates of that era. Such a faith provided a simple holiday from the elaborate pleasures of the harem and the table, or the grim reality of a hard-fought battle. (268)

As seen above, Goldman wishes to emphasize old, imperial charms of the Turks. Rather than 'busts of monotonous heroes' or 'trams and rushing motors' which are claimed to destroy the picturesque outlook of the country, the 'wealth of the past' in museums and 'enchantment of past civilization' are favoured. Opulence of mosques, pleasures of the harem and glories of fiercely-fought wars are what enthuses Goldman. Therefore, he seeks to reflect the orientalist idea of re-enactment. However, according to Said, his interpretation “is a form of Romantic restructuring of the Orient, a re-vision of it, which restores it redemptively to the present” (158).

In short, Goldman is not happy about the modernization and westernization reforms carried out by the Turks. With a romantic but orientalist view, he desires the Turks to remain Oriental. According to him, it is their stereotyped oriental characteristics that light up the Occidental spirit. Exoticness of the harem, attractions of

virgin Bosporus, primitive lifestyle of the countrymen and glory of ancient civilizations are the actual amusements that allure Goldman to Oriental Turkey.

Likewise, as will be discussed in detail below, similar to J.A Spender and Bosworth Goldman, Harold Armstrong (1892-1943), well-known for his biography of Ataturk called *Grey Wolf* (1933), has also a travel book on Turkey. Armstrong's *Turkey and Syria Reborn: A Record of Two Years of Travel* (1930) is a travel account that includes his portrayals of modern Turkey and the Turks living therein during his political mission within the country. In his representations, despite the cultural transformation imposed on society by the ruling government, Armstrong claims there is "no change of heart, no urge, no faith, no new spiritual drive among the Turks" (208). He further suggests that "typical Turkish attitude to life is all the same, that is each house is cut off, blind and deaf to its neighbours, each family isolated, and its women veiled" (223). Therefore, in Armstrong's representations, the Turks are still living the old, shut-away and primitive life of the days before the war. Change to modernity is either ignored as an absence or ridiculed with an orientalist manner by Armstrong.

On the other hand, another journalist that set foot in Turkey in the first half of the twentieth century was Henry Vollam Canova Morton (1892-1972). Also known as an acknowledged journalist who wrote for *Empire Magazine, The Evening Standard*, *The Daily Mail*, and the *Daily Express* during his professional career, H. V. Morton was regarded to be Britain's foremost travel writer during the period between the wars. Morton arrived in Adana, Turkey by a train from Damascus, Syria in the 1930s and travelled along Tarsus, Konya, Ankara, İzmir and Istanbul. Regarding his visits to Turkey as well as his journeys through Egypt, Palestine, Iraq and Greece, Morton published a travelogue titled *Middle East* (1941).

In his travelogue which includes a small part on Turkey, Morton reflects his reactions to the change that Atatürk's reforms bring about. Morton defines these reforms to be "astonishing" (194) and further suggests that "the more I see of Turkey the greater is my admiration for the achievements of the Ghazi and his band of staff officers at Ankara" (209). Thus, he foretells that "given ten years of peace, the world will see a new and remarkable Turkey" (209). In Morton's portrayals, one wide new street, a brief outline of Turkey's economic regeneration, and even a room in which everything is self-consciously Western expresses the European urge of the Republic.

In particular, Morton emphasizes the Turks' wearing hats instead of the fez and unveiling of women as the most sweeping changes that strike at the root of social and religious custom (194). According to Morton, even in Konya, anyone who knew Turkey in the old days would be astonished by the city's modern outlook. For, he reports that "women who used to be veiled from head to foot now wear western clothes, and even stop in the street to talk to their men acquaintances. They read fashion papers and do their best to copy the modes of Paris" (208). Similarly, he represents his hostess in Konya as "typical of the modern emancipated Turkish woman" since "she spoke adequate English, learned at the American College in Tarsus" (214).

In accordance with above-mentioned representations, Morton concludes that Atatürk "is even rewriting the history of the Turk in order to give his people a European outlook" (209). However, off all his achievements, he finds the new system of education as the most interesting one (209). In this respect, Morton reports that

> The head master told me that all classes are mixed. The teachers are men and women. The old Arabic alphabet is taboo. Every word written or spoken in the school is the new Turkish language, written in Latin characters. Religion is not allowed to be taught. (210).

As a result, in every classroom that he was taken into, Morton got impressed by both "the solemn intelligence of the children" and "the fact that girls and boys worked together in perfect equality" (211). As seen above, Morton's representations of change and modernity are mostly favourable and therefore dissent from generalizing trope of the orientalism seen in Spender, Goldman and Armstrong. However, during his travels in Anatolia, Morton's main interest lies on ancient splendour rather than change and modernity.

In his travel narratives regarding Turkey, contrary to Spender and Goldman, Morton reflects his interest in antiquity and ancient past in Asia Minor rather than modern outlook of an emerging country. On his many journeys in Anatolia, Morton sought to follow the steps of St. Paul (Morton 189). Morton suggests that, in these journeys, he "looked for something that might have lingered from the time of its pride" (196). He often longed for all kinds of strange customs and superstitions dating from Greek and Roman times (218). But, he found nothing. He laments that "invasion, war, and centuries of inertia have obliterated every vestige of the past" (196). In Morton's representations, the contrast between the fair Hellenistic city mentioned by St. Paul and modern Tarsus was so great that he felt "a sense of shock" (197). For, Morton reports that, in Tarsus, the capitals of columns were buried in the earth and no longer does the ice-clear Cydnus, the pride of ancient Tarsus, flow through the centre of the town (196). Similarly, regarding the site of the Great Temple of Artemis, whom Morton calls Diana of the Ephesians, Morton discloses that "nothing in all my wanderings filled me with a deeper sense of the pathos of decay than this water-logged ruin at Ephesus" (224). Therefore, Morton defines the Temple of Diana to be a "stagnant pond" (224).

Likewise, for Morton, when compared to modern outlook of Istanbul, the Old Seraglio – as described in travel books of the seventeen and eighteenth centuries – was "more interesting" (234). He finds it strange that "the territory of the Byzantines, whose

cult was splendour, should have shrunk to a dark room in Istanbul" (249). As a result, regarding the Patriarch of Phanar in Istanbul, Morton – in an imperialist manner – can well imagine

> How, startled maybe by a realization that the ghost of the old imperial court still haunted his capital, he awakened from an evil dream, in which he had seen all the minarets fall down and had heard the church bells ringing out once again over the City of God. (251)

As clearly seen above, Morton's representations regarding antiquity and ancient past in Anatolia bear many similarities to those of imperialist travel writers, such as Richard Chandler and Charles Fellows, who are discussed in the previous chapter. In his portrayals, with an attempt to deny present and ignore topicality, Morton seeks to revive the past and emphasize splendour and glamour of antiquity. Rather than describing modern Turkey thirteen years after its founding as a sovereign state, Morton highlights Greek and Roman history in his travel accounts. Therefore, Morton's representations of place in Asia Minor include monotony, poverty, bleakness, and unfriendliness. For instance, on his train journey from Adana to Konya, Morton recounts that

> Hour succeeded hour, and there was nothing but the same vista receding to distant hills, here and there a poverty-stricken village, but usually only desolate uplands, bleak and wild, on whose unfriendly expanse a band of wandering *yuruks* had the air of explorers. (202).

Similarly, as will be seen in more detail below, like H. V. Morton, some antiquarians, such as Freya Stark (1893-1993) and Patrick Kinross (1904-1976) adopt a similar approach towards representations of Turkey and the Turks. In their travelogues titled *The Lycian Shore: A Turkish Odyssey* (1956) and *Europa Minor: Journeys in Coastal Turkey* (1956), respectively, both Stark and Kinross represent antiquity and

employ a historical narrative that belongs to past centuries instead of modern recounts of the Turks. In their travel accounts, which can be called re-enactment narratives, Stark and Kinross steal past and contemplate antiquity. Rather than portraying a civilizing nation, they are more interested in the sight of tombs, ruins, relics, palaces and other constructions of ancient origin. No cultural, socio-economical and political shift that the new country has been going through is represented by either Kinross or Stark.

3.1. Harold Armstrong's *Turkey and Syria Reborn: A Record of Two Years of Travel* (1930)

As seen in the survey of travel literature on new Turkey above, portrayals of modern Turkey are mostly centred on representations which ignore change and modernity and highlight ancient glory and old splendour. In this respect, Harold Armstrong's travelogue, which consists of a record of his many months of travel in some Turkish towns, including Mersin, Kayseri, Ankara, İzmir and Istanbul in 1927, is a significant textual source to analyse whether any change might be seen in perceptions of British travellers regarding the Turkish image and stereotype.

Harold Armstrong was an intelligence officer in British Army in the First World War. Like many members of the Sixth Army Division, he was captured by the Turks in the siege of Kut[42]. However, just before the War ceased, he managed to escape from Turkey by mainly bribing Turkish officials. In his travelogue, Armstrong informs that, following the War, "he was posted back to Turkey for some years, during which he was in a position to know and judge the facts and in intimate contact with the chief personalities" (ix). Therefore, he was able to observe the rise of New Turkey that had been trying to be reborn from its ashes. Like many British travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Armstrong was filled with the thrill and drive of exploration when he returned to Turkey as one of the delegates of the Commission for Assessment of War Damage in 1927.

Therefore, being one of early British travellers to modern Turkey, Armstrong stands up as a significant figure to determine whether former orientalist attitudes remain constant in the Western world even if the country is undergoing a remarkable cultural

[42] The Siege of Kut Al Amara (7 December 1915 – 29 April 1916), also known as the First Battle of Kut, is the besieging of an 8,000 strong British-Indian garrison in the town of Kut, 100 miles south of Baghdad, by the Ottoman Army

transformation. Since he is able to visit and observe both old and new Turkey, his observations and narratives in *Turkey and Syria Reborn* are of critical importance to clarify whether New Turkey is different from the Ottomans in Western terms during the 1920s.

The tone of *Turkey and Syria Reborn* is set at the very beginning of the book. Armstrong's travelogue begins with a self-awareness of the common Western attitude towards the Turks that has constructed an Oriental stereotype since the very early ages. He claims "the Westerners seemed afraid of the Turks. They looked on them much as they did in the sixteenth century, as the 'Terrible Turk', as something inhuman, not to be dealt with as man to man but as terrifying as wild animals, with which it is impossible to get into touch or sympathy" (119). This pejorative discourse clearly illustrates orientalist units of cruelty, barbarism, tyranny and despotism as described by Said. Actually, as discussed in previous chapters, these are intrinsic characteristics that all represent the traditional ignorance of the outside world towards all things Turkish in the past centuries.

However, Armstrong identifies four major changes in cultural spheres of Turkish society during the post-Sevres period. These are (i) the abundance of many governmental spies across the country, (ii) general novelty of the public outlook due to the new clothing reform, (iii) a dramatic change in people's religiousness (iv), and severe poverty. In these narratives, Armstrong mainly reflects orientalist elements through stereotyping and imagery. Representations of the Turks are portrayed by Armstrong in accordance with the oriental patterns of Said's theory.

Armstrong goes into familiar lands of Turkey through a Mediterranean coastal town, Mersin. But, he is followed by some government agents that are secretly accompanying him along his journey within the country. As there seems to be a fierce

resentment against foreigners, and especially against the British among the Turks in 1930s, Armstrong encounters a lukewarm welcome in the towns and cities he travels along, and so he has to resist an unnecessarily close examination of authorities at routine identity check points. He argues that the Turks believe themselves to be, morally and mentally, the superiors of the West. They hate the Western peoples. So, they have an instinctive dislike of all foreigners (13). However, Zürcher points out that Britain and France are "still the great examples for the Young Turks, and immediately after the revolution there are popular demonstrations of support for the British and French ambassadors" (93). This clearly illustrates European influence over the new country in 1920s. But, in the next decade, counter-revolutionary acts and traditionalists and reactionaries' efforts must have changed this attitude the other way around.

Armstrong further claims that there is no liberty of travel in Turkey. According to him, whereas the few who rule the country are efficient, vigorous, decisive, the junior officials are as bad as those under the Sultans (167). In fact, this is mainly because of the fact that the conflictions inherited from Ottoman period are still continuing to disrupt public sphere. When a small company of people gather around and begin to chant slogans against the government, some say this is a revolution, others a massacre, others brigand, others that the Kurds have come raiding (Armstrong 146). Therefore, it is not surprising that Armstrong is considered to be one of those old Western agents that come to the country to trigger an anti-government clash, and accordingly, he is closely tracked by Turkish authorities.

Armstrong argues that another reason of such a harsh oppression is that although the small body of men grouped round the mental, moral and physical administration of Mustafa Kemal are capable, energetic, fighting against great difficulties to cultivate a new, virile country, they feel they are forced to destroy almost down to the roots before they could cultivate any new growth (150). He further suggests that they have to tear up

the social, religious and political life of the Ottoman Empire, to root out fiercely the dearest ideas, conventions and ways of thought of a people naturally slow and intensely conservative (151). Therefore, according to Armstrong, they need to build an empire of fear through spying and espionage in order not to let any anti-government entity to gain strength and thrive within the country (152). For, the counter-revolution of April 1909 has vividly demonstrated how easily the constitutional regime and modernizing policies the Committee for Union and Progress[43] stood for might be easily damaged. Zürcher claims that "in that sense, it is both a traumatic experience and a lesson that will not be forgotten by the Unionists or by their successors after 1918" (99). Therefore, as Zürcher further argues, "in the following years, the CUP's position as a secret society exerting pressure and holding political power without any formal responsibility is to prove a stabilizing factor within the society" (92). As a result, in the course of a very short time, Mustafa Kemal becomes the venerated leader; his words are treasured as truth and wisdom, his orders – even though revolutionary – are obeyed without question. According to Armstrong, Turkey is Mustapha Kemal and Mustapha Kemal is Turkey (200). However, Armstrong doubts whether this attitude might destroy the old qualities, and produce new ones. He believes it will leave the Turks with nothing to hold by in time of strain (208).

These narratives including spies, public demonstrations, despotism and strict examination of authorities plainly represent oriental patterns of danger, fear, toughness, tyranny, oppression, clumsiness and awkwardness. Armstrong frankly hints that the new country is insecure; one can easily come across a fight or even a raid between two clashing groups. There is little if any freedom of travel and even if you have a slight

[43] The Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) begins as a secret society established as the "Committee of Ottoman Union" in Istanbul in February 6, 1889 by medical students. It is transformed into a political organization (and later an official political party), aligning itself with the Young Turks in 1906, during the period of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. In the West, members of the CUP are usually called "Young Turks" while in the Ottoman Empire, its members are known as Unionists.

chance of wandering along the country, you are met with weird-looking officers who take long hours to check your travel documents in an amateurish manner at control points. Governmental oppression is everywhere and does not let you freely behave as you like. Although Armstrong does not humiliate the Turks, the national image that he represents demonstrates oriental inferiority, dictatorship and backwardness.

Here, we should refer to the distinction Said makes "between an almost unconscious (and certainly an untouchable) positivity, which he calls latent Orientalism, and the various stated views about Oriental society, languages, literatures, history, sociology, and so forth, which he calls manifest Orientalism" (206). In this peculiar case, Armstrong does not consciously portray the country to be inferior and primitive; neither does he compare it with the superior West where he comes from. However, his representations still suggest oriental panorama that encompasses Said's descriptions of latent orientalism. For, his accounts do not refer to the soldierly and political aspects of his duty. Rather, his narratives are penned in the mode of a geographer, and ethnographer.

Similarly, Armstrong argues that despite the cultural transformation imposed on society by the ruling government, there is no change of heart, no urge, no faith, no new spiritual drive among the Turks (208). People are living the old, shut-away, aristocratic life of the days before the war, but their worlds are breaking down under them as the palace in which they live. Typical Turkish attitude to life is all the same, that is each house is cut off, blind and deaf to its neighbours, each family isolated, and its women veiled (Armstrong 223). They find the new reforms such as alphabet and clothing challenging and the whole nation becomes suddenly illiterate. The men are also unchanged, they are the same placid, obedient, polite, good-tempered people as those under the Sultans (Armstrong 275). They live in squalor and discomfort; their lives are hard and brutal in a brutal, hard country (Armstrong 276). Moreover, the depression of

living continuously this ugly, uncomfortable life, with its continuous contact with filth, evil faces and brutality makes them even physically unattractive (Armstrong 213). In short, according to Armstrong the Turks has lost all their old distinctive character.

One can easily observe orientalist descriptions in these narratives, as well. Armstrong's discourse and speech figures remind an ardent reader of the Orientalist pattern that Said clearly defines. As far as Armstrong is concerned, the Turks are docile and primitive. There is no drive of change in their spirits. Brutality and hardship make their life uneasy. Covered with dirt and dust, their faces are even ugly and physically unappealing. Orientalist representations such as primitiveness, barbarism, submissiveness, danger and hardship, filth and pollution are main concerns of Armstrong in portraying the Turks. Armstrong suggests that these patterns are what make the Turks different from his old renowned character.

On the other hand, what Armstrong means by 'old distinctive character' is also elaborated in his book. He depicts a traditional Turkish evening pleasure which is full of raki[44] and cigars, food and dances in a lovely room in Antalya. According to Armstrong, the things that rouse the Turks into men are a galloping horse, the thrill of danger, gambling, the excitement of a race. It is their fierce, hard, primitive life in which they thrive and show their best characteristics (219). He claims that civilization, education and cities tend to debase them and turn them into Levantines (220). Change is a word that Armstrong never uses in his representations of new Turkey. Mary Louise Pratt argues that the western tradition of objectified, dehistoricized and even deterritorialized descriptions of landscape and people often portrays subject races to keep on same inferior characteristics (112). Therefore, according to her, any attempt at shifting these pre-conceived thoughts is regarded as an infringement to the stereotyped cultural

[44] Raki is an unsweetened, anise-flavoured Turkish alcoholic drink that is popular in Turkey and Greece.

moulds set for him by orientalist tradition, and therefore naturalized as absence (Pratt 113). The Turks' efforts to be a westernized country are similarly ignored by Armstrong. Only few of these changes in cultural spheres of society are reflected by him although he is aware of intentions of the Turks' being a Westernized country.

The only change in Armstrong's portrayals of the new Turkey is the clothing reform. He argues that it has drastically changed the Turkish society. Armstrong reports that the abolition of the fez and the introduction of the peaked hat and cap results in an imam wearing long robes and fez with green turban; and, in contrast, the young bloods wear new caps of Austrian make (Armstrong 136). Women are also undergoing a huge transformation in Armstrong's representations. They were hidden and veiled in the Ottoman period, and even in early twentieth century, two girls veiled, or with their veils thrown back would have been followed by perhaps an officer, a cadet or two, and some young bloods who would have hung about outside to catch their eye. But in Armstrong's portrayals, no one has taken much notice of two such girls, even the loungers in the cafés do not turn to be ribald at their expense when they have a seat at a café, drinking teas (Armstrong 140).

However, Armstrong does not like this new outlook of the Turks. He claims that although the Turks have borrowed the good things of the West, they have left out or perverted their spirit, therefore they even cease to be picturesque (254). He suggests that having lost his old dignity, the Turks have at times become a little grotesque (245). According to Armstrong, the social, cultural and political reforms make them become more European than European, but out of date (260). In his portrayals, the Turks are "more extravagant in dress, in talking, in outlook" (280). They are even a burlesque of the European: "they are more *infidélés* than the Infidel, as a Frenchman remarks" (qtd. in Armstrong 180). As a result, Armstrong concludes that from their old seclusion, the Turks have swept to the other extreme (Armstrong 188).

The extremity between two ends of the society is observed in Armstrong's other narratives as well. For instance, he portrays many doctors and intellectuals trained in Vienna and Paris, dressed in Western style, and many other artists like Bedia Mowahid[45], whose artistic abilities astonish Armstrong (103). On the other hand, he also reflects the miserable lifestyle of peasantry in the Turkish society. The gap between the elites and common Turkish men are clearly illustrated in Armstrong's travelogue. Armstrong argues that even though the country is trying hard to become European, "Old Turkey remains here in the centre of even the new capital, unchanged, resentful of change with its same old life, its bazaar, its oriental outlook, and its impecunious government clerks shuffling home to their veiled women" (201). He further suggests that, even the people in big cities seem to be whiter and more European; but they have not changed from the old days (208). According to Armstrong, they are a little prouder and sensitive, but they have a dignity and an independence of their own (210).

A sense of orientalist dominance is felt in these representations, too. Armstrong is not happy about revolutionary changes in Turkey. He believes modernization is not favourable for the Turks. Therefore, he wishes them to preserve their old primitive character. Although revolution and modernization are two recent favourites of Orientalist expertise in scholarly discussions, Armstrong, with a humiliating approach, suggests that civilization and modernization will put the Turks into an inauthentic and even ludicrous position. For, Armstrong claims that the novel appearance of the Turks seem quite artificial and inconvenient. In short, Armstrong's attitude towards new Turkey is similar to the Orientalist travellers who keep on seeing the Near Orient via an original point of view. Therefore, using his country's dominating position in Turkish lands, Armstrong is keen on favouring the familiar Orient in his mind's geography

[45] was a Turkish stage and movie actress. She is remembered as one of the first Muslim movie actresses in Turkey debuting in 1923.

mapping, and with an Orientalist's grander interpretative activity, he performs as a better judge, educated man, and strong cultural power against a kind of intellectually inferior proletariat. By sneering at the idea of a novel Orient, Armstrong plays West's considerably delicate role in responding to the crises of modernity in the East.

Another observation that Armstrong reflects in his book is an apparent decline in the Turks' piety. The revolutionary reforms in the social and cultural areas of the society cause people not to perform religious duties as regularly as they did in the Ottoman period. Armstrong claims "the Turks ceased to be religious. Few come to the mosque, I remember only a little time ago that the people came regularly (224). However, Armstrong argues that religion is the foundations of the Turks (224). He claims that once their religion has died, and without a struggle, Old Turkey is gone (226). In fact, according to Armstrong, the Turks still remained the natural leaders of Islam in the East during the 1930s although they were betrayed by their Muslim brothers in the war (228). Therefore, although the change in the attitude towards Islam might lead the Turks to be in a more intimate contact with the West, this crucial shift is not celebrated by Armstrong. He often argues that the Turks' westernization efforts including religious reforms are in vain, because the society is too languid and conservative to adapt themselves to such a tremendous transformation (249).

Said claims that modern Islam is assumed to be “nothing more than a reasserted version of the old by the Orientalists, since it is supposed by the West that modernity for Islam is less of a challenge than an insult” (261). Armstrong’s portrayals of the religion in new Turkey are consistent with Said’s argument. For, he suggests that the Muslims in Turkey show “resistance to change, to mutual comprehension between East and West, to the development of men and women out of archaic, primitive classical institutions, and to modernity” (168). In Turkey during the 1930s, Islam was viewed to be something that could only modernize itself by a self-reinterpretation from a Western

point of view – which, of course, is secularism. However, Armstrong does not believe that western secularism will replace fanatical Islam in Turkey. He argues that since the Turks are traditionalist and fanatical about their own religion and will remain so, one cannot mention modernization of Islam even in new Turkey (147).

Another significant aspect in Armstrong's portrayals is impoverished conditions and misery in the country. Armstrong claims that he meets with "an almost incredible poverty everywhere he visited" (161). He further argues that "centuries of maladministration had impoverished the Turks, continuous wars had decimated them" (161). In his portrayals, the places which once were very prosperous, are now in ruins, and the fields and vineyards are uncultivated. He reports that "the villagers were already deserted, they were starving and famine stood at the gate" (185). According to Armstrong, even Istanbul is empty and desolate, trade is dead. He argues that Turkey, ruined and penniless, "had built a high wall round an empty waste and starved proudly inside it" (242).

Prosperity is something that the British Empire has enjoyed throughout ages. However, its equivalent in the East is poverty according to many British travellers. This is not only observed in the West-East discourse, but it is also applicable to travelogues that other a relatively inferior nation. For instance, Daniel Defoe's *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-6) clearly illustrates Defoe's search for commercial potential and agricultural development in Scotland. His portrayals of poverty and misery in Scotland and his comparisons between English prosperity and Scots' destitution are mainly because of his manifest support for the Acts of Union in 1707, which leads to the creation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain on 1st May of that year. Therefore, rather than a leisure seeking traveller, Defoe acts as a colonizer who looks for potential annexation of Scotland to the United Kingdom.

Similarly, in *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891* (2011), Eadaoin Agnew claims that "in the early nineteenth-century, the new imperial relationship with Britain meant that, for the most part, travellers in Ireland did not write leisurely accounts of pleasurable journeys; instead their texts were marketed as commentaries and analyses" (390). Thus, it seemed that Ireland, like the rest of the empire, must be made known and tractable. Particularly, with the advent of the Home Tour, which was initiated as a rival to the Grand Tour, a dramatic increase in the number of, largely, British, travellers to Irish shores was seen in the Post-Union era (Hooper 12). In these Home Tours, one could see how post-Union optimism lay behind a reawakened interest in Irish affairs. Moreover, the role of the Post-Famine writer, frequently brought to Ireland to assess the economic and social state of the country and speculate about a place increasingly regarded as ripe for investment and resettlement was another significant theme mostly examined in British travel literature on Ireland (Hooper 80). Similar to Defoe, these travel writers were also inclined towards graphic reportage of poverty, often driven by a reformist agenda. By a self-reflection on identity and alterity, they typically cast moral judgements on what they found in Ireland through comparisons with perceptions of their homeland, in a dialectic dynamic (Williams 33). As a result, as Melissa Fegan argues, in most British travel accounts, Ireland acts as an eastern nation in the west (48).

In a similar fashion, Armstrong points out that the Turks' clumsiness in trade and business results in a fierce misery that strikes the whole country. Poverty and backwardness are purposefully emphasized by Armstrong along with barbarism and primitiveness in order to demonstrate the inferiority of the Turks and Turkey. He, therefore, declares the country to be available for social and political intervention by victorious imperial powers like Britain. As illustrated above, Britain is in a dominant position to prevail its hegemony over Turkey, and there are some discussions on the possible merits of a British mandate within the country. So, as he holds an official

position, with his descriptions of the Turks' poor life style, Armstrong may implicitly indicate his favour of an imperial aim that Britain might set for the benefit of Turkey's progress.

