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IMPERIAL ADVENTURES: ACCOUNTS OF IZMIR AS THE ORIENTAL OTHER IN BRITISH TRAVEL WRITING TRADITION

DOKTORA TEZİ

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Ege Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Müdürlüğüne sunduğum ***Imperial Adventures: Accounts of Izmir as the Oriental Other in British Travel Writing Tradition*** adlı yüksek lisans/doktora tezinin tarafımdan bilimsel, ahlak ve normlara uygun bir şekilde hazırlandığını, tezimde yararlandığım kaynakları bibliyografyada ve dipnotlarda gösterdiğimi onurumla doğrularım.

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Bornova, Izmir
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INTRODUCTION

Travel, with its fluid nature, has emerged as a key theme for humanities and social sciences especially since the 1980s. Literature, history, geography, and anthropology have all overcome their previous unwillingness to take travel writing seriously and have begun to produce a body of interdisciplinary criticism, which allows the full historical complexity of the genre to be appreciated. Moreover, in recent years travel writing has played an important role in the formation of an international and interdisciplinary literary arena. Since the 1970s, under the growing influence of cultural studies, travelogues have been increasingly analysed for their projection of culture-specific mentalities, their representations of otherness, and the imaging of foreign countries, all as the phenomena of inter-culturality. Thereby, the growth of travel writing studies has been one of the most significant developments in literary studies over the past two decades. Many conferences have been held in this field such as the one organized by The British Comparative Literature Association in September 2005. Thus, it is possible to contend that scholarly in the field, as well as the number of undergraduate courses on travel writing have obviously been growing. Professor Tim Youngs, who is famous for his work in the field of travel literature, established the first department of Travel Literature at Nottingham Trent University, yet despite the increasing academic engagement with the subject, there are very few secondary sources or books that provide a bridge between the academic community and the large group of readers of travel writing.

Travel literature and memoirs are the most inclusive sources in which one can analyse and follow the perceptions of travellers and their

subjective accounts. They have been major genres in British literature for a long time in the forms of letters, narratives and diaries in the sense that they offer “factual” information and analyses pertinent to historical scholarship, as well as fictional elements otherwise found in novels. Their very personal nature and subjectivity render travel accounts into the literary field.

Apart from this, it is also noteworthy to mention the themes and functions of travel accounts. The popularity of travel writing, due to its themes and flesh and blood nature, points to the actual life experiences. That is to say, as Barbara Korte points out, travel writing is, more than any other genre, defined as “the interaction of the human subject with the world” (5). Naturally, this world will often be “foreign, but the traveller’s own country may equally be the object of his or her investigation” (5). Accounts of travel allow us to participate in acts of cultural perception and cultural construction. Travel writing therefore provides us not only with an impression of the travelled world, but the travelling individual is also laid bare; so, it is almost impossible to claim that travel accounts are totally objective. This subjectivity occurs between the perception of the travelling subject and the travelled world. As Said underlines in his groundbreaking study *Orientalism*,

> many writers of travel books or guidebooks compose them in order to say that a country *is* like this, or better, that it *is* colourful ... [T]he idea in either case is that people, places, and experiences can always be described by a book, so much so that the book (or text) acquires a greater authority, and use, even than the actuality it describes. (Said 93) (emphases original)

The relation between references to the travelling subject and the travelled world can vary to a great extent in a travel account. As Korte claims, “where an account is object-oriented, that is where the imparting of geographical and anthropological knowledge is foregrounded, the subjectivity of the traveller will often be hardly discernible” (6). As this quotation reveals the subjectivity versus objectivity dispute within written accounts has always contained a dialectic relation. Therefore, accounts with strong focus on the travelled world instruct the reader in a very obvious manner; they give useful information about a country’s topography, population and culture. Apart from this, travel writing can also be educational – such as the Grand Tour – in as much as it allows the reader to accompany the traveller and to be influenced, and perhaps even transformed by his or her experience. Last but not least, travel accounts are also capable of affording delight; they satisfy the reader’s curiosity about foreign countries and extraordinary experiences.

As a genre, on the other hand, travel writing characteristically fuses various modes of presentation; therefore, it is not surprising that it has been considered a “hybrid” or “fluid” literary form. For Jonathan Raban “travel writing is a notoriously raffish open house where very different genres are likely to end up in the same bed” (253). Despite this hybridity and flexibility, they always tell the story of a journey, though.

The storytelling element in travel writing is related to another mode, which is fiction. At first, this fictionalisation can be regarded as contradictory to this genre of actual experience, since personal perception is what makes travel writing attractive to many readers. As Korte highlights, the reader’s “sense of reality only lies in his or her *assumption* that the text is based on travel fact, on an authentic journey, and this assumption can only be tested beyond the text itself” (10)

(emphasis original). In this respect, the fictitious and factual elements of travel accounts re-create the experience of the journey on which they are based. In his own travelogue, *Journey to Kars*, Philip Glazebrook compares the accounts of two Victorian travelling companions and concludes that "a single event, thus shaped by two men, may be made to serve two different purposes, and so emerge in a different form in each of their accounts; yet neither lies" (167). Similarly, Jonathan Raban regards the journey itself as "a shapeless, unsifted, endlessly shifting accumulation of experience; only when shaped by the writer does it become a meaningful story". He maintains that,

> travelling is inherently a plotless, disordered, chaotic affair, where writing insists on connection, order, plot, signification. It may take a year or more to see that there was any point to the thing at all, and more years still to make it yield an articulate story. Memory, not the notebook, holds the key…
> Memory…is always telling stories to itself, filling experience in narrative form. It feeds irrelevancies to the shredder, enlarges on crucial details, makes links and patterns, finds symbols, [and] constructs plots. (246-8)

The experience of a journey is generally reconstructed, therefore fictionalised in the moment of being told. Travelogues which emphasize the delay between the original experience and the reporting make the process of fictionalising clear. That is why the travel accounts are much more varied and more personal than the Thomas Cook Travel booklets. In fact, the richness and variety of travel writing is an indispensable part of what attracts us to the genre when compared to other genres. In this respect, the question is: which texts provide us with a genuine overview

of the genre, representing its main forms and lines of development? Korte asserts that

> the long-standing marginalization of travel writing by literary scholars has meant that there is no canon of texts at our disposal, even if the travelogues of established men and women of letters have received somewhat greater attention and acclaim than those of the many occasional writers who have contributed to the genre. (16)

Nevertheless, some texts, such as *Eothen* (1844), by Alexander Kinglake (1809-1891), have been so consistently popular that they have gone into many editions and thus escaped oblivion.

In the first chapter, the main features of travelling tradition in England are traced out since such prior knowledge, as mentioned before, is significant for revealing why the nineteenth century travellers' accounts have been taken as the main focus of this dissertation. In order to disclose the importance of the nineteenth century travel accounts' prominent position, I divided the chronological development of travelling and its writing as follows: The Middle Ages, The Elizabethan Explorations, which covers the Renaissance, the seventeenth and eighteenth century travelling in Europe and England, and the nineteenth century. Throughout the English history, these collections of travelling and writing have formed a tradition which constructed its own discourse and writing style. Thus, tracing these discourses within their own period in history is a necessary tool in understanding the choice of the nineteenth century travel writing, as this age has a prominent place in

the history of travel culture by means of reflecting many varieties and travellees.[1]

The literature of travel functions as an effective medium for global circulation of (trans)cultural information and thus, creates a communication between "Others" and "Us." Academic treatises of travel evolve around the issues of diverse cultural encounters, that is cultural confrontation such as that between the West and the East, and aesthetic representations thereof. Therefore, in the second chapter, Edward Said's well-known paradigm of Orientalism is reconsidered along with the interpretation of travel as discourse. Among British travel accounts the Orient forms a large corpus. Thus, in order to avoid the risks of investigating this topic on too large a scope, I have narrowed down my subject matter to a continuum of micro-observations. In this vein, chapter Three serves to examine travellers' accounts under the subtitles of some cultural motifs about Izmir; therefore, I combined the historical background of the development of British travel writing with the history of the travellers' accounts of Izmir.

My starting point has been the common ground between the significant number of travellers' accounts and studies. One of the reasons why I have chosen Izmir is that until now there has been no such study on the city of Izmir. There are many books on Istanbul or some other Ottoman towns but so far the only book on Izmir is İlhan Pınar's *Avrupa Seyyahları'nın Gözüyle Izmir (Izmir Through the*

[1] Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* London: Routledge, 1992 writes: "This clumsy term [travellee] is coined on analogy with the term 'addressee.' As the latter means the person addressed by a speaker, [travellee] means persons travelled to (or on) by a traveller, receptors of travel. A few years ago literary theorists began speaking of 'narratees,' figures corresponding to narrators on the reception end of narration. Obviously, travel is studied overwhelmingly from the perspective of those who participate on the receiving end" (242). I use the term travellees in both this sense and the country to which a traveller travels.

Perspectives of European Travellers)[2]*;* however, Pınar's research does not cover British travellers at all and the scope of his study mainly covers the translation of German travellers' accounts into Turkish. Therefore, although Izmir has been a significant destination for travellers all along its history, one can hardly find argumentative points of view considering the observations on the city of Izmir in Pınar's work.

In fact, Izmir has been an important town for travellers because it often was, together with many other cities such as Alexandria or Aleppo [Halep], the first junction of travel to the East. In the nineteenth century alone, over eighty travellers visited this multicultural town. After Istanbul and Bursa, Izmir, with its historical, political, and economic importance, has always been the first stop for the English travellers with various intentions and aims. Hence, this study attempts to be an analysis of memoirs and works of travel literature written on Izmir especially during the nineteenth century. These written materials display how the Ottoman Empire, the Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Levantines, with their particular customs and policies of the times, were perceived and evaluated by the authors of these travel accounts. Thus, the foremost aim of this study has been to analyze the atmosphere created by these travellers-authors so as to point to the construction and development of certain ideas and judgements about Izmir.

What this thesis explores is a rather detailed examination of some specific travel narratives and memoirs about Izmir, focusing on the presentation of the descriptions of the town, customs, values, major events and themes. Therefore, the objective has been to show the development of the perception of Izmir by the British travellers, rather than to trace the Ottoman history or to provide information on Izmir through these texts. In view of the scope of this study, only a selection

[2] Translation mine. (Translations of the quotes from all the Turkish books into English in this thesis are mine).

from the available sources and highlighting of major themes and motifs have been analysed; thus, this study in no way claims to include everything that has been written or said about Izmir.

Apart from trying to expose how this *Le Petit Paris du Levant*[3] was perceived and presented, I have pursued yet another objective in carrying out this analysis: to reveal a dominant specific discourse that these texts form, in which each text is repeated, confirmed, negated, or developed by the travellers' texts. Sometimes this discourse is dominated by truth, fact, and objectivity, and sometimes by hearsay, reading (of previous travellers' accounts) or by the prejudice of a particular traveller. What is clear, however, is the creation of a unique textual world which seems interesting to a large number of readers. Also, what had been real and imagined beforehand often influenced the traveller and the way in which he actually saw and experienced. The "cultural baggage"[4] of travellers was really important in their writing and perceptions of the Orient. More than the reality or the truth of what they wrote, the fact that the travellers and their readers believed in this textual world bears significance. Thus, I neither specifically intend to validate or negate the observations and writings of these travellers, nor to correct their assertions; but will merely try to show how they observed Izmir, events and peoples and how they presented their ideas and perceptions to their addressees literarily or rhetorically. Here, the most important question to seek the answer for has been – where exactly the

[3] European travellers named İzmir as "Levant's little Paris." This term was especially used by travellers in the nineteenth century (Schiffer 23-24).

[4]The term "cultural baggage" refers to the tendency for one's culture to pervade thinking, speech, and behaviour without one's being aware of this pervasion. The term becomes a factor when a person from one culture encounters a person from another and unconscious assumptions or behaviours interfere with interaction. Historian Darret B. Rutman first coined the term to describe early European settlers to North America. (Darret B. Rutman, *Small Worlds, Large Questions: Explorations in Early American Social History, 1600-1850*, Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 1994. 47.)

writers of travel reveal their loyalty within the text, or whether they have any loyalty at all.

CHAPTER 1: TRAVEL AND TRAVEL WRITING ACROSS CENTURIES

1.1. Travel: Meanings and Objectives

Travel in its literal meaning is a movement from one place to another in time. Etymologically the word refers to *travail* rooted in Latin *tripalium* which means "very hard work." Both time and place are important component parts in travel. In a descriptive and prescriptive definition of the term by Sir Francis Bacon in his essay "Of Travaile," travel is defined in this way:

> Travaile, in the younger Sort, is a Part of Education; In the Elder, a Part of Experience. [...] But in *Land*-Travaile, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part, they omit it. [...] The things to be seen and observed are: [...] the Monuments, [...] Antiquities, and Ruins. [...] And to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the Places; where they goe. [...] And let his *Travaile* appears rather in his Discourse. (Kiernan 56-8) (emphasis original)

Man's entire life is an adventure, a venturing forth from one place and situation to another, and experiencing the world continuously. Experience – which stems from the Latin *experiri* and means *to try*, and *to test* – is the axis of travail, which is painful and unpleasant at first sight, but when it comes to its end, it enhances man's understanding of the world and self. That is what Gadamer terms learning "through suffering" (qtd. in Palmer 196). More precisely, it is "through suffering [that] one learns the boundaries of human existence itself. One learns to understand the finitude of man: 'Experience is experience of finitude'"

(196). Man's fall from Paradise is his first *unpleasant experience* and *travail* into an exile; hence, he operates as a displaced being. Mary B. Campbell argues that, "the movement of travel, whether it redeems or merely repeats that original displacement, belongs in the circle of elemental experience with 'birth, copulation and death'" (1). The Persian and Greek myths and earliest genres of literature are full of the signs and traces of travel. In Persian myths for instance, in the story of *Rustam* and *Suhrab* the reader encounters two heroes who undertake journeys and suffer to win the title of a hero. It is similar to Odysseus's journey, Hercules's departure from home, and other heroes in the myths of other nations regarding the hero's expeditions and travels from one place to another. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs go back to the beginning of travel when they point out "the biblical and classical traditions" such as "Exodus, the punishment of Cain, the Argonauts, the Aeneid," and Homer's Odysseus as "an epic journey" (2-3).

Throughout history, man has dreamed of journeys to other parts of the globe, which is one of man's primary objectives and activities on earth; i.e., the core of human nature is to go beyond the boundaries in which he lives. When his interests in an environment in which he lives disappear, man begins to explore other lands of interest. His primary desire is to refresh his thoughts, feelings and emotions when he goes outside the boundaries; hence, he experiences varieties of impressions. Moreover, in the modern times, man searches the galaxy for new and unknown places of the universe to acquire such effects. More precisely, the first and foremost source of each kind of travel lies in man's curiosity to search the unknown. It is a dynamic process of breaking all the limits of home and encountering the immensity, oddities and unpredictabilities of the world. There are various phases and kinds of travel from the earliest time up to modern period: pilgrimages, journeys of exploration, discovery, missionary, scientific, anthropological and ethnographical expeditions, colonial dominance in the remote lands and tourism. Helen

Gilbert adumbrates some specific forms of travel, such as "*ethical travel, environmental travel, green tourism, low-impact tourism, alternative tourism, and soft-adventure tourism*" (256-7) (emphasis original).

According to Mary B. Campbell "after we learn 'to be' and 'to have' in a new language, we learn 'to go'" (2). This indicates that the very beginning of man's life is a displacement from one place to another place in time. Metaphorically speaking, *life is travel* and vice versa, *travel is life*. The outstanding examples for such a symbolisation in English literature are John Bunyan's allegory, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), and Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. As a "cultural practice," travel is an act of exploration, research, escape, transformation, and encountering the "Others," through which a traveller reaches a cultural perception and self-recognition (Clifford, 1997; 31). Similarly, for Dennis Porter travel achieves its meaning in distinguishing the differences and affinities of different cultures when they encounter each other (Porter, 1991; 202-9). Claude Lévi-Strauss specifies it as a departure through "time and space" (qtd. in Porter 274). For Roland Barthes travel has the mode of "displacement" for exploration through the man's desires in encountering "otherness" (288). Jack Shamash compares travel with a "creative act" (1). Barbara Korte defines it as an "intercultural construction" achieved through interaction between the subject or self and the object or world (5). According to these critics, travel is a cultural comparison, an intercultural perception, a dynamic act of cultural translation and cultural construction, which is entangled in time and place. Moreover, it is a mode of displacement for an interaction between self and world, and an act of distinguishing differences and affinities of cultures to reach a self-recognition.

Travel is based on a mutual interaction between home and abroad, which I call *self* and *world* respectively. For travellers, home will find meaning in close connection with abroad; i.e., *self* can find its identity and significance only when it is exposed to the *world*. Through

such a reciprocal interaction, abroad is considered as a fundamental principle for the traveller to work on, to read it as a text and finally to reach an understanding of the world and his own Self. Andrew Hadfield states that to undertake the venture of travel "involves a series of reflections on one's own identity and culture, which will inevitably transform the writer and will call into question received assumptions, inducing a sense of wonder at the magnificence of the other, or reaffirming deeply felt differences with a vengeance" (1). Concerning the impact of travel on the traveller's perception, Mark Cocker argues, "travel has also provided the enterprising individual with opportunities to attain the status of national symbol, akin to that of the war hero" (138-9). In relation to this view, Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs state that the real power of travel is to enrich our knowledge of human societies; that is "travel broadens our mind" (2-3). Similarly, Mary Louise Pratt claims that travel is a "changed space of transcultural encounter usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (6).

There are many motivations behind travel outside Europe by Europeans; for instance, Dennis Porter, in *Haunted Journeys*, reminds us that these motivations "range from exploration, conquest, colonization, diplomacy, emigration, forced exile, and trade to religious or political pilgrimage, aesthetic education, anthropological inquiry, and the pursuit of a bronzer body or a bigger wave" (10). Roy Bridges specifies the different remarkable motives for travel, concerning travel and British expansion, such as:

> Trade, diplomacy, missionary endeavour, and scientific exploration, which all contribute to the British expansion and each produced its own travel writing. Increasing European technological expertise provided advantages, which made it easier to influence or dominate non-Europeans. With technological superiority came presumed intellectual superiority:

> Europeans could claim to be able to understand and interpret not only the terrain they entered but the inhabitants as well. (53-4)

Likewise, Helen Gilbert and Anna Johnston argue that behind travels there are traces of “exploration, trade, ethnography, governance, natural history, evangelization, scientific quest, self-discovery, and leisure” (6-7). Dennis Porter maintains that “the voyages of world travellers, who were professional sailors, natural philosophers, naturalists, and artists, were therefore integrally connected to the project of the Enlightenment in all kinds of ways” (18).

Travel by European travellers is an attempt to observe the otherness through the lenses of the West. The expansion of British imperial projects fashioned generations of explorers, scientists and travellers with aims both commercial and scientific. As far as Mark Cocker deals with Britain in a historical-geographical sense, it is a country which suffers from the lack of:

> [m]ountains, impenetrable swamps, deltas, desert, jungles, glaciers, permanent ice, volcanoes, earthquakes, epidemics, malaria, sudden incurable fevers, rabies, alligators, encircling homicidal sharks, deadly spiders, scorpions or jiggers. [...] The last potentiality dangerous animal, the wolf, was exterminated more than 250 years ago and probably never caused a single human fatality; [...] *and further on* the national climate is equable, without extremes of hot or cold; the summers are cool, the winters mild. [...] There are no hurricanes, tornadoes, typhoons or sudden, violent rains. [...] A single night of strong winds would once have been a national disaster; now it is a national event, commemorated in books and films. A major surge tide almost half a century ago is a drama sufficient to animate lifetime of anecdote. [...] The sheer domesticity of the national landscape lies behind a decision, which all travellers have made. It is also

> perhaps the one issue on which such a litigious assembly has unanimously agreed: the need to depart. Whatever it is that lured them away, it was something they felt this country was unable to offer. Britain is virtually the antithesis of all that travel has meant to this wandering community. [...] Without the very predictability of home, there could be no sense of the thrill and adventure of abroad. (12-14) (emphasis original)

Consequently, the need to go abroad and explore the unknown parts of the world was born. Metaphorically, Europe and mostly England considered the world as a laboratory and this was the time to expand such a laboratory and spread it out from Europe to other parts of the globe, towards the East. At this time the people, cultures and customs of the East with fascinations became an ever-new field and object for European studies.

1.2. Travel and Travel Writing: Historical Changes and Motivations

1.2.1. The Beginnings and Medieval Accounts

Two significant events paved the way for publicizing travel and expanding knowledge. The first event is the tenth-century restraint "placed by the conquering Seljuk Turks on the 12,000 pilgrims a year who had been making their way more or less peacefully from Italy and Marseille to Jerusalem" (Adams 47-9). The result of such an intensive restriction was the intensifying "of warring Crusaders to Asia Minor" and more religious eagerness "to Christianize Europe" and finally an increased desire to visit the Holy Land (47-49). The second event that influenced travel literature, is "the Tartar inundation of China, Tibet, Russia, and all northern Asia that led to great Khan empire (c. 1206-1360), to its peace with India, to eastern toleration of westerners, to the opening of more trade routes, and to the sending out of European missionaries by the hundreds to attempt the Christianizing of Asia" (47-9). In 1260 the Polo brothers, whose curiosity and desire for trade in jewels made them move towards eastern Asia, undertook a journey with Marco Polo, whose twenty years in Asia produced one of the half a dozen most influential travel books of all time. There were travellers like them who charted the trade routes and laid the foundation for a regulated system of commercial exchange. By the thirteenth century, the travellers, who were "mostly missionaries and merchants pushed the frontiers of geographical knowledge past the Holy Land to" embrace "the Far East" (47-9).

Marco Polo, as a diplomat, and Christopher Columbus, as a government-sponsored explorer, two courageous Western travellers, were determined to travel to the East much further than their Italian homeports. Both produced narratives of their voyages, and extensively

different accounts of the East. During the late thirteen and fourteenth centuries, travel books of all kinds were being written; while by the fifteenth century much of the faith of “pilgrims to holy places had been supplanted by” inquisitiveness or “other motives,” there were still some pilgrim accounts (47-9). Finally, towards the end of century travelogues, in any form, specified the journeys with different intentions undertaken by English and other European travellers moving from place to place, from the Caspian [Hazar Denizi] and Black Sea to Asia Minor, to Arab countries, Africa, Egypt, and Abyssinia [Habeşistan], everywhere moving to explore the world.

Apart from travel undertaken by pilgrims to the Holy Land and Rome, Englishmen did find new motives for going abroad, such as scientific research, trade, and diplomatic services. Throughout the century, trade and after 1600 merchant groups indicated the rigorous competition among European countries such as England, Germany, France and Holland as the obvious reasons for travel. Trade competition among European countries was to capture the Asian and American trade. The English East India Company, formed in 1600, or the Anglo-Persian Oil Company formed by 1909 are two examples as regarded the outcome of such an expansion from the seventeenth to twentieth century. Generally speaking, as Manfred Pfister states, “travel writing from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century [...] had been closely related to the expansionist energies of colonialism and imperialism” (471-2). During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, travel literature “was both a source of revolution in religion and a sourcebook to be drawn on by biased readers searching for evidence to support their preconceived notions about religion. The importance of travels, in fact, extends to every realm of thought” (Adams 80).

The period between 1867 and 1909 marked the expansion of the British Empire, to some extent, at its peak with India, Africa, the Bahamas, the Virgin Islands, Bermuda, and South New Guinea as its

colonies. “The British Imperial eye/I” was seeking more markets and foreign sources of labour. The Mediterranean region and the Middle East were the lands of various resources. From another vantage point of discussion, the scientific, technical, and economic innovations and various means of transportation and communication paved the way for adventures and explorers to travel through such colonies easily and safely. Such innovations greatly influenced travel and travel writing. Travellers who travelled to the previously unknown lands and unfamiliar territories were celebrated and supported for their enterprise and their attempt in writing about these exotic lands by organizations such as the Royal Asiatic Society, the Royal Geographical Society, and the Royal Archaeological Institute. The nineteenth century travellers were of various kinds. They found signs of the beginning of Westernization/Europeanization in nearly every part of the world. Moreover, women travellers participated in this social science and scientific research (Leed 42-50).

The prehistory of European travel writing goes back to the classical antiquity and then to the late Middle Ages, which is characterised by the growth of ethnography within the related genres of geographical literature, ambassadorial reports, mission and pilgrimage as the dominant medieval framework. In Europe missionary travel, militant pilgrims and Crusaders were the predominant factors that gave a religious motive to travel. The missionary William Rubruck, the merchant Marco Polo, after him Lodovico di Verthema and Pietro della Valle, the imaginary pilgrim John Mandeville and many other travellers from the period between 1250 and 1450 were concerned with new educational ideals, as well as a number of more traditional concerns – such as the pursuit of practical knowledge, often the desire for entertainment, occasionally the ideological exploration of human cultural diversity within a traditional religious framework. Moreover, the chivalric quest goes hand in hand with the spiritual quest of the pilgrims. One can trace such

an attempt in chivalric literature and epic poetry in works of Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (Adams 33-9).

To begin with as "the Father of Travel Literature" (Adams 45-6), and the Father of History, one can refer to Herodotus, (born in Bodrum, 484?-425? B.C.), whom Edward Said considers as "an inexhaustibly curious chronicler" (1978; 58). Herodotus, in between involvements in political uprisings, travelled to Asia Minor, the Black Sea, Athens, Italy, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Babylon. There are travel accounts still more ancient than Herodotus's work, through; one is a comprehensible "narrative of a business trip in the Mediterranean countries made by an Egyptian priest of the twelfth century BC." (Adams 45-6). Herodotus's history is based on the author's experiences and travels. Personally, he knew "all of the Mediterranean lands, especially Egypt," encountered "other travellers, checked sources, related anecdotes, included myths, and ended with a book that is more than fish and fowl – a travel-novel-history" (45-6).

Herodotus's book, about 800 pages, is an example account of the history of the ancient world, mainly about Persian Wars and Greek justification of attacks on the Persian Empire. There are also many digressions on geography and ethnography of the far countries. The book contains descriptions of monuments, cities, battlefields, roads and religious practices. Collecting legends and finding their affinities and differences are other features of his book. Herodotus collected local legends and compared one with another. The way through which he represented such information can be considered as the first model for travel literature of the time. Casey Blanton states that Herodotus's travel account, in fact, is a narration of what he encountered in the first-person narrative (6). In Herodotus's book, there is no sense of subjectivity or sentimentalism, thus, his account is a more or less objective representation of what he encountered throughout his journeys.

One of the most heroic travellers, of the earliest period and of all time, is Marco Polo, born in Venice (1254-1324) who journeyed to the Far East from the Mediterranean in the thirteenth century and spent twenty years in the court of Kublai Khan in China. Two years later after the return of his father and uncle, Niccolo and Maffeo, from a trading journey to the Orient – including a visit to Cambalus, Kublai Khan's [Kubilay Han] capital near modern Peking – Marco accompanied them on their next venture to China. After a long journey of more than three years through Georgia and Persia and over rugged mountains and arid deserts, in 1275 they reached Peking; the journey which Marco Polo narrated later on. He learnt the Chinese language and customs, undertook "business" journeys for Kublai Khan, acted as his envoy to India, and travelled everywhere for seventeen years and even ruled a large city. After carrying out the assignment to escort Princess Cocachin to be married in Persia, Marco and his father and brother continued on to Venice in 1295. The next year Marco was captured in a war with Genoa and was imprisoned. In prison, he was motivated and persuaded "to dictate the story of his travels to a fellow prisoner, a Tuscan named Rusticiano" (Adams 9). His account of China and other Eastern countries is one of the most significant of all travel books. The book is the account of Marco's personal, "day-to-day life in the Orient" and deals with "the people he knew – their customs, their 'eccentricities', their wars, their manufactures and food, their cities – and with the wealth and conspicuous consumption of the Khan and his many children" (9). Percy G. Adams affirms:

> there are short essays on individual cities, on Tartar cavalry tactics, on peculiar religious sects, on the 'Assassins' [...], on the Khan himself, on his last a description that inspired imaginations of centuries, that a Coleridge, for example, just as other passages recorded by Rusticiano inspired Mandeville and Columbus. [...]

> What we have from Marco Polo in the first centuries is the most significant, most thorough and most used account of China, and other parts of the Orient, by a European. (9)

Marco's book, *Travels* (ca. 1299), written after his travels, a product of medieval Europe, represents the spectacular and grotesque beings from the mysterious East. Much of the book is written in the "first-person, both plural and singular, the extent to which the personality of the narrator emerges is minimal" (Blanton 8). His narrative, as a "pan-European phenomenon," is one of the best sources to clarify the "genealogy of the Western discourse of 'othering'". Through the records of a full range of tropes of "othering," as Syed Manzurul Islam indicates, it; "also explores the matrices of cross-cultural" illustration, mainly in the features of "travelogue as a genre" (127). Moreover, the book introduces "the modern sedentary voyages through which Europe brought the world beyond it into its scope of semblance in representation" (122-3). What Marco Polo, willingly or otherwise, had done in gathering cultures was a first step the Europeans undertook to indicate their epistemological mastery over the rest of the world. In Marco Polo's narrative "the exotic difference of a strange world, apart from the presence of old fables," is conveyed through the classificatory "presentations of other cultures and places" (124). Many years before "Europe's experimental mapping of the world, Marco Polo had already taken tentative steps towards it" (127); further Syed Manzurul Islam illuminates the way the Western world gazes at the Orient and differentiates "Us" from "Them:"

> The presence of Islam weighs heavily on Marco Polo's text; his anti-Islamic paranoia reaches the fever-pitch of a Tafur on an apocalyptic crusade. [...] For Marco Polo Islam is, as it was for medieval Christendom, a mimetic rival, because it desires the same as 'us' – the truth, heathen souls, and a global empire. Despite his anti-Islamic paranoia, Marco Polo accords Islam

> civility as befits a rival. Since Islam is a rival, it belongs properly to Marco Polo's discourse of the political, and as such, it is not inscribed with the marks of transgression. (155)

Another step towards European expansion throughout the world is the attempts of pilgrims. The Holy Land played the most significant role "in most pilgrim accounts" (Korte 25). Narrative accounts of "the pilgrim's journey" are a mixture of "description of places and a relation of the holy stories" (25). The subjectivity in the pilgrim's accounts of travel is "marginal" as Barbara Korte argues adding that, "the travelling experience remains, [...] strictly bound by the purposes of the pilgrimage, and any personal reaction rendered in the text is also purely religious in nature" (25). The pilgrims' experiences during their travel were mixed with their knowledge, taken from other texts, and produced a unique record of the holy places rather than of the "Other." Korte notes that the late medieval travellers have thought about the East as

> a marvellous East populated by fabulous creatures – an image also disseminated by the Alexander romance and the (forged) 'Letter' of Prester John, the legendary priest-cum-king. The 'monstrous races' [...] authorized by this tradition are mentioned even in the texts of the actual travellers to the East. (28)

As the pilgrims wrote many of the earlier travel accounts, in the Middle Ages the main focus of narratives was pure religious. For instance, Mandeville's highly significant collection was a cosmographical pilgrimage, in which the consideration of marvels of the world with strange races of men, fabulous kings, and religious diversity served as rhetorical counterpoint to the need for spiritual improvement within Latin Christianity (28). The policy of turning pilgrimage into cosmography reflected a deep tendency towards experiential curiosity within European travel writing. The pilgrim accounts from the earliest period, from the

fourth century, were the predominant mode of travel through the Middle East and the most accessible paradigm for travel writing, as well as being the most venerated construction in medieval period (Blanton 12). This mode of writing left its traces in British discourse on the Orient even after the Reformation and secularisation. The pilgrimage survived as central organising metaphor of travel, drawn on and utilised by the travellers, notably the travellers to Arabia and that the first classical travel accounts were myths, pseudo-scientific writings, anecdotes, and life histories. In the Middle Ages the actual exploratory voyages and fictive representations of the "Others" were intermingled.

The Travels of Sir John Mandeville (1357) is the most popular travel writing of the Middle Ages. It owed much to medieval romances and stimulated Christopher Columbus (1451?-1506?) to travel around the globe which is fictional rather than factual in the first-person narration. In Mandeville's *Travels* the several places that are visited are as follows:

> Turkey, Armenia, Tartary, Persia, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Libya, Chaldea, Ethiopia, Amazonia, India and its surrounding islands, as well as China, where the traveller is received at the court of the Great Khan. The journey starts out as a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but it then leads the traveller beyond Palestine, to the Far East, which, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was visited by European missionaries and merchants. (Korte 32-4)

Korte shows that in Mandeville's *Travels* the important points are "distances between places and foreign alphabets which are incidentally, fabricated" (25). The *Travels* has a two-dimensional structure that was to be accepted in voyage literature until after the eighteenth century; one part is objective pilgrimage route and history and the second dimension is subjective, in which Mandeville acts as the protagonist and author, a character whose persona evidently becomes prominent in the text. The

character is eager to know about the people, places, plants, animals, and legends; the odder, the more he likes them (Korte 34). The book encouraged “Christians to remember that Muslims must be different from them in more ways than religious matters” (Adams 43-4), which directly or otherwise, pointed up the process of differentiation between “Them” and “Us.” Naive but as an observant person Mandeville is

> fascinated by language and reports that in their alphabet the Arabs have four letters ‘more than other for dyversitee of hire language and speche, for also moche as thei speken in here Throtes. And wee in England have in oure language a speech ii. Letters mo than their have in hire a b c ...the whiche ben clept *thorn* and *yogh*. (43-4) (emphasis original)

Mandeville relies on “a number of real travellers” for the verisimilitude of his story and while the journey “is probably fake,” the “persona’s personality is not false, and popularity of the book” attracted the readers’ attention both through its subjective representation and its sacredness (Adams 43-4).

1.2.2. The Elizabethan Explorations, The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Exploration of other parts of the globe by Europeans began with the actual movements out of Europe by land routes to the East, and by sea across the Mediterranean and into the Atlantic. The Europeans' travel beyond the traditional boundaries of the Mediterranean appears to have undergone a massive increase in the early Renaissance. This was partly due to the decline of Muslims' control of the so-called Middle and Far East, which enabled the travellers to advance under the Pax Mongolica (Mongol Peace and administration) as far as China (Marco Polo), and partly due to the development of professional navigational aids and the advances in mapping. In addition, economic causes were one of the primary motivations for Europeans to travel to America in the hope of acquiring wealthy lands abroad and the discovery of new routes for their traditional trade in Asia.

At some stage during the Renaissance period, there emerged a shift from the "objective" representation of the world to a somewhat "subjective" representation and to the individual seeing the world, which was a movement of the narrator towards the experiential centre of his narrative. In the late Renaissance, travel writing mainly introduced two types of narratives: the log-books and journals of sailors and explorers collected avidly by Richard Hakluyt and others. Both the scientific and the sentimental narratives ultimately became the two dominant models for travel writing as a genre. That is to say, throughout the history of travel writing one can find an explicit shift in the mode of writing from objective-informative-representation to subjective representation of the travellees (Korte 54-6).

During the Elizabethan age, several collections of explorers' logbooks – Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Traffics and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589-1600) – presented the activity of travelling around the unknown or imperfectly known lands. By the end of the sixteenth century, the conspicuous form was the "report" or "relation,"

which was a combination of a sequential narrative of movements and events with geographic observations. The narrative voice in these texts – based on the author's interest whether he wanted to put emphasis on the "subject" or on the "object" – can be either strongly first-person or strongly third-person. The structures of these writings are shaped by a descriptive mode. Such accounts are committed to the description of customs, religion, forms of government, language and so on. More to the point, during the "Renaissance, the description of the world and of the peoples becomes the paradigmatic basis for a general rewriting of 'natural and moral history' within a new cosmography" (Rubiés 242).

Both ethnography and ethnology exist in the humanistic disciplines of early modern Europe in the primary forms of travel writing, cosmography and history. In spite of the diversity of forms of travel writing, it is possible to generalise that the desire for information and many practical purposes lie behind the growth of the European genre of non-fictional travel writing throughout the Renaissance. In general, during the sixteenth century, the features of travel accounts were documentation, political or commercial reports, maps, stories of remote places, investment, experiential observation, autobiographical reports of actual journeys, representation of travellees with a heavy emphasis on the object, the marginality of the traveller's personal experience and the traveller's mentality as explorers and colonizers. After that, "the Elizabethan adventurer and explorer were replaced by the Restoration adventurer and scientist" (Korte 36).

The seventeenth century saw an ever more successful attempt to bring the adventurer into the fold of British imperial aspirations – and the textual strategies that supported them. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sent out traders, missionaries, explorers, colonizers, and warriors and a remarkable number of ambassadors, not just within Europe but also from European countries to Russia, Asia, Asia Minor, and Abyssinia. During the seventeenth century, travel was associated

with the upper classes, and travel writing very strongly reflected the educational background of the travellers. Principally, a nobleman was accompanied by scholars who wrote the accounts. Their travel accounts were based on a mould which originated in geographical descriptions found in atlases and guidebooks. Description of various towns, their history, the sights and customs of the people were the most significant aspects in such writings. In the seventeenth century, during the age of the New Science, travel reflected a scientific background. During 1665-1666, the Royal Society (for the Improvement of the Natural Knowledge) published a "Catalogue of Directions" for travellers in its *Philosophical Transactions.* This catalogue closed with notes on "General Heads for the Natural History of a Country, Great or Small," drawn up by the chemist Robert Boyle, a founder member of the society (Korte 36).

By 1800, a typical pattern of traveller's discourse emerged which was structured on the traveller's description of experiences and day-to-day observations. The emphasis was on science and accuracy, which was due to the scientific expansion of the time. The famous European explorer-scientists of the late eighteenth and early nineteen centuries, Louis Antonie de Bougainville, George Foster, Alexander von Humboldt or James Cook, stressed the scientific motivation of the venture. They were professional in their observations about geography, astronomy, meteorology, botany, anthropology, to name just a few. The aim of such a factual travel account was to present graphically precise information about the globe. Travel books by Cook and Bougainville were considered as a source for the first anthropological studies as well as presenting new ideas about the social and cultural constitution of mankind (Korte 37-40). For Bougainville, the important point was the study of primitive man, and exotic societies. Bougainville turns himself into an ethnographer *avant la letter* by offering a brief account of the Tahitians' physical appearance, dress, and forms of adornment, including tattooing, crafts such as canoe building, manners, politics,

religion, and family structure. Bougainville refers to the natives as "distinguishing and incommodious guests," and as Dennis Porter cites:

> These savages are small, ugly, thin, and have an unbearably bad smell. They are almost naked, having as their only clothes the poor skins of seals that are too small to cover them. [...] Their women are hideous and the men show little regard for them *(Voyage,* p. 106). [...] These primitive men treated the masterpieces of human industry as they treated the laws of nature and nature's phenomena, [...] without any of the conveniences of civilised life, he also notes that they live in one of the world's most intolerable climates (*Voyages*, p. 105). (qtd. in Porter 94-5)

Based on Foucault's theory of power/knowledge, one can see that knowledge and power have been closely allied. Because of such a union between travel, politics, and natural history, there emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries what Mary Louise Pratt has called the "planetary consciousness" (29), as a conceptual system that helped Europeans to realise their cognitive and political domination over the rest of the world (Schweizer 2-3). In this regard, Bougainville's portrayal of the exotic land is a discourse through which the "Others" are represented as inferior to "Us." Such a discourse is a part of a system of knowledge in relation to power. This shows that the travellers might encounter the "Others" through their blindness and prejudices that make them miss some aspects, signs, and phenomena in the travellees. For instance, Chinua Achebe in his essay on "Heart of Darkness" declares:

> [Marco Polo] said nothing about the art of printing, unknown as yet in Europe but in full flower in China. He either did not notice it all or, if he did, failed to see what use Europe could possibly have for it. Whatever the reason, Europe had to wait another hundred years for Gutenberg. But even more spectacular was Marco

> Polo's omission of any reference to the Great Wall of China, nearly four thousand miles long and already more than one thousand years old at the time of his visit. Again, he may not have seen it; but the Great Wall of China is the only structure built by man which is visible from the moon! Indeed travellers can be blind. (qtd. in Moore-Gilbert 122-3)

Another well-known scientist and traveller is Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), who was a physicist and geographer. He wrote of meteors, water systems, magnetic lines, economic and political systems, of plants, animals, rocks, and rivers, of people, of poison made by the natives, and of his reactions to "unusual" customs. His enthusiasm for knowledge, love of travel, and humanitarianism consumed a large personal fortune. His works are engaged with non-European realities and questions of cultural difference. From 1799 to 1804, he travelled vast regions of modern Venezuela, Cuba, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Mexico and visited the United States and published a thirty volume work on his journey in French, *Voyage aux regions équinoxiales du Nouveau Continent (Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent)*, with sections on geography, biology, zoology and other natural sciences. He fashioned a sort of international scientific community (Leed 87-8).

The history of travel in Europe in the period that runs, approximately, from the Restoration of the British monarchy in 1660 to the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837 is characterised by the emergence of a new paradigm for travel – that of the "Grand Tour" – and concludes with the first step of another paradigm that incorporated and replaced it, mass tourism. This was a paradigm of travel with the didactic purpose of "self-cultivation and the reaffirmation of a common civilised heritage" (Porter 19). Porter argues that the Tour stands in a relationship of complementary to the eighteenth century voyages of global

circumnavigation that mapped and described the unknown lands and peoples, and in the process produced them as the object of an essentially European knowledge. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs similarly remark that the Grand Tour was, from start to finish, an ideological exercise (98). Its leading purpose was to round out the education of young men of the ruling classes by exposing them to the treasured artefacts and ennobling society of the Continent. The Grand Tour was associated with the traveller's formal education and personal developments which took the English travellers to France and Italy, Germany, the Low Countries and Switzerland. Writing based on this kind of journey paved the way for the emergence of a travelogue during the eighteenth century that displayed a discernible concern with the traveller's personal subjective experience. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, are still thought of, and with reason, as the age of the Grand Tour. The tour served the encyclopaedic collection of all kinds of knowledge, including observations on climate, trade, agriculture or fortifications (Korte 67-9).

Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin claim that through European enterprises the territories "once 'explored' and so 'known', [...] were possessed and [...] catalogued under the control and influence of one or another colonizing powers" (97). The engagement between self and world was one of the main concerns of travel writers during this period. Travel guaranteed continuous panoply of new stimuli; hence, the inevitability of the Grand Tour as kind of finishing school for university students and writers became crucial (Blanton 11-12). A narrative that combined the inner and outer voyage was not only possible but also even expected at that time. This shift has two results for travel writing: first, the emotions, thoughts, and personal peculiarities of the narrator become more available and more dominant within the narrative; second, the world, its plants, animals, and people, also become a source of knowledge for their own sake. The eighteenth century scientific

explorations tended to know and name the world as well as the foreign lands and peoples (12). Consequently, a large body of Euro-centric travel accounts appeared with this purpose to describe the travellees in an objective way. Casey Blanton states:

> [In] effect, the eighteenth century traveller begins to admit to and exploit the connection between world and self, yet the 'hegemonic reflex' (Pratt, 15) posits the European, and therefore modern, world as a superior both in time and space. [...] Another result of these rather significant changes during the latter half of the eighteenth century [...] was the kind of writing that foregrounds the narrator in an attempt to sentimentalize and/or glorify the narrator's experiences in hostile environments. Here the inner world is stressed over the outer world. A traveller's thoughts, reactions, and adventures are of paramount importance; the 'scientific' descriptions of the foreign land become background for the narrator's own story (12-13)

Captain Cook was an eminent traveller like Bougainville. Porter maintains that Cook's journal is informative in this context because it shows both how a voyage of discovery is "politicized" and how scientific observation is "poeticized" (105-6). Cook recorded fully all those factors that contributed to the accomplishment of his voyage, from the design of the ship and its fitting-out to the diet and physical condition of the crew. Cook, in fact, is regarded as one of those travellers who had given an "eyewitness account" of a practice that remained controversial among the anthropologists (Porter 112-13). Cook's journals were the subject of interest for historians and social scientists, since they belonged to historical documents. Even though his work attempts to be an objective reportage, there are passages that have the "episodic character of narrative in general," which follows the models of heroic adventure (117-18). Porter argues that, "[Cook] is what Gérard Genette has called an

‘autodiegetic narrator’” (117-18). In other words, he is a narrator “who participates in the action of the story he tells as its principal protagonist” (117-18).

The eighteenth century was the period in which new types of travellers began to emerge, the scientific travellers who were in search of new geographical and biological information, and the missionaries who began increasingly to travel to spread the Christian religion. Scientific and religious organizations quickly developed in accordance with these enterprises, such as The Royal Geographical Society or various Missionary Societies (Ashcroft 95-8). The fundamental purpose was to capture a commercial field, exploitation and conquest. Therefore, the accounts of European travels and explorations of such institutions were interested in maintaining the difference between Europe and the exotic lands. Indeed, by the eighteenth century many well-known writers either had produced travel books, or had used travel as an important structural pattern in their work.

In the 1760s, James Boswell (1740-1795), undertook his grand tour which covered Italy, Corsica, and France. His main concerns during the period of his life were sex, religion, and politics. Porter remarks that there was in “Boswell’s travel journals, a combination of worldliness and moral aspiration, of openness to his own desire and search for the solidification of an inherited faith, as well as for the kind of political institutions most consistent with human well-being” (34-5). Between November 1762 and February 1766, Boswell produced an extensive body of work collected in *Boswell’s London Journal, 1762-1763, Boswell in Holland, 1763-1764* and *Boswell on the Grand Tour, 1764-1766*, parts 1 and 2 (31). His Grand Tour journals are perhaps the best example of the ways in which travel writing was beginning to assume that both narrative and description, both traveller and world, were its subject matter and its theme. The narratives of Boswell’s journeys have the pace and taste of the eighteenth century picaresque. They have an

extensive variety of characters – from the house cleaners, servants, and innkeepers to duchesses, ministers, ambassadors, philosophers, and even a king. There is a recurrent alteration of scene and location, along with sudden changes of tone. His journeys changed him into a mature man whose understanding was

> enlarged and broadened by travel. This was in accordance with the aim of the Tour. Much of the interest and pleasure of reading Boswell's travel journals is to be found in the continuing struggle between his early moral education and his desire, between an alternating indulgence and abstinence that generate a series of self-reproaches and self-recriminations. (Porter 33-8)

Travel writing after the eighteenth century was, stylistically and thematically, marked by the ways in which the writers were concerned with the adventures, the sights, and their own feelings. English travel writing developed rapidly with a text that is today viewed as a novel rather than a travel account such as Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (1768). Sterne believed that travel "makes us to love each other, and the world, better than we do" (90). He wanted his book to show that the value of travelling was in the traveller's receptivity of feelings; i.e., the feelings of the other people, exotic and foreign. This book, an autobiographical account, is evidence of Sterne's ironic abilities as a "Sentimental Traveller." He recognizes in *A Sentimental Journey*, there are all kinds of travellers:

> Idle Travellers,
> Inquisitive Travellers,
> Lying Travellers,
> Proud Travellers,
> Vain Travellers,
> Splenetic Travellers.

> Then follow
>
> The Travellers of Necessity,
>
> The delinquent and felonious Traveller,
>
> The unfortunate and innocent Traveller,
>
> The simple Traveller,
>
> And last of all (if you please) The Sentimental Traveller (meaning thereby myself), who have travell'd, and of which I am now sitting down to give an account, as much out of *Necessity*, and the *besoin de Voyager*, as any one in the class. (11-12) (emphasis original)

The sense of curiosity for Sterne is precisely what makes a person educable in the first place. This curiosity was to be challenged in order to make travel a worthwhile and profitable experience. As Sterne stated, a person who travels subjects the structures of his personality, his mind and his emotions to a new course of experience, which may undermine the traveller's preceding world-view. Sterne classifies two types of travellers in general, the sentimental traveller and the splenetic traveller, and affirms that he belongs to the first category. The Sentimental Traveller conducts his travelling under the guidance of what Sterne calls "his Heart":

> What a large volume of adventures may be grasped within this little span of life, by him who interests his heart in every thing, and who, having eyes to see what time and chance are perpetually holding out to him as he journeyeth on his way, misses nothing he can *fairly* lay his hands on. (30) (emphasis original)

The splenetic traveller, on the other hand, "possesses none of this openness to what the countries he passes through so liberally put in his way. He is instead, Sterne informs us in a celebrated passage, driven by his own peculiar psychosomatic disorders" (Porter 58-9).

During the late eighteenth century, as a result of the “precarious Enlightenment balance between science and sentiment,” travel accounts underwent a shift from descriptions of the people and places to accounts of the effects of people and places on the narrator (Blanton 15-16). During the early nineteenth century, travel writing had clearly become a matter of self-discovery as well as a record of the discovery of the “Others.” One of the great nineteenth century English travellers and explorers was Sir Richard Burton (1821-1890) who joined the East India Company at the age of twenty-one, scrupulously learned all the major eastern languages such as Arabic and Persian that he knew perfectly, as well as a number of dialects (Blanton 16). One of the ways through which the travellers attempted to visit the sacred places in the East was to disguise themselves. Indira Ghose argues that “travelling in disguise is a special test of endurance and affirmed notions of cultural and racial superiority: as the statesman and colonial writer John Buchan noted, the English were ‘the only race on earth that can produce men capable of getting inside the skin of remote people’” (154). As a disguised Moslem, Burton undertook his journey, a pilgrimage that went by caravan to Medina and then on to Mecca, performed all the Moslem acts of reverence in the holy city, and made a visit to Mount Arafat to hear the traditional sermon, all before returning to Cairo. At Cairo, he learnt all the necessary rituals, joined a society of dervishes, established himself as a physician, and purchased supplies, “[b]y putting his wits against the natives of the region he travels in and challenging the risk inherent in his venture, Burton attain[ed] the exhilaration of ‘gratified pride’” (Burton qtd. in Ghose 154). Overall, his attempt to visit Mecca and Medina shows the travellers’ curiosity to explore the unknown, to see, experience and understand as an insider rather than as an outsider: in other words, “his quest, too, [was] a quest for self-discovery through testing his limits” (154).