3.2. Freya Stark's *The Lycian Shore: A Turkish Odyssey* (1956)

Contrary to Harold Armstrong, some British travellers[46] to Turkey hold a different attitude towards representations of the Turks in the first half of the twentieth century. Rather than focussing on the modern outlook of the place and people, these travellers aim to represent ancient past and antiquity in Anatolia. In these representations, the landscape becomes suffused by history, and history is shaped by the land. Therefore, quoted voices of classical authors give a heady sense of nostalgia in the portrayals of both the place and people. However, these representations are still significant in examining the resistant nature of orientalism and imperialism. For, they clearly illustrate how change to modernity is ignored and instead historical fixity is celebrated through portrayals of past in modern Turkey.

Dame Freya Madeline Stark was such a British explorer and travel writer. In the beginning of 1950s, tracing ancient Persian and Greek merchants, Freya Stark set off by boat to discover the Lycian shore in Turkey. As a result of his travels along this coast, Stark produced a travel book called *The Lycian Shore: A Turkish Odyssey*. In her article "East is West: Freya Stark's Travels in Arabia.", Claudia Roth Pierpont argues that, deprived of contemporary voices, "her book relies on history and introspection which gives way, at times, to literary strain and Stark seems more than usually intent on ruins and on the silence that surrounded them" (iv). Pierpont further claims that "there is a quiet melancholy to Stark's book – an unshakable sense of cultures irretrievably lost, and of the ruthlessness of time, which seems to arise both from the nature of the subject and from the nature of the traveller growing old" (v). As a result, in Stark's eminent travel book, her profound interest in medieval quality and knowledge of antiquity both

[46] like H. V. Morton, discussed above.

produce an ethnographical Biblical history of Asia Minor – southwest Turkey in particular.

During her journey in Asia Minor, Stark sought to experience unmediated classical cities in their ruins. Since the subject country of her travels has naturally a great deal of ruin in its past, and since the landscape fits most yesterdays in this part of the world, Stark argues that “a journey without history is like the portrait of an old face without its wrinkles. Every bay or headland of these shores, every mountain-top, round whose classic name the legends and clouds are floating, carries visible or invisible signs of its past in Turkey particularly, and in all the Levant and the Aegean” (3). According to her “Turkish history is made of the solid foundations of old Anatolia, leavened to so many purposes by the movements of the trade routes and the coasts” (129). Therefore, Stark claims that these records should be treasured so that the history can be used to make the landscape quicken in one's sight (123). Henceforth, in her most travel accounts, Stark also recounts a detailed history of heroic events that took place in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. in what is now southwest Turkey.

However, her historical narratives are quite abundant as far as a travel book is concerned. Unlike many travel writers who focus on the place and people, Stark is more interested in ancient stories of gallant characters of the past. Although she calls her book 'A Turkish Odyssey', Stark tells ancient Greek and Roman history without even mentioning the modern Turkish name of the place in which that history occurred. Rather than possessing on what she sets eyes, Stark steals the old. Similarly, instead of contemplating a civilizing or beautifying interference, she imagines antiquity. The main reason behind this lies in Stark's passion for medieval characters and Biblical images

that yield authentic quality. Like her predecessors, Gertrude Bell[47] (1868-1926) and T. E. Lawrence[48] (1888-1935), Stark's primary research interests are centred on Christian antiquity. According to this tradition, such antiquity produces chivalry and glory even in our modern times. Therefore, by ignoring the modernity and change that is being carried out all around the country, Stark's main goal of journey is "the sight of tombs, ruins, relics, palaces and other constructions of ancient origin" (128). She focuses on the past as a fixed reality to be known. The present becomes significant only when it re-presents that past.

In *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination* (2007), Gurminder K. Bhambra argues that theories regarding politics of modernity involve "a fundamental difference that distinguishes Europe from the rest of the world" (1). She defines modernity as "the social, cultural, political, and economic changes that took place in Western Europe from the midsixteenth century onwards" (2). Therefore, like many recent social theorists on modernity, she also sees it as both distinctive and European in its origins. In this respect, the West is still seen as the leader or 'signifier' of change (Bhambra 1). Similarly, in Stark's travelogue, modernity is seen as resting on a basic distinction between the social formations of 'the West' and 'traditional' or 'pre-modern' societies. Therefore, notwithstanding its modernization and westernization efforts, modern Turkey does not seem to attract Stark's attention as it seeks to cut its ties with medieval European past.

As will be seen in detail below, this Eurocentric approach is observed in many parts of Stark's travel accounts. Defined by Bhambra as "the belief, implicit or otherwise, in the world historical significance of events believed to have developed

[47] British archaeologist and art historian who acted as a spy in the Middle East before the outbreak of World War I

[48] British intelligence officer who masterminded the Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire in the World War I

endogenously within the cultural-geographical sphere of Europe" (5), Eurocentrism relies on the idea that something special was indeed done by Europe in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries that did transform the world. In this respect, regarding her representations of Turkey and the Turks, Stark can also be labelled as Eurocentric as she magnifies actions, customs, morals and attitudes of ancient civilizations which are deemed to be ancestors of Europe. Rather than celebrating the efforts of the Turks, who claim to be in the process of doing what Europe is doing, she accuses them of destroying relics of ancient past, which Stark defines as reminiscent of European glory and splendour.

The claim of being the first Westerner to venture into uncharted Biblical lands, such as Anatolia and the Arab Desert, is a significant aspect of modern travel writing that represents cavalier tradition explained above. In this context, it is not surprising to come across similar experiences in Stark's *The Lycian Shore*. Her travel companion David Balfour, who is then a British consul in Smyrna, remarks "no one could get across that swamp" (111) when they see an ancient acropolis with a medieval wall. But, of course, they can. Likewise, when they reach Minara and Pinara[49], Stark also claims that "not many travellers can have come here since Fellows' first visit a century ago" (133). Here, the feeling of being unusual and heroic is best hinted at. Like many extraordinary women of her era, Stark has "little patience with the dully ordinary women whose fate she has worked hard to escape" (Pierpont 5). Therefore, she often wishes to be "the first European woman to be seen in the places that she had journeyed through" (Pierpont 8).

On the other hand, Stark's keenness on ancient history in a travel book about an oriental country cannot only be explained by her personal interest in Christian antiquity.

[49] Large ancient cities of Lycia

Said's Orientalism theory might also be relevant to examine her unusual travel among zones of learning like travellers in time and knowledge. For, Said argues that

> To a very large extent the Orientalist provides his own society with representations of the Orient (a) that bear his distinctive imprint, (b) that illustrate his conception of what the Orient can or ought to be, (c) that consciously contest someone else's view of the Orient, (d) that provide Orientalist discourse with what, at that moment, it seems most in need of, and (e) that respond to certain cultural, professional, national, political, and economic requirements of the epoch. (273)

With her medieval representations and illustrations of a modern country, Stark may imply her conception of what the Orient, or Asia Minor as she puts it, can or ought to be. This second way of orientalist tradition, described by Said above, has so far produced a great many of oriental re-enactment works which include similar patterns. Said argues that "as all pilgrimages to the Orient have to pass through the Biblical lands, most of them in fact are attempts either to relive or to liberate from the large, incredibly fecund Orient some portion of Judeo-Christian / Greco-Roman actuality" (168). Stark also brings forward this Christian actuality by suggesting that Turkey, like any other oriental country, ought to be relieved back to its fertile medieval past. It is this oriental quality derived from Christian past that produces grandeur, dignity and honour according to Stark. Therefore, any attempt at catching up with Western modernity is not welcomed by her and so not even mentioned in her travel narratives about Turkey.

Instead, Stark often refers to Biblical images and ancient history even for a daily routine of a shepherd that herds his flock. She recounts that

> A flock was trickling down the hillside in scattered groups like drops towards the stream. It is always the image of the *flock* in the New Testament: no external

> compulsion holds it, and the partnership of the faithful is never a unity constrained in walls. The closed door is the image used for exclusion or death. (165)

For Stark, every single aspect of even a modern country symbolizes its magnificent past originating from oriental glory of the Greeks and Romans. Her ignorance of people living around or ahistorical portrayals of the modern image of place indicate a reconstruction of a lost history through rediscovered monuments and ruins. However, here too, the recovery occurs in the context of a new European expansionism and a nostalgic rethinking of earlier empires. Stark explicitly suggests rebuilding of nostalgic, ancient empires in a modernizing country by taking advantage of his home country's superior position. In contrast to Benedict Anderson's argument that "every nation has its own imagery, its gods, angels, devils or saints who live in the nation's traditions" (44), Stark's portrayals emphasize the role of myth, memory and symbol in the make-up of the Turkish nation. Indeed, by following the cavalier tradition, she devours the Turkish identity and makes nation-ness the most universally legitimate value while defining the Turks that live in Asia Minor.

Stark's explicit orientalist and even imperialist views are clarified and intensified by more manifest remarks in the book. Turkey's significant transformation in every sphere of the society is ignored by Stark. She is mainly concerned with how the country can be returned back to its oriental glory rooted in its Greco/Roman past. According to Stark, this might only be accomplished by the British sovereignty which is then politically one of dominant powers in these medieval Biblical lands. The prestige of Britain is quite high in Turkey in the post-Sevres period. Nearly all travellers are welcomed by Turkish authorities and they do not face any trouble even in the 1950s. Stark enjoys this dominancy and superiority when they happen to arrange paperwork formalities. She remarks "into their frayed pockets he [Hüseyin, one of the crew] would

try to press the *Elfin's* papers and our passports, on his way to visit the harbour-master and police with the Prestige of Britain behind him" (41). This prestige is transformed into an imperialist superiority by Stark in such an arrogant way that she calls the British naval forces for a duty of accomplishing her imperialist ideals. She suggests that

> The bay of Marmaris, so enclosed that it looks like a lake with hilly shores, is large enough for the whole British Mediterranean fleet to rest in: their summer sports have occasionally been held here - which caused us to be received in a matter-of-fact way in the little town of less than a thousand houses, that looked as if nothing more recent than a crusader could have tied up under the castle walls. (110)

Marmaris, which is now densely populated by British middle-class holiday makers, is offered by Stark as a convenient spot for the British Mediterranean navy to take control of a vulnerable city that should be encircled by a crusader castle. According to her, only in this way, can the city be returned to its medieval quality. Also, in this way only, she can attain oriental chivalry and glory. Such kind of political campaign is not something new for Stark. She is already well aware that travellers and sailors are nearer than governments to the meaning of events. According to Pierpont, Stark's proudest accomplishment “is the Brotherhood of Freedom, an organization that she established along the lines of the Muslim Brotherhood, which, began in Cairo and pledged to Islam, had been training Arab fighters against foreign domination and aiming at persuading them to support the Allies or at least remain neutral since the twenties” (13). This biographical background information also proves us how Stark effectively contributes to the orientalist/imperialist tradition that has been gaining dominance among early twentieth century travellers to the Middle East. Rather than an immediate acquirement of practical knowledge regarding the Orient, Stark, like her previous comrades, adopts

similar set of narrative structures and patterns received from the past, secularized, re-disposed, and re-shaped in the example of New Turkey.

These structures and patterns can also be seen in modern representations although they are quite a few in the book. The new Turkish image is stereotyped in the personification of Hüseyin by Stark. Hüseyin is one of the two *Elfin's* crew that helps Stark and Balfour with the cleaning and kitchen works of the ship. He is "a Muhammedan Turk of Crete, and of the tribe of Odysseus' sailors" (Stark 42). However, his manners are described as barbaric, oriental and shabby by Stark. She claims

> Hüseyin in the placid afternoon hours sat at the wheel with his head aslant and his thin old bones bunched comfortably in clothes from which his talent for shabbiness had long ago rubbed away any consular lustre. It was a pain to D. B. to see what Hüseyin could do to a new suit in a matter of hours; and then to watch him amble away in harbour, one gym shoe untied and the other half off, one sleeve up and the other down, his open neck disclosing strange underwear, and what he had on turning out not to be his port suit at all, but the old dungarees of last year. (41)

Laziness, clumsiness, ill-worn clothes, dirt and idleness are all signifiers of the Orientalist discourse described by Said. Like many other travellers, Stark portrays an average Turk as rustic and awkward. In Stark's portrayals, even the Turkish authorities' glumness and unflattering reluctance are observed at their grim-looking faces (100). This oriental image is strengthened by representing the submissive character of the Turks that "live quietly as mice in little houses in gardens" under despot governors (Stark 55). However, when it comes to ancient characteristics of the Anatolians, Stark adopts a different manner. Rusticity and awkwardness are replaced by gaiety and

esteem. Instead of oriental inferiority, medieval quality is highlighted by Stark. When she describes an Anatolian village, she reports that

> The houses were as clean as the Swiss; their wooden cupboards and stairs were bare and scrubbed; and the people left their shoes as they came in and wiped their feet on a towel at the stair's foot. They were rough folk and mostly plain to look at, with the excellent manners of Turkish village, the result of a sure and sound tradition handed from generation to generation, which breaks into gaiety when ceremony demands it, as an earth-feeding stream breaks into the sun. (82)

Since it is handed down from past generations, this gaiety is preserved in rural areas in spite of the poverty and obscurity that encompasses the whole country. For, Stark claims that in this great village world of Asia, the Lycian and the Turkish virtues are very similar. Therefore, they can carry their brave and kindly character into a new language and a new religion, and they must mingle them easily (Stark 139).

However, in Stark's representations, the whole picture of any ancient place in modern Turkey is painted in mortal weakness by poverty and time. It is disturbing but strangely satisfying for Stark. Any alleviation, or improvement would have seemed impertinent – a contrast too startling to be borne. Stark argues that even the women, who wear the charming old-fashioned clothes, full trousers under a short skirt, and striped head shawls wrapped tightly round the chin, are similar to the women of Tanagra, but with a country solidity about them (113). In Stark's depictions, they have that remarkable Turkish solidity which the ancient Anatolians so rightly have discerned as a basic feminine characteristic, and they are graceful in spite of it.

Grace, glory, courtesy and gaiety are all medieval virtues attributed to the Romans, Greeks, Lycians, Tanagrans and any other Anatolian civilizations by Stark. As far as she is concerned, it is these qualities that should be passed down by the Turks in

order to preserve their characteristic dignity. Therefore, any change towards modernity is ignored although a new gaiety, which is a benefit brought back to Turkey, may counteract at least in colour the dreary monotony which is taken from the West. However, according to Stark, despite the gradual and steady perseverance, the slowness of the change in the far and lonely landscapes already shows how vast the Turkish problem is.

3.3. Patrick Kinross' *Europa Minor: Journeys in Coastal Turkey* (1956)

Another antiquarian traveller that adopts a similar imperialist attitude towards representation of the Turks in the 1950s was Patrick Kinross. Kinross' *Europa Minor: Journeys in Coastal Turkey* deals, not with a single journey, but with a series of journeys, made between 1947 and 1954, ranging from Antakya to Edirne, covering the greater part of the 'Turkish Riviera' which fringes the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas (Kinross xi). During these journeys, Kinross focuses on ancient past and antiquity in his representations of the place and people in modern Turkey. Similar to Stark, his main interest lies in the past rather than the modern outlook of the country.

A Scottish-born historian and writer, Patrick Kinross is best known in Turkey for his descriptive biography of the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Less popular than his highly readable biography or its follow-up *Ottoman Centuries: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire* (1977), is *Europa Minor: Journeys in Coastal Turkey*, an engaging travel book in which the clear-eyed observant Kinross makes a series of journeys, spread from the eastern Mediterranean seaboard to the mouth of the Dardanelles. Kinross defines this coastal voyage to be "a journey which had brought me in space from the borders of Syria to the borders of Bulgaria and Greece, in time from the Alexandrine through the Roman and Byzantine to the Ottoman Age, with excursions into the earlier ages of the Greeks" (156).

However, among these exotic travels in time and space, it is the excursions into the early ages of the Romans and Greeks that Kinross, like Freya Stark, finds amusing and worth narrating. Negligent of the contemporary image of the people and place that he travels around, Kinross recounts his seashore voyages on the *Elfin*, the same boat used by Freya Stark a few years earlier, in a manifesting dominant manner observed in many cavalier travel writers looking through the place and its subject races with

imperial eyes. As suggested earlier, for Kinross or any other authors from chivalry tradition in modern travel writing, it is the medieval quality and antiquity that gives a place grandeur and glamour. Therefore, any deviation from this heroic past is regarded as an attack and intervened in by imperial travel writers through ignorance, deterritorialization and ahistoricism. In Turkey's case, the same manner is adopted by Kinross, and no cultural, socio-economical and political shift that the new country has been going through is represented in his travelogues. It is rather portrayed as absent. Instead, Christianity and its past in Biblical lands, although inhabited by the Turks for a long while, are glorified. For instance, én route to a Turkish village, called Kızkalesi in Mersin, Kinross recounts that

> From these relics of Rome we came suddenly round a corner, to find ourselves in the Middle Ages. Here, commanding the flawless cure of a bay, stood the castle of Corycus, its walls and towers white and gold against water so shallow that its ripples were reflected, like gold-mesh netting, on the sand. Corycus, once doubtless Byzantine, was a castle of the Armenians. It is a redoubtable fortress, with a moat, and double walls, and a massive sea-gate opening direct on to the Mediterranean. The people of this coast looked seaward rather than landward, and it is a narrower gate which leads out to the rocky mountains behind. Within the castle precincts black goats grazed amid a tangle of wild olives. Here the ruins of two churches survive, of which one is Gothic, Crusader in style, and there are Armenian inscriptions to be seen. (15)

As seen in the excerpt above, Kinross travels, in time, to the Middle Ages by emphasizing aesthetic features of the place which form the social and material dignity for his own taste. Without any reference to the link between the place and its modern inhabitants, Kinross' discourse of place deterritorializes natives, detaching them off from zones on which they have once ruled, and in which they still maintain living. The

Byzantines, Armenians and Crusaders are reflected rather than the Turks, and the place is naturalized with past in an ahistorical manner. No change in or around the landscape in question is represented.

Similarly, after arriving in the old, imperial capital of the Ottomans, Kinross claims that "Istanbul is in effect two cities, divided by the Golden Horn. One is Pera, now Beyoğlu, the ill-planned jangling city of the Europeans; the other is Stamboul, the more spacious city of Byzantium, with its incomparable skyline of mosques" (139). But, what about the Turks who have been holding the keys of the city since 1453? Although Kinross suggests that Istanbul reflects, to a great extent, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (148) and therefore, along with Manisa, it is the only city where, the traveller begins to sense the flavour of the Ottoman Empire in these classical lands (115); not much about the Ottomans nor their modern counterparts, the Turks, is portrayed in his travelogue. Rather, their culture is assimilated in a manner that assures the backward conditions of the people when compared to antiquarian glory of medieval past.

The Turks are only existent in Kinross' representations when they deposit chemical waste or destroy classical ruins due to their ignorance of and indifference to the virtues of medieval taste. To illustrate, Kinross spent several days exploring some two dozen Byzantine churches that survived in Istanbul in the 1950s. However, as he searches "the ends of the city, where it peters out into shacks and cabbage patches", he lost himself "in warrens of cobbled slum streets" (144). He also argues that, in Antakya, "the haphazard waterfalls were being harnessed and canalized, no longer with Hadrian's elegant aqueducts, but with turbines and concrete, to provide Antioch with hydro-electric power. Thus Daphne will soon be no more. Who cares about a lot of old waterfalls" (6). And in Perge, an ancient Anatolian city in Antalya province on the south-western Mediterranean coast of Turkey, "the drum-like masonry of a Roman theatre rises above the chaos, its cumbrous arcades overlooking a stadium which once

held an audience of twelve thousand people. A single Turkish peasant now occupied it, planting the arena with cotton and stabling his cattle in the vaults beneath the seats" (Kinross 30). Likewise, regarding a Christian church in Iznik, Kinross claims that

> [It] was destroyed, with its precious Byzantine mosaics, at the time of the expulsion of the Greeks in the nineteen-twenties. Little remains of the great classical and Byzantine city but an expanse of fields and gardens, scattered with ruins and enclosed still within a formidable enceinte of double fortress walls. (156)

As seen in the quotes above, in his portrayals of antiquity and ancient remains, Kinross depicts the Turks to be ignorant, untactful, dangerous and philistine. Therefore, he seeks to highlight the Turks' negligence of classical places and aesthetic deficiencies as a need for social and material intervention by the home culture of Kinross. According to him, the ancient work of art would otherwise have been destroyed by ignorant peasants. As a result, in order to preserve it for the civilized world, Kinross, and his co-traveller David Balfour, British Consul-General in Izmir, take on the task of formulating and re-imagining Turkey by giving it an old shape of its Biblical origins.

David Balfour, who also participated into a similar journey by Stark some years earlier, implies this idea while they are on the Kakava island in the Mediterranean coasts of Turkey. He argues that "future events may possibly restore this place to its former population and importance ... its great extent, its bold shores, and the facility of defence, may hereafter point it out as an eligible place for the rendezvous of a fleet" (qtd. in Kinross 46). Although these future plans are not clarified in the book, one can easily infer from Kinross and Stark's imperial discourse that both wish to accomplish the task of subjugation by first establishing mastery between their own country and Turkey as did many travel writers in earlier centuries.

Britain's dominance was quite clear in the 1950s when the abundant number of British Consulate-Generals in Mersin, Iskenderun, Izmir and Istanbul was taken into consideration. This supremacy is also retained through a discourse of hegemony in Kinross' many travel accounts. Rana Kabbani claims that “the traveller begins his journey with the strength of a nation or an empire sustaining him (albeit from a distance) militarily, economically, intellectually and, as is often the case, spiritually” (1). She further suggests that “his social position also colours his vision, and (since he often belongs to a leisured class, which enables him to embark on voyages which are both expensive and prestigious) he usually represents the interests and systems of thought in which he was schooled” (1). In the same manner, through taking the advantage of Britain's dominance over Turkey, Kinross, who bears a title of honour (baron) in the nobility system of Great Britain, highlights the inferior status of the Turks in his travelogues. Therefore, his portrayals of the Turks differ from any ‘ordinary’ traveller/adventurer since, due to his noble background, he feels himself superior and dominant even before he sets out for Turkey.

For instance, when they are aboard the *Elfin* travelling around Turkish coasts, Kinross, in the company of his friend David Balfour, claims to be "bent on a voyage in the style of consuls more past than present, a leisurely inspection of the Turkish coastlands, showing the British flag" (35). Ship and flag are two important signifiers in demonstrating the power of colonizing country. For, explorations of unknown places were conducted through naval forces before travel writing made it possible to discover interior parts of these places in colonial period (Pratt 28). Therefore, like a member of an exploration team in colonial era, Kinross entertains himself by inspecting the Turkish seashore with his imperial eyes and letting the British flag fly proudly as a symbol of superiority on his boat.

In another occasion, Kinross argues that Güllük, a small harbour quarter within the district of Milas in Bodrum, changes its character when a British merchantman cargo-ship arrives. Kinross describes this visit as "a visitation from some Cyclopean planet" (80). Güllük is normally portrayed by Kinross to be a place which lacks life, and its Turkish inhabitants are said to be sitting stodgily along an uncompleted sea-front, playing *tric-trac* (80). However, when the Britons come, it suddenly becomes colourful, enliven by Kinross with representations of a convivial atmosphere about the loading of the fish, which goes on far into the night. Loudspeakers from the ship shout directions to the Turks and even some women, with veils like shrouds over their heads, squat happily in groups on the quays (Kinross 80). Here again, Kinross underlines the orientalist idea of representing modern Turkey to be dull, dormant and even inanimate. Therefore, as far as Kinross is concerned, it requires a British fleet to arrive so as to restore it from its current languid character to its old classical glamour.

By highlighting Britain's superiority in many occasions, and viewing the Turks' ignorance of ancient ruins as an excuse for social and material interference, Kinross explicitly promotes the idea of reviving Christian past of the Greeks and Romans with the help of British naval forces in Anatolia's coastal lands. For Kinross, these coats are crucial as their formative influences have come largely from the West, and are therefore 'Europa Minor', geographically a fourth shore of Europe according to Kinross (xi). Therefore, rather than Asiatic part of the country, this 'fourth shore of Europe' is suggested by Kinross to be regained by the civilized world and returned to its medieval grace.

On the other hand, even though they are quite a few in the *Europa Minor*, Kinross' representations of Turkey's modern image are also orientalist. The new outlook of the country that results from western reforms is not celebrated by Kinross. Rather, cities are portrayed to have degenerate colours, patterns and shapes. For example,

Adana "is an ill-planned town, lacking in dignity, moreover innocent of Levantine splendour" according to Kinross (7). Similarly, Antakya is also reflected by Kinross to be "a bedraggled provincial town among orchards and groves of poplars, within a circle of blue-grey mountains" (4). He suggests that "its baths are murky and uninviting. Its river, the Orontes, crawls sullenly, muddily though the town, failing to give dignity to the precarious plastered houses which line its banks". Therefore, it "affords little to the antiquarian" (4). Moreover, Izmir is stated to be "a sterilized city, no longer cosmopolitan, no longer picturesque, but worthily, busily Turkish" (Kinross 96).

Therefore, European influence on Turkey is described by Kinross to be an influence for the bad. He argues "there is a certain shoddiness in the rococo rooms, in the *trompe l'aeil* ceilings and elaborate Italian murals" in Turkey (137). According to Kinross, Turkish art is at its best when it is filled with beautiful objects, brocades and carpets, porcelain and silver, deriving from the elegant fusion of eastern and western taste which the Ottoman Empire achieved (136).

Negations and devaluations, such as ragged, filthy, haphazard, untidy, banal and lacking in grace and glamour, all dominate Kinross' discourse while portraying the place. This strengthens the backward status of Turkey reflected in earlier centuries despite modernist endeavours of the Turks. It also helps Kinross reiterate his aim of illuminating, in his western readers' mind, a bright formal panorama of the essential Mediterranean, distilled in romantic and classical lands. For, with these representations, Kinross hints that it is Roman stones that give dignity to quays and walls and houses. The Turkish landscape is claimed to be dead, derelict, gaunt, grotesque, naked, and bereft of dignity. Therefore, it scrambles down haphazard to the imperial eye of Kinross'. It is only elegant when it derives from the past as quoted above. In short, European effect that stems from modernization efforts is not welcomed by Kinross.