Critics consider travel during different periods as a means through which different purposes are achieved; for instance, Wimal Dissanayake and Carmen Wirkramagamage distinguish the nineteenth century travel books that tended to demonstrate the distinctive features of the political economy of the empire. Bernard Schweizer, in *Radicals on the Road: The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930s* (2001), argues that during the romantic period travel was adopted as a mould for registering personal transformation, a phenomenon most persistently manifested in the notion of the Grand Tour, or in the Victorian age. It is worth mentioning Manfred Pfister who adumbrates “three major traditions of Victorian travel writing – the instructive travelogue inherited from the Age of Enlightenment and claiming to provide an objective and comprehensive account of the Other, the Romantic and Post-Romantic account of traveller’s subjective impressions and moods, and the typically nineteenth century imperialist tale of adventures in foreign lands” (468).

1.2.3. The Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century, in particular the age of Queen Victoria, was the peak for travellers and travelling. At the end of the eighteenth century in the increased popularity of travel on the Continent, in the fashion of scenic tourism, travel was becoming available to more and more layers of society. In his *Travelling Sketches*, Anthony Trollope (1815-1882) portrays the typical world traveller of his time with the following classifications: “The Family that Goes Abroad because It’s the Thing to Do”, “The Man who Travels Alone”, “The Unprotected Female Tourist”, and “The United Englishmen Who Travel for Fun”. The most preferred destinations on the Continent were overcrowded but for example, end of the eighteenth century travellers to the Continent had enjoyed the Alps in relative solitude. On the other hand, in contrast to this solitude, Charles Dickens describes how he repeatedly came across the same group of fellow citizens during his visit to Rome and portrays his observations in his famous book *Pictures from Italy* (1846):

> We often encountered, in these expeditions, a company of English Tourists, with whom I had an ardent, but ungratified longing, to establish a speaking acquaintance. They were one Mrs. Davis, and a small circle of friends. It was impossible to know Mrs. Davis’s name, from her being always in great request among her party, and her party being everywhere. During the Holy Week, they were in every part of every scene of every ceremony. For a fortnight to three weeks before it, they were in every tomb, and every church, and every ruin, and every Picture Gallery; and I hardly ever observed Mrs. Davis to be silent for a moment. ...

> Mr. and Mrs. Davis, and their party, had, probably, been brought from London in about nine or ten days. Eighteen hundred years ago, the Roman legions under Claudius, protested against being led into Mr. and Mrs. Davis's country, urging that it lay beyond the limits of the world. (377-388)

The closing sentences of this passage briefly mention the rapid change in transportation which affected travel starting from the end of the eighteenth century, since the technological and institutional developments changed the ways of travelling in Britain. On the one hand, steam power, on the rails and on the water, greatly increased the speed and decreased the coast of travelling; on the other hand, new institutions and facilities appeared in the marketplace. A great number of people started to travel by the help of these technological developments all around Europe with different aims. With the increase of travellers, travel headed into the domain of mass tourism.

With modern means of transportation such as the steamship and the railway, distant countries have become accessible in less time and more comfort. As a result of this, these forms of transport were open to middle-class travellers; and thus, planned package tours and mass travel as leisure activity had emerged. For Thomas Cook, a tour was no longer an individual experience, but a "package" tour, organized to provide large numbers of travellers with speedy transport and good accommodation. Given greater opportunities for travel in this century, Thomas Cook opened the world's first travel agency in 1845 and as the result of this development; there was also a natural increase in the need for travel guides; the famous British guides like *Murray's Red Guides* started to sell on the book market in 1836 (Korte 83-4).

For the people who could not travel, foreign lands could be experienced at home. The Great Exhibition in London (1851) not only presented British products to the world, but also brought people from foreign countries to Britain.[5] According to Korte,

> the nineteenth century, especially during its first and last decades, was the heyday of the popular panoramic entertainments – circular panoramas, moving panoramas, which presented a mass audience with highly naturalistic representations of Biblical and historical events, famous cities and foreign lands. (85)

For many people, panoramas would become a cheap and comfortable chance to travel. In Blackwood's Magazine, Ralph Hyde develops this idea at length and asserts that the "panoramas are among the happiest contrivances for saving time and expense in this age of contrivances. What cost a couple of hundred pounds and a half year century ago, now costs a shilling and a quarter of an hour" (38). With the success of these panoramas, travel texts continued to enjoy great popularity among the reading public. Among that huge corpus there were the accounts of not only tourist journeys, but also the explorers' and missionaries' accounts which were more adventurous.

Just as the voyages of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries grew from mercantile, educational and colonial ambitions, Victorian explorers and missionaries became entangled in the imperialist discourse of their time. Even Charles Darwin's *Voyage of the Beagle* (1839) includes passages which are clear expressions of an imperialist spirit and a civilizing mission (one must keep in mind that the book was a

[5]The Great Exhibition in London is elucidated in Fikret Turan's *Seyahatname-i Londra: Tanzimat Bürokratının Modern Sanayi Toplumuna Bakışı*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2009).

scientific account which was not aimed at explaining the British colonial desire):

> From seeing the present state, it is impossible not to look forward with high expectation to the future progress of nearly an entire hemisphere. The march of improvement, consequent on the introduction of Christianity throughout the South Sea, probably stands by itself on the records of history. It is the more striking when we remember that only sixty years since, Cook, whose most excellent judgement none will dispute, could foresee no prospect of such change. Yet these changes have now been effected by the philanthropic spirit of the British nation.
>
> In the same quarter of the globe Australia is rising, or indeed may be said have risen, into a grand centre of civilisation, which at some not very remote period, will rule as empress over the southern hemisphere. It is impossible for an Englishman to behold these distant colonies, without a high pride and satisfaction. To hoist the British flag, seems to draw with it as a certain consequence, wealth, prosperity, and civilisation. (376)

When Europe had discovered Australia in the seventeenth century, there were no more continents to be found. Thus, in the absence of new continents or lands, the explorers were headed to the interior of old continents which were still unfamiliar to the Europeans. During the Victorian age, British Empire had also sent many explorers to Africa, South America, Australia, and the Middle East. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the British Empire reached its height: Britain took possession of many parts of Africa, and in 1876, India became the “most precious” part of the British crown and was among the most popular destinations for the travels of many military and state officials and their families. Of the many varieties of travel writing which emerged during the

Victorian age, two of them can be considered worth handling in detail: accounts of exploration and texts relating to the tourist travel.

Accounts of Victorian explorers reached a bestseller status during the nineteenth century. This is because they contributed to the discourse of the Empire and satisfied the curiosity for foreign lands. Said also underlines this discourse, and states that "there developed a fairly large body of Oriental-style European literature very frequently based on personal experiences in the Orient" (157). Those kinds of texts also met the public's taste for adventure and entertainment. During the last quarter of the century, this literature attracted a wide range of readership. Simon Gatrell explains this development and adds that "the new millions of readers liked … to read not about themselves and their social and financial problems but about exotic places and daring deeds" (31). Many Victorian explorers appeared in their accounts as heroes or heroines; the travelling heroes or heroines offered their readers the adventure and sometimes thrill which they had experienced. Their accounts not only had an exciting travel plot, but they also made the travelling persona an interesting character within this plot. The following extract is taken from Richard Chandler's travel account to Turkey, namely *The Travels in Asia Minor*. The figure of Chandler as heroic adventurer is clearly seen at the core of the text when Chandler as travel writer depicts the passage:

> We sate here, in the open air, while supper was preparing; when suddenly, fires began to blaze up amongst the bushes, and we saw the villagers [...] passing to and fro with lighted brands for torches. A shrill owl [...] with a night-hawk flitted near us and a

> jackal cryed mournfully, as if forsaken by his companions, on the mountain. My friends were really scared. (115)

Despite the obvious elements of adventure in their texts, the majority of Victorian explorers were nevertheless committed to imparting information. The Royal Geographical Society (RGS) emerged in this period as the promoter of travel aiming to promote an explorer for publicity purposes. Also, the general society linked the tradition of travel writing to the former Grand Tour. A vital feature of the period was the promotion of science for the purposes of overseas expansion, and travel writing had a crucial part in this process. With this, the writing associated with exploration took a number of forms and thus Victorian accounts of exploration tended to include long descriptions of natural and anthropological phenomena. In this manner, the explorers of the nineteenth century continued in the tradition of the earlier writing of exploration and scientific travel and thus, this kind of travelling contributed "to the library of Orientalism and to its consolidation depending on how experience and testimony get converted from a purely personal document into the enabling codes of Orientalist science" (Said 157).

Furthermore, the Victorian explorers would become national heroes if their expeditions satisfied the imperial ambitions. These travellers, like missionaries such as David Livingstone, considered carrying the good things of British civilisation to the wilderness as Darwin's previous excerpt clearly identifies the point; hence the explorers were considered as the carriers of civilisation. To give an example for other national heroes, Hulme points out, "the travel writing itself existed in very large quantities. Livingstone's work meant three books. Burton's massive article in RGS journal was followed by a two-

volume work in 1860 while his companion and rival Speke let Blackwood edit and rush out a large volume on the Nile" (65). Royal Navy Officer Sir John Franklin (1786-1847) became a national hero as he went to Northwest Passage in 1845:

> Franklin himself, famous after two previous expeditions, seemed to embody those English qualities that would make him overcome all difficulties. He was persistent, pious, and courageous, and he had at his command the best of British technology and science as well as the best of British manhood. Although national pride was involved in the Franklin Expedition, the symbolic value of the expedition went beyond mere patriotism ... The Franklin Expedition was not simply carrying the Union Jack into the Arctic; it was carrying Western man's faith in his power to prevail on earth. If Franklin could find and navigate a Western man would seem somehow to demonstrate his capacity to conquer Nature at its most mysterious and intimidating. (Loomis 104-106)

Although Franklin appears in his text as a hero who failed to explore the region he travelled, many accounts of the Victorian period presented the explorer as a conqueror of his country. The extent of travel books of this period is studied by Mary Louise Pratt highlighting the imperialist ambitions of the late nineteenth century. To Pratt, the apparently object-oriented description of "manners and customs" is a strategy which allows the writers to avoid the portrayal of culture contact while the text itself constructs an "other" whom the Western traveller does not contact with (121). Another writing strategy of the travel book was the strict separation of a country's population from geographical descriptions, thus the real object of the imperial gaze came out as unpopulated. Therefore, as Pratt demonstrates, the account of Victorian explorers frequently

draws on traditional patterns of picturesque landscape description as may be exemplified by Francis Harvé's depiction of Izmir:

> Smyrna appears sufficiently obscured to leave only its beauties distinctly visible; its mosques and minarets, rising from the mass of roofs, alone arresting the admirer's eye; whilst beyond its noble bay presents her wide silver sheet, bounded by the wild barren mountains, whose mantling brows [...] shut the scene. Thus you have for your foreground the richest and gayest fertility that nature and art can bring together, whilst your extreme distance, though arid and naked, presents a grand romantic outline. (314)

Francis Harvé's presentation of Izmir highlights its resemblance to a painted landscape through expressions such as "beauties", "silver sheet", "romantic outline", and "foreground". However, if the picturesque perception of landscape was originally of a purely aesthetic nature, it is highlighted in explorer accounts by a very definite element of interest – landscape aesthetics is used ironically to veil the ambition to conquer the land.

On the other hand, by drawing on the tradition of the picturesque, the accounts of Victorian explorers also share an element with another variety of travel writing: the account of the tourist trip, so travel for the enjoyment of the landscape may be regarded as a pioneer of modern tourism. Since the Victorian tourist was principally concerned with seeing sights, it soon became habitual for tourists to document what they had seen through sending postcards back home. The novelist Anthony Trollope (1815-1882), emphasizes the importance of sights for the tourists in the Niagara Falls in his account of a journey (*North America*) through United States to Canada, narrating:

> [O]f all the sights on this earth of ours which tourists travel to seen, – at least of all those which I have seen, – I am inclined to give the palm to the Falls of Niagara. In the catalogue of such sights I intend to include all buildings, pictures, statues, and wonders of art made by men's hands, and also all beauties of nature prepared by the Creator for the delight of his creatures. (136)

On the other hand, Charles Dickens's narration of Boston is rather different in his *American Notes* (1842):

> The indescribable interest with which I strained my eyes, as the first patches of American soil peeped like molehills from the green sea [...] can hardly be exaggerated. [...] How I remained on deck, staring about me, until we came alongside the dock, and how, though I had had as many eyes as Argus, I should have had them all wide open, and all employed on new objects—are topics which I will not prolong this chapter to discuss. (23)

While the imperialist view was established on an ideology which attempted to possess what it had seen, the tourist seemed to be influenced by the pleasure of seeing as well. However, in contrast to the explorer's gaze, the tourist's way of seeing was characterised as "panoramic perception" by German philosopher Dolf Sternberger in his article titled as *Panorama of the 19th Century*. According to Schiffer:

> Dolf Sternberger perceives the experience of travel in the nineteenth century as a virtual panoramization of the world. He thus extends the term panorama beyond its meaning in art history to cover an approach to reality which he considers characteristic of this period. When he writes of panoramic perception, he understands this as a manner of viewing which is essentially

> connected with the accelerated mode of perception offered by railway travel: the world passes by the traveller in colourful pictures; the panoramic view of the traveller is directed at pictures which are characterised by a sense of fleetingness, change and a foreground distorted by speed. (134)

A panoramic view in this sense was the perception of a vehicle in motion like the snapshot mechanism of a camera. This motion can also be figured out in Charles Dickens's *Pictures from Italy*, as the title denotes to the importance of seeing as an essential experience of tourist travel. Moreover, in the text, the traveller on a steamboat on the Rhone is depicted as follows:

> For the last two days, we had seen great sullen hills, the first indications of the Alps, lowering in the distance. Now, we were rushing on beside them: sometimes close beside them: sometimes with an intervening slope, covered with vineyards. Villages and small towns hanging in mid-air, with great woods of olives seen through the light open towers of their churches, and clouds moving slowly on, upon the steep acclivity behind them; ruined castles perched on every eminence; and scattered houses in the clefts and gullies of the hills; made it very beautiful. The great height of these, too, making the buildings look so tiny, that they had all the charm of elegant models; their excessive whiteness, as contrasted with the brown rocks, or the sombre, deep, dull, heavy green of the olive tree; and the puny size, and little slow walk of the Lilliputian men and women on the bank; made a charming picture. (272)

In this example, the view seems to be passing by the traveller as if on a film screen and the houses and people glanced at is revealed from a distance appears very small; hence, the traveller's impression is

revealed as rather external and distant. Nevertheless, the tourist account was not usually characterised by brief views of the traveller, so many writings by tourist travellers were marked by great care in its description of sights. Thus, description was the dominant mode of representation in this kind of travel writing. Arundell's (1780-1846) account of his first arrival in 1822 also depicts approach from the sea to the town, presenting him a picture of inexpressible beauty with its all aspects in detail:

> The acclivities of Mount Pagus and the plain beneath, covered with innumerable houses, the tiled roofs and painted balconies, the domes and minarets of mosques glowing and glittering with the setting sun; the dark walls of the old fortress crowning the top of the mountain, and the still darker cypress-groves below, shipping of every form and country covering the bay beneath; flags of every nation waving on the ships of war, and over the consulate houses; picturesque sacolevas, and innumerable caicks skimming along the surface of the waves; mountains on both sides of stupendous height and extraordinary outline, the effect of volcanoes or earthquakes, tinted with so strong a purple, that neither these nor the golden streaks on the water could safely be attempted to be represented even by a Claude: at the margin of the water on the right, meadows of the richest pasture, the velvet turf contrasted with the silvery olive, and covered with cattle and tents without number. (1)

Passages like these reveal how Arundell's account is structured to resemble typical tourist behaviour: the text moves with the traveller, from one view to the next, from sight to sight. Although Arundell reports his journey retrospectively, his text also fulfils a guiding function for its audience; the readers are even addressed directly to the views which

they might seek during future travels of their own. It is clear that the Victorian tourist journey, like the account of the Grand Tour, borders on the guidebook genre. The difference between guidebooks and other travel accounts will be revealed in the next chapter.

If tourist travel was performed seemingly, this was to be attributed to such forms of standardization. Moreover, the programming of the tourist journey and particular expectations attached to it gave rise to problems in textual bases. How could the tourist account present the sights? In *Pictures from Italy*, Dickens found an original solution to the problem of presenting Venice. Dickens depicts his stay in Venice as "An Italian Dream," but at the end of the chapter the readers understand that the dream has been an actual visit to the town: "I have, many and many a time, thought since, of this strange Dream upon the water: half wondering if it lie there yet, and if its name be VENICE" (336).

Another problem for the tourist writers were repetitions in their narrations. To John Barrell, tourist writers are those "whose accounts of the country seem often to have been judged in terms of the degree of personality displayed in what are always represented as 'personal impressions' of the country" (100). In this vein, Anthony Trollope, for instance, in *North America*, expresses himself as a clumsy foreigner repeatedly and in the introduction to his account, he implies that a travelogue cannot be objective in the first place:

> But it is very hard to write about any country a book that does not represent the country described in a more or less ridiculous point of view. It can hardly be done by a man who professes to use a light pen, and to manufacture his article for the use of general readers. Such a writer may tell all that he sees of the beautiful; but

> he must also tell, if not all that he sees of the ludicrous, at any rate the most piquant part of it. (3)

Again in his introduction to *North America*, he pronounces his aim: “My wish is to describe as well as I can the present social and political state of the country” (1). Like Trollope’s *North America*, many nineteenth century accounts of tourist travel aims to entertain and instruct their readers. Even if Victorian tourism represents a quite different form of travel from the travel or voyage of the explorer, the personal forms of account displays a number of parallels relating to their description, information and individual experience. According to Barbara Korte, almost all types of the nineteenth century travel writing, in general, supported the values and norms of the traveller’s home society (98). It is a general opinion to the critiques of travel writing that the tourist account is less committed to imperialism than the texts of many explorers, but in most cases, during the course of travel, the tourist also behaves as a faithful British subject, as in Alexander Kinglake’s travel to the east (*Eothen*), travel in the nineteenth century also offers opportunities to escape from the traveller’s own society. Breaking free from home by means of travel was first experienced by Alexander Kinglake. His book *Eothen* (1844) was the first pattern of that kind of narration which was a journey to the Orient. In *Eothen*, every young man between 19 and 22 is obsessed by a passion for travel, and this passion should be lived out:

> If a man, and an Englishman, be not born of his mother with a Chiffney-bit in his mouth, there comes to him a time for loathing the wearisome ways of society [...] – a time, in short, for questioning, scoffing, and railing – for speaking lightly of the very opera, and all our most cherished institutions. A little while you are

> free, and unlabelled, like the ground that you compass; but Civilisation is watching to throw her lasso; you will be surely enclosed, and sooner or later brought down to a state of mere usefulness – your grey hills will be curiously sliced into acres, and roods, and perches, and you, for all you sit so wilful in your saddle, you will be caught – you will be taken up from travel, as a colt from grass, to be trained, and tried, and matched, and run. This in time; but first come continental tours, and the moody longing for eastern travel: the downs and the moors of England can hold you no longer; with larger stride you burst away from these slips and patches of free land – you thread your path through the crowds of Europe, and at last, on the banks of Jordan, you joyfully know that you are upon the very frontier of all accustomed respectabilities. (119-120)

Kinglake actually travels to the East and for Kinglake, the value of travel lies in a temporary escape from the monotony of civilisation. Therefore, he even allows his guide to mislead him and he expresses his delight: “My delight was so great at the near prospect of bread and salt in the tent of an Arab warrior, that I wilfully allowed my guide to go on, and misled me” (121).

It is clear from the opening of *Eothen* that the main reason for Kinglake’s journey was not seeking out of the significant sights. In fact, the account was not principally concerned with describing the object world, but rather intended to give the traveller’s subjective experience:

> Now a traveller is a creature not always looking – he remembers (how often!) the happy land of his birth – he has, too, his moments of humble enthusiasm about fire, and food – about shade, and drink; and if he gives to these feelings anything like the prominence which really belonged to them at the time of his

> travelling, he will not seem a very good teacher; once having determined to write the sheer truth concerning the things which chiefly have interested him, he must, and he will, sing a sadly long strain about self; he will talk for whole pages together about his bivouac fire, and ruin the Ruins of Baalbec with eight or ten cold lines. (4)

Hence, in this kind of travel writing, the marking of sights and the insertion of objective information are no longer the dominant textual strategies. Instead, Kinglake's self narration, as in the sections which the act of travelling itself is narrated, can be realized by the reader. He depicts his ride through the desert as follows:

> The earth is so samely, that your eyes turn towards heaven – towards heaven, I mean, in sense of sky. You look to the Sun, for he is your taskmaster, and by him you know the measure of the work that you have done, and the measure of the work that remains for you to do. He comes when you strike your tent in the early morning, and then, for the first hour of the day, as you move forward on your camel, he stands at your near side, and makes you know that the whole day's toil is before you; then for a while, and a long while, you see him no more, for you are veiled and shrouded, and dare not look upon the greatness of his glory, but you know where he strides over head, by the touch of his flaming sword. No words are spoken, but your Arabs moan, your camels sigh, your skin glows, your shoulders ache, and for sights you see the pattern and the web of the silk that veils your eyes, and the glare of the outer light. Time labours on – your skin glows, your shoulders ache, your Arabs moan, your camels sigh, and you see the same pattern in the silk, and the same glare of light beyond; but conquering Time marches on, and by and by the descending sun has compassed the heaven, and now softly touches your fight

> arm, and throws your lank shadow over the sand right along on the way for Persia. (172-173)

Here, a travel writer takes narrative to present time in his journey without looking at sights and without considering any particular events. The positive aspect of such passages is the opportunity it creates for the reader to share the experience with the traveller.

Until the nineteenth century, such travelogues like *Eothen* (from the East) did not present the attraction of travel and emphasised the opportunities of escape which travelling created. Increasingly, this tendency was escorted by the criticism of civilisation, along with anti-tourist and anti-imperialist manners. With the high proportion of a greater mass of tourists, the last decade of the nineteenth century saw a rise in attempts to alternative travels. In 1876, for instance, Robert Louis Stevenson set off a journey by canoe along the rivers of Belgium and France naming his memoirs *An Inland Voyage* and presenting it distinct from the tourist journey: “Under these safeguards, portly clergymen, school-mistresses, gentlemen in grey tweed suits, and all the ruck and rabble of British touristry pour unhindered, *Murray* in hand, over the railways of the Continent” (12). For Stevenson following Kinglake, the primary aim of a journey consists in the experience of travel which does not reach a particular place. As in Kinglake, this experience includes the monotony of travelling, the absence of remarkable events or attractions. In fact, it was this motionless voyage that helped Stevenson to find the pathway to his own self. This kind of journey was generally considered as an inner journey which formed the major theme of Stevenson’s account like Kinglake’s and most of the others:

> What philosophers call *me* and *not me*, *ego* and *non ego*, preoccupied me whether I would or no. There was less *me* and more *not me* than I was accustomed to expect. I looked on upon somebody else, who managed to paddling. Nor this alone: something inside my mind, a part of my brain, a province of my proper being, had thrown off allegiance and set up for itself, or perhaps for the somebody else who did the paddling. I had dwindled into quite a little thing in a corner of myself. I was isolated in my own skull. Thoughts presented themselves unbidden. (78) (emphasis original)

In the same narrative Stevenson, attracts the attention of the reader to the text; also emphasising the importance of travel as an escape from the comfort of civilisation:

> For my part, I travel not to go anywhere, but to go. I travel for travel's sake. The great affair is to move; to feel the needs and hitches of our life more nearly; to come down off this feather-bed of civilisation, and find the globe granite underfoot and strewn with cutting flints. (130-131)

The traveller in Stevenson's account wishes to break free from his own culture and thus he is aware that in the travelled country, he is the foreigner and that this country should not be regarded as an object possession. According to Korte "in this period, cultural relativism was part and parcel of a critique of European civilisation and imperialism that was taking an increasingly strong hold" (102). In fact, it is true for the nineteenth century travel accounts that the attitude of cultural relativism towards the travelled region by various travelogues can be usually seen. The above-mentioned writers are the striking examples for cultural relativism which is basically the principle that an individual's (in this case

the traveller and his travelogue) beliefs and activities should be understood in terms of his own culture.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century there also appears a counter-discourse against the values of Victorianism. Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham (1852 – 1936) undertook a journey in 1897 to Morocco far from conventional modes and perception of dominant modes of a journey in the nineteenth century. His account's name is *The Far West*. At the end of the nineteenth century, entrance to inner Morocco was forbidden to Europeans because Morocco was afraid of being part of imperialism in Northern Africa. On his trip, Cunninghame Graham disguises as a Turkish doctor; nevertheless he does not reach his destination; his true identity is revealed and after his imprisonment, he is deported out from the country.

Actually, Cunninghame Graham had a criticism on imperialism and this might be connected with his Scottish origin. Thus, especially his preface to *The Far West*, figures out his criticism to the conventional account of Victorian travels. He is not patriotic in his descriptions:

> I have tried to write after the fashion that men speak over the fire at night, their pipes alight, hands on their rifles, boots turned towards the blaze, ears strained to catch the rustle of a leaf, and with then tin tea mug stopped on its journey to the mouth when horses snort; I mean I strove to write down that which I saw without periphrasis, sans flag-wagging, and with no megrim in my head of having been possessed by some great moral purpose, without which few travellers nowadays presume to leave their homes. I fear I have no theory of empires, destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race, spread of the Christian faith, of trade extension. (xx)

For Cunninghame, there is no prescribed method for writing about one's travels. The difference between him and imperialist travel writers of the nineteenth century also shows itself in his expression of the culture of the travelled country. He gives detailed portraits of his Arab companions:

> Guns, gin, powder, and shoddy cloths, dishonest dealing only too frequently, and flimsy manufacturers which displace the fabrics woven by the women, new wants, new ways, and discontent with what they know, and no attempt to teach a proper comprehension of what they introduce; these are the blessings Europeans take to Eastern lands. (25)

It is clear from this passage that the writer's sympathy for the inhabitants' way of life results not only from his anti-imperialist attitude but also their lifestyle represents for him an alternative to the writer's own civilisation.

Desire for foreign lands and an escape from civilisation are not new motives for travel; this kind of writing has been increased from the end of the nineteenth century onwards. Thus, travel writing became a mode of escape from and critique of European civilisation. As Roy Bridges mentions, "the era from about 1830 to 1880 is the period of Victorian non-annexationist global expansion characterised by considerable confidence about Britain and its place in the world" (54).

Middle East or the Orient, with its midway position and very proximity to Europe, as well as the long existence of religious, cultural, and political exchanges with the West, defined the Middle East as a border zone. It was the birthplace of Christianity and the two other religions – Judaism and Islam – accorded by Westerners. From the second half of the fifteenth century until the late seventeenth century,

the Ottoman Empire literally encroached on Europe's borders, claiming supremacy in the Mediterranean, and challenging the very existence of a fragile and divided Christian West. The Ottoman challenge was not merely military. Yet for Europeans the sense of the Ottoman threat was real enough as Billie Melman observes:

> Though a British Middle-Eastern policy seeking influence in the area may be traced back to the Mediterranean campaign against post-revolutionary Napoleonic France, before the First World War this policy remained consistently Ottomanist and supported the territorial integrity of the weakening empire. With the exception of Cyprus and Egypt, occupied in 1878 and 1882 respectively, military occupation and direct intervention evolved only during the Great War and in relation to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. (qtd. in Hulme 106)

British curiosity about the Orient and distinct Anglo-American travel cultures are taken as the ultimate sign of a colonial act. However, neither the British experience of travel, nor the diverse representations of this experience, is homogenous. Elaborated by Edward Said in his 1978 book, the term "Orientalism" has become the single most influential paradigm in studies of travel writing and indeed of colonial cross-cultural exchanges. In the next chapter, this theory is disclosed in detail; but – in brief – Said defines "Orientalism" as an academic tradition, a style and, most importantly, a way of "making sense" of the Middle East that draws on binary oppositions and an imaginary geography that divides the world into two equal and hierarchically positioned parts: the West and the East, the Occident and the Orient, Christianity and Islam, rationalism and its absence, progress and stagnation (Kabbani 12). The Saidian

paradigm of Orientalism has been contested and modified in recent years by Ali Behdad, Charles Issawi, Billie Melman, and Lisa Lowe among others who have pointed out that travellers' representations have not been homogenous but have been inflected by gender, class, and nationality.

During the nineteenth century, travel was not only a source of enjoyment but was also noticeably legitimized by a desire for education. Korte argues that: "of many varieties of travel writing which emerged during the mobile age of Victoria, two will be considered in greater detail: accounts of exploration and the texts relating to the new mass phenomenon of tourist travel" (88). The years between 1880 and 1940 are the beginning of the era of globalisation or Westernisation. It is possible to see three stages of travel writing during this period. From 1880 to 1900, the long, realist instructive tale of heroic adventure remained dominant. In the years from 1900 to the First World War, the realist texts have not disappeared, but much travel writing becomes less didactic, more subjective, and more literary. By the inter-war years, which saw a rise in the recognition of travel and travel writing, the literary travel book had become a dominant form. Since travel books have been attached to the literary cannon in the Western literature by the scholars of this field, it is worth underpinning the features and objectives of this recent literary genre in the following chapter along with the theoretical background of this study.

CHAPTER 2: TRAVEL AS DISCOURSE

2.1. Functions and Objectives

One of the first mythical wayfarers is Hermes who is “far swifter and less earthbound than human traveller, as is indicated in many images through his winged sandals or hat” (Hard 158). Hermes’s role is “to act as a messenger for the gods, and for Zeus in particular. [...] He performs numerous [...] missions” (158). In Greek mythology, Hermes is “the god of the road and the protector of all who travel on it, whether openly on legitimate business or more covertly for nefarious purposes” (160). He is also a god who “was concerned with boundaries and their transgression, [and] was able to cross over and so help others to cross over the most formidable boundary of all, that which separates the world of the living from the world of the dead” (161). As a whole, most of his functions “are related in one way or another to the wayside and wayfaring and to boundaries and the transgression of boundaries” (160). He is a mediator between two worlds. Similarly, a traveller is a go-between, an individual who undergoes travail in order to familiarize his readers with the unfamiliar world.

Regarding his expedition, a travel writer plays different roles such as that of a scholar, a collector, an ethnographer, an anthropologist, a cultural translator, a biographer, and even a novelist. The relation between a traveller and travellees is through experiencing and encountering different objects and signs, acting and reacting towards varieties of situations, encountering dangers and suffering, what Francis Bacon in his essay termed as “travail.” Unlike the authors of fiction, a

travel writer leaves safety, order – home and family provided for him in his own country – and exposes himself to the peril and physical suffering of travel. At this homecoming, he encourages the readers to identify themselves with his own fate. Furthermore as Mark Cocker claims;

> [t]raveller thrives on the alien, the unexpected, even the uncomfortable and challenging. In fact, the more difficult the journey and the more circumstances are stacked against them, generally the fuller the travel experience. This element of opposition, of having to react to the places and people encountered, is at the heart of travel. (1-2)

Zweder von Martels also states that travellers like “merchants, sailors, soldiers, students, explorers, pilgrims, or those seeking alienation from the world – they and others, all used their five senses and their talents in different ways as they travelled” (xii). Encountering the travellees, they begin to read signs, codes and culture, which like a literary text, a system full of signs and the narration of a nation are open to them. To understand the cultural text of the travellees, the traveller must have a full knowledge of the ways such a system functions. This process invites him to participate in an ongoing relationship of perception and response. In-between, he is no longer a passive recipient of the system of signs interwoven into cultures. Through a dynamic interaction between the traveller and the travellees, his understanding and horizon of expectations goes through a kind of expectation. At that moment, his subjectivity acts as a factor by means of which he finds his identity theme.

On the other hand, Patricia Craige believes that “those in search of change, in one sense, are sometimes prone to resent it” in experiencing, comparing and understanding the “Other” (ix). A traveller compares and contrasts his preconceptions with what he encounters

abroad, which function as a means through which his horizon of understanding is broadened. The more he journeys the fuller his experiences become and the better he understands the world. Thereafter, it is as if the previous clothes of the traveller's identity have to be replaced by new ones; hence, a transformation will take place in his life. He returns after such a transformation to his country and the reader is invited to participate in the traveller's experiences. In other words, in travel accounts there is an invitation by travel writers for the readers to show the experiences of travel. This is an emphasis on distinguishing and experiencing the possibility of different existing realities abroad by both travellers and readers. As Manfred Pfister argues: "traveller's Italy is constructed through, and in, such sets of preconceptions, prejudices, stereotypes, anticipations and preferences, which articulate themselves in what we have come to call 'discourses'." (4). In this regard, Barbara Korte states: "the travelling subject is firmly at centre stage. To Norman Douglas (1926), for example, travel writing was an attractive genre precisely because of its capacity to be subject-oriented and to render the *personal* experience of travel" (6) (emphasis original). To Norman Douglas it seems that

> the reader of a good travel-book is entitled not only to an interior, a sentimental or temperamental voyage, which takes place side by side with that outer one; and that the ideal book of this kind offers us, indeed, a triple opportunity of exploration abroad, into the author's brain, and into our own. (11)

The traveller begins to read the culture of foreign lands, in a manner similar to the process of reading a text, and decodes conventions of such a culture/text; thereafter he begins to translate it from an unfamiliar language for his own people. During his act of translating, he compares and contrasts two cultures/texts with each other. Repeatedly, the

traveller moves back and forth from his own consciousness and culture to the consciousness and culture of the "Other." Consequently, he judges between various dissimilar phenomena in two locations – as differentiation between two things is the core of judgement. The judgement will be authentic provided that the traveller represents the "Other" without denigrating its normalness. Pfister argues that:

> [The] other cultures do, of course, exist in their own right; only in their otherness are they constructions of external observations. For them, they function as projection screens for their own anxieties and desires. The Other [...] helps both the individual and a culture to establish and maintain identity by serving as a screen onto which the self projects it unfulfilled longings, its repressed desires and its darker sides which it wishes and sees itself constrained to exorcise [...] In a word: the Other is fascinating. One feels drawn towards and into it and at the same time shies away from it; it is alluring and repellent at the same time. (4-5)

Roland Barthes argues that the traveller stands "in-between" in the act of translating one culture to another, although in such an attempt the traveller may misunderstand some parts of the culture/text like a translator who cannot capture the full meaning of a text. He will be influenced by both cultures; hence, he enters into the game of "cultural decoding" and "textual decoding." Like some translators who give commentaries at the beginning of their translation of a text, the travel writer is free to comment not only at the beginning but also throughout his texts. Such commentaries are not neutral, and might be "marked in light (or shadow) of power" as well as personal prejudices (Barthes 107-8). There exists both blindness and insight in such a "transcultural" decoding and recoding. Alphonse de Lamartine, in *Travels in the East* (1835), writes, "of all books the most difficult, in my opinion, is a translation" (82). Accordingly, one can equally say that travel writing is

also the “most difficult” genre. Robert Shannan Peckham confirms this view pointing out that:

> [t]he relations between travel and translation are further underlined by the etymology of ‘translation’, meaning ‘carried one place to another’, which echoes the etymology of ‘metaphor’, a Greek word signifying ‘that which is transported’ (Hillis Miller 1995, 316; Butor 1974). If travel is a metaphoric practice, then it may be thought of as a form of writing, just as writing may reciprocally be conceived as a form of travel. As James Clifford has recently observed, if “travel were untethered [and] seen as a complex and pervasive spectrum of human experience’, then ‘practices of displacement might emerge as *constitutive* of cultural meanings rather than as their simple transfer or extension’ (1997, 3). [...] If exotic places were being translated in terms of the familiar, places were being correspondingly mapped in terms of the exotic. (164-6) (emphasis original)

Regardless of the political, economic, missionary and colonial objectives, the traveller’s foremost focus is on the architectures, museums, and works of art. He is involved in the history of the travellees, in whole or in part, through confrontation with the present situation and historical monuments. Both time and space are before him, which pave the way for the travelling subject to compare his own time and place with the present time and place of the travelled world. Through such moving back and forth, he finds out the similarities and differences, whereupon a particular discourse appears, through which man comes to an epistemological, ontological knowledge about himself and the world. Wimal Dissanayake and Carmen Wirkramagamage argue that this production of knowledge, meaning and discourse is the result of a dynamic interaction between the traveller’s

> attraction and fear, the attractiveness of the primitive, simple, idyllic life and the fear of being confronted by strange and barbaric ways of life. The tension between these two frames of mind fuel much travel writing. [...] The production of knowledge and textuality of travel writing is intimately linked to the domestication of the primitive other, and the strategies by which this is accomplished offer us useful insights into the discourse of travel writing. Here, the production of the other and the production of the text are indissociably linked. (12-13)

Concerning the objectives of travel, there are various kinds of travel writers. Dissanayake and Wirkramagamage point out that Pratt identifies two main categories of travel writers as “information-oriented and sentimental” (3). According to this classification, the primary objective of the first category is to “incorporate a particular reality into a series of interlocking information orders – aesthetic, geographic, mineralogical, botanical, agricultural, economic, ecological, ethnographic, and so on” (3-4). More precisely, such a travel writer, as Dissanayake and Wirkramagamage indicate, presents information and his “aim is to provide a putatively objective account of the landscape, the customs, and the behavioural patterns of the people for the vicarious pleasure and edification of a sedentary domestic audience” (116-17). This type of travel writer functions like a roving camera that moves from place to place to portray what is seen or heard without any commentary, in an objective way; i.e., he is more like a “neutral seeing eye” (117). The second category, the experiential traveller, puts emphasis on “dramatization” and the “heroic paradigms” (4). The travelling subject is the protagonist of the travel. The narrative capability rests on the reciprocal interaction of travelling subject with travelled object. Narrativity is the most prominent feature of this category. Percy G. Adams considers these travellers as “curious travellers” (68). They observe everything not only in their own country but also in other countries. They

follow their desires and curiosities and are involved in the experiences of travel. Moreover, the third category of travel writers that emerges in modern time is a kind of "intellectual social commentator" (Dissanayake and Wirkramagamage 5). In the narration of such writers the "narrator's authority is derived from the acuity of observations and depth of analysis" (5).

There are other travellers, the mere tourists, who move from one place to the next, while they do not interact with the travellees; although, they move in space and time, they return unchanged. Syed Manzurul Islam does not consider them "really [...] as travellers," but he uses an "oxymoronic" term, the "sedentary traveller" (55-6). Syed Manzurul Islam argues that "each object of quest defines a traveller: there are as many travellers as there are objects. They do not all travel the same route: there are as many routes as there are travellers. A commercial traveller might take the same track as a pilgrim but they would be travelling along different routes" (55-6). He categorises two kinds of travellers, first:

> A 'sedentary traveller', frigid with the morbid fear of encounter, moves in space either to seek confirmation of her/his egocentric self in the mirror of the other, or to capture the other in representation in the paranoiac gesture of othering, thus never becoming-other. Moreover, sedentary travel has been an important technology in the armoury of the West in its pursuit of mastery over the rest of the world. (209)

He identifies the second type of travellers as "nomadic traveller," different from the first category:

> Nomadic travellers, on the other hand, dwell in a smooth space (*Gegend*-region, or *Heterotopia*), letting their 'moving body' slide along the supple line, crossing boundaries with speed and

> experiencing the intensities of encounter, never returning the *same*, and becoming-other. (209) (emphasis original)

To sum up, there are two kinds of travellers: firstly, those who suffer *travail*, undergo a transformation and metamorphosis during their journeys, and gain a new insight and reach a *self-understanding*. Their epistemology, identity and horizon of understanding will be transformed in the course of travel by means of experiencing and encountering the travellees. Metaphorically speaking, they leave behind the unfitting old clothes of their previous life when they return home; I call them *dynamic travellers*. Secondly, those travellers who travel not for the sake of self-recognition, and have nothing to do with transformation, whom I call *static travellers*: or, the mere tourists.

2.2. Travel as Discourse: Contributing Elements

The history of travel and that of travel writing are related to each other, that is to say, both travel and writing have always been closely interwoven with each other in such a way that is impossible to deal with them separately. Travel and writing go hand in hand. Since the beginning of oral and written literature, accounts of travel have existed, and based on political, religious, economic, and other social factors there have appeared various forms in this genre. Because of the varieties of style and tone in travel writing, it is difficult to describe it as a single genre. It has a vast potentiality of effects on man's life; it has influenced commercial investments, the world's markets, trade routes, cultures, history, anthropology, ethnography, geography, and social studies crucially. Subsequently, travel writing has turned into one of the major subjects for the humanities and social sciences. The literature of travel, at its best, functions as an effective medium for the global circulation of (trans)cultural information. It creates a communication between "Others" and "Us." It is a discourse designed to describe the culture and society of particular people for readers of all kinds. In addition, travel writing is an objective, subjective and descriptive end-product of technological, scientific explorations and discoveries.

Travel writing is defined, directly or otherwise, throughout the history of its emergence by anthropologists, archaeologists, scientists, explorers, and travel writers. Andrew Hadfield emphasises the function of travel writing as an act of participation "in current pressing debates about the nature of society," as a "means of presenting the popular at large" (12). Such considerations indicate that in travel writing there is an inter-active understanding of the "nature of society," or of culture. Barbara Korte, in *English Travel Writing*, argues that:

> not until the journey is textualized does it become an experience; only as text does the journey gain significance for the traveller. Other contemporary writers have also emphasized this nexus of travel and writing. According to Michel Butor (1974), 'to travel, at least in a certain manner, is to write (first of all because to travel is to read), and to write is to travel' (p.2). Charles Grivel (1994) makes a similar claim: 'My travelling is an event of the pen. It is something other than the story I make of it. [...] Travelling means placing the body into a state of writing. (243)

Accordingly, any attempt to deal with travel writing inevitably is related to the history and detailed consideration of the motives implied in travel. Not only are the accounts of travel cultural documentation, they are also texts written according to meticulous strategies –including specific artistic principles and designs (Korte 244). Roy Bridges shows that through discoveries and explorations of *other* lands by Europeans there appeared a sense of pressure which tends

> to make travel writing not only more precise and scientific but also more obviously utilitarian, more explicitly concerned with issues of trade, diplomacy, and prestige. Three broad phases may be distinguished. In the middle and later eighteenth century, the end of the old mercantilist empire of plantations, slavery and Atlantic trade is apparent. A 'swing to the East' and to Africa may be detected. The era from about 1830 to 1880 is the period of Victorian non-annexationist global expansion characterised by considerable confidence about Britain and its place in the world. From 1880 to 1914 is a period of severe international competition and territorial annexations accompanied by considerable anxiety. (53-4)

Mainly, British travellers' observations and judgements on non-European civilisations have not been "pleasant." Concerning the British treatment of the Orient, Maxime Rodinson points out that:

> [b]y the beginning of the nineteenth century, three major trends stood out: a sense of Western superiority marked by pragmatism, imperialism, and utter contempt for other civilisations; a romantic exoticism mesmerised by a magical East whose growing poverty seemed only to add to its charm, and a specialized erudition focused on the great ages of the past. (52)

As my analysis is concerned with the exposition of the varieties of the nineteenth century British observations on Ottoman society, this experience is often shaped by religious, class and gender prejudices. When British travellers write about Ottoman justice, the plague years, or about Ottoman cities, historians need to turn to such travellers since Ottoman sources are silent and thus, their discourses should also be taken into account.

In addition, travel literature articulates a dynamic interaction between human subjects with the foreign world. A travel book is a work dealing with real facts – an impression often confirmed by index, footnotes and bibliography – rather than an imaginary world, which has led to a perception of it as a literature closely associated with geography or history or some other scientific discipline.

Primarily, in travel books one can trace describing, mapping, illuminating and familiarising the unfamiliar and unknown lands. Geoffrey Moorhouse argues that the "travel book" is a designation that has come "to be attached to any non-fiction with a foreign setting" (qtd. in Cocker 104). In fact, some travel books bring into play many devices and demonstrate all the artistic qualities typically related to fictional works. There is an innovative-recreative sense in such texts. Similar to fictional

works, content and form are two significant aspects in the narrative of travel books. In representing such a real-life drama, the travellers seem to be instructed to portray geographical places, cultural situations, social structures, religious customs, and so on. Moreover, the travel writers, in their travel books, try to be empirical in a semi-autobiographical matrix. Such authors have liberty in the act of commenting, reordering the sequence of their travel experiences, as well as substituting a deeply subjective inquiry for a conventionally random stream of external facts. Percy G. Adams identifies three prolific forms in travel books. The first category is the formal or informal writing in the form of letters (xxi). Diaries and journals are the second category, and the third category is in the form of narrative, written in first person which

> customarily gives dates and names of places, normally leaps and lingers while moving inexorably forward with the journey, and often includes an essay on the nature or advantages of travel. [...] Literature of travel occurs, [...] wholly or partly in the dialogue form. [...] It can be part of an autobiography or biography. [...] And travel literature was written in the form of poems, or in prose that contains some poems. Best known of the poetic accounts is surely the *Iter Brundusium* by Horace, which is modelled on a less famous and unfinished travel poem, the *Iter Siculum*, by Lucilius. (xxii-xxiii) (emphasis original)

It is obvious that intertextuality in reading and writing is significant for many travel writers. The materials taken from preceding travel writers or other sources play an important role in travel and travel writings. That is to say, the knowledge of the previous travellers is a part of the traveller's education about the "Other." It is a reciprocal interaction between the traveller's preconceptions about a particular place combined with the information obtained from previous texts. This in itself produces an interaction between the traveller's pervious knowledge and

the texts read during the journeys and finally the traveller's confrontation with the place, which may be or not different from what he expected to see (Clark 1-7). Barbara Korte supports this idea asserting that:

> To Butor, reading is as much a part of travel as is writing, and for Chatwin, too, the significance of a journey is constituted not only in its own textualization, but essentially also through other texts. Texts read during the journey contribute in large measure to the travelling experience as they mediate the travelled world for the traveller; the experience of travel is thus fundamentally intertextual. [...] Intertextuality in contemporary travel writing is most conspicuous in texts about journeys in which the traveller follows in the footsteps of earlier travellers and their accounts. [...] The literariness and intertextuality in postmodern travel writing is, however, much more than a concomitant of travel: it communicates the central concern of these travel books that the meaning of travel is ultimately only constituted through texts. (146-7)

Another prominent factor in travel writing is that it professes to be documentation; often records factual lives, which is the hallmark of the travel account that conveys to its addressee an atmosphere totally outside their experiences. It satisfies the reader's curiosity on the one hand, and convinces him by means of documentation of the verisimilitude of the account on the other hand. Travel writing implies decoding an unknown, unfamiliar culture and recording it in terms of another known and familiar culture; metaphorically speaking, in an act of translating a culture, it provides a space in-between, or what Pratt terms as a space of "transculturation," within which the travel writer stands (6). His scholarly insight and diagnostic skills are essential to the creation of narrative authority. Travel writing, thus, discovering and depicting the unfamiliar and unknown places becomes a form of "cultural-translation,"

i.e., a process through which the traveller manipulates the rhetorical conventions associated with this particular genre. Dennis Porter argues that “in travel writing” the fundamental activity is to “represent the world,” which is “a political as well as an aesthetic – cognitive activity” (14-15). In other words, “it is an effort” of bringing home by means of language, science, and culture of the “Others.” He concludes, “one is at the same time *representator* and *representative*, reporter and legislator;” moreover, “in all that one writes one also inevitably (re)presents, however imperfectly, oneself” (14-15) (emphasis original).

Narrativization and domesticating the “Others” is the next feature which can be traced throughout the majority of travel books. For instance, Western countries narrativize foreign people as being primitive or belonging to underdeveloped societies, which have the propensity to repeat the experiences that Europeans had tested long ago. Such narrativization emphasises the superiority of Western culture against the “semi-civilized” societies, and at the same time the primitiveness of the “Others.” This idea is best understood in the Foucauldian argument concerning power/knowledge; i.e., it categorizes subject of interest for the people who have exercised commercial or political power over the “Others.” In this sense, travel writing, in one way or another, is related to the history or colonialism. In the process of introducing “Us” to the “Others” there appears “dramatization of an engagement between self and world, it [is] a matter of focusing on the various ways the observing self and the foreign world reverberate within each work (Blanton xi). Through representation of the “Others” there is a combination of factual description, objective/subjective reporting, exposition as well as prescription in a form of diverse verbal artistic forms, which is interwoven into narration. Thus, a travel account is a narrated story of a journey undertaken by a traveller. To confirm this point, let us have a look at Barbara Korte’s argument:

> The element of storytelling in travel writing is closely related to another genre characteristic, namely its element of fictionality. [...] Certainly, the stamp of authenticity may well be what makes travel writing attractive to many readers (as it does in autobiography and historiography). To writers, too, the distinction between authentic and 'fantasized' accounts is essential. [...] Notwithstanding their authentic and factual element, reports of travel necessarily re-create the experience of the journey on which they are based. Thus travelogues produced long after the completion of a journey often include extensive passages of dialogue which [...] can only be reconstructions of the traveller's actual conversations. Similarly, patterns, lines od development, cross-references, emphases and other structural elements may arise in the accounts that, in all probability, were not part of the original experience of the journey itself. The experience of travel is translated, in the text, into a travel *plot*. (10) (emphasis original)

Subjectivity is another feature of travel writing. Manfred Pfister argues that "travel writing [was] to become much more personal, subjective, individualist – in short much more self-consciously literary" (3-4). The subjectivity of travel writing shows that the travel writers represent their personal experiences and impressions in their travel accounts. Travel writing, in this sense, is considered as a form of mediation between subjective desires and objective records. More precisely, in understanding and representing the truth of the travellees the traveller cannot "completely rid [himself] of prejudice [which] certainly marks the finitude of historical being. [...] The fact that the [traveller's] own being comes into play in his knowledge certainly betrays the limitation of objectivity and method, but it does not prevent truth," in spite of the fact that he tries to be objective and remain a bystander (Weinsheimer 258-9). Similarly, Rob Nixon, who deals with Naipaul's travel writing, identifies "travel literature as a polyvalent genre that

alternates between ‘a semi-ethnographic, distanced, analytic mode’ and ‘an autobiographical, emotionally tangled mode’” (qtd. in Holland and Huggan 11). In addition to such views, the travellers might manifest their experiences in a significant typical self-centred genre, designating the travellers’ desires. Furthermore, Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan argue that:

> Travel writing is self-consciously autobiographical, intentionally anecdotal, and (in some cases) deliberately ethnocentric. [...] Travel narratives articulate a poetics of the wandering subject. In most cases, this roving subject remains the focus of inquiry; in a few, the autobiographical persona of the traveller (or travelling writer) is subsumed by what Michael Ignatieff calls a ‘metaphysics of restlessness’ – a philosophy of life based on the apparent need for movement. (11-14)

Likewise, Mark Cocker holds that “it is characteristic of the vehement individualism of the travel constituency that its vehicle for literary expression is a work invariably narrated in the first person singular.” He also states, the “travel book, its most common generic title, is traditionally a non-fictional account of the author’s journey” (4). The autobiographical aspect in travel writing is closely associated with the authenticity of travel account. The narrator of the account and the travelling subject enter into the plot of the account in a combination of first-person narration. Travel writing, thus, through combining the “objective” world with the “subjective” being appears to be a synthesis between science and autobiography. In this regard, travel account is a route to spiritual fulfilment and development, and testing the travelling subject’s personality and mettle, a kind of self-exploration, and a “moral character-building” (138-9).