As to the Turks, Kinross' arguments bear many similarities to past representations, as well. He argues that "the Turks are men of plateau, withdrawn and dour, administrators by nature, and soldiers ... sallow in complexion, slow in rhythm, they struck an un-Mediterranean note" (2). On the other hand, unlike former portrayals, Kinross observes prosperity in Turkey since World War II, as a result of reaping the fruits of American aid to the country (11). But, he still claims "the Turks, with their haphazard business methods and bureaucratic ways, become sad figures of fun" (12). Moreover, the Turk, unlike the Greek, is believed by Kinross to have no natural aptitude for commerce. For, according to him, the military rather than the business mind pervades the Atatürk regime (8). While mentioning even cotton millionaires in Adana, he states that

> The modern Turk has little taste for display. No longer does he build lavish palaces, as his forefathers did, or decorate his women with silks and jewels. He is content with an ostentatious American car, drawn up before a concrete shack of a home, and his wife drives to town in it, still in the fustian of a peasant. (7)

Therefore, the Turkish image remains the same, as stereotyped in former portrayals of British travellers. They are still represented by Kinross to be sullen, grim, quiet, grotesque, clumsy, and primitive. So, in his portrayals, they remain in great contrast to the western values of ease, efficacy, tidiness, diversity, and flavour. As in many post-colonial travel writing, the world divides off into civilization and barbarism in Kinross' narratives, and the Turks become the exact analogue of the Bedouins, or the Aborigines: primitive and ignorant.

Kinross has a generalizing voice of an orientalist travel writer that records identical reports such as 'the Turks are dour'. Moreover, he also disfavours the prosperity and democracy that western-style reforms bring about to the country. It is

called a "new era of peasant prosperity" by Kinross (54), and the Turks only become one of commercial colonies of the West in his book. Even a posh American car or concrete houses that replace shacks in slums do not remove rustic character of the Turks in Kinross' representations. Furthermore, the two-party democracy system in Turkey is also ridiculed by Kinross. He ironically states that it "seemed in effect to be continuing one-party rule - by the free choice of the people itself" (30). Along with prosperity, civilization and modernity; democracy is one of the most widely-used term that demonstrates postcolonial paradigm applied to 'Eastern' countries in twentieth-century travel writing. In Turkey's case too, it is implied by Kinross that the Turks cannot attain a true western-style democracy. Although they are given free choice of election, one-party rule still dominates the country, and like former travellers, Kinross also indicates that the Turks are as submissive as they were under monarchical sovereign of sultans in past centuries.

In Kinross' portrayals, the portrait of ethnographic manners and customs of the Turks is complementary to overall image that he establishes throughout the book. In one of these representations, Kinross visits a village in Ephesus when the villagers are celebrating the Feast of Turkish Independence. He describes the feast as an oriental panorama. Kinross recounts that

> Around the arches of the towering Roman viaduct, throwing long weird shadows in the flaring light of swaying paraffin torches, the men danced to the irregular rhythm of drums and the monotonous lament of a pipe. It was a solemn dance, demanding tense concentration, like a disciplined drunken stagger. Each went through its motions in solitude, swiftly crouching, slowly rising, then balancing on tenterhooks, first on one leg, next on the other, for an eternal suspended moment. The women in their kerchiefs, so recently veils, looked on in silence, squatting by the piers of the aqueduct. (105)

Here again, Kinross *commands* - not comments - what falls within his gaze. Like many orientalist travel writers, he disengages himself from the Oriental society, but, with an imperial impersonality, he still retains his secret Western power to deliver Orientals in swollen and untidy detail. Therefore, rituals and festivals of the Turks become just an unappealing masquerade in his portrayals. In the excerpt above, the Turks' shadows are 'weird', the rhythm of their drums is 'irregular', the voice of the pipe is 'monotonous'. Therefore, their dance is 'solemn' with 'solitude' motions. The women, as usual, are only onlookers, sitting by the pier 'in silence'. These oddities and incongruities characterize strategies of representation whereby Western bourgeois traveller seeks to secure his subject races' devaluation while he asserts his Western hegemony. Similarly, substantial uses of negations and depreciations clearly illustrate Kinross' powerful consciousness of representing the Turks' inferiority in a way that will reinforce their ignorant and backward image in Western texts. In doing so, the primary objective of Kinross' is to highlight their vulnerability to social intervention. For, only in this way could the cultural legacy of past glories be protected for the sake of civilized Europe.

On the other hand, modernization process that has been built upon western values and tastes has introduced a cultural élite that follows a curios form of mimicry of the West in Turkey. Many travellers notice these models that behave like imitations of Europeans/Westerners in the aftermath of the Republic, and appropriate their mimesis since it visualizes West's hegemonic power. Bhabha defines this kind of colonial mimicry as "the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other" (122). For, it creates a subject of difference that is almost the same as the colonial self, but not quite. In other words, narrative strategies of colonial mimicry portray a subject race to be "Oriental in blood and colour, but Western in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" (Bhabha 125). Therefore, with an attempt to reshape and approbate the Other, colonial travellers

portray national perspectives of these élite groups and even let them articulate their 'representative' authority.

Similarly, in Kinross' representations, modern image of the Turks is only exemplified in what is called 'Euro-Turks'. Rather than stereotyped image of the Turks that contains robbery, barbarism, primitiveness and negligence, Euro-Turks' modernity, honesty, efficiency and benevolence are highlighted in Kinross' travelogues. Their mimicry of the Western life-style is championed, and the amenities that this mimesis has brought forward are blessed. For instance, Kinross calls one of his friends in Adana "a noted politician, one of the Young Turks of his day" (8). He is further claimed to "develop into a man of wide European culture, with an international sense spreading far beyond its peaks and valleys" (Kinross 8). As explained earlier in this study, the Young Turks were an élite group who were the pioneers of westernization/modernization process in post-Sevres Turkey. Educated in the West, they desired to abolish the cultural heritage of the Ottomans and copied western methods and tastes in its stead. Therefore, rather than a foreign imperial-colonial administration, the Young Turks were appropriated by the West as indigenous models due to their success in mimicry of westernization.

Likewise, in the quotes above, Kinross' friend is celebrated as a remarkable politician owing to his development into civility with a brilliant Western culture and intellect that even reaches beyond the limits of his predecessors: the Young Turks. His total mimesis of the West is highlighted by Kinross as a result of his colonial desire to *re*-present the Other in close intimacy with the hegemonic Self. For, as Bhabha argues, this clearly visualizes dominant power of the West in reforming the subject people with a strategy of hegemonic mimicry (33).

The representative authority of these élite groups is also observed in Kinross' portrayals. In a dialogue with an Istanbuli who is condemned to reside in Bodrum with his aunt to finish his secondary schooling, Kinross leaves the floor to this young sophisticate whom he calls a "man of culture marooned among barbarians " (67). From then on, he takes on the prerogative of representing the backward status of his countrymen. "Is it always so dead in the evenings?" Kinross asks. "Always," he responses.

> There is no cinema, nothing. The people won't spend their money. They stay at home in the evenings. They go to bed and in the dark, the town put up a generator. But the people won't pay to put in the electric light. They grow fruit, but they will not eat it. They send it all to Istanbul for money... They do not even come to school. We have only twenty new pupils in the school. Instead, when they are sixteen they start to drink *raki*. (qtd. in Kinross 67)

Defined by Pratt as “autoethnography or autoethnographic expression”, self-representation “refers to instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizer's own terms” (16). In this respect, self-representation, as a narrative strategy, becomes a powerful constituent of imperial mimicry. For, it creates “an in-between space that provides a terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood that initiate new signs of identity” (Bhabha 2). In this terrain, or 'contact zone' as Pratt puts it (13), the colonial self absorbs the shadow of the other, and the other begins to signify recognizable images of identity through mimicry and imitation. Therefore, the other is granted an authority to represent his own otherness under the disguise of colonizer's own manners.

Similarly, in the excerpt above, imagined identity of the Turks is intensified by self-representations of a Euro-Turk. A European Turk is a new stereotype that has been

established as a result of westernization process launched by native mimics of the West in Turkey. It is essentially an ambivalent status where a transformation of identity, based on western values and mimicry, occurs. However, this plan of uncertainty in the arrangement of identification results in absorption of difference, and therefore the other becomes quite similar to Western self. Consequently, here again, the Turks are still portrayed to be idle, dormant, stingy, uneducated and drunk, this time by a Turk himself but in Westerner's terms.

Chapter IV – Contemporary British Travel Writing on Southwest Turkey (Late 20th Century)

Due to political and economical changes of the 1950s[50], British travellers to the new Republic of Turkey became especially attentive to the social, economic, religious and cultural developments that were taking place during the next decades. In his book titled *Turkey: The Quest for Identity* (2003), Feroz Ahmad argues that although soldiers captured political power in Turkey during the military coups of 1960 and 1980, it was intellectuals who turned these military movements between the sixties and eighties into a revolution – 'a revolution of intellectuals' (120). According to Ahmad, these intellectuals "often spoke of creating a 'new culture' and a populist political system" in line with Western norms and practices (126).

As a result of the Marshall Plan, the Turkish economy was also favourable for such an attempt. Ahmad claims that "industry led to urbanization as Anatolian peasants settled in shanty towns in and around the major cities in the 1950s" (126). The bourgeoisie also grew, both in volume and in self-esteem, during the 1960s. The advent of radio (in the 1950s) and television (in the 1960s) drastically changed communal and political lifestyles. Therefore, according to Ahmad, "the country no longer felt isolated and became aware of what was happening in the world around, especially as students were then free to read left-wing Marxist literature, which started to become widely available in 1970s and 80s, even in small towns" (130). Consequently, as *The Guardian's* Brussels correspondent suggested in April 1979, on the eve of the 1980 military coup, "Not surprisingly Turkey ... is now seen as a zone of crucial strategic

[50] such as (i) the Marshall Plan (officially the European Recovery Program, ERP) – an American initiative deployed between 1948-1951 for foreign aid to Western Europe, including Turkey, and (ii) Turkey's NATO membership in 1952.

significance not only for the southern flank [of NATO] but for the West as a whole" (qtd. in Ahmed 145).

In these contexts, it becomes more important to examine how this perceptual change is portrayed by British travellers in a period when the country began to be widely recognized as a strategic partner of the West. Therefore, through analysis of selected travelogues, it is here aimed to explore how the contemporary culture in New Turkey, guided by European and American models after the 1950s, is reflected by British travellers in the second half of the twentieth century. How British travellers respond to these changes and in what ways those responses change the nature and character of their views on the Republic's modern image are main questions to be addressed in this chapter. Moreover, as in previous chapters, the main focus will sometimes be on portrayals of antiquity and classical ruins in this chapter of the study, too.

In contrast to the period discussed in previous chapter, there are a great number of travelogues that include representations of the new Turkish image and stereotype, published in Great Britain and other English-speaking countries in the second half of the twentieth century. Among these publications, some stand out as significant cornerstones that reflect the shift in the attitudes that British travellers adopt towards former hostile images of Turkey. For example, in her enjoyable travel book called *Twelve Wheels from Turkey* (1988), Anne Vardy reflects her favourable representations regarding the image of the Turks.

On 21st March, 1987, Vardy, with his big family[51], flew out of Heathrow and headed for Turkey (Vardy 4). As seen in the map[52], Vardy travelled through Istanbul,

[51] her husband Peter and five children
[52] For the map, see Appendix A

İznik, Bergama, İzmir, Ephesus, and Bodrum as part of a 3,000-mile bike journey from Istanbul to Canterbury in England. In her travelogue, which is a record of these travels, Vardy represents her impressions on Turkey and the Turks living therein. Vardy argues that, despite the predictions of disaster such as child-eating dogs and some other terrible things that could happen to her as a woman, their initial reception in Turkey is "so friendly" (11). Particularly, regarding Istanbul, which she calls as one of the three great cities of Christianity (3), Vardy reports many favourable accounts. She describes Istanbul to be "true romance" – a city that they will recall for many months to come (13). She also defines it as "the most exciting" city that they have ever visited (17). Contrary to former representations by Spender, Armstrong and Goldman, in Vardy's portrayals, Istanbul is "clean", and Vardy is mostly overawed by the splendour of historical sites[53] in the city (18).

Similarly, in contrast to unfavourable representations in previous decades, Vardy portrays Istanbul as a meeting point where old and new, Western freedom and Eastern conservatism work and enjoy life side by side (18). She reports that

> On the streets, modern Mercedes-Benz jostle with donkey carts, while scooters and bicycles zig-zag in and out of the traffic. Black-clad Muslim women talk and walk side by side with young women wearing tight jeans and short skirts. Video shops advertising Western soft porn films attract customers who will be equally interested in the exquisite hand-made Turkish carpets next door. (17)

On the other hand, Vardy's representations are not always positive. Particularly, the shortage of basic needs in Istanbul, which stems from economical slowdown across the country, strikes Vardy most. She claims that "products which back home we took for granted, like baking powder and vanilla, are hard to find" (14). Vardy further suggests

[53] such as the Blue Mosque and Hagia Sophia

that “electricity and water cuts for a few hours a day occur regularly and gas is not always available” (14). Therefore, they find it quite difficult to accommodate at hotels in Istanbul. Likewise, Vardy often refers to unpleasant looking of dreadful policemen and bad toilet facilities in small passenger boats in Istanbul (28, 34). However, these misfortunes do not ruin Vardy’s overall image of the Turks, which has been formed as a result of her many favourable portrayals.

Another traveller that visited Turkey in the early 1980s was Daniel Farson[54] (1927-1997). Farson’s journeys, which took place between 1982 and 1985, included many different parts of Turkey, such as Istanbul, Trabzon, Diyarbakir, Urfa, and Van. During these journeys, Farson watched the sacrificial slaughter of a sheep, danced with the groom on his wedding night in a mountain village, and attended a circumcision party. He reflects his impressions on these cultural elements and many other Turkish customs and manners in his travel book titled *A Traveller in Turkey* (1985).

In his portrayals in the book, Farson finds Turkey to be “marvellous” in contrast to his neighbour’s assumption that it was a primitive and dangerous country (1). Similarly, he defines the Turks as “the nicest people in the world” (1). In fact, Farson argues that “most of the British assumptions about Turkey are the opposite of the truth” (3). According to him, “the Turks are the most generous and trustworthy of people” (3). Therefore, he mostly discloses his satisfaction that Atatürk has replaced an ancient oppression with a modern state (43).

Throughout Farson’s travelogue, there are many occasions in which he reports either a favourable characteristic of the Turks or a beautiful feature of a place in Turkey. In Istanbul, for instance, Farson is amazed at the splendours of St Sophia, the Topkapi,

[54] A British writer and broadcaster, mainly associated with the early days of commercial television in the UK.

and the Blue Mosque (18). Likewise, he describes Trebizond (modern Trabzon) to be a "romance" (43). After his wanderings through the old city, he falls in love with it and names it "the most sympathetic of all the Black Sea towns" he has been to (44). In addition, Farson finds Diyarbakır "immediately sympathetic" and reports the atmosphere there to be "vigorous" (83). Similarly, he also gains much satisfaction from Biblical names in Mesopotamia – Urfa in particular (88). In many occasions, he celebrates the Turkish honesty both in Diyarbakir and Urfa. Moreover, for Farson, the Lycian coast from Antalya to Marmaris is "the most rewarding in the world" (128). Contrary to what Stark and Kinross represent, he portrays the coast to be "friendly, uncorrupted and inexpensive" (128). Farson claims that "these are the places which thrill me most in Turkey, with visual echoes from the past" (130). Therefore, he concludes that they are ideal for a traveller with a sense of history (129).

These representations illustrate that, similar to Vardy, Farson also celebrates the change in Turkey that stems from westernization and modernization efforts. His portrayals of the Turks are mostly in contrast to the hostile representations in former centuries. Therefore, his accounts in *A Traveller in Turkey* clearly demonstrate the change in British assumptions about Turkey.

On the other hand, as seen in Farson's representations above, despite the advent of mass tourism, the picturesque and sublime in virgin areas of Turkey continued to fascinate British travellers particularly after 1960s. In some travelogues, a great deal of enthusiasm is often expressed for the savageness of the nature and the culture in these unspoiled provincial societies. As a result, rather than representations of barrenness, void and aridity in Anatolian soil, maiden beauty of the nature is emphasized by many British travellers in this period. For example, in contrast to Stark's and Kinross' representations, in which no natural beauty in the Lycian coast is reflected and instead

the Turks' ignorance of classical sites is emphasized, Michael Pereira[55] (b. 1928) clearly observes transformation that comes with tourism boom within the country.

Michael Pereira's *Mountains and A Shore: A Journey Through Southern Turkey* (1966) gives an account of his travels to the Mediterranean coast, which is a region of quite exceptional beauty and also rich in historical relics. In the spring and summer of 1965, Pereira set off to explore this area, before the officials carried out their plans[56] to develop the area for tourists. As seen in the map[57], starting his journey in Antalya, Pereira travelled along the coast from Marmaris to Mersin and came back via the Taurus Mountains to Konya, the old Seljuk capital. He travelled by local transport vehicles such as bus, lorry, *dolmuş* (shared taxi) and even donkey. *Mountains and a Shore* is Pereira's narratives of these journeys.

The style of Pereira's travel book is set at the very beginning of the text. In contrast to Stark's and Kinross' narratives which abound in history, Pereira's travelogue does not attempt to throw light on any particular period of history. Pereira argues that, since he is neither a historian nor an archaeologist, his book is "essentially about the present; about the land as it is today, and the people who live in it" (11). Therefore, *Mountains and a Shore* presents a record of the daily customs, habits and mannerisms of the Turkish people. In his portrayals throughout the travelogue, Pereira describes the Turks to be generous, proud, and resilient.

On the other hand, Pereira observes progress and development in modern Turkey under the Republican regime. Considering the developments in transportation, the increase in air traffic and the fact that most major towns have their own airports, he

[55] The author of many novels and travel books, including *Istanbul: Aspects of a City* (1968), *East of Trebizond* (1971), and *Across the Caucasus* (1973)

[56] The Ministry of Tourism was founded in 1965. In 1974, the number of tourists reached to one million and the balance of tourism account gave a surplus for the first time. For more details, see https://www.ktb.gov.tr/TR-96270/turizm-verileri.html Accessed 8th April, 2020.

[57] For the map, see Appendix A.

finds the government's achievements not "inconsiderable" (30). Similarly, Pereira observes many other changes in south-western Turkey, too. According to his recollections in *Mountains and A Shore*, many towns such as Antalya, Alanya, Fethiye, Marmaris, Manavgat and Mersin are already full of British, German and American tourists who enjoy excellent restaurants, healthy food, and clean hotels (Pereira 51). In his portrayals, Fethiye is "big and modern, with a comfortable hotel, and street-lamps, and taxis, and buses" (94). Marmaris is "a thriving centre of tourism compared to its poor relation down the coast" (115). Mersin is also "a modern city" (153). In Alanya, "the market and surrounding streets ... were all comparatively modern" (210). Pereira further claims that "much will have changed. Kaş might have become a flourishing resort, and Marmaris be rivalling Cannes as the gayest spot on the Mediterranean... A great deal can happen in twenty years" (219). In fact, Pereira's projections were confirmed when Turkey was ranked as the 6th most popular tourist destination in the world in 2012[58].

Similarly, Pereira's portrayals of antiquity in modern Turkey are also quite different from those of earlier perceptions. Unlike Stark and Kinross who represent only isolation, destitution, squalor and ramshackle, Pereira often finds a delightfully peaceful atmosphere in ancient sites. For instance, he depicts an unusual concert scene at Aspendos, an ancient Greco-Roman city in Antalya province.

> It wasn't a ruin at all. For as I looked around me, momentarily bewildered, I saw not tiers of cold and empty seats but an audience of several thousand chattering and expectant people. Movement was everywhere, and colour, and from somewhere close behind me came the sound of a violin. Children whispered and laughed excitedly, peasant women dressed in their best and brightest flowered

[58] According to the UNWTO Report titled '2012 Tourism Highlights', June 2012.

> blouses, many with their babies strapped in tight little cocoons to their backs, sat demurely in rows while their husbands smoked and gossiped, and a man came out on to the open stage and began to arrange a row of chairs. Zeno, I thought, would have felt perfectly at home. (57)

Unlike offending comments of earlier travellers on the Turks' lack of aesthetic values, Pereira portrays a vivid atmosphere in one of the best-known ancient sites in modern Turkey. Instead of ruin, cold and empty seats, Pereira pictures thousands of "expectant people". He finds a "lively, colourful and excited" crowd rather than a dull and silent ruin. Even the women, who normally sit in silence with their veiled clothes on, have bright dresses in Pereira's portrait. As a result, according to Pereira, Zeno, the architect of Aspendos, feels proud and happy since his grand structure still serves its purpose even in modern times.

Like those of Vardy and Farson, Pereira's such uncommon descriptions regarding historical sites in Turkey partly reform the Western perceptions regarding the Turks' ignorance of antiquity. Actually, it also contributes to the new turn that the Turks take to become a modern country. For, to many Western and Christian writers, westernization and modernization involve featuring the Greek and Roman past in Turkey. So, the Turks' efforts to restore ancient sites, which began with the aim of boosting tourism in the 1960s, are regarded to be very important by many travellers including Pereira. As a result, he often champions these efforts, which demonstrate a considerable change in British perceptions of modern Turkey during the second half of the twentieth century.

The change in British perceptions of modern Turkey and the Turks is not limited to the different representations of Istanbul or some big cities in southwest Turkey. It is also revealed through various accounts of some exotic journeys in eastern Turkey, too.

For instance, in the summer of 1965, Monica Jackson[59] (1920-2020) and her mountaineering team of six people[60] travelled to Van and Hakkari in eastern Turkey. In her travel book titled *The Turkish Time Machine* (1966), Jackson reports this off-beat journey of exploration in an enjoyable manner. In the beginning of the text, Jackson argues that she went to Turkey in search of telescoping the presence of the past (13, 16). She claims that, both in Van and Hakkari, "it is the agricultural and pastoral folk of Neolithic times who seem to jostle the present" (13). Therefore, Jackson concludes that "in the course of a journey in search of mountains and an island we found ourselves a time machine" (21).

However, like Stark and Kinross, Jackson finds that little remains out of this Neolithic history. She reports that the church and monastery, which were built by the Armenians on the island of Aghtamar in Lake Van in the seventh century and which remained the seat of an Armenian patriarch till early nineteenth century, were "now deserted except by the birds and the bats" (16). In addition, regarding Van, Jackson argues that "the ancient city is no more. Only its citadel, perched on a rock, remains" (25). Similarly, she describes Lake Van to be a "watery desert" (26).

On the other hand, contrary to those of Stark and Kinross, Jackson's portrayals include some favourable accounts of the modern outlook of Turkey and the Turks. For example, although she defines Hakkari as "the most primitive corner of Turkey" (17), Jackson describes its inhabitants to be "much better off than the people we had seen while passing through Yugoslavia and Bulgaria" (36). Likewise, in contrast to portrayals of dirt and filth which are extensively seen in former travel accounts, Jackson

[59] A Scottish columnist that wrote freelance advertising copies and travel articles for two Indian weeklies, and a popular climber widely known in mountaineering circles as one of the most enterprising and engaging woman climbers in the UK

[60] including Sidney Nowill who was born in Turkey, lived there until he was 72, worked at his family's firm, and then for Shell, and helped run the English High School for Girls, and Henry Robin Fedden, (1908–1977) who was an English writer, diplomat and mountaineer.

finds Van “infinitely clean” (26). She further suggests that, in Van, “children and adults looked well-fed and clothed, and everybody seemed to be literate. We saw no beggars ... The men wore Western dress, including the ubiquitous peaked cloth cap, and heavy moulded rubber shoes” (26).

Similarly, contrary to despot and tyrant governors or agas seen in the portrayals of former travellers such as Fellows, Chandler, Stark, and Kinross, Jackson is met with civilized and friendly manners of governors in Van and Hakkari. She recounts that, in Yüksekova – a district of Hakkari –, “he [the Governor] made us a polite speech, inviting us to go where we liked and assuring us that he would give us whatever help lay within his power” (37). Moreover, Jackson suggests that, throughout their journeys, they “were treated throughout with the greatest politeness, hospitality and tolerance” (28). Therefore, she concludes that “we began to feel very well-disposed indeed towards the Turkish nation as a whole and the province of Hakkari in particular” (37).

As seen from her representations, similar to Vardy, Farson and Pereira, Jackson observes a new Turkish outlook different from the Oriental image stereotyped in former portrayals of many British travellers. Therefore, through representations of politeness, hospitality, modernity, prosperity and tolerance, she also demonstrates the shift in the perceptions of British travellers on Turkey in the second half of the twentieth century.

There is much more British travel writing that provides a clear observation of modern Turkey and sets out to overcome a prior prejudice formed from earlier representations which are based upon a hostile discourse. As will be analysed in more detail below, some travel writers such as Nancy Phelan (1913-2008), Richard Percival Lister (1914-2014), Craig Mair (b.1948), and Brian Sewell (1931-2015) take on the role of correcting the portrayals of former travellers about Turkey by simply suggesting the opposite of what has been represented before. In their portrayals, contrary to the

canonized orientalist discourse of former British travellers, Turkey has many favourable attributes. In short, they explicitly demonstrate the *change* in the Turkish stereotype by disaffirming earlier reports that they are already aware of.

Phelan, Lister and Mair appreciate the Turks' efforts to become a modern and European country in their attempts at improving their country. Rather than oriental replicas of squalor and poverty, fraudulence, immorality, violence and vandalism, corrupt police and illegal weapons; they highlight a comforting silence, accompanied by kindness, brotherhood and hospitality which establish a 'noble savage' image in their portrayals. This noble savageness is combined with picturesque and sublime in these travelogues. They are also impressed by the charming nature of the countryside in Turkey. In their portrayals, this sense of sublimity is described in a romanticised way and an array of bright colours adds vivacity into this strangely appealing geography.

On the other hand, Sewell reflects the change in British perceptions of the Turks and Turkey in a different manner. Although, contrary to Phelan, Lister and Mair, he focuses more on antiquity and classical ruins, his portrayals of these places still demonstrate the dissent from the long-standing imperial canon that represent the Turks and Turkey to be the Oriental *Other* of the West.

4.1. Nancy Phelan's *Welcome The Wayfarer: A Traveller in Modern Turkey* (1965)

A prolific writer, Nancy Phelan produced numerous bestselling books on yoga, quirk travel memoirs, novels and cookbooks. Although born in Australia, she spent many years in Britain with her English husband Raymond "Pete" Phelan. After the World War II, Phelan took up travel writing as her primary occupation and visited places such as Turkey, post-war Japan, Chile and Morocco. In the early 1960s, Phelan travelled in Turkey ranging from Aegean coast to Marmora and down to the heartland of Anatolia. Regarding these journeys, she published a travelogue titled *Welcome The Wayfarer: A Traveller in Modern Turkey* (1965). But, in her travel accounts, Phelan, being a colonial herself, shows none of the ingrained prejudices of writers such as Kinross, Stark and Armstrong who had been schooled in classics. In her travel book *Welcome the Wayfarer*, Phelan's portrayals about Turkey neatly classify the country into five major patterns: "the modern, the picturesque, the classical, the clean colourful museum specimens, and the happy smiling peasants" (Phelan iv).

Phelan claims that "as books must have a message, travellers must have a purpose ... a survey, a report, a bridge to build, a community to develop, a mission to fulfil" (2). Her purpose is actually a survey. For, throughout the journey, she often says that her intent is just "to photograph the Turks", she is only here "to see what the Turks are like" (3). In this context, Phelan's representations are vital in determining whether there is a shift in the Turkish image that is hostilely reflected in the previous chapters. Phelan is clearly aware of the prejudices of early travellers, with their accounts of oriental sloth and cunning, of low-down thieving, undrinkable water and human packhorses in Turkey. Recollections of "Armenian massacres, Bulgarian atrocities, Sick Men of Europe, Unspeakable Turks and lascivious sultans with harems full of slaves" are also added to a background tradition, making even an unappetizing picture for her

(Phelan 2). Yet, Phelan "falls in love with the country that she travels around" despite the hatred of her Greek friends and biased concerns of her western family members (5).

As a result, Phelan is not writing in the tradition of those earlier travellers, schooled in a long history of travel writing and classical, historical learning. She just tells us that she is aware of the common topics used to characterize the Turks. Unlike previous travellers, studied in the previous chapters, Phelan observes a sense of modernity in Turkey and reflects this in her book. Her female companion Beria, in particular, is the best personification that represents modernity in the country. Phelan suggests she is "lucky to have Beria as a companion, for though she is an independent modern Turk who has travelled in Europe and America she is deeply rooted in the old customs and traditions of her country" (35). This sense of new and old, modern and traditional is what amazes Phelan most. Particularly, while crossing from Europe to Asia each day without a passport, without fuss or formality, without even a ticket, as her press card gives her free transport all through Istanbul, Phelan feels like embarking on a time travel between the contemporary and ancient (39). Although she sometimes finds it difficult to adapt herself to the fact that although she is still in Turkey, she is now in Europe again; “she really enjoys the crossing from Anatolia, in Asia, to Istanbul, in Thrace” (40).

For Phelan, Beria's cousins and relatives, scattered around all over Turkey, provide symbols of the European Turks stereotype. Phelan reflects that

> They were New Turks in the best sense of the word, for though they were intensely Turkish in their feeling for their country and their concern for her place in the world, they were enlightened and open-minded. They were also friendly, generous and hospitable to the point of embarrassment. (52)

Geniality, kindness and hospitality are already intrinsic qualities of the Turks, regardless of modern or traditional. But intellectuality, liberalism and enlightenment are quite new in describing the Turks. Therefore, Phelan is so impressed with these modern Turks that she goes mad upon hearing that her immigration applications for some of Beria's relatives are denied. In a discussion with the immigration officer in Australia, she argues that

> These men are all educated; they all have a trade or profession. Two of them speak English and the third is learning it ... They would all be useful citizens; they are honest and prepared to work. They are not penniless and they come from a country where conditions are very much like our own. (235)

"But they're Asiatics" says the officer, who is originally Greek, in response to Phelan's reproach. However, she keeps on her persistence

> The people of Anatolia live in Asia, but they're no more than Asiatics than I am. And what about the people who live in Thrace ... the people of Istanbul? They're not even geographically Asiatics; They're Europeans, like Jugoslavs and Hungarians and Czechs. (235)

This dialogue clearly illustrates the paradox that lies in the Westerner's mind as to the Turkish image. Phelan's utterances about modern Turks are crucial, in that they might serve as a turning point in this juncture where the Turks, or at least some of them, can be seen European and modern by the West. Although their immigration requests are denied by Australia since they are believed to be still 'Asiatics', they will be accepted as 'useful citizens' by Germany and some other western countries a few years later.

Phelan's modern representations are not limited to Beria's family. Her portrayals of Istanbul and other big cities demonstrate that she recognizes the prosperity and

physical changes that modernity is bringing about. While visiting Denizli, a prosperous small town in the Aegean coast, she suggests that

> The richness of the valley has changed the lives of the inhabitants, who not only dress differently from their rough slow countrymen in Anatolia but seem altogether smoother and brisker. The women are so bedangled with gold watches and jewelled rings and permanent waves that that I felt very rural by comparison. (217)

Likewise, although taking great pleasures from visiting villagers, Phelan exalts her return to urbanity by saying that

> For several weeks I was glad to be back in a comfortable house, glad to be done with travelling. It was pleasant to loaf, to eat in good restaurants, to visit antique shops and book shops, to drink martinis on the Hilton *terrasse* and eat *gateaux* at the Divan Hotel. (220)

Dress and financial conditions are two important factors in representation of the people and place in travel writing. In contrast to previous portrayals of poverty and destitution, and funny representations of the Turkish outlook that characterizes the views of Stark Kinross, and Armstrong, Phelan's recollections of rather gay European dresses worn by modern Turkish women, rich and luxurious lifestyle in metropolises both give a new impulse to the Turkish image. According to Phelan, Turks look "just like anyone else any more, all in western clothes" (3). Even when Beria is dressed *a la Turque* in an Anatolian village with rose brocade *şalvar*[61], golden jacket and pill-box cap swathed with a white and silver veil, Phelan suggests she immediately becomes a different

[61] A kind of baggy trousers worn by Turkish peasantry in Anatolian countryside

character. “No longer a modern, enlightened young woman, she is a creature from the pages of Loti or Gérard de Nerval” (Phelan 94).

This local colour, which is established by Beria's old-fashioned clothes, reminds Phelan of the traditional Turkish female image that is locked behind magical walls of the harem in Orientalist portrayals. In *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism* (1998), Meyda Yegenoglu argues that “the figure of veiled Oriental woman has a particular place in Western texts, not only as signifying Oriental woman as mysterious and exotic but also as signifying the Orient as feminine, always veiled, seductive, and dangerous” (11). According to her, “the unconscious fantasies, dreams, and desires of the Western subject structure his relation to the Oriental other” (11). Yegenoglu further suggests that “these *unconscious* desires and fantasies of the "other" and "otherness" appear as powerful constituents of the so-called autonomous and rational Western subject” (11). This *unconscious* site is precisely the place which is defined by Said as ‘latent Orientalism’. Therefore, in order to attain visibility and hence mastery through colonial gaze, lifting the veil becomes essential.

Yegenoglu argues that she observes a similar attitude in Western women travellers, too. Finding an epistemic violence in their discourse, she concludes that “Western women, as the excluded other of Western men, nevertheless occupy a masculine position in relation to Oriental women” (12). She also suggests that

> The colonial feminist discourse to unveil Muslim women in the name of liberation was linked not only to the discourse of Enlightenment but also to the scopic regime of modernity which is characterized by a desire to master, control, and reshape the body of the subjects by making them visible. (12)

However, Phelan notices that Turkey has become a country in which women work as engineers, doctors, teachers, and lawyers even in the 1960s. Phelan observes that the

status of women has drastically changed since then. Therefore, according to Phelan, her representation must be modern, as well. Regarding Turksih women, Phelan claims that

> Much has been written about Turkish women in the past, and even today there are those who picture them as permanently dressed for the sultan's *harem*, lolling on divans or swaying in lascivious dances, when not driving tractors or flying aeroplanes in the Atatürk tradition. People are sometimes surprised and a little disappointed to hear that the average female Turk is neither exotic nor lascivious ...
>
> On the whole, these pear-shaped ladies are homely rather than chic, comfortable rather than elegant and, to the casual observer, motherly rather than exotic. A nineteenth-century lady traveller, Miss Beaufort, thought them stupid and loud-voiced, sadly inane, immoral, vain, aimless and useless, and their conversation harsh birdlike chatter; but though they are rather preoccupied with gossip and their own and other people's sex-lives, I found them kind, affectionate and demonstrative ... They are good cooks and good mothers and as they get older they are treated with increasing respect by their families; and despite their outward submission to husbands and sons they are the quiet rulers of the household, the ones whose word usually counts. (36)

Phelan's recollections of the modern Turkish woman explicitly indicate the shift in the representation of the Turkish female image in western texts. The Turkish woman are portrayed as long-dead beauties whose sighs of boredom, frustration and despair are all stored-up in the walls of harem, and many of whom never reach the Sultan's bed at all, but could neither escape, except in death in the Ottoman era. However, rather than this exotic and lascivious stereotype that allures the Orientalist traveller's colonial desire to penetrate into the veiled harem life, Phelan represents the modern Turkish woman to be

"amiable, matronly, genial and kind-hearted who also participate into all areas of professional life as teachers, engineers, doctors, farmers and even pilots in Atatürk tradition" (40).

Beria is the best example of this kind in Phelan's book. Phelan informs that “she has her job as a schoolmistress, she is a career-woman in the western sense; but her real life is at home and she is intensely domestic” (33). However, Phelan further adds that “there is nothing smug or dreary in her attitude to household activities, and it is clear that they are the things she really likes to do” (34). The modernization of family institution is one of the primary targets set for cultural transformation in modern Turkey[62]. In order to achieve these aims, the woman takes on the most significant role. She is responsible for a mixture of both housing and child caring on one hand, and career development on the other. Therefore, Phelan's reflections on the modern Turkish woman quoted above and her representation of Beria as a model for such personification are essential in understanding the modern image of Turkish woman through western eyes.

In addition to her portraits of urban development and the modern Turkish woman, Phelan devotes a good deal of her attention to pictorial and picturesque images of primitive but noble life of joyful peasants in rural Anatolia, a habit also noticeable in Freya Stark. Phelan really likes the urbanization and modernity of Istanbul, but she is “also overwhelmed by the noise, the dust, the reckless cars, the clattering trams, the surging herds of people” (Phelan 23). This grey, dirty, crowded city, is not whatever she has expected, she says she is "not prepared for this" (25). It is the peaceful rural world of Turkey that she is growing to love, and she shall never forget.

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[62] For a detailed analysis of this ideological approach, see Lewis, Reina, and Nancy Micklewright.“Writing Change: Middle Eastern and Western Women in Dialogue.” *Writing Turkey: Explorations in Turkish History, Politics, and Cultural Identity*. Ed. Gerald MacLean. London: Middlesex University Press, 2006. 25-39.

While differentiating between the beautiful and the picturesque, William Gilpin famously defines picturesque scenes as "those, which please the eye in their *natural state*; and those, which please from some quality, capable of being *illustrated in painting*" (3). Phelan finds the happy union of simplicity, roughness, contrast and variety in the ruffled and slovenly life of the rural Turks as capable of being photographed. So, she portrays Anatolian villagers with affection and even admiration. While travelling through central Anatolia, Phelan recounts that

> It was a heaven of peace, order and tranquillity. This world of rural simplicity revealed to me by the people of Demre, Uchisar and Bor has no relation to the dirt, heat, disorder and squalor of urban life. Its existence is rarely suspected by visitors who know only the big cities. It is hidden even from those who travel in Anatolia but stay in hotels or inns. It is only seen in the homes of the country people and is independent of poverty and wealth. (148)

In this world of comfort without luxury where charcoal replaces gas, oil lamps replace electricity, water comes from a pump in the courtyard, meals are cooked on a wood fire primitive stove, and washing-up done in a basin that must be emptied, Phelan evokes an older Turkey, a world that creates a sense of orientalist nostalgia. Said claims that travel in the Middle East is important to "moulding of your character—that is, your very identity" (193). In the mid-twentieth century, a lot of western travellers who are hit by the uproar and tumult of two terrifying wars search “a sense of liberation, of being anonymous, young, and irresponsible in the East” (Schiffer 96). As a result, they follow the cult of the picturesque and travel to untamed areas of the Middle East in pursuit of this visual ideal. Phelan clearly is one of these melancholic authors and finds peace and serenity in rural Turkey. She emphasizes such feelings in several representations related to Anatolian country life. On a visit to Beria's relatives in a village in the Goreme Valley, Phelan suggests that

> She [an old woman] led me to the divan and sat me among the rugs and cushions, throwing open the window upon the divine view of valley and coloured plains. I was dazed, for the sensation was not the familiar one of 'I have been here before', but rather 'This is where I belong', with a curious feeling of lightness and comprehension, almost as though something that had puzzled me was now explained. (79)

She further claims that "I wanted to stay where I was, for in this peasant's house was the same sense of belonging that I had felt in the ruined castle, the same feeling of happiness and serenity and of always having been there" (80). Here, it is important to examine what the peculiar construction that lies behind this sense of attachment is. It is not, of course, the beautiful rugs, soft divans, fine linen, splendid cuisine and servants to help, or any other modern conveniences. But, it is comradeship and primitive nobility existent in the rustic atmosphere of Anatolia that attracts Phelan's spirit most. She reckons that

> By my wonderful day in the village, by the atmosphere of *cameraderie*, I had one of those moments of universal brotherhood that we all believe in but seldom experience in the true sense of the word; and although or perhaps because I was slightly drunk, fleetingly I felt at one with these Anatolian peasants. (88)

The hospitality, a spontaneous gesture of friendship, a desire to share and give despite expense, inconvenience, hard work, competition, duty and exhaustion create a sense of awe-inspiring dignity for Phelan. The homely souls of the Turks, their deep inherent decency, their honesty and kindliness has bred in Phelan such confidence and trust that she will go anywhere with them. Rather than the faint sense of panic, the unreasonable fear that she feels when she first looks across Turkey from Rhodes, Phelan remarks that

it is “worth making the journey if only to learn this truth of belonging in Anatolia” (200).

Contrary to the often hostile orientalist representations that continue to characterize the writings of travellers in the early decades of the Republic, Phelan's portrayals of modern and picturesque Turkey mark a significant change in the views and attitudes of travel writers. Rather than brutal, savage, backward, weird, primitive, mysterious, dangerous, dirty, lazy, shabby, idle and poor, Phelan represents the Turks to be gentle, nice, hospitable, friendly, homely, decent, honest, kind, trustable, peaceful, picturesque, modern, beautiful, rich, intellectual, liberal, enlightened, educated, professional and even, in some respects, European. Although oblivious to the military coup that has only recently threatened the democratic claims of the Republic, Phelan's work marks a turning point in British travel writing about the Turkish Republic.

On the other hand, another crucial feature of Phelan's recollections is her preoccupation with the Greek, Roman and Christian past of Anatolia that dominate Stark's *The Lycian Shore* and Kinross' *Europa Minor*. Like Stark and Kinross, Phelan is also deeply affected by “forgotten tombs, abandoned churches and lonely stretches by the broken walls of Constantinople” (30). These places clearly have some great attraction for Phelan, and there is the same strong feeling of belonging there that she "began thinking of ways to rent the ruins and move into that wonderful derelict room" (77). In Phelan's portrayals, “the stars that the Lycians and Carians and Rhodians watched as they set off to Troy, the stars that guided Odysseus home to Ithaca are plunged into the sky over Antalya that is patterned with an assortment of forms, a medieval clock tower, Turkish minarets, crenellated battlements and cypress trees” (79). This cultural mosaic created by solid Roman walls and arches, Byzantine churches, the domes of Ottoman mosques and the pointed octagonals of Seljuk tombs clearly illustrate the historical outlook of Turkey even in modern times.

However, in Phelan's book, these medieval representations are often similar to those of Stark's and Kinross'. The visit to the ancient cities is something special to Phelan. But, the dirt and dust that cover classical ruins are one of the first things emphasized in her portrayals. While mentioning her visits, she reckons that

> There was nothing visible but a bare, open space with dreary buildings spaced out in the cold darkness, and a large road, presumably to the city, leading away into a murky cloud of mist and rain. Without warm clothes of any kind we stood, teeth chattering, shuddering, wondering why on earth we had come. (118)

Similarly, in Mediterranean region, Phelan's portrayals resemble those of Stark's and Kinross'. She claims that

> I resented the Turks' complete lack of understanding of what a sea town should be like. Sometimes, at first glance, or from the distance, a town would appear to have the white simplicity I loved, but at close quarters it proved an illusion, a remnant of the Greeks who lived along this coast for hundreds of years, until the War of Turkish Independence ... Beautiful places lie covered with garbage and dirt, and new buildings are usually hideous and unsuitable, giving the impression that no one cares enough to co-ordinate them. (139-40)

On the other hand, although the emphasis is on Phelan, and she is admitting that she has her own limitations, the squalid and desolation caused by the negligence of the Turks are also observed in Bodrum as well. Phelan remarks that

> Bodrum is another of those Turkish towns now slumbering after a spectacular past, but with few buildings, apart from the castle, to show that this past ever existed ... Nothing remains of these heroic times but odd scraps of marble lying about the streets or on the quay ... a broken column used to tie up boats, or in its

> side used as a doorstep ... sights familiar all over Turkey, a country which has classical fragments as other countries have mice. (209)

The Turks' lack of medieval taste is already portrayed by Stark and Kinross. Although Phelan's attitude towards the Turks' ignorance of and indifference to classical ruins and Christian sites seems to bear a similarity, her representations do not contain any imperialist sense adopted by both Stark and Kinross. Unlike them, Phelan just portrays ramshackle and desolate situation of medieval places without stating any aim of protecting them for the civilized world under a potential British mandate. Whereas Stark and Kinross reflect the Turks' indifference to the Roman and Greek past as an excuse for possessing classical ruins and then returning them back to their Biblical greatness, Phelan represents the shock of observing a fast disappearing past that, she believes, needs to be kept for the sake of Turkey's purposes of becoming a Western country.

Phelan's another salient portrayal emphasized in her travelogues is poverty and weird outlook of the inhabitants in classical Turkish coasts. According to Phelan, contrary to ancient Greek coasts in Mediterranean, such as Symi village opposite on the Anatolia mainland, the little Turkish settlements are “poor and pathetic, with nothing but the barest essentials for survival” (201). She informs that “while on Sonbeki, there is coffee and *retsina*, quayside *tavernas* to drink and relax in, the Turkish seaside combats with poverty although their boats pass each other constantly, and they do the same work and breathe the same soft air” (201). She also claims that “this part of the world, this elbow-shaped indentation of the sea into the Turkish mainland is not even Mediterranean, it is Middle East” (205). Phelan thinks of the Mediterranean in terms of Cote d'Azur, Greece, Italy and Spain. But, she argues that “after all, Turkey is not Greece, Spain, Italy or one of those countries people cannot bear leaving” (205). According to Phelan, this fallacy is simply because of shabbiness and ill-proportioned appearance of the Turks (209). She suggests the Mediterranean is "wine and guitars and

bouillabaisse and vine-hung *tavernas* or *ristorantes*, not solemn men in pyjama jackets and cloth caps, sitting on kitchen chairs staring into space" (102). Although the tone here is comic, the fact that the misery, ill-worn clothes and idleness of the Turks prevent these ancient coasts from being Mediterranean is often emphasized in Phelan's recollections. The air in the ruins does not seem to have the feeling of classical glory and grandeur existent in the medieval past as far as Phelan is concerned (105).

Filth and pollution along with destitution and ugliness are all significant attributes that recall orientalist stereotyping discourse described by Said. Unlike modern representations of the picturesque country examined above, Phelan's portrayals of the classical Turkey include "the familiar Turkish air of catastrophe, blitz or hurricane, with ruined buildings open to the sky and jagged walls leaning weakly up against each other in the heat, and rubble and masonry lying about in the dust" (Phelan 184). In this respect, they resemble to the writings of Stark, Armstrong and any other traveller of the same orientalist trope analysed in the previous chapters of this study. However, this is not surprising when Turkey's social situation in the 1960 is taken into consideration. In his book *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (1961), Bernard Lewis argues that "most of the lands left to the new Republic on dispersion of the empire were still ransacked by war and mass population upheavals in the 1960s" (23). Therefore, the representation of backwardness of famine-struck and largely agrarian people in rural areas is not always an orientalising trope in the Western discourse, but the real condition of Turkey. However, whereas Kinross is aware of this, Phelan does not consider this historical reality.

On the other hand, during her stay in Turkey, many Turks ask Phelan why she photographs only the poor people, those in rags, the poor houses. Phelan's ethnographic camera is surely a problem. She reports that people come and take such pictures and send them to *Life Magazine* and write bad things about Turkey (114). But, the Turks do

not like this. For, it apparently evokes orientalist representations observed in earlier centuries, and therefore does not alter the stereotyped Turkish image. As understood from Phelan's dialogue with the immigration officer quoted above, “most Australians never think about the Turks at all, or if they did, pictured them as blood-thirsty savages, or sloppy bestial boors in the 1960s” (Phelan 115). However, an Australian herself, Phelan's representations about the Turks mostly include pictures of new houses, modern things, people in good clothes in Turkey, although her photographs in the book are never of these.

In sum, Phelan's portrayals of modernity and picturesque in Turkey clearly reflect the cultural transformation of a new society in a modernity-oriented country. So, they are essential in that they provide a good example of the shift from a long-sustained Turkish image in western texts. As a result, Phelan’s travelogue is a crucial step that helps build a new western image of the Turks in upcoming decades.

4.2. Richard Percival Lister's *Turkey Observed* (1967)

Known also as a modernist poet and novelist in Western literature, Richard Percival Lister was an English travel writer who published two travel books in the 1960s, one being about Turkey. Unlike many other travellers to Turkey who had a military or political background, Lister was an engineer who worked in various metal companies in the UK. He went to Turkey in the early 1960s and travelled through many places including Istanbul, Bursa, İzmir, Pamukkale, Sivas, Samsun, Erzurum, and Diyarbakır. Regarding these travels, he published a travelogue titled *Turkey Observed* in 1967. During these journeys, as the name of his book suggests, Lister made careful observations on the modern outlook of Turkey. Therefore, like those of Phelan's, Lister representations are crucial since they provide a different portrayal of modern Turkey, which sets out to overcome a prior prejudice formed from Hellenophilia.

Lister started off his journey aboard a Turkish ship from Marseilles. He first landed in Istanbul, approaching by sea (13). Lister states that before coming to the country, he read a small book about Turkey written by a Frenchman who represents Istanbul to be "a grey, gloomy, chaotic city, peopled with ill-mannered, grasping troglodytes" (qtd. in Lister 31). According to the same Frenchman, "the food in Turkey is terrible and all Turks hate foreigners" (qtd. in Lister 31). So, just like Phelan, Lister too had prejudicial ideas to work with and against. However, Lister finds "a city with natural enchantment of its own, a splendid city where the people are charming and polite" (Lister 33). It is not what he has been led to expect by the Turkophobe Frenchman.

Representation of a place and the people living therein may differentiate between one traveller and the other according to many reasons ranging from individual tastes and interests of the traveller to political ideology and historical context. In this

context, Lister takes a different picture of Istanbul from that of the French author whose book he read before visiting the city. Since he does not tell us when the book he reads is written, or who actually writes it, it is difficult to examine the reasons that lie behind the Frenchman's hostility. However, we are already aware of the canonized orientalist discourse of Western travellers that are studied in the previous chapters of this thesis. In contrast to earlier representations which strengthen this hostile discourse, Lister takes on the role of correcting the portrayals of the Frenchman about Istanbul by simply suggesting the opposite of what he represents. He argues that

> Istanbul is a wonderful city to potter about it. The environs are chanting. There are excellent beaches within easy reach, both on the Black Sea and on the Marmara. The summer climate is delightful ... The transport system is one of the best in the world. The buses are numerous and crowded; in the rush hours, traffic jams are frequent. The buses go everywhere, frequently, and when they are too crowded to be entertaining it is possible to go everywhere, only slightly less cheaply, by dolmush taxi... The boats up and down the Bosphorus are a constant pleasure, a taste which is not perhaps universal, but certainly wide-spread. (71-72)

Contrary to what the Frenchman argues, Istanbul has many favourable attributes in Lister's portrayals above. Rather than 'grey, gloomy, and chaotic', the city is portrayed by Lister to be 'wonderful, chanting, excellent and delightful'. The transportation network, which is a significant sign of modernity in many Western texts, is 'one of the best' according to Lister. Particularly, the boat trips in the Bosphorus are of great pleasure. In contrast to earlier representations, Lister also claims that "the Turks are extremely curious about foreigners and usually full of good will towards them" (49). In short, Lister explicitly demonstrates the *change* in the Turkish stereotype by disaffirming earlier reports that he is already aware of.

Lister believes that he "should find out little about Turkey and the Turks by sitting and watching a belly-dancer, however skilled, in a room full of Germans and Americans" in Istanbul (22). Therefore, he visits many other urban towns in Anatolia, as well. Although Lister observes that there is "visible evidence of an advance towards civilization everywhere in the country", he still observes how "the Turkish town, taken by and large, is dirty, ramshackle, noisy, crowded, and dingy" (189). This disparity is clarified in Lister's representations. For instance, while Erzurum is "a very smooth and civilized place, rugged but elegant" (222), Bursa is "an uncommonly dreary town. It is shabby, drab, shapeless, graceless and altogether unprepossessing" (65). Similarly, whereas Kayseri is "a shabby, dusty, battered, untidy old place" (183), Sivas, in total contrast, is "clean, orderly and lively" (189). Lister also claims that even though the people of Diyarbakir are "lively and friendly", it is still "backward and reactionary" (241). Ankara and Konya are “a lot better than” they were (Lister 157, 243), and Iskenderun is "more European in appearance than any other Turkish town" as far as Lister is concerned (171). But, it is Antalya that fascinates Lister most. He describes it as “the Turkish Riviera”. According to Lister, Antalya is “exceedingly beautiful”. It is “splendid and charming”. It has “everything a Riviera needs to be a proper Riviera”. Moreover, the Turkish Airlines service to Antalya is “swift and sure”. There are “excellent” hotels. The people, accustomed to foreigners, are “polite and friendly”. So, it has “a great future as a holiday playground” (256, 258).