Apart from their subjectivity, since travel writing occupies a fluid and unsettled role within the literary establishment, narrative positions within the field of travel writing are also indeterminate. It is important to note how these texts were received by the Western public, what their political and cultural groundings were, and how certain texts gained prominence over others. Travel accounts offer a unique perspective on the disparity between the preconceived and experienced Orient and how travelling affects one's view of both the host and home societies. The unique characteristics of the genre of travel narrative are especially fruitful in constructions, deconstructions and recreations of Orientalist images. Nonetheless, the role of travel writing in articulating Orientalism within the Western culture, as Said demonstrated is important.

2.3. Orientalism

Edward Said's groundbreaking work *Orientalism* (1978) foregrounds the discourse by which the Orient has been defined, classified, studied and theorised by the West for the West. For Said Orientalism is:

> a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western Experience. The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilisations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. (Said, 1978; 1-2)

The knowledge gained by travellers, anthropologists, sociologists, historians and philologists in the Orient was used by, and was a part of, imperialist/colonialist project in the Orient. The Orient needed to be referred to an inferior position in relation to the West so that the colonial expansion into the Middle East could be morally justified; the Orient and hence the Oriental, could not speak for itself, it had to be spoken for. According to Said, the Orient is an entity that "was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action" (Said, 1978; 3) because the Orient was not permitted to voice its opposition to the colonial project through the discourse of Orientalism. Nevertheless, there was never a unified voice of Orientalism but multitude voices of Orientalism in the discourse which results in the hybrid nature of Orientalism.

Furthermore, Orientalism, as defined by Said, is characterised by three different components: academic, imaginary, and imperial. Academic aura that bears the title “Oriental,” “Islamic” or “Middle Eastern” studies and the academics who write, research or teach on the Orient, Said claims are also Orientalists, since they set up the situation for the “imperialist troops.” As “experts,” Said argues the academics not only legitimise the domination of the geographical area but also colonial domination, by creating “a complex array of ‘Oriental’ ideas (Oriental despotism, Oriental splendour, cruelty, sensuality)” (4).

On the other hand Said argues that “imaginary Orientalism” as an academic approach is a style of thought that differs the Orient from the Occident epistemologically. Thereby, writers such as Aeschylus, Dante and Victor Hugo, are also involved in this construction of an imaginary Orientalism (3). Seeing the world as binary oppositions, such group of writers assumed a basic, natural distinction between the Orient and Occident in creating novels and accounts on the Orient; hence, this tendency has been a pattern in Western thought: Orient vs. Occident, Colonizer vs. Colonized, Subject vs. Object, Active vs. Passive (Kabbani 17).

The third type of Orientalism is more historically defined than the other two. Starting from the eighteenth century, imperial Orientalism became the “corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism, as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (Said, 1978; 3). Among the other nations, Britain and France were the greatest imperial forces involved in the Orient and therefore dominated the field of Orientalism. Said does not see this as a

coincidence. Imperial powers used their knowledge over the Orient to gain imperial power over them. In fact, Said also includes the United States, since its influence has been increased during the World War II. American Orientalism, Said argues, borrowed greatly from the traditions of French and British Orientalism (1978; 284-285). In the discourse of imperial Orientalism, the Orient becomes Europe's significant Other because Orientalism before imperialism, had largely been confined to the aesthetic of the literary world, but had became more influential and found in more spheres of Western thought. Said underlines this invading nature of the theory through Europe adding that,

> [t]he Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilisation and culture. Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies, and colonial styles. (Said, 1978; 2)

What had once been an imaginary institution, one based on ideas that the Orient was different, was a "corporate" institution based on "truths" of the Orient's difference and intimately involved in the actual administration of the colonial projects in the Orient (Said, 1978; 3).

Said expands his claim to the deep association between Orientalism and the colonial project in several ways. He begins with the argument that the Orient and Occident are not "natural" but "men-made" entities: "Men make their own history, that what they can know is what they have made" (Said, 1978: 5). Orientalism is the means by which the West has filtered notions of the Orient into Western society and thought. Said's theoretical framework consists of a blending of Michel Foucault's

notion of discourse and Antonio Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony.[6] Orientalism according to Said is a hegemonic discourse. Said uses Foucault to demonstrate how Orientalism was able to manage and produce the Orient; how Orientalism acquired such "authoritative a position…that I believe no one writing, thinking, or acting on the Orient could do so without taking account of the limitations on thought and action imposed by Orientalism" (Said, 1978: 3). Gramsci's notion of hegemony presented by Said is that "certain cultural forms predominate over others, just as certain ideas are more influential than others […] It is hegemony, or rather the result of cultural hegemony at work, that gives Orientalism the durability and the strength" (Said, 1978: 7). Hegemony though, as used by Said, is not used as an explanatory tool but merely a descriptive one. How and why do certain cultural forms predominate over others? How does cultural hegemony maintain its durability and strength? With Said, one might also believe that the West had interests in the Orient, and that in order to colonise this region, to tame and control it, knowledge that portrayed Orientals as inferior had to be used as agent of control.

The uniqueness of Orientalism is that it became its own discipline. Orientalism developed ideas and concepts such as Oriental despotism or cruelty which Orientalist critics argued were inherent into orient and opposite of Western society. Said links the power of Orientalism with imperialism, but he also makes links to how Orientalism has gained strength and authority over the culture at large. Orientalism is not merely

[6] Edward Said's use of hegemony and Foucault's discourse in revealing Orientalism is one of the most relevant examples pointed out in the following works: (E. San Juan. "Edward Said's Affiliations Secular Humanism and Marxism," *Atlantic Studies: Literary, Cultural, and Historical Perspectives*, vol. 3, Issue 1, 2006, pp. 43-61. Rashmi Bahtnagar. "Uses and Limits of Foucault: A Study of the Theme of Origins in Edward Said's *Orientalism,*" *Social Scientist*, vol 14. No: 7, July 1986.

a Western fantasy of the Orient, but "an accepted grid for filtering through the Orient into Western consciousness, just as that investment multiplied – indeed, made truly productive – the statements proliferating out from Orientalism into the general culture" (Said, 1978: 6).

Orientalism is nevertheless an important study, not only for the investigation of colonial and postcolonial discourses, but in the ways in which the Other has been generally theorised. Robert Young mentions the importance of this theoretical work as such:

> Said's major theoretical achievement, the creation of an object of an analysis called 'colonial discourse,' has proved one of the most fruitful and significant areas of research in recent years. The concept of colonial discourse [...] has been extended to other categories such as 'minority discourse,' and is increasingly being used to describe certain power structures within the hierarchies of the West itself, particularly the relation of minorities to the dominant group. (173)

Said's influence on scholarship has been enormous; not only did he enable to influence minority critics, but he also inserted Foucault's notions to many academic circles. *Orientalism* was "one of the seminal books that prompted a shift in interest of literary and cultural theoreticians from textuality to historicity, from the aesthetic to the political, and from individual receptions to collective responses to literary texts" (Behdad 10). Said demonstrated how

> power relations produce through discourse a range of analytical objects which continue to impact on scholarship in a way that is largely unanticipated and unobserved [...] Said's work was significant in showing how discourses, values and

> patterns of knowledge actually constructed the 'facts' which scholars were attempting to study, apparently independently. (Turner 4)

Turner crowns Said as an intellectual hero for challenging not only the structures that govern the academic circles, but also how what is known in social spheres is constructed. It was Said who pointed out that discourse is not solely limited to academia but affects all society.

Despite being written in 1978, *Orientalism* still has an enormous impact upon intellectual works today. Said's theoretical model has been used by others to theorise other colonial situations, even though Said warned that Orientalism was a specific relationship between the Orient and Occident only. Said's theoretical direction has not remained static: he has not only explored different fields of investigation (history, politics, etc.) but also become more open to the contributions of other minority critics. However, his conception of Orientalism has not been influenced by time or other critical viewpoints. Said maintains that the discourse of Orientalism still preserves "its internal consistency and rigorous procedures" (40) and "in the relationship between the ruler and the ruled in the imperial or colonial or racial sense, race takes precedence over both class and gender" (Ahmad 167). Orientalism, for Said, is essentially a discourse of race – the racial inferiority of Orient and more importantly racial superiority of Occident. Despite the challenges against his theory, Said sees Orientalism as a hegemonic discourse.

2.4. Critiques of Orientalism

According to many scholars, the critiques of *Orientalism* have ranged from “three hundred pages of twisted, obscure, incoherent, ill-informed, and badly written diatribe” (Thomas 4). As Lata Mani and Ruth Frankenberg have pointed out in their critical review on other reviews of *Orientalism*, most of the reviews criticise only one of Said’s three main components: historical specificity, knowledge and power:

> By historical specificity we mean the enhance between Orientalism and imperialism in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century [...] On the one hand Orientalism has informed and shaped the colonial enterprise. On the other hand, this attachment to institutional power has enabled its remarkable, continued and widespread persistence. This definition also stresses the status of Orientalism as a body of knowledge that claims to be superior to any knowledge that the Orientals might produce about themselves. (180)

Mani and Frankenberg argue that most critiques of *Orientalism* are fundamentally flawed, for the reason that Said’s argument, to be totally comprehended, must be examined in a totality. Orientalism, as argued in *Orientalism*, is fundamentally a discourse of Western knowledge superior to any knowledge produced by Orientals associated with colonialism.

Furthermore, the commentary that *Orientalism* is provoked is enormous and Said’s theoretical orientation is harvested by many other critical theories and sources: humanism, post structuralism, and Marxism. The problem with Said’s theory and each of the critiques below

take up an aspect of this problem is his denial of subjectivity. Although Said acknowledges the role of subjective author in the construction of Orientalism, he does not permit an author to play a role in deconstruction or reconstruction of Orientalism. Said cannot recognise alternatives to Orientalism, and thus sees Orientalism as a steady hegemony, because his use of discourse theory obscures and silences counter-hegemonic voices found within Orientalism.

Among the critics, such as James Clifford, has pointed to the contradictory combination of humanism and post structuralism. One of the things that humanism argues is that a text or an author can move about politics or ideology, that authors are free subjects of thought and action. Foucault and the poststructuralists argue that it is impossible for a text or an author to escape the discursive limits placed upon him. Said, as a humanist, argues that a less powerful knowledge can be obtained through the cultural hermeneutics of Auerbach, Curtius and Clifford (Said, 1978: 258-260, 326). “The more one is able to leave one’s cultural home, the more easily is one able to judge it, and the whole world as well, with the spiritual detachment, and generosity necessary for true vision” (Said 259). Yet Said, as a Foucauldian, says elsewhere “How does one *represent* other cultures? What is *another* culture? Is the notion of a distinct culture (a race or religion, or civilisation) a useful one, or does it always get involved in self-congratulation (when one discusses one’s own) or hostility or aggression (when one discusses the ‘Other’)” (Said 325). Said, on the one hand, argues that true knowledge can be achieved, that there is some ‘real’ Orient that can be understood; on the other hand, he sees the study of other cultures as linked to power. This lack of clarity has lead to confusion on the part of the critics and requires

the question, “what is Said’s concept of culture and knowledge?” Discourse theory presupposes the impossibility of detaching oneself from a discursive formation, yet humanist scholarship argues that this detachment is possible and true representation (Eagleton 199-210).

James Clifford has praised Said’s contribution to the study of culture in *Orientalism* while highlighting the difficulty, of combining humanist idealism with poststructuralist scepticism.[7] Clifford points to Said’s conception of the “Orient.” In places, Said argues that an Orientalist text misrepresents some surface of a “real Orient,”[8] while elsewhere, Said refutes the existence of any “real Orient:” “One cannot combine within the same analytic totality both personal statements and discursive statements, even though they may be lexically identical. Said’s experiment seems to show, to this reader at least, that when the analysis of authors and traditions is intermixed with the analysis of discursive formations the effect is a mutual weakening” (Clifford 217). It is this confusion, between humanist understanding of ‘real’ and the poststructuralist understanding of “real.” This is the main idea Clifford finds problematic in *Orientalism*.

Clifford also reveals how Said’s “hybrid perspective” – by which he means Said’s theoretical paradigm – diverges from Foucault because Said, while he asserts the discursive power of Orientalism, holds authors as subjects responsible for their texts. Clifford argues that

[7] Clifford’s critique offers a unique challenge to Said’s theoretical notions in *Orientalism*. Although the critique was written in 1980, Clifford makes points on the contradictory combination of humanism and post structuralism.

[8] Said seems not clear on what he considers the real Orient but he suggests that one could study the Orient inhabited by “individual Arabs with narratable life histories” rather than theorising the Arab race, civilisation or history (Said 229).

> discourse analysis is always, in a sense, unfair to authors. It is interested not in what *they* have to say or feel as subjects, but is concerned merely with statements as related to other statements in a field [...] Foucault, at least, seldom appears unfair to authors because he never appeals to any individual intentionality or subjectivity. 'Hybrid perspectives' like Said's have considerably more difficulty in escaping reductionism. (218) (emphasis original)

Said believes that individual writers play a role in the construction of discourse. Said gives the example of Edward Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, a text that became the "holy book" of Orientalism, cited by travellers, Oriental scholars and literary authors as a respected text. Accordingly, Said argues that an individual author can play an important role in the development of a discourse which distances himself from a poststructuralist understanding of discourse and he underlines that "Unlike Michel Foucault, to whose work I am greatly indebted, I do believe in the determining imprint of the individual writers upon the otherwise anonymous collective body of texts constituting discursive information like Orientalism" (Said, 1978: 23).

Said's "hybrid perspective" has also encountered criticism from those who argue against his combination of Foucauldian discourse theory and Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony. Dennis Porter has been among the many critics who have questioned Said's mixing of these two theoretical perspectives – Orientalism as a hegemonic discourse. Porter sees this combination as not necessarily contradictory, but nonetheless problematic. While Said's theoretical stance proclaims

the impossibility of alternatives to Orientalism,[9] Dennis Porter identifies three possible counter-discourses within Said's analysis:

> First, the very heterogeneity of the corpus of texts among which Said discovers hegemonic unity raises the question of the specificity of the literary instance within the superstructure [...] Second, Said does not seem to envisage the possibility that more directly counter-hegemonic writings or an alternative canon may exist within the Western tradition. Third, the feasibility of a textual dialogue between Western and non Western cultures needs to be considered, a dialogue that would cause subject/object relations to alternate, so that we might read ourselves as the others of our others and replace the notion of a place of truth with that knowledge which is always relative and provisional. (153)

Porter argues that there is no need to search for alternatives outside Orientalism, for the Orientalist tradition itself. Contrary to Said's assertion in *Orientalism*, there already exists a counter tradition. It is at this point that Porter not only finds fault with Said's "hybrid perspective" but also with discourse theory in general. Porter maintains that it is the specific employment of the discourse theory by Said that blinds him to possible alternatives within the texts and tradition he analyses in *Orientalism*. Outlining Raymond Williams' conception of hegemony, Porter problematises Said's perspective and reveals the disagreeable implications of Said's deployment of discourse theory:

> In Williams' words again: 'It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and altered, challenged by pressures not

[9] Said, however, argues for, "contemporary alternatives to Orientalism" and "to ask how one can study other cultures and other peoples from a libertarian, or a nonrepressive and nonmanuplative perspective" (Said 24). Said mentions in *Orientalism* that it is not his purpose to find alternatives for Orientalism.

> all its own.' [...] Because Said is understandably eager to confront Western hegemonic discourse head on, he ignores Raymond Williams' warning that the reality of the cultural process must always include 'the efforts and contributions of those who are in one way or another outside or at the edge of specific hegemony. (152)

Porter finds the lack of distinction in discourse theory between different kinds and types of texts questionable. He maintains that there is a "qualitative distinction" between the texts that "are of sufficient complexity to throw ideological practises into relief and raise questions about their own fictionalising process" and "those that offer no internal resistance to ideologies they reproduce" (153). It is this distinction between types of text based on their "resistance" to ideological configurations that allows Porter to claim that counter-hegemonic voices appeared within Orientalism. Said's concern is to expose the workings of Orientalism as an institution but not to examine the diverse and complex positions within the institution.

Related to Porters critique, Ali Behdad also contends that alternative voices were also the elements of Orientalism; however, he sees this not as counter-hegemony or alternative discourses but as a function of Orientalism. Behdad takes exception with Said's construction of Orientalism as a hegemonic discourse and continues: "Said's monolithic notion of Orientalism as a purely reductive and biased discourse of power leaves no room for the possibility of difference among the various modes of Orientalist representation and in the field of its power relations" (11). Behdad, unlike Porter, finds fault in Said's utilisation of cultural hegemony theory rather than his use of discourse theory. For Behdad, the "strategic irregularities, historical discontinuities, and discursive heterogeneity" are characteristics of Orientalism and of

discourse in general, and Said's representation of Orientalism as a hegemonic discourse uncritically reproduces the binary logic between Occident and Orient on which Orientalism is based.

However, Behdad's heterogeneity of Orientalism does not mean that alternative traditions to Orientalism have developed. Behdad assumes that there were "breaks" in Orientalist representation and thought. During these breaks, representations that did not conform to the "accepted grid" of Orientalism emerged, yet as Behdad contends, Orientalism was able to incorporate these different representations into its discursive practice. Thus, any notion of difference expressed in the individual texts, specifically travel accounts, was subsumed in the discourse of Orientalism.

2.5. Travel Texts versus Guidebooks

Another important constituent of travel writing is travel books and guide books and a distinction can be made between tourist guidebooks and travel books. Whereas guidebooks have existed since the mid-nineteenth century, they are often associated with the codified culture resulting from tourism (Behdad 15). Guidebooks in particular, aspire to render a journey as easy and relaxing as possible, to make the exotic familiar, yet there are guidebooks designed for those who desire more contact with the unfamiliar, who seek to distance themselves from the tourist. The *Lonely Planet Series* focuses on a non-tourist journey, whereas mainstream guidebook companies such as *Fodor's* and *Frommer's* detail the essential landmarks and "sights of interest."[10] A primary difference between a guidebook and a travel book is that the former is primarily a reference guide, which lists accommodations, restaurants, hours for tourist spots, addresses of embassies. Hence, Guidebooks are designed for those who intend future travel, whereas travel books allow the reader to travel along with the author without leaving one's home or nation.

Unlike the guidebook, the travel text is an autobiographical discourse that "constructs its own narrative around the general experience of its heroic traveller, expecting the reader to fill in the narrative gaps through a kind of identification with the narrator" (Behdad 44). Behdad maintains that it is the author(ity) of the subjective narrator that leads to the discursive strength of travel books, but that guidebooks are multi-positional and thus less authoritative than travel books.

[10] Lonely Planet Series, Fodor and Frommer are the largest travel guidebooks in the world.

Behdad fails to consider that while the travel book achieves discursive authority through the interpretation of the traveller, the guidebook draws its authority from a different source, the power to define and classify "sights of interest." Guidebooks merely suggest possible places of interest and it is up to the reader to decide on which "sights of interest" he wishes to see. However, while Behdad grants the reader of guidebooks the will of reason and interpretation, he deprives the readers of travel books from this opportunity, declaring that

> [t]he travelogue produces its first person subject (I) as the site of an act of interpretation – 'making sense' of the Orient – and as someone who is authorised to *make* meaning. The centrality and discursive authority of the first-person in turn imply exclusion, separating the Orientalist and his or her experience from the reader, whose desire or exoticism can be satisfied only as a displacement of or identification with the enunciative subject's desire, realised in his Oriental journey [...] The tourist guide, on the other hand, constructs the reading subject ('you') as a potential traveller and presupposes the realisation of its addressee's desire for the Orient. (41) (emphasis original)

Behdad fails to consider the fact that many travel books were written with an audience in mind. It is up to this audience to make sense of the travel book, to agree with or dispute its portrayal of a specific culture, identify himself with the narrator to fill the narrative gaps.

Behdad's claim on the unified nature of the fist-person narrator of the travel book, as opposed to the guidebook, is also problematic. Silk contends that the "travel narrative actually highlights the fragmentation of the textual subject […] In modern travel novels this displacement is frequently so complete that the subject in question must rely on other

voices in the text for self-expression" (223). Behdad merely assumes that the structure of the travel book, with its first-person narrator who can make meaning, produces a unified author and text. Porter also critiques this line of thought regarding the unity of the subject, reasoning that the travel texts are "shown to be fissured with doubt and contradiction, it will confirm how under certain conditions Orientalist discourse, far from being monolithic, allows counter-hegemonic voices to be heard within it" (155). Orientalist travellers may construct their own versions of Oriental society; however, contradictions and multiple voices within the text allow for a dis-unified subject and heterogeneous readings of the travel text. A common practice within the travel writing is to quote past travel accounts of the same society. More often than not, this quotation comes with a critique of the previous traveller. With each traveller quoted, another voice and interpretation is added to the text. Travel accounts also involve contact with other people and cultural practices; otherwise they would only be geographical surveys. It is this encounter with other people, the quotation of their voices that allows for a dispersed subject within the travel narrative (Behdad 155-156). Behdad says that the reader of the travel narrative had "to fill in the narrative gaps through a kind of identification with the narrator" but as one reader differs from another, so does his identification with the narrator and more importantly, his bridging of the narrative gap (156).

In the twentieth century, tourism and travel has become a vehicle for economic development and growth. The study of travel has generally concentrated on the economic, environmental and cultural impact on the host nation, yet just as the study of the travel is a recent development, tourist travel as a cultural practice also has a short history. The rise of

the family income and an increase in leisure time for the middle and working classes allowed for the rapid development of the tourist industry in the late twentieth century (Greenblatt and Gagnon 11). However, travel existed before the modern advent of tourism. From the 1830s on, Europe was covered with rail lines which made travel easier, quicker and less expensive. Travel agencies began to form and organise excursions; Thomas Cook agency organised its first expedition to Pompeii in 1864 (Aldrich 164). With this development, travel had been opened to those of the middle-class who had the financial capacity, leisure time and inclination to go abroad. So while this development was not on the same scale as modern tourism, it was a part of the beginning of the travel industry.

Associated with the travel industry, the nature of the traveller also changed: Prior to the fledgling nineteenth-century travel industry, travellers generally had to negotiate and plan their own journeys. Travel at that time, was generally limited to the upper classes; they had the financial resources, education and leisure time that allowed them to travel. With the development of nineteenth-century travel industry and the construction of rail lines, travel became more of a possibility for a greater number of people and with the arrival of the modern tourist industry more people had the chance to travel outside their home societies.

Paul Fussell argues that each of the three time periods produced three very different types of travel and

> [b]efore tourism there was travel, and before travel there was exploration. Each is roughly assignable to its own age in modern history: exploration belongs to the Renaissance, travel to the

> bourgeois age, tourism to our proletarian moment [...] All three make journeys, but the explorer seeks the undiscovered, the traveller that which has been discovered by the mind working in history, the tourist that which has been discovered by entrepreneurship and prepared for him by the arts of mass publicity. The genuine traveller is, or used to be, in the middle of between the two extremes. If the explorer moves toward the risks of the formless and the unknown, the tourist moves toward the security of pure cliché. It is between these two poles that the traveller mediates, retaining all he can of the excitement of the unpredictable attachment to exploration, and fusing that with the pleasure of 'knowing where one is' belonging to tourism. (38-39)

Fussell proclaims that in our "proletarian moment," travel as he defines it cannot exist. Yet, I believe that travel still exists, but the traveller must adequately distance himself from the tourist. The tourist developers have invaded all cultures and all that is left is "pure cliché." Yet does the tourist industry define a whole culture? I believe the tourist industry codifies culture; that is to say, one can see Europe in seven days, one has been to Egypt if one has seen the Pyramids. Tourism packages a culture so that it can be quickly, easily and safely ingested by tourists. However, at this point there comes the question, "what does the Turkish woman do after her belly-dance in front of a wide-eyed group of tourists?" My point is that outside of the tourist constructions of a certain culture, versions of that culture exist although there can be differences between the tourist and the native cultural presentations. Just as other versions of this culture exist, so does the possibility for the traveller to explore beyond the bounds of tourist constructions, to move into different cultural sphere. This also appears as one of the problems that present-day travellers have to face; they must try to explore and

understand a certain culture and at the same time avoid the traps of tourist representations.