Lister's Anatolia differs greatly in accordance with the place he has been. This is mainly because of his personal tastes and interests as well as his mood during the journey. Lister sometimes suffers from dysentery due to the food he eats, and he cannot always find a proper place to stay owing to relatively high prices (199). He is also annoyed by the peasantry and primitive lifestyle in some Turkish towns. As a result, he often feels distressed in such places as Van, Diyarbakir and Kayseri; and represents

them to be 'shabby, drab, dusty, battered, untidy and backward'. However, like Phelan, he refrains from revealing generalizing verdicts on Turkey. Instead of establishing an orientalising discourse like Armstrong and Goldman, Lister compares and contrasts major towns in Anatolia and represents every one of them in terms of its distinctive state of development and his own individual tastes. He not only portrays dirt, dust, noise, dinginess and gloom in some places; but also emphasizes civility, elegance, cleanness, charm and friendliness in other Anatolian towns. Therefore, he portrays two diverse pictures that simultaneously reflect the East and West sides of Turkey.

Another significant feature of Lister's representations is his concern with the Roman and Greek past and ancestry in Turkey. Lister recounts medieval history of classic sites that he visits in every corner of Anatolia, and, like Stark and Kinross, he discredits the Turks' ignorance of these ancient ruins. For instance, he argues that "the Turks take little account of the Greek past of Istanbul" (87), although, as far as Lister is concerned, the fascination of the city lies "in the way in which the Turkish present grows out of, and is inextricably commingled with, the Greek past" (56). Similarly, he claims that Antioch is "a historic place, and anybody brought up in the European Christian tradition must feel some slight stir of excitement on visiting it" (176). However, he portrays it to be “an abominable town” (176). Once called the Queen of the East, Antioch is now portrayed by Lister to be “a drab huddled in a doorway” (176). Pergamum, Turkish Bergama, is also claimed by Lister to suffer much from earthquakes, and from the Seljuk and Ottoman Turks (146). He states "there is not much left now of luxurious Laodicea, to whose luxurious early Christian St. John addressed his resounding words" (146). In short, in Lister’s portrayals, all these pretty names and historic peoples are gone from the cultural memory of modern Turkey after "the warlike shepherds from Central Asia have taken over" them (Lister 196).

Lister also reflects the strong discontent among many Western travellers about the Turks' negligence of the Christian past in Anatolia. However, his approach differs from that of Stark's and Kinross'. For, like Phelan, Lister does not represent the scruffy, broken-down, shabby, and hopeless situation of these classic sites with an imperialist aim. In contrast to Stark and Kinross who view the Turks' lack of care for the antiquity as an opportunity for highlighting the East's backward situation, Lister argues that "there is power to be developed in the East" (180). Although he depicts the Turks to be 'the warlike shepherds' that have come from Central Asia, he still claims "we have a picture of a nation exceptionally well qualified to move rapidly forward into a prosperous future, illuminated by the clear light of reason (254).

By the 1960s, the imperialist tradition in travel writing, which emphasizes the underdevelopment as an excuse for social, material and political intervention, has clearly begun to fade away from the perspectives of writers, such as Phelan and Lister. We observe how Stark and Kinross, travelling along the south-western coast of Turkey during the 1950s under the auspicious of British Consul-Generals, portray Turks' backwardness in order to indicate their incapacity to maintain and improve classic sites in Turkey. However, contrary to Stark and Kinross, R. P. Lister believes that a great deal can be done in Turkey although the capital is lacking. For him, the Turks are "reliable, courageous, loyal, tough and disciplined" (253), and therefore they could transform these sites back into their ancient greatness on their own.

Likewise, Lister observes that progress is visible everywhere in Turkey, and he claims "there seems to be hardly a road in Turkey that does not have its army of men, laboriously making the rough places smooth, mile after slow mile... There is not a town in Turkey that does not have its armies of men building concrete blocks of flats, hotels, schools, factories" (250). The number of cars is steadily climbing to 100,000 in Turkey according to Lister (251). Moreover, there are many tractors that have replaced ox-carts

in rural areas (251). Unlike Kinross who regrets the arrival of the motor car, Lister reflects the abundant number of cars and tractors to be a symbol of progress and prosperity in modern Turkey.

According to Zürcher, the Marshall plan that brought millions of US fund to Turkey caused a social and economical change in Turkey in the 1950s (209). Supported by large-scale American aid, the Turks took serious modernization steps in construction and agriculture (Zürcher 224). As can be understood from Lister's representations in the quotes above, the progress was particularly impressive in the 1960s. In Lister's portrayals of Turkey, many new modern buildings and the abundance of cars in urban centres are merged with tractors that symbolize Western machine power.

On the other hand, physically, the Turks come in four kinds in Lister's portrayals. He suggests

> One kind is completely European in appearance. Another is Arab. Then there is the Mongol Turk, round-headed, with eyes verging on the Chinese. Lastly, there is the type that can best be described as Levantine: sallow men, with hooked noses, and an age-old expression of commercial cynicism. (141)

The outlook of the Turks is neatly classified in the quote above. Arabs and Kurds are already differentiated from the Turks in most Western travel accounts. In Armstrong's and Goldman's portrayals, the Turks, in general, refer to the type, which Lister calls as 'the Mongol Turk'. The overall appearance of this Mongol Turk is often reflected to be 'ugly' in these representations. However, defining the Turks as European and Levantine is something new in western texts. Along with the 'Euro Turks' in Phelan's portrayals, these European and Levantine Turks contribute a great deal to the modernized image of the Turks. Lister argues that "the main division in Turkey is between intellectuals -

including army officers - and peasants (139) and it is these intellectuals that are represented to be European in Lister's accounts.

Moreover, the Turks have some other highly admirable and praiseworthy aspects in Lister's portrayals. He defines them to be "honest, disciplined, respectful, friendly, talkative, picturesque, polite, and dignified" (109, 130, 132, 253, and 254). Like Phelan, Lister also represents the Turks to be in direct contrast to earlier hostile portrayals. Therefore, he contributes to this new attitude towards the Turks, one which recognizes and registers the social and cultural transformation of the Turks under the Republican regime. However, he disagrees with Phelan on the Turks' common spirit of brotherhood. While Phelan gets attracted by the comradeship and solidarity that she encounters in Anatolia. Lister finds it excessive and disturbing. He claims "they appeared to me, all these helpful Turks, like a bunch of sadistic nursemaids, inflicting horrible miseries on their charges for their supposed good" (201). Contrary to Phelan, Lister denigrates the Turks' benevolence as 'lack of imagination' and longs for peace and privacy in Turkey (34).

According to Lister, another disturbing aspect in modern Turkey is the ambiguous status of woman. Turkish women have long been a preoccupation of travel writers. As we saw earlier, Armstrong, Kinross and even Phelan represent them to be still struggling with the veil despite the modernising efforts of the Republican government. Phelan does characterize modern Turkish women as 'kind, affectionate and demonstrative', and assume professional roles as lawyers, engineers, doctors, teachers and even pilots in Atatürk tradition. Yet, for Lister, while some women in metropolitan areas of the Republic "have emancipated themselves into the pursuit of commerce, unveiled" (166), the women of eastern Turkey "are kept under lock and key" (213). For Lister, the continued backwardness of many women in rural areas of the Republic is

most clearly marked by their costume. He claims, notoriously, "the women are the labourers and the beasts of burden" particularly in Black Sea region (202).

In short, Lister's overall observations about Turkey are similar to those of Phelan's. He observes the intermingling of modernity and backwardness, urbanization and primitivity that are simultaneously existent in Turkey during the period in question. Lister claims that "Atatürk gave Turkey an immense shove uphill, and left it poised on the watershed between East and West" (250), and in his representations, Turkey is portrayed to be still poised between the two ends. He clarifies this balance by suggesting that

> The West and the East are so inextricably mingled in Turkey that, as with the Haji Bayram Mosque and the Temple of Augustus and Rome, it is difficult to tell where one ends and the other begins. The apartment block in Ankara and Van is modern in conception and design; but it is put up largely by manual labour. A hundred man work with their hands where in the west ten men would work with machines (250).

Like Phelan, Lister positions Turkey between the West (civilization and modernity) and the East (backwardness and primitivity). Rather than the orientalist descriptions of previous writers, Lister celebrates Turkey's progress towards modernity and represents the country to be a geographical, historical and cultural bridge in a wider West-East discourse. In Lister’s representations, the mosques and temples that date back to Greek, Roman and Seljuk times, modern apartment blocks that are built with the Eastern human labour, and the Western machine power make Turkey a rich mixture of past and present, and of modernity and primitivity (143).

On the other hand, Phelan's and Lister's representations clearly demonstrate the radical dissent by individual travellers from generalizing orientalist tradition. For

instance, while Phelan represents an aspect of the Turks to be admirable, Lister portrays it to be disturbing although they both reflect modern Turkey to be more progressed and civilized when compared to the past. This reveals the problem of Orientalism's generalizing aspect which disregards individuality in a text. Said's Orientalism "establishes canons of taste and value, which are virtually indistinguishable from traditions, perceptions, and judgments it forms, transmits, and reproduces" (20). However, as discussed earlier, personal tastes and interests are not always influenced by this canonized traditions and perceptions. Without any reference to political will or cultural hegemony, one may also examine different cultures and peoples from a fair and impartial perspective. In this context, Phelan and Lister are good examples that indicate such liberalism. Therefore, when particularly Turkey's changing cultural, social and political position is taken into consideration, it is quite significant to analyse individuality in travellers' portrayals of a country or subject nation since it might provide a contemporary alternative to Orientalism.

4.3. Craig Mair's *A Time in Turkey* (1973)

Craig Mair was a Scottish travel writer who was mainly interested in Scottish history and localities. Likewise, Mair's father, who was a doctor, had for some years been a regular visitor to Turkey, and Mair had heard so much from his father about Turkey and especially the village of Ortahisar[63] that he "longed to go there" (Mair1). When he was eighteen Mair received an award of £250, given to promote initiative, self-reliance, and independence, and then it was arranged that he would spend a pre-university year living in Turkey (Mair 1).

On 27th August in 1971, Mair arrived in Istanbul and then moved to Ortahisar, where he would live with a local family for about a whole year. Regarding his stay in the village, Mair published a travel book titled *A Time in Turkey* in 1973. By living in Turkey, Mair got a different view of things regarding the Turks. He was able to scratch through the West's veneer into several contrasting types of Turkish society. As he lived with the Turkish people and learned Turkish, he adopted Turkish attitudes, even to women and religion. Therefore, in many respects, he really became integrated into the Turkish way of life and was fully accepted by the people with whom he lived. As a result, similar to those of Phelan's and Lister's, Mair's representations also reveal a significant change in the British perceptions of the Turkish image.

Before heading for Ortahisar, Mair spent a few weeks in Istanbul. After lodging for some time in a flophouse, he moved to the Algan family, where he received a warm welcome due to his father's intimate relations in the past. In his travelogue, Mair's first impressions of Istanbul are idle crowds, chaotic traffic jam, and noisy atmosphere. He observes many veiled women who approach begging for alms, and innumerable children who seem to run around the streets, unattended by parents (Mair 9). He also

[63]A small town belonging to the district of Ürgüp, Cappadocia

claims that he sees villagers from eastern Anatolia who are quite prepared to sell their daughters' virginities for handsome sums (103). Similarly, when the news of a possible marriage with Merih, the Algans' little daughter, is spread among the neighbourhood, local public opinion is roused against him. He finds himself "threatened with pistols and wicked-looking knives by gangs of boys, sometimes even supported by the local police, who had already allowed a poster bearing my photograph to be pinned outside their office, appealing to the public to beat me up and drive me out of town" (110).

Rana Kabbani claims that "among the many themes that emerge from the European narration of the Other, two appear most strikingly. The first is the insistent claim that the East was a place of lascivious sensuality, and the second that it was a realm characterised by inherent violence" (6). In Mair's portrayals, one can see both. Similar to representations of former traveller, Mair observes prostitution in the streets of Istanbul and claims to be intimidated by local boys.

However, despite these Oriental replicas of squalor and poverty, fraudulence, immorality, violence and vandalism, corrupt police and illegal weapons, Mair still appreciates the Turks' efforts to become a modern, and European country and champions their attempts at learning foreign languages in schools existed all over Istanbul to cope with the sudden demand by booming tourism in the city. Yilmaz, a carpet merchant in the Grand Bazaar, explains this to Mair in a brilliant way:

> Turkey has to win a place in the modern world – not with guns and bombs, but with the enthusiasm of her teachers and her youth. If we Turks want to make our country a great one, we must improve her trade, her industry, her tourism. And so we have to study English and French and German. (qtd. in Mair18)

In contrast to Orientalising self-representations and mimicry of Euro-Turks in Armstrong's and Kinross' previous portrayals, Yilmaz's expressions clearly

demonstrate enlightenment and intellectuality in the Turkish society that result from modernization efforts of Republican Turkey. Thus, in Mair's representations, poverty in the suburbs versus prosperity of the Grand Bazaar, immorality of some village girls as opposed to decency in the Algan family, violence, vandalism and corruption contrary to kindness and intimacy of friends all make Istanbul 'the city of contrasts' (11). As a result, Mair defines Istanbul as one of those cities either you love or hate. According to him, there is no room for feeling neutral (11).

In Mair's portrayals, the Algan house is also a good example of such contrast. He claims that, like Istanbul, "Algan living had many paradoxes – inevitably perhaps for a traditional family beset on all sides by the values and materialism of the West" (24). For instance, "the furniture was Western in taste – there were chairs and a sofa … There was wallpaper and painted woodwork. Pictures replaced rugs on the walls, and a piano stood near the door" (98). Thus, the Algan house looks European in Mair's travelogue. However, in its customs and traditions, it still retains something of the Ottoman way of life. Mair is, for example, never left alone in public with any of the Algan daughters (24). Similarly, although the Algans do not bother much with fasting in the holy Ramadan month, their attitudes are surprisingly conservative (Mair 93), and their way of life is changed little in spite of having lived for several generations in the city (Mair24). In fact, there is more of a dilemma in the whole neighbourhood. Architecturally, gastronomically, and in the ways people spend their leisure, there is "a peculiar uncertainty of choice between the incoming ways of the West and the long-established ways of Islam and Ottoman Turkey" (Mair 98).

This in-between situation of the Turkish community in Istanbul is not surprising when we consider how dramatically the change affected their way of life. Although radical reforms in every sphere of the society yielded rapid results in the beginning of Westernization process, it still took quite a long time for a family to totally root out old

customs and traditions, and adopt a new identity and culture. So, during this long transition period, many British travellers, including Mair, observed a lot of double-faceted families, like the Algans, who were European in appearance, but also Oriental in customs and traditions. However, in the portrayals of these British travellers, this in-between[64] identity of the Turks included a lack of "Europeanness" in its specific Western ethno-religiously and culturally hegemonic forms. For, Islamic conservatism was often emphasized as a deficiency in the Turks' claims of being Western.

On the other hand, many people still travelled to Istanbul in the hope of finding the gateway to the genuine East even in the 1970s. However, in that age of hurried, crowded itineraries, few travellers had the time to stay in one place long enough to scratch below the Western veneer and find what lied beneath. Moreover, few foreigners ever gained deep-rooted local confidence and friendship - another essential prerequisite to finding the genuine old East. Mair was lucky, in that he had come to Turkey to live among the villagers of Ortahisar. So, comfortable tough his existence in Istanbul may have been, it was not the purpose of his trip. As a result, Mair left the incongruities of the East-West dilemma at the Algan house and headed for his ultimate destination after enjoying a farewell party in his last night in Istanbul.

When Mair arrived in Ortahisar, he found his father's portrait being hung everywhere. It was displayed with pride and affection in all those little houses (1). However, he did not feel any kind of Western arrogance or veneer despite the villagers' admiring looks. On the contrary, it was sincerity, comradeship and primitivism that he had been searching for. In Ortahisar, Mair has enjoyed the Turkish way of life, unspoiled since Ottoman times. In contrast to Istanbul's hideous traffic rush, in Ortahisar, each day was passing in an unhurried, even leisurely rhythm (Mair 46). In

[64] Namely, neither self nor the other

Mair's portrayals, this comforting silence is accompanied by kindness, brotherhood and hospitality which establish a 'noble savage' image. These rough and modest peasants' happily sharing their produce with the educated man of the city fascinates Mair most. The traveller's encounters with this stereotype are mostly likened to the favourite scenario of the hospitality in many British travel writings of Turkey in the late twentieth century. Mair, too, "found a real bridge between East and West, here among the villagers of Anatolia, where life was still genuine and beliefs were sincere" (84).

This noble savageness is combined with picturesque and sublime in Mair's travelogue. Like Phelan and Lister, Mair is also impressed by the charming nature of Ortahisar. He falls in love with it at the first sight and describes it in a romanticised way

> A landscape of melancholy and weirdness, quiet in the pale pink of morning. Wave upon wave of rock, sculpted by nature into incredibly surrealistic fantasies, rolled off into the horizon; clusters of tall, pointed rocks huddled together in miniature forests; hidden valleys meandered here and there in abstract, meaningless courses, suddenly losing themselves in still more cross-currents of finely polished waves of stone. By the road a cluster of cones spired into the sun, their needle tips capped with crazily balanced boulders abandoned in some freak of erosion, each one threatening at any moment to fall off, but none ever doing so in the months that I knew them. Here, one forgotten ravine glowed a warm honey colour, another stark white; beyond, a clutch of cones reared into the sky, while by the road the rock seemed pink. What more fiendish creations could nature devise? What stark, yet strangely appealing simplicity in that riot of colour and geography. (27)

In this small town, a weird melancholy haunts Mair. Waves of rock scattered around, and cluster of cones threatening at the summit create a sense of sublimity in Mair's

imagination. An array of bright colours adds vivacity into this strangely appealing geography. This romanticised description of Ortahisar is quite different from Stark's or Kinross' empty or wasted land image of Anatolia. With the advent of tourism, the picturesque and sublime in virgin areas of Turkey began to fascinate British travellers particularly after the 1960s. Similarly, in Mair's representation, a great deal of enthusiasm is often expressed for the savageness of the nature and the culture in these unspoiled provincial societies. As a result, rather than representations of barrenness, void and aridity in Anatolian soil, maiden beauty of the nature is emphasized by Mair.

However, the laziness at the tea-houses, toughness of the life, clumsiness of the villagers and some other inconveniences such as the absence of water, electricity and even toilet paper make Mair bored in Ortahisar. Mair claims that there is absolutely "no social intercourse between the sexes, and men segregated from women" (Mair 55). Even after a year, he did still not become sufficiently close to them to be allowed to take any pictures. So, as a result of this exasperation, Mair decided to launch a tourism initiative in the village. He wanted to introduce Ortahisar "to the benefits of the West, while retaining the best of the East" (50). In fact, Ortahisar had already been attracting small numbers of tourists. There was, after all, a small inn in the village. But, these tourists did not like Ortahisar simply because it lacked so much of modernity of the era. This was annoying for the villagers. Tahir, a young graduate student, often got frustrated at seeing Westerners' showing displeasure upon arriving in Ortahisar. In a talk to Mair, He stated that

> 'But this is Ortahisar', 'and people must not come here expecting to find Miami … It saddens me to see those visitors, for so few of them really interested in my village, even in my country… They come only to film and to do as they please. They do not care if they offend our women by photographing them, nor if they sadden our men by paying low prices for everything they buy – to many people

> Turkey is still an underdeveloped country where the normal rules of courtesy can be ignored, where they can meet the natives but never lose their own "civilized" customs among themselves. It is sad, for we are also civilized, and we too have dignity. (qtd. in Mair 57)

Similar to Yilmaz's self-representations, Tahir also claims that the Turks are not the inferior Orientals any more. Since they become civilized as a result of reforms, he demands respect from other civilized nations. However, what Tahir ignores is the fact that these visitors are tourists in a modern era, and they are quite different from travellers. Their expectations are all the same in every part of the world. They rarely admire any country, praise its people, or try to understand their ways of life. It is enough to provide basics of modernity so as to attract them into your country. So, I think, their portrayals are not quite significant in representing a country since they do not have the privilege of accessing valuable information concerning the historiography of the new Turkish identity.

However, being a clever traveller, Mair is aware of what Tahir ignores. According to him, like so much of Turkey, Ortahisar also remains unknown to tourists simply because it lies just off the beaten track (77). So, Mair starts to make some alterations at the inn so that it can serve the Western taste. He also prepares some leaflets, advertising the village. They are sent to the tourism bureaus in big cities and handed on there. Moreover, he opens a language course, where young attendants learn English, French and German. There is even a library which houses volumes of tremendous antiquity, farming journals and magazines for the use of the villagers, plus many books written in Western languages, and in particular, translations of the great European classics (Mair 116). This building with female teachers, dressed in skirts as part of the general effort being made to Europeanise Turkey, also serves as an important centre of agricultural learning (Mair 117). So, in many ways, the library provides

literature and reference works quite out of proportion to its rural surroundings. These attempts bear fruits immediately. Indeed, with the arrival of summer, a sort of transformation takes place in the village, and a peculiar prosperity is also brought to Ortahisar by tourism. Mair portrays this huge transformation in his book

> More tourists began to appear in the village and a greater degree of prosperity slowly began to spread throughout the whole of Ortahisar, as the houses and antique shops did better business. Guides were needed, horses and donkeys were required for hire. Parties were held at the inn and tourists were provided with costumes for the occasion – these were sometimes hung up for sale the next day and were frequently sold for good prices. Carpets, hand-made by Ortahisar's villagers, were hung on the walls of many bedrooms and in the hotel vestibule, and before long I found myself conducting a vigorous business in prayer rugs, between villagers and visitors. (51)

Likewise, Mair also observes that the Turkish government has been doing much work in preserving what survives at Göreme and elsewhere (42). For instance, a large hotel complex, run by the Club Mediterranée, has been built in the old village of Uçhisar (Mair 60), and Ürgüp's economy is clearly beginning to pick up again with the coming of tourism (Mair 71). Even, a church, which has been earmarked for demolition on its abandonment by the Greeks in the 1920s, is preserved by the villagers who raise enough money to convert the five-hundred-year-old building into a mosque (Mair 83). In Mair's portrayals, such is the progress that old way of life is fast disappearing even in tiny corners of Turkey (65).

However, the villagers are not happy with this cultural change. For instance, Tahir shrugs that "last year there was peace and stillness; now you have to queue behind the bus parties. Last year Ortahisar's people were poor; now they are better off" (qtd. in

Mair 34). People in Uçhisar are also afraid that if they build their hotels here, they will never again know Uçhisar, and their children will never know their village. They will find only a collection of houses populated by tourists from many parts of the world (Mair 60). As a result, Mair has even seen some tourists being stoned in Turkey (81). Mair, himself does not like the new outlook of the villagers. He finds it funny to see village children in Crimplene blouses, mothers with ridiculous high-heeled shoes, brothers in shortie raincoats over their multiple-patched shirts and ragged trousers – all sent from Europe (48).

However, as can be seen from portrayals above, in contrast to Armstrong's, Stark's and Kinross' representations, in which no change is reflected and the Turks' ignorance of classical sites is emphasized, Mair clearly observes transformation that comes with tourism boom within the country. In fact, it is him who is the main initiator of such a change in the village. Bhabha claims that such an initiative is a part of the Orientalist idea, according to which, "the colonial space's future progress must be secured in modernity" (352). But, as far as I could see, Mair does not undertake such an action as a part of any colonial project. He just wants to help the poor villagers overcome poverty and destitution. Thus, he cannot be charged with any imperial aims or orientalist purposes as described by Bhabha and Said.

Mair is Orientalist only when he thinks of Harem life during the Ottoman time. In addition to a long description of Harem, which includes secrecy, sexism, death, fear, power and decline, Mair reveals his Oriental dream in a brief account of a field trip in Cappadocia. He thinks "how agreeable it was to sink back into deep carpeting, with nuts lying handy on one side, a glass of tea on the other, and three vivacious, and for once unveiled, ladies continually inquiring after my comfort! A rather pleasant sample of Oriental luxury (123).

As stated earlier, the Turkish woman was often reflected as an isolated figure "shut up in a harem all day without any access to the outer world in the 18th and 19th centuries" (Lewis and Micklewright 33). Especially in Victorian England, there was a sizeable market for travel narratives about harem since it was mostly regarded as something exotic and authentic by the West (Lewis and Micklewright 35). Harem was the fantasy logic of Western Orientalism, and the veiled woman in it was an object of mystery. Therefore, the lust to penetrate behind the walls of harem by the Western man could be regarded as part of a colonial desire.

Similarly, Mair also shows a great interest in the Turkish woman. He often criticizes the segregation of women from the social live, dislikes the Islamic conservatism reflected upon the women's veil. He frowns at not being able to photograph them alone. These all demonstrate how passionate Mair is about his Oriental fantasy. Indeed, he is so close to realise the Oriental dream when an initial betrothal with Merih, the Algans' little daughter, is agreed. Although Mair personally feels that this little girl, still a giggly school pupil, is far too young[65] to get married (108), he does not want to miss the opportunity for a couple of reasons. First, Mair gets on well with her and he thinks "Merih would also be an indisputably faithful wife, obedient and hardworking, which to a teenage young man seemed a good idea" (111). Moreover, he also agrees because he "loved Merih, partly infatuation, partly as a great friend" (111). However, Mair's Oriental dream comes to an end when Merih declines to live abroad.

As seen from the account of a possible marriage with a teenager, it is clear that Mair has some orientalist ideas in his mind before coming to Turkey. Like many former British travellers, he too longs for lascivious desires in which an oriental female figure whets his appetite. However, judging from his overall portrayals of change, progress,

[65] fourteen

prosperity, sublime, and picturesque, it can be concluded that, similar to Phelan and Lister, Mair also demonstrates the dissent from former hostile portrayals by the British travellers and instead highlights a shift in the modern outlook of Turkey and the Turks.

4.4. Brian Sewell's *South from Ephesus: Travels Through Aegean Turkey* (1988)

Brian Sewell was a provocative English art critic and columnist who wrote for the *Evening Standard* about conceptual art. He first visited Turkey – a country that had attracted him since his boyhood – in 1975 and then came regularly until 1990 due to the magnificent richness of Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic cultures that Turkey had. The main focus of his travel book titled *South from Ephesus* (1988) is on his travels from Ephesus to Side one winter. With characteristically witty commentary, Sewell portrays – sometimes unfavourably – the ancient remains that he runs across, the landscapes that have so clearly pleased him, the meetings he has along the journey, and the annoying relationship that he forms with Ayhan, his driver. Therefore, *South from Ephesus* is a unique portrait of Turkey and its artistic features – a book which has become an unusual classic of travel literature.

Like many contemporary travellers, Sewell also fell in love with the ruin-rich land of southwest Turkey. Particularly, the sublime and picturesque beauty of ancient sites situated in this part of Turkey mesmerized the art guru who was weary of what he called the 'tyranny' of western art. In his witty and acerbic travelogue, Sewell reflects these moments of romantic beauty with awe and amazement. For example, in Priene (Söke), he observes "silhouetted cypresses, silver seas, the bamboo huts of fishermen an acceptable *japonaiserie* against the mountains across the bay, and the loneliness of a single fishing boat in a vast expanse of water under a great dome of broken cloud and shafting sunset" (40). In fact, according to Sewell, "all Turkey is full of sunsets, invariably of the ooh! and ah! kind, with vast domes of sky, or great tumbles of cloud, or dramatically picturesque silhouettes (69). Likewise, for him, The Temple of Apollo in Didim "gives a clear impression of a Wonder of the World in scale and grandeur" (48). Sewell finds Milas 'charming', as well. For, it "had old Turkish houses and

winding streets, a handsome gate in a fragment of the city wall (Baltali Kapi) …, only one standing Corinthian column from all the temples …, and a handsome freestanding Roman tomb called Gümüşkesen (61). In a similar way, Sewell describes the acropolis in Tlos (Fethiye) as "a great bluff covered with temple tombs, a sight of such beauty that even Ayhan gasped" (130). Regarding the view from a Turkish castle in Kaş, Sewell claims that "I can recall no more dramatic view in western Turkey, and Spratt[66] in 1842 thought it the grandest site in Lycia (131). These favourable representations reveal that, as an enthusiastic art critic, Sewell has a grasping interest in grandeur, sublimity and romantic beauty of ancient sites, which can be easily found in southwest Turkey. However, unlike Stark and Kinross, he does not abstain from recording his fascination in his travel accounts. On the contrary, by using an affirmative discourse, Sewell emphasizes the unique mental state that he feels when he travels through that part of Asia Minor.

However, as can be seen in the representations of earlier travellers such as Stark and Kinross, Sewell also recognizes the bad conditions of some ancient ruins in southwest Turkey. Despite the hardworking endeavours of the country to revive these places, many ancient ruins are still in a derelict and ramshackle situation according to Sewell. For instance, in Priene, Sewell and his fellow traveller Petter "walked in the dark in search of sights, sounds and smells, but found nothing native left in this deserted holiday town" (39). Similarly, as for Hecate's island in Yatagan (Mugla), Sewell suggests "it all seemed sadly derelict and decaying, and the few standing walls unlikely to stand much longer – the damp rots the mortar (56). He further claims that, while searching for the temple dedicated to Augustus and the goddess Dea Roma in Milas, they find it to have "only recently been demolished to provide marble for a new

[66] Thomas Abel Brimage Spratt (1811-1888), who served as Lieutenant and assistant surveyor in the team who explored the interior of the Lycain coast with Charles Fellows in the spring of 1842

mosque; on the site itself a rich Turk had built a house incorporating six of the twenty-two columns that the temple was known to have had" (62). In addition, regarding Laodicea and Colossae which are of high significance for the Biblical history and therefore visited by even St Paul in ancient times, Sewell observes that "virtually nothing remains" and suggests "I can recall no more ruined ruin in all Turkey" (108). Likewise, after referring to a long quote by Charles Fellows in which Fellows narrates the richness of nature, abundance of cultivation and beauty of wilderness along the road towards Aspendos, Sewell notes that "of this profusion, nothing remains"(231) and that it is now "... far from quite perfect ..." (241). Lastly, concerning the ancient ruins of Side, Sewell reflects that "other remains beyond the city wall are difficult to identify not only because of their desuetudinous condition, but because they are buried in sand and scrub" (246).

In a similar way, in some other sites, Sewell sadly portrays scenes of "goats sheltering in the tombs" (130) and "cattle pasturing in the ruins" (240), which clearly demonstrate the ignorance of local people. In this respect, while commenting on a picture of the tomb of Amyntas of Telmessus (modern Fethiye) which was taken by Charles Fellows in 1839, he laments this neglect by saying that "this is one of the grandest temple tombs in Turkey, but nothing other than his name is known of the occupant" (146). Sometimes such indifference brings about hazardous adventures in Sewell's portrayals. While climbing up the difficult route for Etenna in Manavgat, some boys, who are actually their guides, throw a heap of bones at their feet to play a joke on them. However, Sewell finds this childish jape as "offending ancient taboos, showing irreverence for the dead, and destroying archaeological evidence" (209).

However, these negative representations that highlight desolate status of the ruins and ignorance and awkwardness of the people in southwest Turkey cannot be considered as deprecating when compared to those of Stark's and Kinross'. For,

contrary to orientalist and imperialist writings of Stark and Kinross, Sewell does not regard these conditions and attitudes to be valid excuses for any kind of cultural steal or material intervention. In contrast, as will be illustrated below, he disapproves the attempts of former travellers that aim to move ancient relics and ruins off to their home countries for future protection. Sewell's such portrayals propose to only reflect his sorrow and – in some cases – lament for not being able to see, touch and physically enjoy the sublime beauty and grandeur of ancient sites that he has read and/or heard during his life-long studies of art.

On the other hand, apart from poor conditions of the ruins, Sewell also notes the change in appearance of these ancient places which stems from the country's aims to transform its southern coast in a way that will serve for mass tourism. In this context, Sewell asserts that "now, so many years on since the first of my Turkish journeys in 1975, it records a coastal Turkey that no longer exists, lost to every manifestation of mass tourism, the most obliterating layer of the palimpsest" (x). Sewell reflects both positive and negative aspects of this new outlook. On the one hand, he celebrates the country's great effort to change the wrecked appearance of the ancient ruins and restore it. On the other hand, he detests the works of modernization that will result in the transformation of major cities in the region and will open them to mass tourism.

For example, in Selçuk, Sewell finds the ruined cathedral of St John as "tidy, ordered, and apart from its Byzantinisms, much like any neat English ecclesiastical ruin" (20). Also in the museum, he appreciates the authorities' new decision to exhibit Priapus supporting a basket of fruit on his erection. For, Sewell claims that, some years ago, "this absurd little sculpture was not on open view, and European visitors, asked if they would like to see the god Bes, invariably assented, having not the slightest notion that they would then be shown an ugly little monster sporting a proud member" (21). Similarly, Sewell observes that, after the visit of Pope Paul VI in 1967, there is a great

change in the Virgin's House in Selçuk. He suggests "the once deserted and unrewarding site of a building of the size ... is now fenced and gated, with a Jandarmerie, a tea-house, lavatories, innumerable papal ephemera" (28).

In addition, Sewell compares the present status of the Gymnasium at Ephesus to a picture shot by William Parsin 1765. He asserts that the picture which "gives a very clear impression of the overgrown dereliction of the site" is "in sharp contrast to its present state in which almost every building is excavated and identified" (146). He also notes that the temple of Athena in Priene is reconstructed. He reflects his amazement by reporting that "the temple itself was totally fallen in Chandler's day, but five of its Ionic columns have now been re-erected, and we caught them at one of those moments when nature plays at theatre, flooding them with brilliant sunshine when all about was leaden with cloud" (42). Regarding Aphrodisias in Aydın, Sewell champions the construction of new roads which make it easier to access the site. He reports "in the mid-seventies this ancient city was not on the way to anywhere, and the roads to it were bone-shakers. A decade later it has become part of the tourist run from Izmir to Pamukkale, and even the narrow roads across the great belt of the Taurus Mountains make it accessible in half a day from Antalya" (110). Sewell's portrayals of Myra (Demre) are also quite different from former representations. During his visit in the warm sunshine of January 1986, the town seems to Sewell "much rebuilt and refurbished, and no longer the sort of village where the mechanic would collect and deliver; I experienced acutely the very opposite of déjà vu (166).

Similarly, in contrast to earlier portrayals of the sites by Chandler, Fellows, Kinross and Stark which highlight the desolate status of the ruins at which the dominancy of silence is only broken by the growls of the cattle, sheep and goats; Sewell's representations of these ancient sites involve vivacity and joy. For example, in Side, Sewell claims he "discovered a different world – of Turkish families holidaying

on a shoe-string, of flutes and sad love songs in the moonlit theatre, of wild Turkish dancers in the ruins, and where time slowed and lost its European discipline (194). In *South from Ephesus*, Sewell also includes a long description of a picnic scene in which peasant Turks – both men and women – enjoy a favourable summer weather on Side seashore although some German tourists find certain behaviours at their vivacious party annoying (200). Therefore, in Sewell's portrayals, Side becomes much more than an archaeological site. Rather than a derelict ruin to which no soul heads, it is now "a lively village of a thousand souls, multiplied tenfold in summer, traditional village life accommodating itself to modern demands without losing its identity" (Sewell 248).

On the other hand, Sewell also celebrates the scientific studies carried out by some eminent Turkish scholars in the field of archaeology. He thinks such studies will help Turkish officials enhance the conditions in the ruins. In this respect, Sewell recounts his recollections at an archaeological symposium in Istanbul in the summer of 1983, where he listens to a brief statement on recent discoveries in Aphrodisias, made by Professor Kenan Erim[67]. Sewell reports that

> ... slides appeared on the screen that showed sculpture of astonishing realism and the promise of an extraordinary processional way unique in the classical world, three storeys high, many yards long, covered with large high reliefs of Gods and classical and historical figures. This *Sebasteion* seemed to lift Aphrodisias to a new and very high importance, and I returned to London bubbling with excitement; in October, just as the site was closing for the winter, I spent two weeks there, an amazed and bemused spectator change in Aphrodisias (115).

[67] Kenan Tevfik Erim (1929 – 1990) was a Turkish archaeologist who excavated from 1961 until his death at the site of Aphrodisias in Turkey.

In short, Sewell mostly approves construction and restoration works conducted in the ancient sites in accordance with the scientific and archaeological studies. For, contrary to many former travellers including Fellows and Stark, he believes that the picture should stay in its frame, meaning that relics and ruins should be preserved on the spot so that their contextual value is not dismissed. For example, referring to earlier archaeologists who steal from Miletus and therefore reduce it to a mile of mud and not a single standing stone, Sewell claims that "without the sea that made it important, Miletus, lacking the dramatic prominence of Priene, seems as a site rather boring, and the tourist who dismounts only for a quick clamber in the theatre or conjure mischievous visions of luxury in the baths is to be forgiven (46).

In fact, archaeological steal is a term that Sewell curses in many occasions. Throughout his travelogue, he repeatedly laments for earlier practices/malpractices of the steal of cultural heritage that is knavishly exported from Turkey during archaeological excavations in its southwest part. In this respect, he first refers to Sir Charles Newton who removes some of enthroned portrait figures that date back to the mid-sixth century and takes them to British museum after his excavations in the Aegean Turkey in the 1850s. Sewell claims that Newton "robbed the site, then abandoned it to confusion" (49). Likewise, regarding Newton's works at the Mausoleum in Bodrum, he suggests

> These were, alas, an appalling example of archaeological malpractice, and no excavation in any scientific sense; all that Newton did was to plunder every piece of sculpture he could find for the benefit of the British Museum, and leave it an inscrutable wreck – in his own words 'a desolate looking spot, of which the idea is finer than the reality' (78).

In a similar fashion, Sewell is highly sceptical about the excavations in Didim. He reports that "as there was no town or village nearby, the site remained unplundered until the excavations of English, French and German archaeologists, who carried off to London whatever was portable" (51). Another archaeologist-traveller that Sewell accuses of the steal of cultural heritage at Xanthus was Charles Fellows. According to him, it is Fellows who must take the greater blame for ravishing the site by dismantling and packing its monuments into 87 great crates and shipping them into the British Museum (147). For, Sewell claims that, from Fellows' own account of the incident, it is clear that "he wittingly deceived the Grand Vizier, who knew neither the whereabouts of Xanthus nor the vital importance of its remains, dictated his own firman in such terms as he knew would pass scrutiny, and bribed the provincial Governor" (150). For the same operation, D. G. Hogarth, in an account of Xanthus written in 1911, uses the word 'robbed', too (qtd. in Sewell 148). However, Fellows' malpractice is not limited to steal. According to Sewell, drawings by Sir George Scharf, who accompanies Fellows during his excavations in the site, offer "devastating evidence of mishandling by Fellows' men" (156). Therefore, Sewell concludes that, concerning the ancient site at Xanthus, "Fellows and his men behaved as Goths and Vandals" (159).

All these quotes by Sewell clearly demonstrate that, unlike Stark and Kinross, Sewell never approves the archaeological malpractice conducted by former travellers. Conversely, by revealing damaging consequences of these practices, he often emphasizes his artistic viewpoint which suggests that ancient sites should not be severed from its contextual outlook. Therefore, in a manifest manner, he objects to the early belief that ruins and relics should be moved into European museums so that they could be better-preserved.

In Sewell's travel narratives, archaeological steal is not the only folly that spoils ancient ruins in southwest Turkey. Another significant malpractice that Sewell blames

for the disarray in these sites is the Turkish government's efforts to transform the sites and open them for mass tourism. It has already been stated above that these actions have both positive and negative aspects. But, according to Sewell, negative consequences outweigh positive ones. For example, about the road to Kuşadasi, Sewell observes that "once one of the most beautiful stretches of coastal road, with wide deserted bays of warm shallow water, it is now littered with holiday encampments, some of unspeakable meanness, others so discreetly hidden under spreading pine-trees that only close to can they be seen" (40). Similarly, while searching for the boatyards that they lodged during their stay in Bodrum ten years ago, Sewell laments that "both had gone, developed away under ugly new holiday resorts. In the harbour there was nothing of charm, elegance or interest. Even the great Crusader Castle is now a litter of electric cables and advertisements on the harbour side" (70). Actually, the Turks are also aware of the unfavourable outcomes of the tourism boom. A guardian at Xanthus once says Sewell that the site has been killed by Swan's[68] tourists. Sewell can see what he means. He reflects that "at the end of a long summer season the city ruins are a melancholy sight, dusty, littered with all signs of trampling European hordes (147).

In addition, regarding Antalya, now one of the most popular tourism spots in southwest Turkey, Sewell's representations are not sympathetic, either. Sewell reports that

> At all seasons of the year it is dirty, scruffy, noisy and nasty; it gives the impression of having been generally modernized and brought up to date in the appalling European taste of the sixties, with pavements of cheap mosaic and tile, but these are now broken and uneven with patches of cement, tarmac and aggregate; most of the buildings are concrete, the fringes of the city are littered

[68] A tourism company popular in Turkey in the 1970s

> with characterless tall blocks, and only with tremendous effort of will may the visitor find the picturesque old bones of the town. (189)

A detailed narration of the new face of Phaselis in Kemer strikingly demonstrates Sewell's dislike for the development of the site, too. After referring to a romantic description by Bean[69], he adds that

> It has since been adapted for the demands of mass tourism; the rough track is now a wide tarmac road, barred by any automatic gate at the entrance to the site, beyond it is a huge and hideous administration office touched by the worst of Costa Brava fantasies, with a lacing of decorative street lights strung round the vast coach park. The site itself has been cleared of overgrowth, and its sad ruins neatly labelled with poker-worked cross-cuts of barky, varnished timber, more suitable for Mon Rapes and garden gnomes. Straight line stretches of the neighbouring hillsides have been brutally stripped of their forest trees, stumps uprooted, leaving nothing but bare rock, ripe for erosion. No development (if that is what it is) could be more devastating, stupid and short-sighted. (183)

In Sewell's portrayals, technological advancements disrupt the romantic beauty of ancient sites, as well. For instance, while driving through Muğla, they stop in the south of the town to admire a spectacular view high above a deep inlet of the sea and enjoy the beauty of the marriage of the Taurus Mountains with the Aegean Sea. However, upon hearing from their driver Ayhan that a power-station is to be built at the head of the fjord, Sewell foresees "the consequent devastation of heavily wooded slopes, and polluted water" (85). Likewise, according to Sewell, the new outlook of the road that leads to Marmaris is ugly, too. He reports that:

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[69] George Bean, *Turkey beyond the Meander* (1971)

> ... lovely countryside newly-murdered by open-cast coal-mining far into the distance, and a hideous power-station, cheaply built to Polish designs and specifications, its tubes and towers sprawling down a long slow hillside now naked even of weeds, serviced by peasants living in dreary modern blocks already decaying, bereft of anything that feeds the soul (83).

In a similar way, Sewell is not satisfied with the developments that are jointly carried out by the Turkish government and European archaeologists. As his earlier representations suggest, these developments have ruined the grandeur and sublime beauty of the sites according to Sewell. For example, concerning the Austrian archaeologists' work in Ephesus, Sewell claims that "I cannot quarrel with the general concept, but its bold statement of Vitruvian grandeur is more than slightly absurd with tilted horizontals and wayward verticals, and the whole façade was a heavily dog-chewed look about it" (36). Likewise, Sewell argues that although in terms of grandeur the ruins are wholly remarkable, Phaselis has lost what Bean describes as 'a charm beyond many others' due to recent taming by German scholars and the Turkish Ministry of Tourism (185).

Like Michael Pereira, Sewell does not like the modern appearance of southwest Turkey. Although in some cases he celebrates the Turks' endeavours to restore and revive ancient sites, in many other occasions he dislikes the material development that results in a huge change in the outlook of the ruins, towns and cities. For, he believes that these changes will eventually spoil and damage the natural beauty, sublimity and grandeur of ancient ruins in the Asia Minor. According to Sewell, the Turkish government's efforts aiming to physically ameliorate the ruins and develop the cities in its southern coast might bring hordes of European tourists into the country and therefore bear favourable outcomes for the country's economy. However, he argues that these

efforts will mostly demolish the romantic elegance that comes from the splendour of the past and grandeur of antiquity.

On the other hand, unlike Stark and Kinross, Sewell is not only interested in antiquity and Biblical past in Turkey. The Turks and their contemporary lifestyle do also attract Sewell's attention. As a result, in his travelogue, one can find many different representations of the Turkish image and stereotype. To begin with, even at his first sight of the country across the river at Evros, Sewell notices "the lazy relaxation" of the Turkish soldier and, when compared to his Greek counterpart, describes him to be "dowdy in fatigues" and so "expressionless" (15). Laziness is not only limited to soldiery in Sewell's portrayals. According to him, this problem is nationwide. Sewell reports that "the Turkish problem of lassitude and inertia is constant throughout the land – they rarely repair anything, but use it till it rots, and the country is littered with tasteless concrete blocks fallen into immediate desuetude to join the more portable and degradable rubbish" (99). Therefore, Sewell concludes that "somehow everything is slow and incompetent. Turks are willing, put enormous repeated effort into the slightest service, but never look ahead" (139). Some other significant aspects that Sewell detests in the Turks are "meaningless conversations that wild Turks seem so much to enjoy" (124) and "dirty Turkish jokes that were quite without humour, grotesque in their imagery, and remarkably anti-feminist" (249).

In fact, in *South from Ephesus*, these unfavourable representations that resemble those of Stark and Kinross picture a Turkish stereotype personified in one and single man – Ayhan, the driver and guide assigned by the Ministry to the order of Sewell and his accompanies for their visits in ancient sites. Sewell gets "disappointed" when Ayhan first announces in perfect unaccented English that he is to be their guide and guardian (20). For, Sewell's first glimpse of him is as a "bully" since he argues that "he was stiff with opinions and demanded from us their wholehearted acceptance" (47). Actually,

according to Sewell, Ayhan is not interested in ruins, therefore they have nothing in common (142). In many occasions, he is maddening Sewell, but cannot see it. He is neither a well-qualified driver. Sewell argues that Ayhan "is a dreadful, horn-blowing, hesitant driver" (100). As a result, he portrays him as a person always in a state of "hysteria" (141).

Another important thing that Sewell is interested in the Turkish stereotype is their way of entertainment. Particularly, the Turkish music and belly-dancing are two prevalent elements that Sewell includes in his portrayals. However, Sewell likes neither of them. He finds the Turkish music to be "unidentifiable sounds, amplified to the last painful and damaging decibel" (39), and belly-dancing "irritating" (40). However, one of his depictions of a belly-dancing scene that he confronts on New Year's Eve celebrations is literally shocking. Sewell reports that:

> A few conventional dance movements done, she sank to her knees and made unmistakable gestures of masturbation, writhing, groaning and throwing back her head; I did not care to believe what my eyes were telling me, but when she turned to an imaginary partner and simulated masturbating him, there could be no mistake. The women in the audience applauded her with shrieks and claps, and rose to their feet as they stuffed their money into her bra – middle-aged women, respectable, wearing hats that might grace the Women's Institute, accompanying husbands, and for once they seemed infinitely more emancipated than their Western counterparts. (75)

This sexual harassment and his being admired by some so-called emancipated women cannot be regarded to be normal during the period in question. For, sex is still known to be a taboo for the most part of the society in the 1980s, and – although in an animated way – its explicit demonstration is not expected to be celebrated by married couples in a

decent restaurant. However, Sewell's portrayals of obscenity are not limited to weird actions of a fat belly-dancer. In his travelogue, Sewell speaks of a sea-captain who invites them to a brothel by saying "I know a place in town where fourteen-year-old girls do marvellous things for a man" (71). Luckily, bothered by the idea, Sewell gets greatly relieved to find the place closed for the night. In *South from Ephesus,* Sewell also narrates a secret love affair between a sixteen-year-old Turkish teenager called Bengisu and his accompany Petter. But, since the youngster's mother is aware of all that are happening, this secrecy lies with only Bengisu's brother Ali who is identified to be like an "animal" when angry. In one occasion, Sewell reports that "Petter was innocently nursing a cat in his lap, and Bengisu was joining in; what in fact was happening was that she was masturbating him under the table, and they were desperately holding onto the cat as camouflage" (195). In another, he recounts that:

> ... they came towards us and urged Petter to join them, but as he strode into the water in his shorts Mama shrieked at him to take them off and swim naked – and then she sat with me, watching, first while he stripped, silhouetted against the moonlight, and then while he swam to Bengisu and stood waist-deep with her, kissing and fondling. Bengisu took of her bra with a flamboyant gesture and set about the business of Petter's underwater climax ... (196)

In addition, according to Sewell, "... homosexuality exists in Turkey at least as much as among Western nations, perhaps more ..." (198). For instance, he refers to a drunken Turkish doctor who once approaches them and says "I am a Turkish doctor. I excuse you. I love you. This night I want ..." (100). What's worse, Sewell argues that "in the villages where there are no tourists, the donkey may well introduce most of the boys to the pleasures of intercourse" (198). On the other hand, in spite of these lucid portrayals of obscenity, Sewell surprisingly concludes that "sex seems to be full of problems for the young in Turkey" (199) and that there is an astonishing ignorance about it (199).

Poverty is another concern that Sewell reflects in his travel narratives. During his travels all along the southern coast of Turkey, he observes destitution particularly in villages. For example, about Gömbe in Kaş, Sewell reports that "here there was poverty and wretchedness not seen since the War in western Europe, not a waterproof garment, nothing dry under the leaking roof" (144). Similarly, for Zerk in Manavgat, Sewell refers to Bean who describes the villagers to be desperately poor in his writing in 1968. Sewell also states that, in 1976, "my observations were the same" (212). Unemployment is also a serious problem that Sewell associates with the poverty. In this respect, Sewell speaks of Osman, a young inhabitant of Side, who is a graduate of Ankara University, intelligent and ambitious; can speak and write English; and has a smattering of French, Greek and German, too (192). However, despite all these qualifications, he is unemployed. Sewell calls this situation "another Turkish dilemma" and criticises the social system that "allows a peasant boy to achieve education and authority, and then confronts him with the insuperable obstruction of no suitable work" (193). In addition, Sewell constantly speaks of wretchedness of boys who have to work in garages and workshops or children who polish shoes for a little money (140). According to Sewell, even for the youngsters that are employed in tourism sector, "... the salaries from May to October are no more than we would pay an English boy for a month ..." (194).

These unfavourable representations of the Turkish stereotype that include laziness, dowdiness, slowness, incompetency, meaningfulness, bully, dreadfulness, vulgarity, sexual harassment, prostitution, obscenity, homosexuality, sodomy, ignorance, poverty and idleness all bear many similarities to those of former travellers. Therefore, these narratives mainly reflect orientalist elements through stereotyping and imagery. Representations of the Turks are portrayed by Sewell in accordance with the oriental patterns of Said's theory. Although Sewell does not humiliate the Turks, the national image that he represents demonstrates oriental inferiority, indecency,

mediocrity and backwardness. However, Sewell's portrayals still cannot be associated with orientalist and in many cases imperialist narratives of Stark and Kinross.

Here, it is significant to refer – once again – to the distinction Said makes "between an almost unconscious (and certainly an untouchable) positivity, which he calls latent Orientalism, and the various stated views about Oriental society, languages, literatures, history, sociology, and so forth, which he calls manifest Orientalism" (206). Similar to Harold Armstrong, Sewell does not consciously portray the country's inferiority and primitiveness in order to compare it with the superior West where he comes from. Nor does he emphasize these negations to justify any claims of relieving the country back to its fertile medieval glory. But, his representations still suggest oriental panorama that encompass Said's descriptions of latent orientalism. For, his narratives make only very limited reference to the development and change of the new Republican country. He writes, rather, in the mode of a disinterested ethnographer.