Greenblatt and Gagnon point out that despite the rapid growth of tourism since World War II, social scientists have paid little attention to the "collective individual character or impacts of travel" (89). The authors examine travel from sociology of leisure perspective. They find the study of travel productive for it represents trends in the "work-leisure" association but more importantly it allows for an analysis of the coping patterns and techniques of "human movement in the physical and social space" (91). Greenblatt and Gagnon coin the term "temporary strangers" to refer to travellers arguing that travellers, as compared to migrants and refugees, have chosen to locate themselves in a territory that is culturally, physically and socially unfamiliar. When these "temporary strangers" meet with the unfamiliar, their social training and background fails them, yet they must still manage and negotiate with the foreign. The security of the self is thus questioned and in order for the traveller to successfully manage his trip, some form of environmental management must be conducted. Both types, the traveller and the tourist, are in search of the unfamiliar, but what differentiates the two is the degree of unfamiliarity they seek for (92).

The search for the unfamiliar, for the unknown or for the unspoken is what links travel with cultural theory. Indeed as the traveller seeks to cross physical, cultural and social frontiers, the theorist also attempts to traverse methodological, theoretical, and existential boundaries. Featherstone points out that the theorist frequently uses "metaphors of movement and marginality […] Travel has often been regarded as aiding the decentring of habitual categories, a form of paying with cultural

disorder, something which can also be found in postmodern theory" (126). Said in his post-*Orientalism* article writes that,

> the image of traveller depends not on power, but on motion, on willingness to go into different worlds, use different idioms, and understand a variety of disguises, masks, and rhetoric. Travellers must suspend the claim of customary routine in order to live in new rhythms and rituals [...] the traveller *crosses over*, traverses territory, and abandons fixed positions all the time. To do this with dedication and love as well as a realistic sense of the terrain is, I believe, a kind of academic freedom at its highest. (12-13) (emphasis original)

Travels and theory may allow using and considering the world differently, to question our thoughts and ideas. Travellers are part of a culture and so they have a lot of cultural and social baggage to carry, yet I believe some travellers are able to open up this baggage and critically examine it due to their distance from their home culture.

CHAPTER 3: IZMIR IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY BRITISH TRAVEL WRITING

> *Two thousand houses in this city* [Izmir] *cling to the slopes below the castle. They are situated among the airy gardens of various palaces and mosques. Most of the public buildings, however, are located below, along the seashore. According to the register that İsmail Pasha made of Izmir in 1657-58, this city had ten Muslim districts, ten Greek Orthodox, ten Frank and Jewish, two Armenian, and one Gipsy. Within these districts are 10,300 glorious stone buildings, and countless magnificent houses, decked out with red-tailed roofs and sumptuous tulip beds. It is a fabulously rich port city, with shops and solid stone houses, boasting every type of mosque, religious school, dervish lodge, and spiritual folk. And within it are forty coffeehouses, seventy soap factories, two hundred taverns, twenty boza halls, twenty dyehouses, one harness shop, one candle factory, and one customs shed. But, there is no bedesten.*[11]
>
> Evliya Çelebi (1671-72)

[11] Goffman, Daniel. *Izmir and The Levantine World, 1550-1650*. Seattle and London: U of Washington P, 1990. pp.79.

One of the greatest of Ottoman writers, and the only one to devote himself to travel, was Evliya Çelebi whose famous travel book *Seyahatnameler* has been a fundamental source for the Ottoman Empire. Born in Istanbul in 1610, he had been told in a dream to travel. Capable of reciting the Koran in eight hours, he was son of the Sultan Murat IV's chief jeweller and a boon companion. In 1671, at the age of sixty, he visited Izmir.

The above epigraph, from the seventeenth century Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi, constitutes a static snapshot of rapidly changing Izmir. Twenty years ago, we knew much about other Ottoman cities such as Istanbul, Bursa or Aleppo [Halep] than about Izmir. It is the common idea that both the Greeks and the Romans had used the site under the name "Smyrna." In this chapter, first, the historical sketches of Izmir will be revealed and then, the visiting reasons of British travellers to Izmir will be classified. Moreover, some specific explanations for Izmir's importance in terms of geography and trade centre will also be given.

3.1. History and Destiny

Until the eighteenth century, Izmir had no historical attachment for the Ottomans as an ideological, commercial or political centre. Compared to Istanbul, its historical past and lasting prominence was not the same. In short, unlike other Ottoman towns such as Aleppo, Bursa, and Istanbul, what the Ottomans inherited in Izmir and its surroundings in the 1420s was a land without much obvious history. It should be revealed here that the period between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries constituted a historiographical empty space to us, as most of the records were destroyed in the great fire of 1922, but the explosion of information about Izmir has been dramatic and compelling (Baykara 3-5, Goffman 12). In addition, the travel accounts taken into consideration, which are very valuable on the reflection of the city's reality, are extremely valuable in tracing the course of commerce and culture in Izmir and exposing the mentality of the city's community of foreigners. On the contrary, they tell us little about the inner workings of the Ottoman society in Izmir. In fact, the Ottoman central government had little to do with the creation of seventeenth-century Izmir; it was rather local authorities and Levantines who expanded the importance of this hybrid city (Goffman 78).

When examining a detailed map of western Anatolia with an eye toward commerce, the location of Izmir rises out with a well-protected gulf and connected by rivers and valleys to rich hinterlands. Corridors to the prominent interior towns of Aydın, Tire, and Manisa radiate out from the hub of Izmir's gulf. The ancient Greeks certainly recognized the site's merits and founded a settlement there under the name of "Smyrna." This city was one of the notable centres of Ionia. According to Tuncer Baykara, the name of "Izmir" certainly comes from "Smyrna" which has different variations such as, *Smira, Smire, Semire, Lesmire, Lesmirr, Le*

Smirle, Ksimire, Zmirra, Asmira, Esmire, İsmira, İsmire (21). On the other hand, according to Philip Mansel the Turkish name Izmir "is derived from the Greek for *eis teen Smyrna* – 'into Smyrna', as Istanbul is derived from *eis teen polis* – 'into the city'" (16). The name Izmir has been used by the Turks from the beginning of their dominancy of the territory. On the other hand, the name "Smyrna" accepted to be a name of an Amazon warrior as was asserted in Strabon's geography.

One might also notice two other prominent names when looking to the city's ancient history: Izmir is known best as the birthplace of Homer and as the site for one of the Seven Churches of the Apostles, since one of Christianity's Bishops, Polycarpe, was martyred in the year 155, whose Saint Polycarpe Church still stands in Izmir. The city lost its power under late Byzantine rule and only five years after the battle of Manzikert (1071) fell to Turkomans. In the next two decades, under the Turkoman Çaka Bey, it became a centre for naval activities, until the Byzantines re-conquered the city in 1093. The city regained its importance in the early thirteenth century, when the Latin occupation of Istanbul in 1204 forced the Byzantine emperor to move to Iznik. According to Daniel Goffman, "during the Byzantine interregnum, Smyrna flourished as the commercial hub of an Empire striving not only to re-take Constantinople but also to stop the flood of Mongol and Turkic nomadic peoples who threatened to inundate the empire from the east" (85). By the same token, Tuncer Baykara states that "Izmir, as a port city, regained its significance in international trade after Byzantines moved to Iznik (1204-1261)" (71). After Byzantines focused on the Balkans, they left Smyrna to Genoese control and thus they gained very important commercial privileges in the town and settled to Punta (Alsancak).

After 1261, Izmir lost its importance because Byzantines lost their effectiveness around the region. Besides, Turkoman tribes started new invasions. Within seventy years there established numerous Turkoman

tribes (Beylik) along the western Anatolia. Aydınoğlus was one of the Turkoman tribes who founded a dynasty in the valleys of western Anatolia. Gazi Umur Bey seized Smyrna's hinterland before capturing the town itself in about 1328 (Goffman 86). However, they did not make the port city their political capital; instead, they located their capital in Aydın which is proved to be a good decision because in later decades, crusaders recaptured the lower part of the town (İç Kale) and held it until Tamburlaine invaded Asia Minor and Izmir in 1402. Subsequently, he gave the administration of western Anatolia to Aydınoğlu family until 1425. Later on, Murad II captured the Aydınoğlu family and integrated Izmir into Ottoman lands (Baykara 13-15).

While the Ottoman power expunged land-based opposition, conquest did not end the threat from the sea. In the first half of the fifteenth century, Venice was the dominant maritime force in the Mediterranean and Murat II could not defend the costs from their naval attacks and thus, between 1423 and 1430, Izmir witnessed many sea battles of those two forces. Even though the Gulf of Izmir provided natural protection, as late as 1472 a Venetian fleet penetrated the gulf and attacked the port (Ülker 20). Against these intense attacks, Mehmet II, during his reign, rebuilt the disused castle at the entrance to the port of Izmir, therefore protecting the port both from the sea and land.

From that time on "the entire western Anatolia coast was in thrall to a government that energetically sought to limit the region's commercial relevance in order to retain it as a 'fruit basket' for its capital Istanbul" (Goffman 86). Ottoman capital's attitude against Izmir was only economical rather than historical or ethnical; moreover, the Ottomans felt no particular obligation to the region's past. In short, the Ottoman government neither encouraged commerce in Izmir nor welcomed the income that such an important port might bring.

The settlements such as, Ayasuluk, Kuşadası, Foça, Menemen, and Izmir were all famous with their produce of grains, raisins, currants,

figs, oranges, cottons, woollens, and other goods and ships were carrying those goods for flourishing the capital. On the other hand, “the Ottoman government permitted Venetian, Genoese, and other Europeans’ limited access to Anatolian produce and more importantly to the Iranian silks that found their way to the Anatolian coasts” (Goffman 87). Izmir did not play much of a role in this commerce either and this was the situation of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of Izmir.

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Ottoman government made changes in the trade and administrative modes of Izmir. During the seventeenth century, with its rapid expansion, Ottoman government had to make some reorganization, thus helping, “the relationship between Istanbul and its provinces by enhancing local power (if not authority) over that of the capital so that brigand leaders, prominent regional authorities, and eminent local families became more involved in decision-making” (88). This change had a direct impact upon Ottoman economic policies in western Anatolia, especially in Izmir. Ferdinand Braudel, in one of his major works, points out that “the centre [commercial] moved in the seventeenth century, this time to Smyrna, though it has never been satisfactorily explained” (469). Goffman likewise agrees that Izmir’s becoming a trade centre during which the Ottoman Empire stopped expanding, still remains as an unexplained situation (3). On the other hand, Ottoman central government never encouraged international trade from this unique gulf town. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, much of western-Anatolian cotton, dried fruits, grains, and leathers found their way into the hands of the European merchants. As Goffman maintains “although Izmir in the early sixteenth century was a part of a large and stable empire, the Ottoman peace did not appreciably hasten its commercial growth and the port remained economically insignificant” (10).

During the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent (1520 – 1566), Catholic Europe suffered military loss after the defeat against the

Ottoman Empire. Also, after getting Mediterranean as a “Turkish lake,” Ottoman government made some commercial agreements with countries such as, Florence, Genoa, and Venice. Starting before and during the seventeenth century, many commercial treaties and agreements with other European countries and Europe, especially with Dutch and English certainly had managed to reorganize commerce in the Indian Ocean and redirect most of its products to Europe via the Cape of Good Hope (Steensgaard 19-23). The changing of the old trade routes affected many important trade towns in Anatolia such as Mersin, Izmir, Bursa, and Trabzon; therefore, they had to reorganize their trade strategies.

Anatolia and especially Izmir, in the late sixteenth century had been little more than a settlement with its Turkic and Greek societies. People were mostly engaged with gardening of fruits and vegetables. By 1640, however, the town “boasted [with having] thirty-five or forty-thousand inhabitants, the essence of whose livelihoods lay in regional and international commerce” (Goffman 89). Additionally, this change of old trades routes pushed forward Izmir positively. However, it was not only global and economic factors that triggered Izmir’s development. According to Goffman, the geo-political position of Izmir was also important:

> Nevertheless Izmir did lie at the heart of a natural geo-political zone, and in the early seventeenth century, Dutch, English, French, and Venetian merchants joined Armenian, Greek, Jewish, and Muslim Ottoman traders as well as local officials and brigands in stepping into the vacuum left by Istanbul’s considerable military and monetary troubles. (89)

With those new developments in trade, Izmir had a new destiny and the town had gained its importance. Dutch, English and French traders

started to begin arriving in Izmir and other western Anatolian port towns. Such men would either venture into the towns and villages of the Menderes and Gediz River valleys to bargain and barter, acting very much as traditional peddlers or operate through the Armenian, Greek, Jewish, and Muslim brokers who simultaneously were settling in the region (89).

As it was mentioned before, by the 1630's or 1640's the economic and demographic shape of western Anatolia was changed and both peoples from the villages and industry began to come to Izmir. Turkish Muslims and other Ottoman subjects (millets) arrived from such western Anatolia towns as Manisa, Aydın, Kuşadası, Çeşme, and Menemen, Armenians from Bursa, Greeks from Chios and other Aegean regions, Jews from Iberia, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Venetians all came to this new emerging town to capitalize upon its newfound wealth. In addition, Izmir's development also changed the economic and commercial situation of Manisa and other western Anatolian towns. During the first centuries of Ottoman rule Manisa was a training place for Ottoman princes. By the 1630s the town had dropped into Izmir's commercial orbit and much of its industry as well as its Greek and Jewish population had relocated to the costal city (Goffman 93). All those above-mentioned changes transformed Izmir's topography and demography and thus, non-Muslim Ottomans (millet) and foreigners settled down in this town with growing numbers.

Whereas in 1600 few Europeans were engaged with trade in Izmir, thirty years later, travellers from the West started to journey to Levant, namely to Izmir and as a result, the popularity of this western Anatolia town expanded. British and European travel literature mirrored this popularity in most accounts especially in later centuries. Although before the 1600s Izmir was hardly mentioned in many travel accounts, many British traders came to this town after these years and one of the London merchant and traveller Lewes Roberts writes his observations in

The Merchants Mappe of Commerce: wherein, the Universall Manner and Matter of Trade, is Compendiously Handled as follows:

> The trade of this port it is most noted for the abundance of cottons which hence is transported to *England, France, Holland* and *Italie*, estimated yearly to be about 20000 *quintall*, and is found here to grow in the adjoyning plaines, which they doe sow as we doe Corne […] *Galles* for Diers, *anaseeds, cordovants, wax* and *grogram yarne, cute, carpets, grograms, mohers, chamblets,* and some *fruits* and *drugges*. (342) (emphasis original)

It was not only commerce that made Izmir famous but also the multicultural population contributed to the attraction of the town. As the French traveller Joseph Pitton de Tournefort notes in his travel book: "When we are in this Street, we seem to be *Christendom*; they speak nothing but Italian, French, English or Dutch there. Everybody takes off his hat, when he pays his respects to another. There one sees Capuchins, Jesuits, Recolets…" (375-377) (emphasis original). On the Frank Street Englishmen, Frenchmen, Venetians, and Ottomans freely conversed. In the 1650s and 1670s, Muslims still constituted the majority of city's inhabitants; however, they were clustered away from the core area of the city next to the sea, where Christians, Armenians, Greeks, and Jews meet. Rauf Beyru in his *19. Yüzyılda İzmir'de Yaşam (Life in Izmir in the Nineteenth Century)* reveals that the demographic situation of Izmir during the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries is controversial because writers and travellers "only gave information about their community and they did not mention about the Turkish provinces" (17).

Before the 1660s, Izmir had sprawled along the waterfront and into the surrounding hills such as Mount Pagus [Kadifekale]. Also, foreigners settled themselves along the Street of the Franks that paralleled Izmir's long dock, upon which the supplies of western-

European society arose building villas, terraced gardens, warehouses with second-floor, living quarters and churches. On the other hand, the major bazaar, the symbol of a leading Ottoman town, was hanging to the south of the Street of the Franks. All the inhabitants of the port city spent time in these places, and the dialogues could be heard in Arabic, Armenian, Dutch, English, French, Greek, Italian, Judeo-Spanish (Ladino), and Turkish. These surroundings made foreign travellers feel like they hired a room from the Tower of Babel.

Whereas the various religious groups of Ottoman Izmir met and traded with each other in those common places, they instinctively and according to Ottoman custom were inclined to reside separately in and around the quarters that their holy places stood. Districts fanning separate out to the east and south of the chief market housed the various Ottoman subject (millet) communities. As Goffman, in his *Izmir and The Levantine World, 1550-1650* asserts, “Greek quarter called Cemaat-i Gebran lay directly behind the bazaar; many Armenians probably lived to the east of this quarter; and Jews perhaps chose to live behind the Liman-i Izmir, which was just to the south of it” (103). The religious, commercial, and private architectures of Christendom, Islam, and Judaism co-existed in Izmir. Therefore, when a foreign traveller entered the streets of this city, he might easily recognize this intermingling of communities looking to the churches, mosques and synagogues.

As it was mentioned before, the growth of Izmir quickened in the 1650s and 1700s as more merchants from in and outside the empire came. Likewise, the Levantine culture that developed in Izmir during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was culturally and ethnically western European. That cultural richness was the momentum that broke the destiny of Izmir by means of the trade. On the other hand, trade was not the only particularity of Izmir; there were other features that influenced the town’s development.

Izmir had never been free from the catastrophes such as the earthquake, fire and plague. One of the biggest earthquakes took place in 1688 and it destroyed most Izmir's churches, mosques, and synagogues. According to Necmi Ülker, ten to fifteen thousand people had died and virtually all goods were destroyed. The merchants, officials, and inhabitants of Izmir thus had little choice but to re-build and began to do so immediately. Despite many catastrophes along its history, the city was able to cope with it. Throughout the centuries, earthquakes, fires, and plagues chronically afflicted the port town; to give an example, an English traveller Richard Chandler describes an earthquake that occurred in 1765 and illustrates the chaos in his *Travels in Asia Minor*, "on the eleventh of July we had an earthquake, which agitated the whole house; the beams and joints of the roof crashing over our heads […] The sensation was such would be felt, I imagine, if the earth were set suddenly afloat. It occasioned a great alarm" (219). Much later, another British traveller William Cochran describes the fire risk of the town in his *Pen and Pencil in Asia Minor* (1887): "when it is remembered how largely wood enters into the construction of houses, and how universal is the practice of smoking among all classes everywhere" (223).

Another disaster that affected the city's destiny was the plague between 1757 and 1772 and it covered the city like a shroud (Beyru 42). The Englishman Richard Chandler, who spent some months in the town in 1764-65, describes this disaster in his same account and states that the plague is "a disease arising from certain animalcules, probably invisible, which burrow and form their nidus in the human body […] communicated chiefly, if not solely, by contact" (219). Izmir's development has been all connected with catastrophes and apart from trade and other governmental strategies; those were the events affected the town's history.

As the trade has been the main industry that pulls the town's development, multi-ethnic communities had a big share in this development. The Ottoman *millet* system[12] allowed the Empire's assorted ethno-religious communities to co-exist harmoniously. As Eldhem states,

> if the Jews had dominated tax and brokerage in Izmir, the Muslims regional exchange, the Greeks inter-regional trade, and Armenian international commerce in nineteenth century Izmir it was not because of religious, ethnic, or national bigotry but because cultivated expertise, fortuitous connections, or demographic happenstance yielded them advantages over their competitors. (123)

The Ottoman subjects had many contributions on the commerce and politics; thus, this specified the town's historical flow. This was the situation of Izmir until the nineteenth century. From then on, the economic and demographic stand of Izmir changed in parallel with some political events in Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

The city of Izmir itself was a primary Ottoman beneficiary of the economic order in the nineteenth century. In fact, this region not only became a greater metropolis but also one of the most important cultural and commercial centres in the world. That is among the reasons why the western travellers visited this city intensely in the nineteenth century. The city's Greek population rivalled its Muslim population and it possessed large Armenian and Jewish quarters (such as Basmane) as well as English, French, Italian, even Austrian Levantine communities. According to Goffman this diverse multi-culturalism "spawned the

[12] The Millet System of the Ottomans may be defined as a political organization which granted to the non-Muslims the right to organize into communities possessing certain delegated powers, under their own ecclesiastical heads. In time such "communities" or millets developed their own peculiar characteristics and traditions, in this way becoming identified with the various nationalities. (Kamel S. Abu Jaber. "The Millet System in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire," in *The Muslim World.* Vol. 57, issue 3, July 1967. pp. 212-223).

accoutrements of genteel society" (128). Tabloids of Izmir in the nineteenth century show this diversity: *Spectateur Oriental* (established 1823), *Courrier de Smyrne* (1828), *Journal de Smyrne* (1830), *Amaltiya* (1830), *L'Echo de Ionien* (1850), *Aydın Gazetesi* (1869), *Devir* (1873), *Impartial* (1840), *Aurore de l'Ararat* (1840), *İntibah* (1874), *İzmir Gazetesi* (1877), *Nevruz* (1884) and *Hizmet* (1886) appeared all in several languages in Izmir (Atay 36). Those tabloids had many contributions to the intellectual life of Izmir.

Apart from these journals and newspapers, there were also some schools belonging to each community; for instance, several French schools were established in the 1830s and 1840s, and a Jewish school for girls opened in 1878. As the Englishman Cochran graphically pointed out in *Pen and Pencil in Asia Minor*, the more Izmir's inhabitants became educated the more its streets became filthy and narrow to pass:

> The aspects of the chief streets is of the liveliest description, although, these being narrow, a limited number of people scrambling along, and mixed with horses, donkeys, camels, bullocks, and carriages, make a greater show than on the broader thoroughfares of this country…[The visitor] may, in order to avoid sprained ankles, get into a carriage, […] but it will be surprising if at the end of ten minutes he does not express a vehement wish to get out, in order to avoid dislocation to every bone in his body through the reckless bumping over yawning chasms he perpetually receive, and the violent oscillation he is forced to endure. Before he is quite reduced to bulp, or resolved into his original state of protoplasm, in a stentorian voice he commands the driver to stop, and abandoning the vehicle probably mounts a horse, or even a lowly ass […] Now he smiles with satisfaction, and imagines that confronted by a long string of stately camels loaded with green fodder; with great bags of charcoal, the spikes of which stick out in every direction; with bales of cotton, carpets,

> or bundles of brushwood for burning. The way is narrow; the loads of the camels reach almost from side to side, and there appears to be no room to pass… (367-68)

This quotation denotes to the city's growing population in the nineteenth century as well. From the seventeenth through mid-nineteenth centuries, Izmir's population varied approximately between 50,000 and 120,000 (Beyru 19). After the 1840s, the population grew rapidly and at the mid-century the city held around 150,000 persons. This growth occurred in part as a result of the migration from the hinterland of Izmir; and thus, with the growing population, the vista of the city had also started to change.

Izmir's physical transformation in the late nineteenth century was financed by foreign investors. The constructions of railroads, streetcar, natural gas and tobacco were private as well as public. The new constructions included a sixty-bed state hospital (1851), the Alsancak railroad station (1858) and a wharf (1880s) (Atay 127-32). A clock tower (the symbol of Izmir now), a gift from the Kaiser, was in 1901 raised to honour the twenty-fifth anniversary of Abdulhamid II's reign symbolizing a westernizing city.

Although these improvements in the nineteenth century were impressive, they could not forever check the coming unhappiness that nationalism introduced into that diverse Ottoman Empire. Already by the 1820s the Ottomans had lost some of Mora to Greek nationalism. With the rise of many nationalist movements in the Balkan region, Izmir was affected in a negative way. Eventually, and probably inevitably, nationalism would also assault Izmir's harmony. The economic and political controls of the Great War put Izmir's multicultural balance into a risk and after the war this balance ended. Izmir was not so lucky after the war; however, in fact, the fight between the Greek missions to appropriate western Anatolia and the Turkish reaction that led to the

national independence. In three short years between May 1919 when the Greek army landed under allied protection and 1922 when a fire devoured much of the city, ethnic fights broke out in Izmir; and nonetheless, this fire was probably the end of Ottoman Izmir.

The fire of 1922 not only wiped out the multi-cultural society of Izmir, but also destroyed most of the kadi's court records for the city, which was the principal source for local history. Thus, as it was mentioned before, the traveller's accounts are intensely valuable for researchers in figuring out the local or regional history and literature; for this reason, the communal life of Izmir can only be traced by the travel accounts.

3.2. Oriental or Occidental

British travellers arriving in Izmir during the early years of the nineteenth century had no reason to feel like strangers in a “strange” land. Although the conditions of Eastern lands were worse than the other European districts; it was still tempting for westerners including the British travellers. The Levant Company was established by Queen Elizabeth between 1610 and 1620; owning warehouses, factories, villas, a Protestant chapel and a consulate general that made the British travellers feel in paradise. In 1810 John Cam Hobhouse underlines the existence of many hotels, although he stays with Lord Byron at the British Consul General. British traveller William Knight, in his *Oriental Outlines, or, a Rambler’s Recollection of a Tour in Turkey, Greece, and Tuscany in 1838* informs potential travellers that in 1837 the Great Smyrna Hotel had opened and that Salvo’s Navy Hotel on the Marina was much visited by naval officers (229). As there were restricted numbers of such establishments in Izmir compared to Istanbul, new arrivals and travellers returning from other places were, therefore, eager to seek out the hospitality of the Franks; a general term widely used for the European community.

The so-called Frank Izmir which consisted of European merchants and their families and dependents who lived under the protection of their consuls were not under the Ottoman jurisdiction as it was mentioned before. According to Reinhold Schiffer “if the Franks established a small cultural nucleus, then the two other ethnic groups formed two widening circles around it; the collective body made up Levantine Izmir” (111). In everyday life the cultural separation line was visible in some places and in others blurred, so when British travellers wrote about Frank Izmir, they

generally included Greeks, but not the Armenians. Communication was easy in diverse languages of Izmir; communicating with Frank community loosened the tongues of travellers, therefore, they had much more to tell about the Frank Izmir than about Turkish society, although Franks were a minority in the total population. Beyru relates that; "during their travels, travellers naturally contact with the Levantines and they regard these people as the 'Others' belonging to the western origin" (21).

What is more, British travellers turned to Frankish Izmir for relief from the Orient because the Franks were not totally alien by means of manners and religious beliefs from the visitors. In many parts of those travellers' accounts, one can also trace observations about the Greeks and Armenians who also believe in Christianity; although they belong to the Orthodox Church. "Turkish Izmir," on the other hand, kept a deep silence in the accounts of the British travellers. Since British travellers hardly spoke any Turkish, Levantine society of Izmir mostly helped to those travellers, travellers' first contact had always been a Frank from their own community. In *Travels in Europe, Asia Minor, and Arabia*, J. Griffiths underlines this fact in his 1805 visit to Izmir: "Smyrna is with propriety considered the principal mart in the Levant; and the English merchants there, the most opulent, as well as amongst the most respectable traders" (42).

On the other hand, the multi-voiced aura of Izmir was kept in silence by the travellers in their writings as British travellers spoke to the Turks with the help of Levantine interpreters. Although the travellers were kept from a dialogue with the Turks by the language barrier, they excused themselves by the assumption that the Turkish people did not want to enter into communication with a foreigner because of the

language barrier and customary mistrust of foreigners. J. P. Fletcher in *Notes from Nineveh, and Travels in Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Syria* (1850) exemplifies this barrier in his visit to Izmir: “How astonished you are to find instead of the large room usually dignified by the name of a shop in London and Paris, its Oriental namesake assuming the form and dimensions of an English stall” (61). Also, it was thought that it was nearly inaccessible for travellers to enter into the Turkish mode of life: as the same traveller states, “as foreigners are allowed in Smyrna to visit the mosques, we determined to avail ourselves of this toleration, and desired our conductor to get us admission” (64). Besides the real information about the Turkish daily life, they had hearsay information; so here it can be suggested that there is a structural bi-partition in accounts of nineteenth century Izmir. From the micro perspective, they speak about life in the homes of Levantine families; from an macro perspective, they depict Turkish life which remained, to a large part, identical with what could be observed in the streets and public places in and around the city.

As Reinhold Schiffer states, “19th century Izmir may claim to be the paradigmatic Levantine town for European travellers” (112). As British travellers depicted Levantine society and life of Izmir, Frankish Izmir occupied most of the space, while Turkish Izmir, by necessity, much less. In *Shores of the Mediterranean*, an English traveller gives us a snapshot of the first sight: “The approach to the city is fine. [...] The situation is striking, at the very head of the gulf [...] the houses line the crescent of the shore; the harbour is animated, and light caiques shoot about” (Schroeder 107).

The bi-partition of the city pushed the British travellers to compare the town with Paris; for example, in 1813 John Cam Hobhouse writes in

A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, during the Years 1809 and 1810 that “the Frank quarter at Smyrna deserved and was flattered by the name of Petit Paris” (618). Of course, here Hobhouse refers to the Frank community only. In 1828 Charles Macfarlane repeated the resemblance of Izmir to Paris in *Constantinople in 1828, A Residence of Sixteen Months in the Turkish Capital and Provinces; with an Account of the Present State of the Naval and Military Power, and of the Resources of the Ottoman Empire* as follows: “Smyrna boasts the title of Le Petit Paris du Levant; and when compared with any other city of the grand signor’s dominions, she certainly may merit it” (80). From a Muslim perspective, Izmir as a whole had a Christian characteristics and thus the city gained for itself the name “Infidel Smyrna.”

Although there was bi-partition in the town, great tolerance among the ethnic groups was astonishing until the first half of the preceding century. In the nineteenth century Asia Minor had several common ethnic and religious tolerances. In today’s Izmir this situation still continues with the existence of mosques, synagogues and churches side by side.

Izmir, the first gate to Asia Minor, occupied an ambivalent position, though, because although it has been the bridgehead of Europe and Asia Minor, the western travellers had never felt like a stranger. Yet they were mostly unwilling to go beyond the city. Izmir, as Arundell in *A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia; with an Excursion into Pisidia* puts it, hindered their “entrance into the land of barbarism” (418). For the first half of the century, Izmir was neither properly Oriental nor properly European; the situation of the town was quite in an in-between state like

a hybrid human being. Some described the city as a meeting ground of diverse cultures as Josiah Brewer puts it in *A Residence in Constantinople*: “the border ground between the oriental and western nations” (57). However, British or other travellers were quite reluctant to acknowledge this in-between state of the citizens in the town; they first tried to fulfil their oriental expectation as they nearly did the same with the other towns of the Ottoman Empire. When disappointed in Izmir’s oriental colours, they hyperbole the simple aspects belonging to daily life. In 1838 Charles Fellows wrote in *A Journal Written during an Excursion in Asia Minor*, his first impressions about the city: “I found that I was really in the East. I beheld a whole city of Turks, a very gay scene” (2). Yet in the same year William George Rose, in Izmir on a brief visit, states: “…hotel upon hotels, this was the first Eastern place I had seen; the general effect is poor in comparison with that of European town […] I could not fancy it anything but a very large and rather dirty-looking village” (48-49).

First views of the city of Izmir, precisely the interior of a city opposed to its aspect from a distance, were generally testing grounds for a traveller’s clarity in his telling. In Izmir, like in other Ottoman towns, impatient travellers came to similar negative judgements because of prejudices. According to Eliot Warburton, Izmir was a common town, dirty, with narrow streets (386). From this perspective, Schiffer states that “the visual attraction of Izmir did not rest on vistas that the inner city afforded but on the beauty of its approaches, again a close parallel with the capital” (114). Thus, it can be said that the perspective of a traveller largely fashioned his image of a city and authors of travel accounts increasingly worked from a point of view characterized by the writers’

subjectivity. If one compares some British travellers such as Hobhouse and Galt on Izmir at the beginning of the century with Warburton and Kinglake a few decades later, the change is remarkable. Instead of an analytical description, the authors wrote more in the way of impressionists: subjective, weird and non-serious anecdotes. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, increasingly, visitors to Izmir became self-professed tourists until the middle of the nineteenth century. So, apart from being a philosophical traveller like in the Grand Tour, they became more of a tourist travelling on his own. Generally when they first arrived in Izmir, travellers were drawn to the facilities of the "Paris of the Levant"' and saw Izmir as a city of leisure. Most of the time, they became blind of those motifs of the town. However, certainly there were some other travellers who still considered reading public's demands for useful knowledge. In Izmir, generally a traveller could find many useful materials for those future generations or reading public. According to Schiffer "there was [...] material for the economic traveller, some ground for the reflections of a biblical traveller, little to go on for the classical traveller, and nothing for the geological and geographical varieties" (115). Apart from these reasons for travelling, according to İlhan Pınar, one can also add "individual and psychological reasons" (59). Mehmet Demirel, a Turkish researcher, classifies those travelling aims in his work as such: "Officers for governmental duties, Business travellers, Medical Doctors, Adventurers, Missionaries, Classical travellers and Journalists"[13] (38).

For the biblical traveller, Izmir, one of the Seven Churches of Asia, was distinguished as being the only one where the Christian Church had

[13] My translation.

flourished. The Reverend Henry Christmas states that “the candlestick has never been removed out of its place” (Christmas 94). When Arundell arrived in the city, his first impression was that the city belongs to Christians. It was Arundell who believed that the richness of the city had a theological root: “the church favoured so much beyond all the other churches of the Apocalypse; the only city retaining any comparison with its original magnificence” (357). Other travellers were generally less intense than these clerical gentlemen in their narratives. There were only the few of them who tried to represent the biblical Smyrna in accordance with a doubtful martyrdom of St. Polycarp under Nero. The ruins of the St. Polycarp church thought to be near the castle; today another Church with the same name stands in the town centre (Goffman 85).

On the other hand, the classical traveller starts with the literary memories of Izmir, as one of the most important places of Asia in antiquity. As I mentioned before, it was believed to be the birthplace of Homer, near river Meles. Yet, the visible remains were rather inadequate to notice that antiquity. There was an aqueduct across the Meles and on the Mount Pagus, (Kadifekale) visitors could see Agora which was one of the prominent monuments of Izmir. In 1806, British traveller Robert Semple found the massive Jupiter head quite damaged (201); another traveller James Emerson around 1825, and Edward Napier in 1842 shared the same ideas with Semple in their accounts. Therefore, they could not decide whether it represented the Amazon Smyrna or an Apollon. Semple also writes about Diana’s Pool in his *Observations on a Journey through Spain and Italy to Naples; and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople* and asserts that,

> [there] were Sultan of Smyrna, I would cause a capacious basin to be hollowed out around Diana's Pool, which would soon be converted into a small but beautiful lake, the borders of which I would plant quickly with trees, the tall cypress, the spreading oak and the elm, and near them should grow the fig tree, the orange, the olive and the vine. (206)

As a great trade centre and the second port in importance after Istanbul, the city attracted the attention of economic travellers. The economic traveller generally made the statistics of the trade life of Izmir for the good of later travellers. According to Alfred Wood, Izmir was "linked to the growing wealth of 19th century Britain; its cotton bazaar was one of the main Asian outlets of the rapidly developing Lancashire cotton industry [...]" (192). What the hinterland of Anatolia offered to European markets through the port of Izmir was rich. Fuller wrote one of the most detailed accounts in 1818 namely *Narrative of a Tour through Some Parts of the Turkish Empire* stating that: "staple exports were dried fruits, raw silk, carpets, mohair yarn, and opium, of which last commodity the Americans took large quantities to China" (43).

The richness of Izmir also showed in its population. Those travellers gave round figures or statistics about the population. In 1806, Semple estimated the population around 150.000; Hobhouse gave the same figure in 1810. While travellers were giving exact numbers about the Christian population; on the other hand, they were silent about the causes of the growth of the Turkish population intentionally or unintentionally. Believing that the soul of Frank Izmir was mercantile, Richard Madden makes fun about the fact as follows:

> all the faculties of their souls are bound up in the contemplation of figs and raisins [...] You ask about the gardens of *Bournabut*, and you hear that figs abound there; you inquire about the curiosities of the place; and they lead you to the fig mart; you solicit information on politics, and you are told that figs are low [...] go where you will, the eternal topic is figs, figs, figs! (46-47) (emphasis original)

The all-pervading fig may be laughable, but it indicates a more serious state of Frank society. Frank community had to be engaged in trade since they could not take part in politics. The Franks were excluded from government and even city offices because of their political status; in times of danger they were thrown either on the protecting presence of foreign consulates or on the mercy of the Ottoman administration. Charles Fellows supports this by saying: “the Frankish people here, having no interest in the country they inhabit, and no voice even in the local government of the town, devote their thoughts wholly to business; their goods are all the stake they have, and even this interest is limited by the climate and government” (4).

3.3. Greeks, politics and the 1821-29 events in the accounts

Threat to the Frankish community came from two different sources: from brigands and pirates in times of general insecurity and aggression and from their Turkish neighbours in times of war. The Greek Rebellion (1821-1829) is revealed as the most tragic time in the history of ethnic relationships in the nineteenth century Izmir as it did in Istanbul. What travellers heard of the co-existence of Franks and Turks in the years before the revolution rings true. Those societies kept strictly to themselves; there was neither great friendliness nor great hostility and, perhaps, too much hidden fear on the part of the Greeks and Armenians. The division of ethnic groups to distinct quarters of the town was usual for an Ottoman city. The Turks occupied the greater part of the town; Jews, Armenians, Greeks, and Franks had their separate quarters; the Frank district stretched along the marina, the Greeks and Armenians lived in St Dimitri, in what is today Basmane. The Turkish quarters were around Mount Pagus. Towards the end of the eighteenth century John Griffith writes about “Turks who, notwithstanding the long-established intercourse with Christians and familiarity of neighbouring residence, maintain their rooted prejudices” (45). Capt. David Sutherland was much surprised “at the excessive dread in which Christians live of their fellow subjects, the Muhometans” (165-66). Hobhouse noted about improved conditions in 1810 and in 1830 Fuller wrote the following account his visit to the city in 1818, before the rebellion:

> At the breaking out of the Greek revolution, it was found necessary to employ the strong arm of a despotic officer to

> preserve order; and Smyrna was placed under the command of a Pasha. But whatever the form of the government, its administration has been uniformly favourable to Europeans, who have on all occasions, except during some temporary insurrections, when the mob got the better of the constituted authorities, received the greatest protection and encouragement: and it may safely be affirmed that no community in the world enjoys a greater degree of freedom than that of the Franks residing at Smyrna. (46)

The political causes, the military course, or the hostilities that caused of the Greek rising are not the concern of this study, nor is the atrocities committed. If the Greeks started massacring Turkish men, women and children in the Morea in spring 1821, the Turks did everything in their power on Chios in March 1822 to assure Philhellenic Europe of their barbarity (Yaşar 49). British travellers were shocked at the looting, the murders and executions in the streets of Izmir, yet several attempted to go beyond these crude indicators of violence; they distinguished between mob action and governmental measures, not always successfully because they were observing confused scenes at a troubled time.

In 1821 the initial reaction of Mahmut II to the news of the massacres in Greece was calculated to strike terror into the hearts of the Greeks in the capital and other cities (Yaşar 50-52). Many British travellers observed and wrote the free reign to the mob in Istanbul and the public execution of Greek notables. Dr. Robert Walsh wrote in his *Residence Constantinople* that the Turkish principle which justified the killing of innocent people was that of collective ethnic responsibility (17). In Izmir similar scenes of violence remained, but the official policy apparently differed. John Carne, in *Letters from the East*, writes about

irregular executions and murders; he saw a Greek servant being stabbed to death for declining to buy meat at the stall of a Candiote (a person from the island of Crete) butcher, and again for Carne, a party of fifty Greeks, hanging around too long over their escape on a Ragusan vessel in the harbour, were seized, the crew hanged, and the Greeks beheaded (68-69). Accordingly, Charles Macfarlane was almost pessimistic against the bloody actions in the town: the Franks, recognisable from their dress, were relatively safe from Turkish anger as he illustrates in the following anecdote: In the Frank Street, one of his friends saw a Turk running towards him handling pistols. Alarmed, the gentlemen stopped short: “At this the Turk laughed, and then with an attempt at politeness, begged him to step to the other side of the way, as he only wanted to shoot the Greek who was behind him” (37). Macfarlane also writes about the stages in the reaction of Greeks to mounting violence in Izmir (34-37). At the beginning, the merchants and all rich Greeks sheltered in their houses hoping that everything will settle down soon. The casino closed down, the bazaars were almost empty and silent, and the public walks were finished; this sheltering was not afforded Greek workers who had to go out and work every day. As danger increased many of the wealthy families, assisted by their Frank friends, fled to the Greek islands of Syra and Tinos. When the killings increased, the poor families among the Greeks panicked and surged into the European ships in the harbour. Macfarlane finds a religious element in the political struggle; death at the hands of the “blaspheming Mahometans” was considered martyrdom, hence there was no resistance and not even an attempt to fight in the end. His religious interpretation seems ideological. Moreover, the European reaction

varied; some heartless captains accepted escapees only after they had handed over their last money. The consular representatives helped as best as they could; the French consul alone saved hundreds of lives through shelter and negotiation (Carne 67-69). According to Macfarlane, hundreds of the inhabitants of Izmir and Chios were indebted their lives or liberty to the English Levant Company. In disgust he adds that the Greeks nevertheless considered the Company an enemy to their political cause (75-77). Carne observes British help to the Greeks as follows:

> In *several of the warehouses* of the British merchants at Smyrna [...] the ladies were crowded together [...] too happy to escape the hands of the true believers, never daring to quit their retreat, and supplied with food by the generosity of their protectors. (9-10) (emphasis original)

The British consulate during these troublesome years was a most remarkable person, Francis Werry who was an energetic and courageous notable gentleman (Rees 98). Turks highly respected him and gave him the name “Deli Konsol” which means “Mad Consul”. On account of his high reputation, he became a shield to British lives and property, and he was among the few stubborn enough to uphold the honour of Great Britain. According to Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, he was appointed in Izmir between 1794-1825 (222). In *Turkey, Greece and Malta*, Adolphus Slade writes about this courageous man and underlines his protective deeds:

> [...] our ancient consul, John Werry, Esq., who filled the post forty years, and died in 1832, at the age of ninety, might do what he pleased with the “faithfull.” Appointed solely for his merit, Mr.

> Werry ably served the Levant Company, and upheld the honour of the name; but in 1827 he incurred official displeasure: he hesitated about striking his flag, and then preferred remaining in the place as a private individual to quitting the country with his colleagues in office. He felt, and felt truly, that *his presence* would be a safeguard to British subjects and to their property. No man more lamented the premature step of leaving England unrepresented in Turkey at the critical period; no man more surely predicted the consequence: but the "new light" was abroad, and the experience of half a century was hidden by its glare. (85) (emphasis original)

Several observers insisted that the Turkish authorities in Izmir did not support the reciprocal murders of Greeks and Turks. Before the revolution Fuller relates, the "well-known Kiatib-Oglou", in office as "Mütesellim" (a rank below that of pasha) of Izmir, had been partial to the Franks "who enjoyed the tranquillity produced by the strictness of his police" (45-46). When he fell, law and order were hardened, and the city became under the command of Hasan Pasha. Charles Macfarlane gave a detailed and sensible account of the pasha's efforts in favour of the Greeks. Hasan, a great favourite with the city's mixed population, generally appeared "moderate, tolerant, just, and averse to bloodshed" (32). From the beginning of cruelties, he tried to protect the Greeks at the threat to his own life by raged crowd, brigands from the mountains behind Izmir and other Turks from Crete. During a pause in the fury, Hasan brought together a council of Turkish notables from Izmir and its districts, but failed to attend the meeting. The crowd attacked the meeting palace, a weak kiosk near the customs house; troops sent out for relief did not pass into the masses; the Turkish notables were attacked very violently. The raged crowd then turned to attack the

pasha's palace but fell back at the threat of cannon. Peacefully, Hasan rallied his allies, brought in fresh soldiers and arms, established a new council, and separated the Izmir Muslims from their murderous allies. The brigands from the mountains were sent home, and Hasan proceeded to push back the Candiote Turks; he beheaded their leaders and transported the whole wicked group back to Crete: "The pasha then felt he had purged Smyrna – tranquillity was restored about the end of June since when no more massacres have been perpetrated here" (Macfarlane 32-33). According to Macfarlane, Hasan also carried out the policy of the Ottoman Porte [Istanbul], "that could hardly wish to exterminate so useful a portion of its Asiatic population" (32-33). Eventually, all those events that took place in 1822 disgraced the town's good fame.

Few years later, after the battle of Navarino in 1827, George Keppel praised the similarly honest and firm attitude of the pasha of Izmir. After the consulates of Britain and France had closed down, when the merchants of these nations demanded protection from the pasha; he replied: "If you slept safely when the gates were barred, you will do so now that they are open" and so it turned out (123-24). After the Greek Revolution things very quickly grew peaceful again. Trade does not develop with conflicts, and it was in the best interest of both the Turkish government and the Frankish community that commerce should continue without disruption. If we survey the nineteenth century as a whole, the existence of foreigners and rayahs (the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Sultan) appeared remarkably calm, and the good fame and life of Izmir was not an impossible dream. Naturally, the good life begins and ends with being safe, and the safety of resident ethnic

minorities was soon re-established after the tragic 1820s. Another prominent traveller Adolphus Slade notes in 1836 as such:

> Christians are better looked on there than elsewhere [...] The Greeks, in particular, live securely and respected at Smyrna and acquire wealth [...] Many of those who fled in 1821, returned after the war; their property was restored to them on payment of a fine. Frightful scenes, it is true, occurred, as in other cities, on the breaking out of the revolution; but in ordinary times the place is well regulated. (84-85)

In 1838, Fellows remarked that the Turks no longer stayed away from the Christian society as they had done before, and that commercial intercourse was increasing daily, although a suspicion of the Greeks lingered (8).

For many British travellers, times of danger and times of safety interchanged; the last decades of the eighteenth century appeared to have been dangerous, then fear of strangers died down until the War of Greek Independence (1821) stirred it up again; and as the century progressed, there was less and less to fear. In 1764-65 Richard Chandler, in his account *Travels in Greece,* warned that caution was required when going out of the Frank quarter, and it was proper to be led by a Janissary as a safe guard (67). In 1806 Robert Semple was warned against the danger of a visit to Castle Hill although the town itself was a cosmopolitan place where familiarity with the exotic bred a kind of indifference to the Turkish population so that a man in European dress was hardly stared at in any quarter. For this reason, Semple was warned against the dangers beforehand: “I was informed that it was sometimes dangerous to wander there; but not being able to find a companion”

(199). In 1822 Arundell found it unsafe to walk even in the streets and a visit to the castle (Kadifekale) an undertaking of such danger that many of the oldest Frank residents had never ventured it (416-17). Yet, in 1838 Fellows took his daily walk to Castle Hill without harassment (5). Several British travellers united in their praise of Izmir as a city where violent crime, if it existed, was committed by Mediterranean rabbles and not by the native Turks (Macfarlane 90-91, Christmas 97). In 1842 William John Hamilton said that with the change which had of late taken place in the Turkish character a residence in Izmir or its neighbourhood was “as free from alarms” as in any part of Italy or Spain, indeed, much more so (62). As it was also proved in many travellers’ accounts, the foundations of the good and everyday life had survived; therefore, its structure should be examined more closely.

3.4. Everyday Life and the Good Life

One advantage the Frank community had was that they grasped the commercially most suitable and most nicely situated part of Izmir. So, these conditions supplied greener pastures for the residents of this area, by means of many kinds of social institutions. The photographs titled “Port and Sarıkışla” and “Customs Warehouses” show this commercial Izmir, its harbour, and warehouses [Appendix 2, pics. 12, 13, 14 and 40, 42] which reflect a bald, factual, and not a trace of the romanticizing image which fills a view of the same city that will be analyzed later [Apendix 2, pics. 4 and 5]. Before the photographs, we have no such contrasting and prosaic views of Izmir; but the temptation to see the nineteenth century Izmir through the eyes of romanticizing artists and to trust them is therefore all the greater. Some travellers recognized the advantageous combination of warehouses and lodgings in the Frank quarter and called this quarter as “Via dei Franci,” sometimes “Strada Franca,” and sometimes Frank Street. John Fuller was one of the realistic observers and mentions that:

> The houses on the side towards the sea have warehouses attached to them, and each has its separate wharf at the water’s edge. The warehouses are solidly built of stone, vaulted and fire-proof, and the terraces on the top, which are on a level with the principal floors, are very convenient places for taking exercise, especially in times of plague, when the inhabitants are confined to their houses. (42)

Adolphus Slade, in his *Turkey, Greece, and Malta*, fall in with romantic discourse and narrates a picturesque view of the marina: “gay is yon row

of houses, inhabited by Franks, stretching along the beach to the northwards, sparkling with their bright casements, and grotesque with the crown capped ensign staves, denoting the abodes of consuls" (83).

In times of plague, these sheltered, widely spaced establishments did indeed provide a kind of shelter, although in the case of serious outbreaks most consuls and merchants took themselves and their families to their country villas. The quarter was also emptied during the summer months when the Franks temporarily settled in their country houses, some elegant examples of which are still present in Bornova and on the campus of Ege University. European nations had their separate favourites among the suburbs in the environs of Izmir and many travellers also underlined this fact (Fuller 49, Swan 152, and Carne 67). Generally, the French preferred Bornova, the Dutch Sediköy and Buca was called the English village because of the number of its British residents. The villas in these communities offered not only refuge but also recreation. Sediköy (near Gaziemir today), the retreat of the Dutch consular community, was praised by Thomas Macgill in 1806 for its beautiful and romantic walks and the splendid hunting ground. Hyena, bear and wild boar were common, and (certainly a misunderstanding or a wild hyperbole on Macgill's part, because those animals were never found in this geography) lion and tiger were occasionally encountered on the neighbouring mountains (82). In 1825 Charles Swan heard of tigers and bears but remained a little sceptical in his *Journal of a Voyage up the Mediterranean; Principally among the Islands of the Archipelago, and in Asia Minor*: "A large hyena was killed a short time since, near Sedecui; but such an event is of extraordinary occurrence. A report goes abroad, that tigers, and even *bears*, have been seen here: I am a little incredulous" (149) (emphasis original). Such game gave the young gentlemen of the merchant houses a healthy outdoor outlet for their energies, whereas the elderly and the ladies lived in restful simplicity.