On the other hand, Sewell's portrayals are not always unfavourable. He occasionally speaks of good qualities that the Turks are mostly believed to have. For instance, regarding reliability, Sewell claims that "I can think of no other country in which I would, as a stranger, give the charge of all I had to a man whose name and address I did not know, and expect to see him again an hour later – but such follies in Turkey involve no risk" (166). Likewise, his abiding recollections of Datça and the Cnidan peninsula are not only of the wildness of its wooded mountainous spine and the desolation of its ruins. Rather, Sewell speaks of "a kindness and concern on the part of its inhabitants that outweighed the hostility of the weather, and of their physical beauty" (92). And, of course, hospitality is not ignored in Sewell's travelogue. Following an enjoyable dinner in Sirtköy in Manavgat, he recounts that "yet again we have found ourselves in receipt of hospitality for which there can be no payment, for which all

uttered thanks are inadequate, and for which gratitude can only be expressed by deep eye contact and the physical warmth of hugs and kisses" (210).

In addition, in contrast to his earlier representations of poverty, Sewell recognizes some change in terms of economic conditions in his later visits. For instance, about Zerk, he reports that "... but in 1984 the village was transformed, and Coca-Cola had reached it. The hovels have been replaced by houses, laden vines clamber over their red roofs and into the neighbouring trees, and the wide saucer of land gleams gold with the harvest ..." (212). Therefore, the village's population increases to eight hundred, which Sewell describes as "an astonishing rise in less than a decade, and a reflection of the civilizing measures that have transformed its appearance" (214).

As seen above, contrary to Stark and Kinross, Sewell's representations of the Turkish stereotype are not completely deprecating. In his travel narratives, reliability, kindness, and hospitality of the people along with natural beauty, sublimity and picturesqueness of the place are all attributed to the positive Turkish image that has just been constructed in recent years. Therefore, Sewell dissents from the common literary tradition of cavalier travel writing in which oriental re-enactment projects are often narrated in such an embellishing way that highlights the superior status of Western travellers who dominate subject races and places in the Biblical lands. As a result, like Phelan, Lister and Mair, Sewell also gives a new impulse to contemporary British travel writing about southwest Turkey, and therefore demonstrates the change in British travellers' attitudes towards representations of the Turks and Turkey in the second half of the twentieth century.

CONCLUSION

In the light of travel writing on Turkey between the eighteenth century and twentieth century, it can be argued that the Turks are mostly portrayed to be an inferior people, who are in a great contrast to the Western nations. Similarly, in earlier centuries, representations of the Turks often abound in unfavourable and sometimes derogatory accounts that highlight backwardness, primitivism, ignorance and poverty. In these accounts, the Turkish image is described to be a stereotype which is identified by many to be a signifier of oriental *Other* in comparison to Western self.

Similarly, in many British travel books published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, an orientalist discourse can be easily recognized. In these travel narratives, the Turks are described through negative qualities such as shabby, primitive, dirty, dully, unlearned, and extremely poor. For many British travellers, Turkey serves a far but progressively familiar repository of values including backwardness, inferiority and primitivism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Therefore, British pride and progress, which are fed with the ideas of hegemony and supremacy, might be easily recognized in the narratives of various travel books. However, it is the Turks' ignorance of and indifference to ancient remains that are mostly emphasized by the travellers in these centuries. Particularly, those British travellers who visit southwest Turkey to discover ancient sites, then unknown to many people in the West, seek to underline the Turks' insensibility to ancient arts and relics. The main aim of these travellers is to accuse the Turks of the damages done to these remains. They also foreground unfavourable characteristics of the Turks to justify their excursions aimed at finding forgotten ancient relics and carrying them off to their home countries. In these travelogues, a common imperialist discourse that includes national pride, hegemony and supremacy is adopted to establish a ground for the cases of archaeological malpractice.

In this context, excursions undertaken by Richard Chandler and Charles Fellows in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are crucial in examining the imperialist discourse adopted by many travellers of the age, such as Alexander Drummond, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and Sir Charles Eliot. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Richard Chandler and Charles Fellows made two excursions whose primary aim was to spot ancient sites in southwest Turkey, excavate them and bring the unearthed ruins back to Great Britain. When they returned home, they published two travel books that include detailed descriptions of their mission in southwest Turkey. Therefore, these travelogues help us understand how early British travellers represent the Turks in a period when some commercial and diplomatic alliances are established between the Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire.

Being a British antiquarian, Richard Chandler has a deep knowledge in classical history and literature. In the mid-eighteenth century, he is appointed by the Society of Dilettanti to collect data regarding history of ancient civilizations and make observations about the status of classical ruins in Asia Minor. In his travel narratives, by illuminating the reality in a simplest and truest from, Chandler employs a style that includes a unique plainness, certainty and comprehension. Although instructed by the Society to ignore style or language, Chandler consciously adopts a style that reminds the readers of the journals of scientific expeditions carried out in different parts of the world in earlier centuries. Therefore, his language bears many similarities to that of former explorers who intend to capture and convey valuable knowledge of indigenous places and peoples.

In addition, in Chandler's portrayals of ancient sites in southwest Turkey, silence and solitude prevail. Desertion and depopulation are friendlier to antiquity than prosperity. Prostration and forlornness replace elegance and grandeur. Examples of misuses of ancient architecture are often highlighted to demonstrate the Turk's

ignorance of and disrespect for antiquity. In short, Chandler simply suggests that the whole region has undergone frequent ravages from the Turks.

Similarly, Charles Fellows, another British archaeologist, examines many ancient sites in Anatolia, unknown to Europeans in the nineteenth century. In these excursions, like Chandler, Fellows presents some careful calculations relating to position and distance that can help in mapping the country and devotes much time to the examination of inscriptions. In his travel accounts, acting as a monadic source of knowledge of unknown places and peoples, Fellows seeks to capture and convey valuable knowledge which will provide him power and authority. Likewise, Fellows often highlights the Turks' ignorance of and indifference to the derelict and damaged conditions of the sites. In his portrayals, he mostly underlines the insensibility of the Turks to the arts and sciences and describes the Turks as having not the least ingenuity. With an imperialist ego and orientalist insight, he hints that these unfavourable characteristics of the Turks should be taken as valid excuses to acquire and transmit ancient remains into his home country so that they can be better protected. By featuring his Western power and emphasizing the Turks' inferior characteristics, Fellows completes his imperial mission that aims at moving ancient remains off to England.

Likewise, in the first half of the twentieth century, this imperialist tradition keeps on. Early British travellers to modern Turkey, who feel dominant and victorious as a result of their home country's winning position in the World War I, portray the Turks to be having oriental sameness. They often depict derelict and desolation in ancient sites, and stress their longings for ancient glory and grandeur, which, according to them, has faded away in these remains. However, contrary to earlier travellers, they do not undertake any imperial duties regarding moving these relics to the British Museum or some other archaeological institutions. Rather, they adopt an orientalist

discourse that contains deterritorialization and ahistoricism which deviate Anatolia from their heroic past.

This discourse is particularly noticed in the representations of three prominent travellers who visited southwest Turkey in the first half of the twentieth century. These are the first Westerners who might conceivably consider themselves to have conquered the mighty Ottoman Empire. They can observe the end of the Ottoman Empire, and other major events that were engineered by the British at Sevres and Lausanne negotiations (Lewis 56). The Britain literally captured Istanbul, the capital of the empire, in 1918, with the help of its ally forces. Therefore, many of these travellers feel victorious and dominant and benefit from their nations' winning position on new Turkish lands. Most of them are issued a travel card stating their privileged status by the government and are able to penetrate into the heart of the Turkish society by showing this document when asked by authorities. So, for the first time ever, they are representing a nation over which they have direct power in the former Ottoman controlled areas. Therefore, their narratives comply with Said's orientalism theory that emphasizes a Western hegemony and dominancy over the Orient.

As seen above, these three travel writers are important political figures that can represent dominant status of the Great Britain over Turkey during the period in question. They hold significant political positions in the Middle East as journalist, agent, delegate, and embassy staff. Therefore, they are globally acclaimed as the pioneers of today's 'Middle East experts' that can best represent Turkey and Middle East. Moreover, they are also engaged in the fine arts of travel writing. Therefore, their travelogues contribute to the understanding of the modern image of Turkey and its implications in the West.

One of these travellers is Harold Armstrong who was an intelligence officer in British Army at World War I. In the late 1920s, he was sent to Turkey for some years, during which he was in a position to know and judge the facts and in intimate contact with the chief personalities (Armstrong ix). Therefore, he was able to observe the rise of New Turkey. Harold Armstrong's *Turkey and Syria Reborn*, which consists of a record of his many months of travel in some Turkish towns, begins with a self-awareness of the common Western attitude towards the Turks that has constructed an Oriental stereotype since the very early ages. In his travelogue, he, too, adopts a pejorative discourse that clearly illustrates orientalist units of cruelty, barbarism, tyranny and despotism. In his many portrayals, one can see intrinsic characteristics that represent the traditional ignorance of the outside world towards all things Turkish. In sum, although he observes the modern outlook of new Turkey that has been trying to be reborn from its ashes, Armstrong mostly echoes representations of former travellers that include negations and unfavourable denominations.

On the other hand, Freya Stark was "a British political agent in Baghdad in the early 1940s" (Izzard). She was also an explorer and travel writer - particularly fascinated by ancestry and medievalism in the Middle East. In her travelogue *The Lycian Shore,* Stark experiences unmediated classical cities in their ruin and so produces an ethnographical Biblical history of Asia Minor - Southwest Turkey in particular. Likewise, a Scottish-born historian and writer, Patrick Kinross is well acknowledged for his descriptive biography of Ataturk titled *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* (1964). Holding the title of 3rd Baron in the peerage of the United Kingdom, he was posted to the Middle East as an intelligence officer during World War II and later served at the British Embassy in Cairo (Kinross iv). Like Stark, Kinross was fascinated by exotic travels in time and space in Turkey. Therefore, in *Europa Minor*, he mainly

recounts excursions into the early ages of the Romans and Greeks in modern Turkish lands.

Like those of Armstrong's, representations of the Turks in the travel narratives of Stark and Kinross bear similarities to former portrayals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In these travelogues, Both Stark and Kinross have taken up a figurative discourse that introduces and denominates the Turkish image in a manifesting hegemonic manner. Moreover, they have employed ancient history to make the landscape and people quicken in one's sight. However, this historical narrative belongs to the Greeks and Romans in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C rather than modern recounts of the Turks. In these re-enactment narratives, which I call cavalier travel writing, both Stark and Kinross take possession of what they see. Far from imagining a civilizing nation, they steal past and contemplate antiquity. The main goals of their journey are the sight of tombs, ruins, relics, palaces and other constructions of ancient origin. No cultural, socio-economical and political shift that the new country has been going through is represented by Kinross and Stark. They avoid reflecting modern portraits of Turkey via ignorance, absence, deterritorialization and ahistoricism. They also detach the Turks off from places on which they have once ruled, and in which they carry on living. Instead, they just emphasize medieval qualities and glories of ancient civilizations that inhabited what is now modern Turkey. The Turks are only existent in these representations when they deposit chemical waste or destroy classical ruins due to their ignorance and indifference to the virtues of medieval taste. Therefore, they are only portrayed to be 'ignorant', 'untactful', 'dangerous' and 'savage'.

On the other hand, in the second half of the twentieth century, perceptions of British travellers regarding the Turks and Turkey change. Due to Turkey's shifting political position from enemy to ally, and positive consequences of modernization and westernization efforts initiated by the ruling Government in the 1930s, portrayals of the

Turks become quite different in the narratives of most British travelogues published in the second half of the twentieth century. In these travel accounts, hospitality, decency and honesty are highlighted by many British travellers rather than inferiority, backwardness or primitivism. Moreover, in contrast to former portrayals that reveal the desolate and ruinous conditions in ancient sites, significant archaeological works that include restorations and refurbishments are represented. Similarly, the Turks' arduous works that aim at restoring ancient remains are mostly celebrated in these travel accounts, as well.

Although, in these travel narratives, travellers' main interests are sometimes centred on antiquity and classical ruins in southwest Turkey, their responses to changes in the nature and character of these sites and their portrayals of the modern image and stereotype of the Turks are relatively different from their former fellows. In these contexts, their works highlight a considerable change in British perceptions of modern Turkey. The main reasons underlying this change in British perceptions of the Turkish image can be categorized into political, sociological, cultural and economic spheres.

As discussed earlier, in contrast to the Ottoman Empire, which was mostly seen as an enemy, posing threat for British interests in India and other Muslim colonies, Turkey's NATO membership and EU accession process have resulted in the country's being seen as an ally in Britain. Therefore, this political shift and its subsequent positive outcomes have led to a mutual alliance between Turkey and the Great Britain. As a result, when compared to earlier portrayals, British travellers' representations of the Turks include more favourable accounts in the second half of the twentieth century. Another significant reason for the shift in British perceptions of Turkish stereotype is the cultural and sociological change in the Turkish society that stemmed from modernization and westernization efforts of the Republican regime. In many British travel narratives, this change in the spheres of language, education, clothing, women's

status, religion and government is clearly observed and the new outlook of the people and country is celebrated by the British travellers in many occasions. Lastly, it can be claimed that the tourism boom initiated by the Turkish officials in the 1970s and 1980s is another important factor that has led to change British travellers' impressions regarding the old, imperial Turkish image. As the Turkish governments in that period invested in restoring and refurbishing ancient sites which would attract modern antiquarian travellers, and building up hotels and resorts that would accommodate swarms of tourists, the number of people visiting Turkey soared in the second half of the twentieth century. Therefore, British encounters with the Turks included middle-class holidaymakers and this has resulted in a common intimacy between the two nations. Consequently, representations of these modern travellers who have no significant background often involve many positive aspects of the Turks, leading to constructing a more favourable Turkish image and stereotype.

In this respect, portrayals of Nancy Phelan, Richard Percival Lister, Craig Mair, and Brian Sewell exemplify the change in the perceptions of British travellers regarding the Turks. For example, a prolific British writer, Nancy Phelan neatly classifies Turkey and the Turks as modern and picturesque. Contrary to Armstrong, Stark and Kinross, she does not write in the tradition of those earlier travellers, schooled in a long history of travel writing and classical, historical learning. Rather, Phelan observes a sense of modernity in Turkey and reflects this in her book. Her female companion Beria, in particular, is the best personification that represents modernity in the country. For Phelan, Beria's cousins and relatives, scattered around all over Turkey, provide symbols of the European Turks stereotype. While describing this new stereotype, Phelan uses much favourable adjectives such as intellectual, liberal and enlightened. She also recognizes the prosperity and physical changes that modernity is bringing about in new Turkey.

Similarly, representations of Richard Percival Lister, who is better known as a modern poet in Western literature, provide a clear observation of modern Turkey, which set out to overcome a prior prejudice formed from Hellenophilia. In contrast to earlier representations which strengthen a hostile discourse, Lister takes on the role of correcting the portrayals of former travellers about Turkey by simply suggesting the opposite of what they represent. Lister portrays modern Turkey to be more progressed and civilized when compared to the past. Rather than the orientalist descriptions of previous writers, Lister celebrates Turkey's progress towards modernity and represents the country to be a geographical, historical and cultural bridge in a wider West-East discourse. As a result, he positions Turkey between the West (civilization and modernity) and the East (backwardness and primitivism).

Likewise, Craig Mair is also a Scottish travel writer who is interested in Turkey mainly because of his father's tenure in a Turkish village called Ortahisar. By living in Turkey, Mair gets a different view of things regarding the Turks. He is able to scratch through the West's veneer into several contrasting types of Turkish society. Therefore, Like Phelan and Lister, Mair also appreciates the Turks' efforts to become a modern and European country. Rather than some Oriental replicas of squalor and poverty, fraudulence, immorality, violence and vandalism, corrupt police and illegal weapons, Mair's portrayals clearly demonstrate enlightenment and intellectuality in the Turkish society that result from modernization efforts of Republican Turkey. Thus, as in Lister's, in Mair's representations, poverty in the suburbs versus prosperity of the Grand Bazaar, immorality of some village girls as opposed to decency in the Turkish family, violence, vandalism and corruption contrary to kindness and intimacy of friends all make Turkey a country of contrasts.

In addition, Brian Sewell, who was a provocative English art critic, visited southwest Turkey in the second half of the century and fell in love with the sublime and

picturesque beauty of ancient sites situated in this part of Turkey. Like Lister and Phelan, Sewell reflects these moments of romantic beauty with joy and bewilderment. However, Sewell also recognizes some bad conditions in these ancient ruins and reflects many unfavourable features in line with a Turkish stereotype that involves laziness, dowdiness, incompetency, bully, vulgarity, sexual harassment, sodomy, ignorance, poverty and idleness. But, contrary to Stark and Kinross, he never highlights these characteristics as valid excuses for any kind of social, political or material intervention. On the contrary, he often raises his objection to the attempts of former travellers that aim to move ancient relics and ruins off to their home countries. Challenging the common belief, Sewell asserts that ancient sites should not be severed from its contextual outlook. As a result, he repeatedly laments for earlier practices/malpractices of the steal of cultural heritage that is knavishly exported from Turkey during archaeological excavations in its southwest part.

On the other hand, Sewell's portrayals are not always unfavourable. In his travel narratives, he occasionally speaks of good qualities that include reliability, kindness, and hospitality of the people along with natural beauty, sublimity and picturesqueness of the place. Therefore, like those of Mair, Lister and Phelan's, his portrayals also dissent from the common literary tradition of past centuries that, on the one hand, emphasizes the superior status of the West, and on the other, the inferiority, barbarism and backwardness of the local people in the East.

In sum, contrary to former hostile representations that highlight ancient splendour or past glory, Phelan, Lister, Mair and Sewell record the daily customs, habits and mannerisms of the Turkish people. Unlike portrayals of Stark and Kinross, in their representations of the ruins in the southern coast of the country, one can observe the present status of the place and people without much focussing on the medieval quality of the past. Therefore, their portrayals mostly include the change and developments in

the modern outlook of Turkey. In these travel accounts, Phelan, Lister, Mair and Sewell show their appreciation of the economic prosperity and material development although they sometimes lament for the unfavourable consequences of these achievements that result in an impairment in the splendid panorama of the natural beauty in these regions. For, it is the picturesque pulchritude and sublime elegance that still attract them most in many parts of Turkey.

As a result, as opposed to former representations which include a hostile discourse, they all take on the role of correcting the perceptions of earlier travellers about Turkey by simply demonstrating the opposite of what they represent. In short, by clearly illustrating the change of style in contemporary British travel writing about southwest Turkey, Phelan, Lister, Mair and Sewell transform the well-acknowledged phenomenon of East-West dichotomy in British travel literature on Turkey.

In conclusion, from the textual evidences that are collected from these travel accounts, it is clearly seen that modern Turkey proposes two different stereotypes in the British travel narratives published in the twentieth century. On the one hand, the country is portrayed to be a primitive, rustic place especially in rural suburbs, which makes it become the subject of inferiority and cultural otherness in the first half of the century. In this period, many British travellers often reflect inhuman, barbarous, masochist, brutal, anti-democratic and primitive actions of people in a comparison with their upper culture back at home. Indolence, idleness, corrupt absolutism, ahistoricity, the absence of people and culture, primitiveness and ignorance become key elements of ethnographic generalization beginning with he/they subjects, and mastery between the dominant Britain and the poor Turkey is established throughout these travel narratives.

Similarly, regarding antiquity and ancient history in southwest Turkey, many travellers take up a figurative discourse that introduce and denominate the Turkish

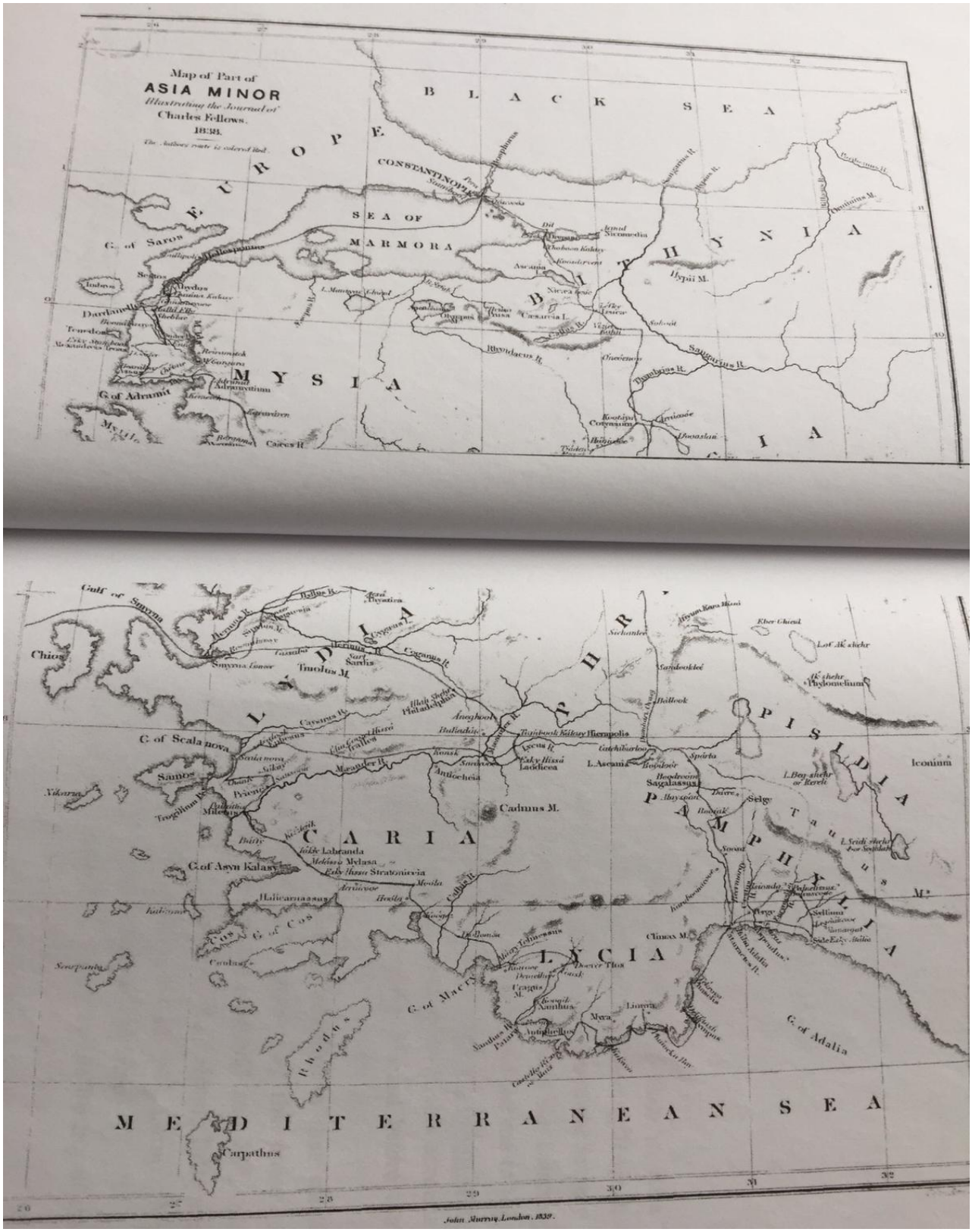
image in an obviously inferior manner. Rather than representations of the modern image of Turkey, they often portray a re-enactment of qualities of ancient history. Therefore, in many travel books, knowledge regarding the ancient past represents an ideological superiority and political dominance portrays a colonialist hegemony. As a result, in these travelogues, it is mostly argued that ancient ruins in this part of the country should be protected in the traveller's home country's museums before they could be pillaged through the vandalism and barbarism of Turkish people

On the other hand, the country is also represented to be a modern, European nation-state in the second half of the century when Marshall Plan and similar projects bring Turkey a lot of money through US aid. Since Turkey is regarded as an ally of the West due to its membership of NATO and long-termed process of full membership in EU, the country's cultural stereotype changes as a result of positivist reflections that include modernity and urbanization. Thus, Western representations of the Turks, which included fear and curiosity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, admire and emulation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Orientalist aspects of backwardness, primitivism, and insensibility in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, are reformed in the portrayals of many travellers in the second half of the twentieth century. Consequently, these portrayals result in re-discovering the Turkish image and stereotype by employing a more favourable discourse and positivist language.

APPENDICES

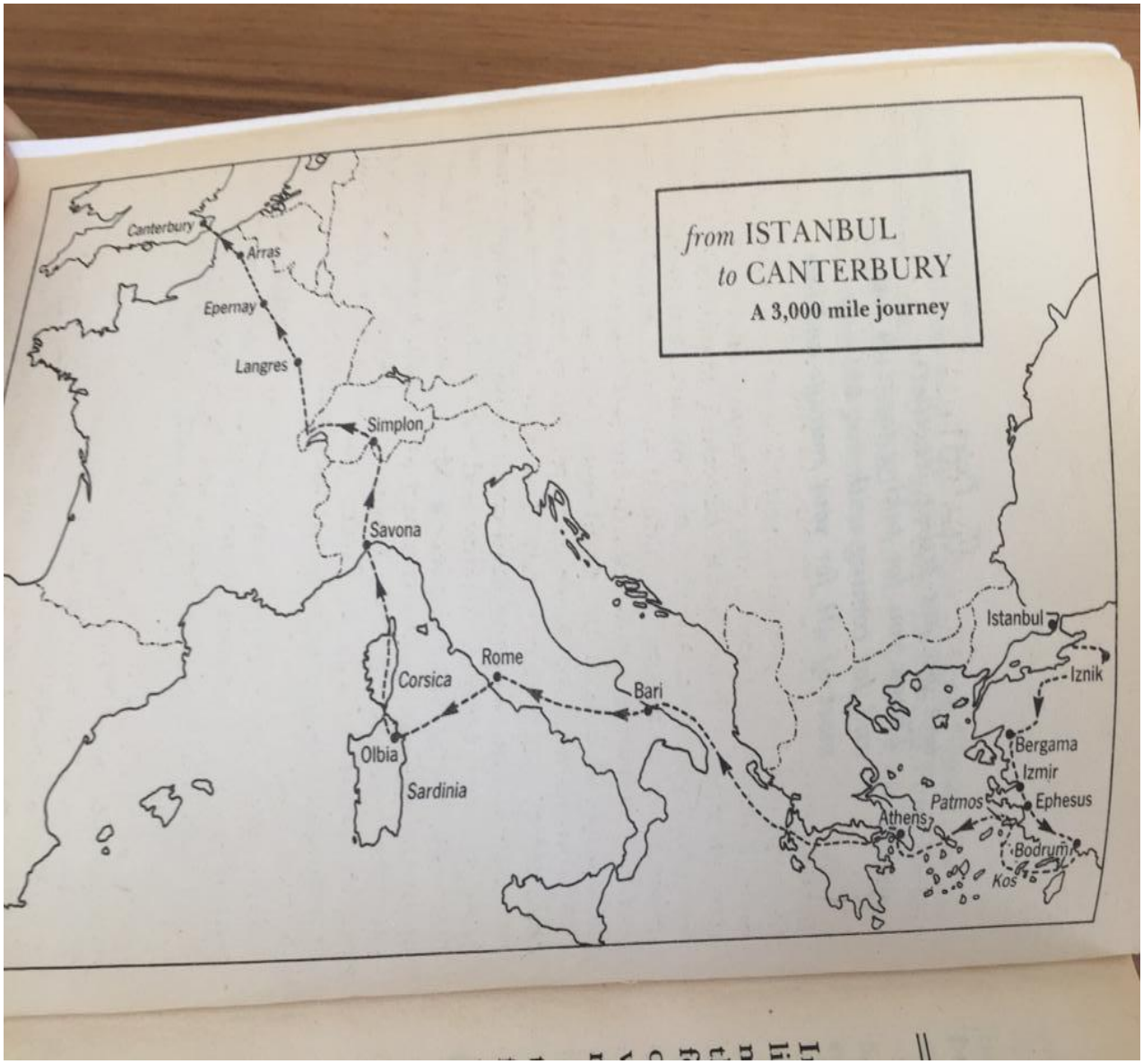
Appendix A - Maps

1. Map of Part of Asia Minor Illustrating the *Journal* of Charles Fellows (1838)

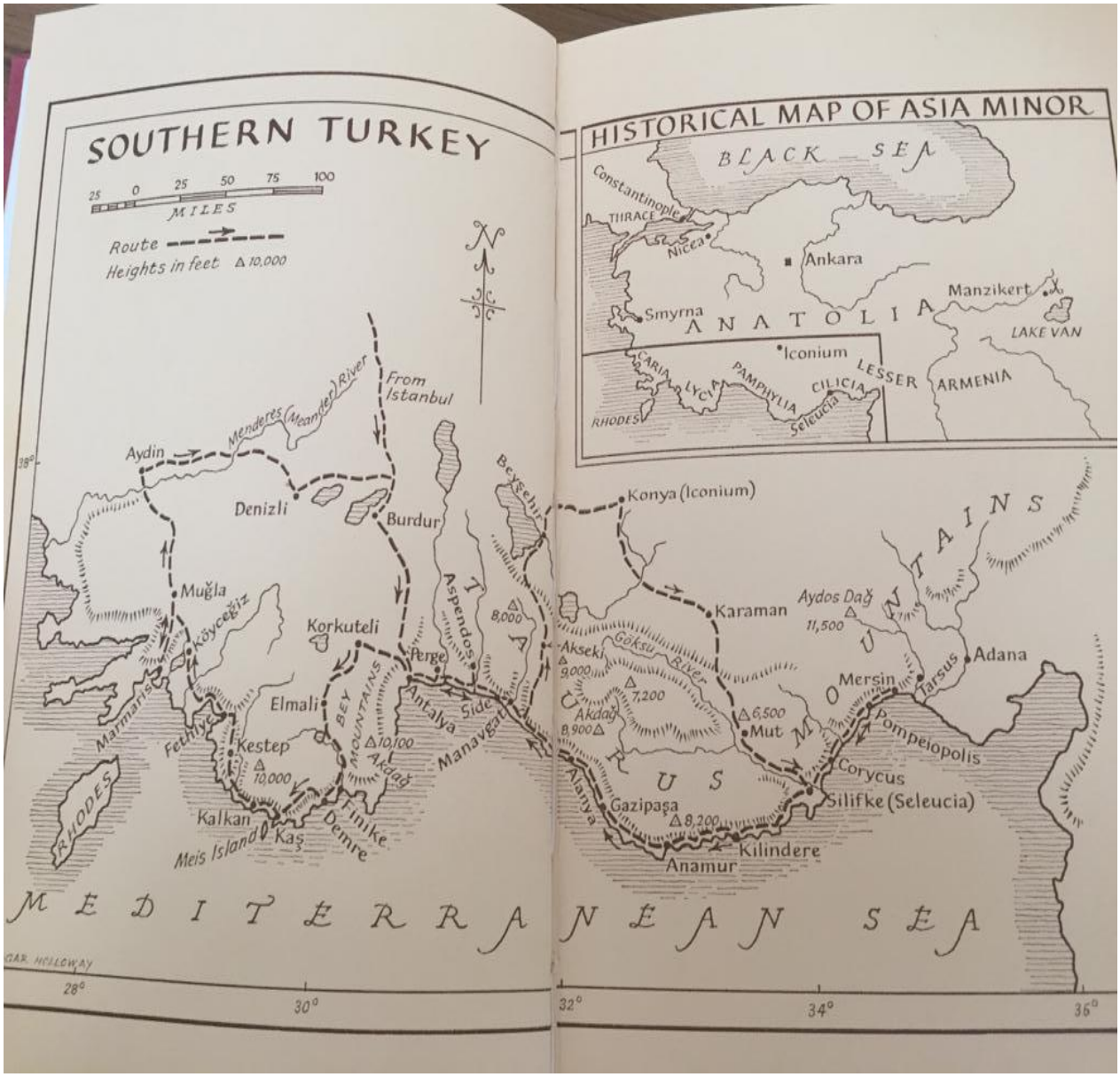


2. Sketch Map to Illustrate the Red Road Through Asia (1934)

3. Anne Vardy's 3,000-mile Journey from Istanbul to Canterbury (1987)



4. Map of Southern Turkey Including Michael Pereira's Route (1966)



Appendix B – British Newspapers' Reports on the Turkish Reforms

1. *Belfast Telegraph* – September 15, 1932. See the report titled Turkish Language Reforms at the bottom left corner below the photos.

BELFAST TELEGRAPH, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1932.

LEGION CHIEF'S VISIT :: :: :: CHAMPIONSHIP DOG SHOW

Belfast Wedding.—Mr. George Beattie and Miss M. E. Moore after their marriage in Ulsterville Presbyterian Church, where the bridegroom is organist.

Alderman T. H. Gray driving in the Masonic Golf Cup Competition.

MASONIC CHARITIES GOLF CUP.—COMPETITORS WHO TOOK PART IN THE FINAL COMPETITION AT CARNALEA.

QUEEN MARY GARDENS PLAY CENTRE—CHILDREN TAKING PART IN SCOTTISH FOLK-DANCING AT THE ANNUAL DISPLAY.

BELFAST TELEGRAPH PHOTOGRAPHS
MAY BE OBTAINED AS FOLLOW:—

	Unmounted. Each.	Mounted Each.
6 x 4	1/6	2/-
8 x 6	2/-	2/6
10 x 8	3/-	3/9
12 x 10	5/6	4/6

Postage extra.

PRIZE-WINNING WEST HIGHLAND TERRIERS AT BALMORAL, OWNED BY MRS GARNETT, LIMAVADY.

MR. W. HENDERSON'S ODIN OF SEND, FIRST-PRIZE GREAT DANE AT THE SHOW.

Cavan Show.—Dr. F. P. Smith, president of the show, chatting to the Countess of Dumfries, who was a successful exhibitor in the horse section.

Fine head study of first-prize pure-bred Hereford bull, owned by Mr. J. S. Gibson, Clones.

High Spray, Mr. W. Gardiner's prize-winning Pointer.

Mr. R. Collen's (Portadown) Bounder taking the stone wall in the Open Jumping Class at Cavan Show.

YARMOUTH MEETING.

2-30 Runners—Quillon, Shimmer, Grey Lag, Welkin, Maundy Thursday, Mock Modesty, Maunida, Nemi, The Test. Result:—Nemi 1, Welkin 2, The Test 3.

Yarmouth—7-1, 100-6, 3-1.

AYR MEETING.

2-30 Runners—Mick Irish Twin, Lava Lass o' Bonnie Doon, Rath Cruachan, Craven Lassie, Inspired, Pride of the Glen, Rustler. Result:—Craven Lassie 1, Lava 2, Pride of the Glen 3.

Ayr—13-2, 11-2, 13-8.

The Air Ministry announce the deaths of Leading-Aircraftmen R. C. Hinkin and S. Davey, killed in a flying-boat accident at Singapore to-day.

Flying-Officer W. F. Hilghie and two other members of the crew escaped.

REV. ALEX. M'KINNEY RETIRING.

It was with feelings of regret that Templepatrick Presbytery granted the request of the Rev. Alex. M'Kinney, minister of First Donegore to retire from the active duty of the ministry.

Mr. M'Kinney was licentiate of the Letterkenny Presbytery. He took his matriculation in Glasgow University, studied in Edinburgh and Magee College, Derry, and was ordained in First Donegore in March, 1884, and for over 48 years administered to that congregation.

Many tributes were paid by members of the presbytery to his gifts as a preacher, his wise counsel and his faithful ministry.

Mr. Josiah Beck and Mr. Hugh Minford, M.P., representing the congregation, referred to his great work in First Donegore, and expressed the regret of the congregation at his retirement.

The Rev. David Stewart, M.A., Muckamore, was appointed Convener of Commission in charge of the vacancy. Mr. Beck, Moat House, Dunadry, is to represent the session.

RADIO EXHIBITION IN ULSTER HALL, BELFAST.—THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY (SECOND FROM RIGHT) WHO OPENED THE RADIO EXHIBITION, WITH OFFICIALS DURING A TOUR OF INSPECTION.

British Legion President Arrives.—Captain J. L. Bennet, chairman Northern Ireland Area, welcoming Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, K.C.M.G., C.B., on his arrival at Belfast.

THE BRITISH LEGION PRESIDENT WAS RECEIVED BY LOCAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND AREA. (LEFT TO RIGHT) CAPTAIN T. H. MAYES, CAPTAIN J. L. BENNET, MAJOR-GENERAL MAURICE, CAPTAIN G. H. CREIGHTON, AND CAPTAIN J. D. NICHOLL.

TURKISH LANGUAGE REFORMS.

CONSTANTINOPLE, Wednesday.—Mustapha Kemal, the President of the Turkish Republic, has decided to call a national conference at the Dolmabaghtche Palace at Istambul, for the purpose of ridding the Turkish language of all Arabian and Persian words, and substituting Turkish words in their place.—Exchange.

LONDON TRAIN DERAILMENT.

An engine and three waggons were derailed at Canning Town North station on Wednesday evening and passenger trains had to be diverted to the goods line in order to pass the obstruction. The station was closed while the line was being cleared.

MOTORS and Cycles Insured; quarterly payments.—Sam Martin, 19 High Street.

A CURE FOR ASTHMA.

ASTORAL not only promptly relieves, checks and prevents attacks, but if persevered with effects permanent cure in almost every case. It is equally good for Chronic Bronchitis. A few doses will prove its extraordinary efficacy. Don't suffer any longer. Get a bottle to-day. 2s and 3s; per post, 2s 6d and 3s 9d.—F. W. NICHOLL, LTD., Medical Hall, 25 High Street, Belfast. *Call for pamphlets, testimonials, and full particulars.* (A)

BIG AUSTRALIAN STRIKE THREAT.

SYDNEY, Wednesday.—The proposed general strike as a protest against the cuts in miners' wages and to demand a shorter week with more wages seems now foredoomed to failure. The shearers and railwaymen are definitely opposed to it, and the miners' vote is divided almost equally. —Exchange.

GIRL SWIMS SWANSEA BAY.

Miss Kitty Nash, a fair-haired assistant in a chemist shop at Port Talbot, succeeded on Wednesday in swimming the Swansea Bay from the Mumbles pier to Aberavon beach, a distance of nine miles, in four hours fourteen minutes.

Conditions were favourable at the commencement of the swim, but she encountered choppy seas half-way across. She used the crawl and the trudgen stroke.

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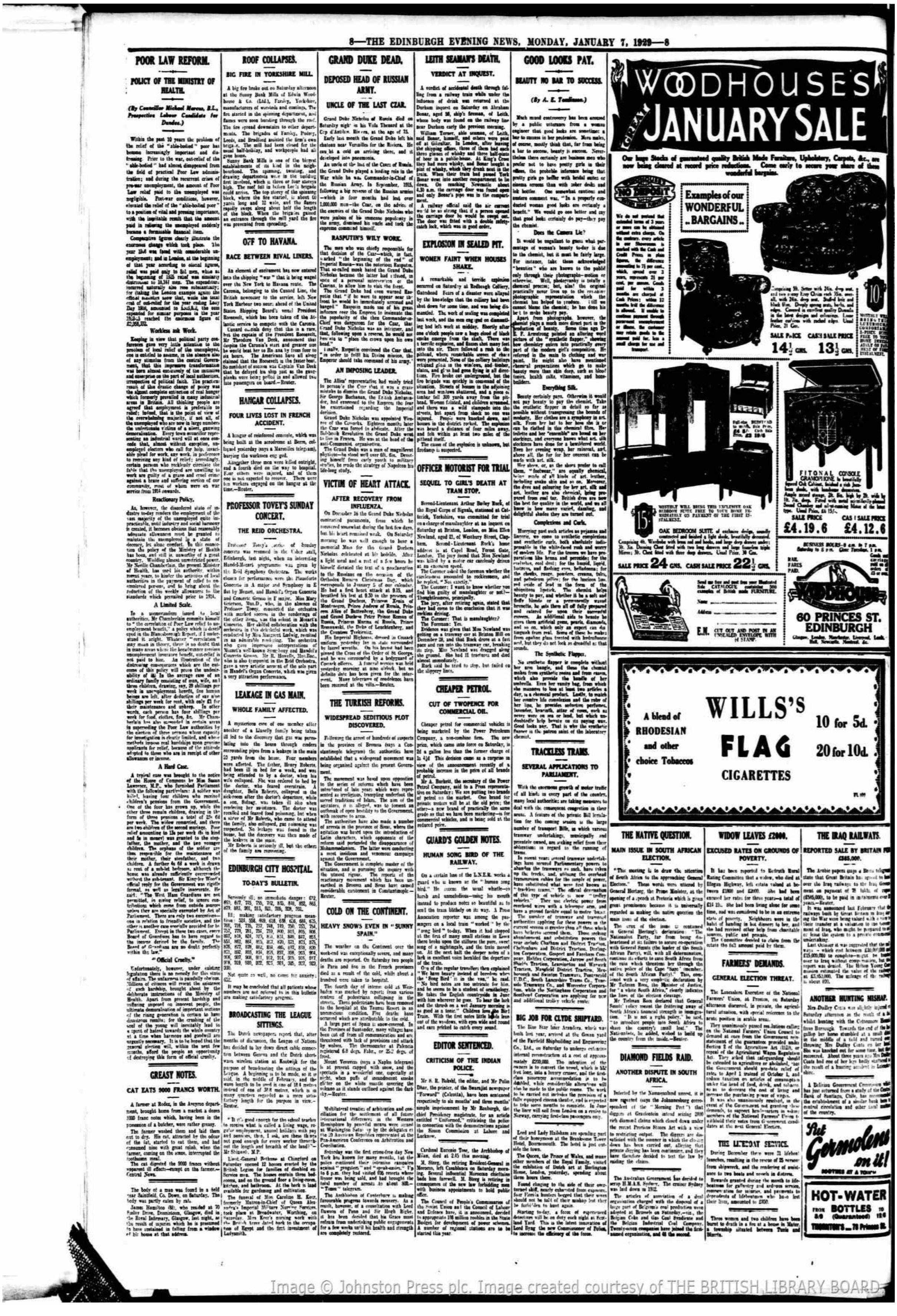
2. *The Edinburgh Evening News* – January 7, 1929. See the report titled The Turkish Reforms in the middle of the third column.


8—THE EDINBURGH EVENING NEWS, MONDAY, JANUARY 7, 1929—8

POOR LAW REFORM.

ROOF COLLAPSES.

GRAND DUKE DEAD.

LEITH SEAMAN'S DEATH.

GOOD LOOKS PAY.

WOODHOUSE'S JANUARY SALE

OFF TO HAVANA.

RASPUTIN'S WILY WORK.

EXPLOSION IN SEALED PIT.

HANGAR COLLAPSES.

PROFESSOR TOVEY'S SUNDAY CONCERT.

VICTIM OF HEART ATTACK.

OFFICER MOTORIST FOR TRIAL.

LEAKAGE IN GAS MAIN.

THE TURKISH REFORMS.

CHEAPER PETROL.

TRACKLESS TRAMS.

WILLS'S FLAG CIGARETTES

EDINBURGH CITY HOSPITAL.

GUARD'S GOLDEN NOTES.

THE NATIVE QUESTION.

WIDOW LEAVES £2000.

THE IRAQ RAILWAYS.

COLD ON THE CONTINENT.

BROADCASTING THE LEAGUE SITTINGS.

EDITOR SENTENCED.

BIG JOB FOR CLYDE SHIPYARD.

FARMERS' DEMANDS.

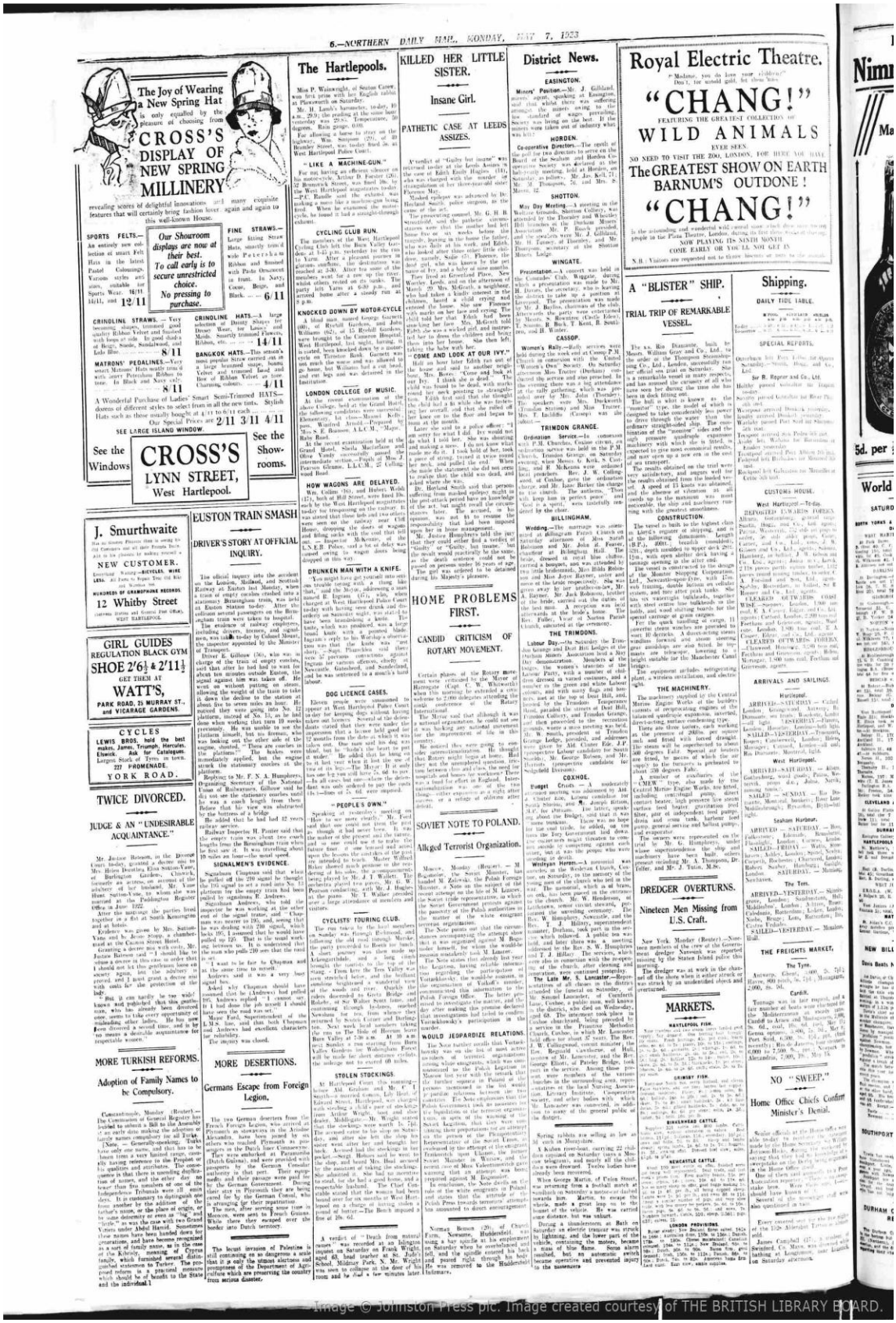
DIAMOND FIELDS RAID.

GREASY NOTES.

ANOTHER HUNTING MISHAP.

HOT-WATER BOTTLES

3. *Northern Daily Mail* – May 7, 1923. See the report titled More Turkish Reforms at the bottom left corner.



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ABSTRACT

For centuries, Western and Christian writers have constructed an image of 'the Turk'. In these images, defined as a cruel or tyrannical person, any one behaving barbarically or savagely can be called a 'Turk'. Especially during the nineteenth-century, British perceptions of the Turks deteriorate drastically and Turcophobia takes new forms alongside support for Greek and other independence movements in the Balkans. As a result, with a powerful Orientalist tradition, the Britons view the Turks to be a nation which has been in permanent and sometimes hostile contrast to them till the breakout of World War I. Similarly, the Turkish image is often depicted by many British travellers as the *Oriental Other* when compared to Western self. Particularly, in British travel writing, an oriental stereotype that involves backwardness, inferiority, primitivism and tyranny dominate representations of prominent travellers. However, after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire - owing to their defeat in the war and the emergence of a new Republican Turkey in 1920s - the Turks as a nation undergo a huge social, political and cultural change as a result of the modernization and westernization process launched by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the modern Republic of Turkey.

In these contexts, in order to explore whether there is any change in the representations of the Turks in British travel literature on Turkey, this study examines selected British travelogues published in different time periods. Starting with the imperialist representations of early travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it aims to demonstrate the chronological change in perceptions of British travellers regarding Turkey and the Turks. Following a broad literature review of both the history of travel writing as a genre and theoretical studies regarding its poetics, the study analyses representations of British travellers to many parts of Turkey within the framework of post-colonial theories including orientalism and imperialism debates. In these analyses, the main focus is sometimes on Britons' preoccupation with antiquity

and ancient relics during their visits to southwest Turkey. However, the study primarily seeks to reveal how the change in the image and stereotype of the Turks is reflected by eminent British travellers in the second half of the twentieth century.

Key Words: British travel writing, twentieth century, the Turks, antiquity, Turkish image and stereotype

ÖZET

Batılı, Hıristiyan yazarlar tarafından asırlar önce oluşturulmuş bir ‘Türk’ imajı vardır. Buna göre; Batı’da zalim ve gaddar olarak tanımlanan, barbar ve vahşi davranışlar içinde bulunan birine ‘Türk’ denir Özellikle 19. yüzyılda, İngilizlerin Türk algısı iyice kötüleşmiş, Balkanlar’daki Yunan ve diğer bağımsızlık hareketlerine verilen destek neticesinde Türk düşmanlığı yeni boyutlar kazanmıştır. Bu nedenle, İngilizler, 1. Dünya Savaşı başlayana kadar, Türkleri, güçlü bir Oryantalist bakış açısı ile, kendilerine taban tabana zıt ve düşman olarak tanımlamayı sürdürmüştür. Benzer şekilde, pek çok İngiliz seyyah da kendi benlik algısına kıyasla, Türk imajını *Doğulu Öteki* olarak tanımlanmayı yeğlemiştir. Özellikle, İngiliz seyahat edebiyatında, pek çok önemli seyyahın Türk imajına dair anlatılarını, içerisinde geri kalmışlık, bayağılık, ilkellik ve zorbalık gibi öğeler barındıran Doğulu bir stereo tip kaplamıştır. Ancak, Osmanlı Devleti’nin I. Dünya Savaşı sonrası yıkılıp, yerine 1923’te Türkiye Cumhuriyeti kurulmasından sonra, modern Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin kurucusu Mustafa Kemal Atatürk tarafından başlatılan modernleşme ve batılılaşma hareketi neticesinde Türkler, sosyal, siyasal ve kültürel olarak büyük bir değişim sürecine girmiştir.

Bu bağlamda, Türkiye ile ilgili olarak yazılmış İngiliz seyahat edebiyatında Türklerin temsiline dair yaklaşımda bir değişiklik olup olmadığını araştırmak üzere bu çalışma temel olarak farklı zaman dilimlerinde yayımlanmış olan İngiliz seyahatnameleri incelemektedir. On sekiz ve on dokuzuncu yüzyılda Türkiye’ye gelen ilk seyyahların emperyalist yaklaşımlarından başlamak kaydıyla, çalışmada İngiliz seyyahların Türkiye ve Türk imajına dair algılarındaki değişiklikler kronolojik olarak yansıtılmaya çalışılmıştır. Edebi tür olarak seyahat edebiyatının tarihini ve yine tür olarak yazınbilimsel kuramları içeren geniş bir literatür taramasının ardından, çalışma, oryantalizm ve emperyalizm tartışmalarını da içerecek şekilde kolonicilik sonrası ortaya atılan kuramlar çerçevesinde özellikle Türkiye’nin farklı bölgelerine seyahat etmiş olan

İngiliz seyyahların temsillerini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu analizlerde, bazen odak noktası, İngilizlerin ülkenin Güneybatı sahillerinde bulunan antik eserlere olan yoğun ilgisine kaymıştır. Ancak, çalışma ana olarak özellikle yirminci yüzyılın ikinci yarısında ülkeye gelen önemli İngiliz seyyahların eserlerinde yansıttıkları Türk imajı ve stereotipinde meydana gelen değişiklikleri ortaya çıkarmayı hedef almaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İngiliz seyahat edebiyatı, yirminci yüzyıl, Türkler, eski yapıtlar, Türk imajı ve stereotipi