Many of these villas were well provided with European comforts and had gardens and pleasure-grounds laid out in the style of the different nations to which their owners belonged (Fuller 49).

More than anything else, the Casino stood in the centre of Frankish social activity, the so-called Paris style life. Travellers of the nineteenth century were glad to visit it, at least in the first half of the century, before other attractions – theatres, beer-gardens, good hotels and restaurants – replaced it as their favourite place of activity. The merchant society of Frankish Izmir, Fuller guesses as between three hundred and four hundred persons, ran the place on an annual subscription of five shillings (48). In *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, during the Years 1809 and 1810* John Cam Hobhouse describes its more moderate pleasure in 1810:

> Here there is a reading room furnished with all the papers and gazettes of Europe, except the British, and there are two other apartments with billiard tables: refreshments of every kind can be procured in the house, for those who choose to form parties for supper. –The rooms open at eight o'clock every evening; and during the Carnival, the subscribers give a ball once a week, to which all the respectable Greeks and the ladies of their families are invited [...] all strangers, not residents of Smyrna, are permitted to attend the rooms without any payment. (619)

Sometimes the pleasures were less moderate. Speaking of the preceding century, Wood writes that at any of the celebrations in Izmir, the British and Dutch had "usually to be carried to bed in an inebriated condition" (241). In *A Journal Written during an Excursion in Asia Minor*, (1838) British traveller Charles Fellows notes that one of the visits of European warships made welcome excuses for a ball:

> The Casino Ball was extremely gay: many of the women, and particularly the middle-aged and old, wore the Greek costume, which is very elegant [...] the band from the Sapphire frigate, and the officers in their uniform, added to the gaiety of the room. I came away at about one, but find that most of my friends remained until five, and some until seven o'clock. (2)

There was a difference in women's style; Frank ladies adopted French fashions, Greeks wore their native dresses (Fuller 48). The easy combination of Franks and Greeks, noted by John Cam Hobhouse and Charles Fellows, seems to have disappeared by time. In any case the Greeks, as William Knight writes in 1836, established their own institution to the Frank Casino: a Greek Club called the Casin du Commerce, in the Frank Street, opposite to Greek Church (273). Another British traveller Francis Harvé visits this place in the same year and ironically observes heavy gambling and ladies weeping over their victims. Ethnic distinction constituted a social obstacle between members of the two clubs: Greeks were not admitted to the Frank Casino, neither were Armenians, Turks, Jews, or any other ethnic groups. The reason for this was that the Franks considered it below their dignity to suffer anyone in their establishment who was not a European. Another prominent nineteenth century British traveller Charles G. Addison in *Damascus and Palmyra, a Journey to the East* reveals this in his visit to this club: "Greeks were not accepted to Frank Casinos like Turks, Armenians, and Jews. Anyone who is not European was believed to be lower their dignity..." (344). As Francis Harvé did not expect this absurdity to last long, in the second half of the nineteenth century, this rule had started to break down (342-343).

If the casino reminded Europeans of the European culture, it gave the Levantine communities a sense of contribution in the latest fashion.

As mentioned before, the huge majority of Turkish citizens were resistant (consciously or not) to these Paris style charms, but some of the highest officials were not. Traveller William Turner attended a ball given by the British Consul of Izmir in 1816 where the most astonishing sight belonged to the Governor of Izmir: an "immensely fat old Mussulman, at a Frank ball, playing faro with Giaours; and even when Mr. W. [British Consul] at supper gave a toast to 'The Prosperity of Smyrna', making a speech to express his wishes for the Franks continuing to share it" (140). The visitors who came to Izmir for any reason were always invited to those clubs for meeting or discussing political strategies by Levantines. For this matter, Charles Fellows expresses his seemingly neutral ideas:

> I have been admitted to the Casino or public rooms [...] I have been introduced to many Europeans here [...] The Frank people here, having no interest in the country they inhabit, and voice even in the local government of the town, devoted their thoughts wholly to business; their goods are all the stake they have, and even this interest is limited by the climate and government; no one has a house of value, for the frequent earthquakes place them in jeopardy. (5)

Although it was exceptional, some prominent wealthy Turks or local governors were welcomed to the Casinos by this community. The well-known Katipoglu, whose propensity for Frank community and assistance to the Christian rayahs was one of the famous names. Macfarlane, in his *Constantinople in 1828* writes his impressions about the stereotypical Turkish character in the Casino as follows:

> He would even take a hand at cards, and with still less repugnance, a glass of wine. He was a constant attendant at all their balls, and a passionate admirer of the ladies; and it is

> whispered in Smyrna, that some of those ladies were not insensible to the gallantry of this Turk [...] His manners in company were unexceptionable, and even gentlemanly. (92-93)

Macfarlane's quote and Turner's remark above on the fatness of the governor show an ambivalent attitude noticeable not only in these visitors: Turkish notables may have been remarkable men wielding power over life and death. Yet, to the eyes of a British gentleman, an absurdity clung to them whenever a Turkish person imitated European manners, in particular when they discarded customary dress for the reforming uniforms introduced by Mahmut II. The ironic tone is also heard in Fellows' account who was dining at the Consul's when the Governor of Izmir visited and requested to be allowed to go to the ball with the Consul. While the Governor did not drink wine, he satisfied his thirst with strong spirits because for him, rum and brandy had not been forbidden by the Prophet (5-6).

According to many British travellers, the Greek communities in Izmir were the first volunteer group registering for the Frank Casino but their registration had not been accepted for a long time. Therefore, it was mentioned that Greeks established their own Casinos. In his *Damascus and Palmyra, a Journey to the East*, Charles G. Addison explains this event as follows:

> By the English and European merchants, the Greek families have been, and are still, generally looked down upon, and not considered in *society*; but, of late years, so many have acquired wealth in their commercial pursuits, getting the protection of the Greek consul of the Morea against the exactions of the Turks, that they consider themselves on a level with the European merchants, give balls and entertainments, and live in style. (104) (emphasis original)

The temporary split of Christian society into customers of two casinos masks an essential unity which visitors detected in the free and easy interchange between Franks and Levantines.[14] John Cam Hobhouse notes that it was a very large and harmonious society which intermarriage between the numerous British, French, Dutch, German and Italian families and, on the other hand, the principal Greeks had created (618). In *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine, in 1824-27*, Robert Richard Madden also confirms this idea that "several of the English merchants are married to Levantine ladies, that is to say, Greek Smyrniates" (147). A historian Christine Laidlaw comments on those marriages as follows: "from the beginnings of the seventeenth century some of the young [English] factors, certainly at Izmir and presumably in Istanbul, Aleppo [Halep] and elsewhere, married or entered into less formal relationships with local Greek and Armenian Christian women" (167). The process of adoption of foreign cultures worked both ways. The Levantines struggled to acquire European tastes while the Europeans discarded rigid manners and etiquette and released towards an Oriental laziness. Charles Macfarlane was an example of the Oriental traveller who was capable of revising his first impressions. His earlier opinion in *Constantinople in 1828* on Frank men had been unflattering – a lot "amazingly deficient in spirit and instruction, and in the markings of national character" (80). The English even spoke English with a foreign accent! Later he relented: "You meet with men, undistinguished, it is true, by high qualities of either principle or intellect, but who are civil, friendly, and cheerful" (81). His congratulatory phrases continue with an increasing harshness: "free, familiar intercourse among

[14] The inhabitants of the mixed population which is found in the seaport towns of Mediterranean, the descendants of the Europeans settled there, and of Greek, Armenian, or Syrian mothers, are called by the Italians "Levantini" and "Levantins" by the French. The Levantines or Franks, as they are also called, are distinguished from the Greek rayahs, or subjects of the Porte, as most of them claim the protection of some European consul (*The Penny cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, London: Charles Knight Company, 1839. pp. 453).

all classes," "total absence of ceremony, stiffness, and etiquette," an "easy tempered, sociable, and agreeable people," the foreign visitor was certain of "plenty of gossip and laughter, and a familiar and kind reception" (80-81).

A traveller would quickly be commandeered by the ladies. In the encounter between the English travellers and Levantine ladies, both parties observed a fascinating aura: the ladies watched a representative from London or Paris, of which places their Eastern imaginations had formed the most excessive ideas - ; the Englishman gazed at the fair Smyrniotes whose beauty was proverbial in the Levant (Macfarlane 82). Their manners certainly differed from those of Jane Austen's heroines; the question was, whether these also indicated a different standard of morals. Charles Macfarlane was critical and Richard Madden was tolerant on this point. Both found that Levantine ladies lacked the social accomplishments of their polite British sisters. They could not play the piano or the harp and did not sing. Reading a book did not reach their pretty heads, although a lending library in the town offered the opportunity. Macfarlane, in an unusual manner, put them down as "really too unintellectual and uninformed to be any thing but the pretty playthings of an hour" (81-83). On the other hand, Richard Madden surveyed that for all their educational limitations they made excellent if illiterate wives and he proved that "a woman may be a virtuous wife, and an agreeable companion, without being able to read novels or to write billets doux" (147). The freedom of manners and common liberty of young ladies surprised Macfarlane; they were allowed into male company, yet, he admitted, "no general immoral effects result from the indulgence, but merely for the sake of *convenances*, I think it ought to be somewhat restricted" (83) (emphasis original). The charge of immorality arises as easily from different manners as from strange morals; in *Journal of a Voyage up the Mediterranean; Principally among the Islands of the Archipelago, and in Asia Minor* Charles Swan underlines

something offensive in the way Smyrniote ladies relaxed: “the postures into which they throw themselves, especially after being heated with dancing, in any but a native must be pronounced positively indecent and disgusting” (141). Macfarlane shares Swan’s discomfort over sprawling ladies:

> The ‘received position’, even in company, is to sit with one leg on the sofa bent under them, and the other hanging over the edge [...] You will see in this strange, pernicious (not to say indecent) attitude, half a dozen ladies, sitting side by side, on a long sofa. (84)

The physical consequences, he continues, were damaging beauty – large and vulgar feet, thick legs, and, turning coy over female bottoms, too much quantity of “that charming portion of the female frame, which ought to be – ‘Fine by degrees, and beautifully less’” (84-85). As for the rest of the body, Macfarlane had seen the elegance and stylish carriage of their heads and necks equalled only by the Greeks: “These defects are the more striking, from the elegance and graceful carriage of their heads and necks, which I hardly ever seen equalled, except among the Greeks” (85).

Of course, the socialization of women of Izmir was not only restricted with casinos; their socialization and beauties could also be seen in other institutions of the society. As it is also seen through Macfarlane and Fellows’s accounts, many travellers subjective assertions about the institutions in Izmir are varied. Although the travellers visited Izmir nearly the same dates, many of their observations on the motifs such as Casinos, women, and daily life could be different by means of the cultural baggage that they had carried before and during their journeys. Moreover, the various observations of British travellers are needed to be examined especially about Smyrniote ladies.

3.5. Smyrniote ladies

A composite representation of Levantine female beauty drawn from travellers' descriptions cover in general these adjectives: small, delicate head, flowing hair, heavy eyebrows, large, dark, lively eyes, slender neck and arms, and small hands. There have been a typical example of this type of beuty. The nineteenth century painter Charles Gleyre, on his visit to Izmir in the autumn of 1834, painted a watercolour of Angelica Calaphanti, the young daughter of his Greek hostess and a sea captain [Appendix 2, pic. 2]. In *Charles Gleyre, 1806*-1874, William Hauptmann discusses Gleyre's similiarly seated model in *Jewish Woman, Smyrna* (1834) [Appendix 2, pic. 3] and draws attention to the finely delineated folds of the dresses as indicating the painter's reworking of Greek classical drapery (169-70). Richard Chandler, *Travels Asia* Minor, wrote of the ladies of Izmir that "their apparel and carriage [were] alike antique" and found "their trowsers mentioned in a fragment of Sappho" (61). In addition, Macfarlane detected in their elegant turbans "a fac-simile in style" to that found on ancient Ionian statues (16). William Knight, in his *Oriental Outlines*, describes the Smyrniote ladies as: "certainly more partial to the waltz than any other dance [...] Hellenic and Ottoman dresses are worn by the ladies, whose faces are alike; arch and interesting" (274). Levantine female beauty struck travellers as esentially pictureque. Beauty without detraction existed only when it became visible in the narrow technical sense of the term, in William Gilpin's formulation, when it was "that kind of beauty which would look well in picture" (qtd. in Barbier 102). Smyrniote ladies were observed to their best zenith when they had seen at the window; so that their feet, legs and other clumsy parts of the body remained out of sight.

On the other hand, custom and religion made it impossible for a Turkish woman to be seen in her house from the streets – another difference between Muslim and Christian quarters – whereas it was normal for Levantine women to watch the passerbys sitting at their open windows. Alexander Kinglake was told in Izmir that "at the windows which the custom of Greek towns has so decidedly appropriated to them as the proper station of their sex" (42). In another prominant traveller Macfarlane's eyes, Levantine ladies met the demands of a living painting; they were seen "to the greatest advantage in their 'frames' – the windows", and he echoed a further of modern aesthetic thought which was that distance aesthetic was necessary to take pleasure in a work of art. These living works of art had created themselves for aesthetic influence:

> calculated to strike, and *do* strike, *at a distance*. But, like pictures, if they wish to keep up the full force of the enchantment, they should never descend from their frames, [the windows] where only the more favourable part of their figure is visible. (Macfarlane 16) (emphasis original)

A British traveller named Edward Napier in 1839 added his observation that the ladies of Izmir were more closer to Oriental customs and costume than those of the rapidly progressing capital (Istanbul). He found in Izmir the ideal of weakening Oriental beauty which Lord Byron had embodied in his famous *Don Juan* (1818) and he also put women in a picturesque frame:

> Towards evening, the portly beauties of Armenia may be seen at the windows, and are easily visible by their 'Dudu' forms, sleepy dark eyes, and fine complexions; the voluptuous languor of their

> general appearance offering a marked contrast to the lively glances and sparkling black eyes of the Greek damsels. (Napier 345)

The Greek ladies, on account of their colourful and ill-assorted dresses, offered, so Napier thought, a less modest appearance than their veiled Ottoman sisters. Essentially, travellers were not capable of describing Turkish female facial and bodily features, let alone the rest, in great detail; cloak and veil shrouded them completely, and, as Napier regretfully concluded, their covers left "nothing for the most lively imagination to move upon" (345).

In most of the travellers' accounts who visited Izmir, it is clearly observed that they gave importance to some specific social activities according to town's commercial structure and relations or just for the sake of their interests. One of the most interesting points is that most British travellers emphasize the beauty of Smyrniote ladies. In most parts of these accounts that highlight the women and beauty, the Levantine or Greek women are the subject of their narrations and beauty is generally identified with those communities.

Even famous seventeenth century Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi was influenced by the beauty of Smyrniote ladies; he came to Izmir in the second half of the seventeenth century and he rendered his opinion about this topic as follows:

> Yet, because of the town's nature, there were such women in legendary beauty and not reached their puberty, and heathen captivating beauties that; when they flipped their hair, all the glancing lovers lose their heads. Such enchanting women could be found here." (qtd. in Baykara 31-32)

In fact, it was quite understandable for travellers to be interested in Greek women considering that they had different physical features from their own race. Around the minority communities, it was generally known that Greek women were the bawdiest all around Izmir. On the other hand, according to Francis Harvé, the fashion of Greek women was sometimes burlesqued or imitated by Levantine women:

> The head-dress of Greek ladies in Smyrna, which is called the *tactico*, is extremely pretty, and indeed it has been adopted by most of the European ladies, who have been long settled at Smyrna: it consists of a round scarlet cap, which is held on the head in some degree by a long plaited trees of hair, which is passed twice round it, leaving the scarlet peeping between; the back of the cap is adorned by an eagle, a star, or some other ornament, which is embroidered upon it in gold; and drooping from the centre is a purple silk tassel; some have it of silver, which is expensive, and a few there are of gold, which of course costs an immense price [...] It is picturesque, and its novelty pleases the European eye. (17) (emphasis original)

One can also find other travellers or observers who opposed or disagreed to the general opinion about the beauty and charm of Greek women of Izmir but those were the travellers who were in minority. Nineteenth century British traveller Oliver Hanson was in that minority group and he noted the negative sides of those ladies:

> Smyrniote Greek women are sluggard and they generally do not take care of their dressings. They don't like to move, they have difficulty in standing and when they stand, their general

> appearance seem lumpish. Greek women like to sit on their doorsteps and watch the passersby's. (443)

As it is understood from the above quotation, Hanson's observations are very different except for the topic of women sitting on the doorstep. In fact, some Greek women in Izmir were really Smyrniote ladies but most of them were not inhabitants of the town and came from near small islands; the women coming from Tinos Island were working in houses as servants. In addition, with their beauties and interesting outfits, they have always been the centre of attention (Hanson 442). In the same account, Hanson also asserts his observation on Smyrniote women's mastic chewing; "this is one of the best known customs of Greek and Oriental women. There is almost no time they do not chew mastic" (443).

In many circumstances, the written accounts which emphasize Greek women can also be valid for Levantine women in Izmir as mentioned in the above quotation. In Frank quarter of Izmir, families from various communities were living and this situation sometimes led the travellers into confusion; many English, French, Dutch, German, and Italian families, who were settled in the place and some of them, intermarried with the principal Greeks (Broughton 31). Besides, as the consequence of cross-marriages between Levantine and Greek families, it is hard to understand which group is referred to in some travel accounts. In a mid-nineteenth century travel account *Letters of a German Countess: Written During her Travels in Turkey, Egypt, The Holy Land, and Syria*, Ida Hahn writes her observations as follows:

> Around five o'clock, with the coolness of the hot weather, many extremely beautiful Smyrniote women are seen sitting at their houses' hole or talking each other in standing on the doorsteps in Frank Street. I can say that those ladies are very beautiful with their postures, lively and black eyes and proper body lines. (265)

Another nineteenth century traveller Eustace Clare defines Izmir as *Petit Paris* in 1854 like the other travellers and he emphasizes that the inhabitants of Izmir are beautiful, lively and crowded. He asserts his admiration and gayness as follows: "Those Parisian Levantine women, what an extraordinary race they are! Young men here seem like they came from the University of London or Quartier Latin. As for the women, I think, they are the most beautiful creatures in this mortal life" (416). Especially in the nineteenth century the community living in the Frank Quarter of Izmir were not different from those of London and Paris in terms of fashion. The above quotation is interesting and remarkable by means of reflecting the beauty of the inhabitants.

In fact, many travellers pointed out the fact that Greeks who lived in Izmir were fairly comfortable, carefree, and not hardworking. Naturally, this tendency must have affected Greek women in Izmir as well. R. A. Hammond underlines these habits of Greek men and women in Izmir and observes that Greeks were celebrating festivals or religious feasts one third of the year: "As you move through the narrow streets of the city at this time of festival, the transom-shaped windows suspended over your head on either side are filled with the beautiful descendants of the all Ionian race" (288). In the same account, Hammond touches upon the beauties of the same ladies and he depicts Greek ladies as women whose: "faces are partially covered, and their hair, which is carefully braided, is much ornamented with cold coins; the rest of their attire is of

cambric-muslin, and they show more the person than is customary with the Turkish women" (290). It is very interesting that this nineteenth century traveller's observations were so similar to his seventeenth century colleague Evliya Çelebi's.

Folklorist and traveller Lucy Mary Jane Garnett writes her visit to Izmir in her *The Women of Turkey and their Folklore* and she asserts that one of the most important activities of Greek women in Izmir was afternoon tours:

> On the day of Easter [...] shots are discharged from firearms in honour of the event [...] as they wend their way homewards to breakfast on red eggs, Easter cakes, and coffee [...] The day is given up to relaxation and feasting, the most important event for the women and girls especially being the public promenade in the afternoon, for which they don their new summer dresses, the preparation of which has, it well may be supposed, much occupied their minds during the season of mortification. An equally important festival, at least at Bournabat [Bornova], is the feast of the Annunciation. On this occasion the whole of the Greek population assemble in the afternoon in the open space [...] Manners here are, perhaps, less strict than in other localities, and a good deal of ogling and flirtation may be seen going on. (118-19)

As it was mentioned before, the observations about the Greek women in Izmir by some travellers were also valid for Levantine women. In fact, both communities were mixed together by marriages, but these interferences had also led many travellers to misunderstand this situation. British traveller Charles Wilkinson, in his *A Tour through Asia Minor and the Greek Islands* displays his opinions about this subject and Levantine women as follows:

> Most of the young ladies play on the piano forte, or the guitar, and possess the talents of drawing and languages. The Europeans often intermarry with the Greeks, or with natives of the religion. Their ladies were wear the Oriental dress, consisting of large trowsers, which reach to the ancle; long vests of rich silk or velvet, lined, in winter, with costly furs; and round the waist, an embroidered zone, with clasps of silver or gold. Their hair is platted, and falls down the back, often in great profusion. The girls have, sometimes, above twenty thick tresses, besides two or three encircling the head as a coronet; and set off with flowers, plumes of feathers, and pearls or jewels. When they visit, they put over their heads, a thin muslin veil, with a border of gold tissue. A janissary walks before, and two or more handmaids follow them through the streets. (367)

The above quotation reveals that during the early nineteenth century, although they married the Europeans, Greek and Armenian women were still tied to the local traditions and customs, especially in their outlooks. Later, in the middle of the same century, it was seen that the European fashion became widespread all around the communities; hence, this attempt, to imitate the European habits, only showed itself for fashion.

In the later nineteenth century, Fred Burnaby visited Izmir for a short period of time during his travels to the East and his impressions about Greek and Levantine women of the town was not so praiseworthy in *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, which might be because of his short stay in Izmir. His impressions about the ladies are as follows:

> 'I am going to shore,' said the silk-merchant, who was surrounded by a crowd vociferous Greeks. 'Our steamer will not start for

> several hours. Let us dine in a cafe, and see if the fair sex in this part of Turkey is as beautiful as some travellers would have us believe.' I accepted this proposal, and we walked through the streets of Smyrna.
>
> The town, as it looked from the harbour, proved to be a hideous deception. The streets were narrow and dirty, and the odour which everywhere met our olfactory nerves, was strongly suggestive of typhus. Women were seated in the *patios* or open courts of the houses, and the Greek ladies in Smyrna are evidently not shy. They boldly returned the inquisitive glances of my companion and myself, and appeared rather pleased than otherwise our curiosity.
>
> 'Well I can't say much for their beauty,' observed my companion. 'They have good eyes and hair, but all of them look as if they had not washed their faces for at least a forth night. (5-6) (emphasis original)

Travellers who highlighted the beauties of the women generally attributed those features to the Greek and Levantine ladies in Izmir and sometimes, same attributions were given to the Armenian or Jewish women. In the first half of the nineteenth century, traveller J. L. Stephens, in *Incidents of Travel in Greece, Turkey, Russia and Poland*, writes about the Armenian women in the town as follows:

> In the streets the Armenian ladies observe the Turkish custom of wearing the shawl tied around the face, so that it is difficult to see their features, though I had often admired the dignity and grace of their walk, and their propriety of manners; but in the house there was perfect absence of all concealment; and I have seldom seen more interesting persons than the whole group of Armenian ladies, and particularly the young Armenian girls. (202-3)

It can be said that the daily life style of Armenian community in Izmir was not different from the other minority groups. Especially, the custom of sitting on the doorsteps for the Armenian women was as common as in the Greek community. There were many similarities between those minority groups in terms of domestic life. Francis Harvé noticed this affinity; he visited one of the Armenian families: "The short embroidered jacket, open at the bosom, and with tight sleeves, as those to which I have already alluded as worn by the fair Armenian, is also much used by Frank and Greek females" (17).

There are other prominent travel accounts that also took into consideration the Jewish women in Izmir. In fact, Sabbath is the day that Jews dress well and clean up. For that purpose, they go to the public baths (hamam) on Friday. A British lady, who worked in the British hospital of Izmir in 1856, notes her observation about the Jewish women in her account titled *Ismeer or Smyrna and its British Hospital in 1855 by a lady* as follows[15]:

> We still went up hill after leaving the cemetery, and now came on the confines of the Jewish quarter, near which is the Greek church of St. John [...] We now passed through the Jews' quarter, and it being Friday, we found them busy preparing for their Sabbath. We looked into a bath in passing; it was the same kind as that used by Turks and was full of Jewesses, some of them seemed very

[15] The celebrated British nurse Florance Nightingale was probably the first prototype started a different kind of travel; travel of nurses. Following Nightingale, many other devoted and volunteer nurses packed for travelling to one of the British hospitals in the East and they also carried their cultural baggage there. Those nurses' primary goal was frankly to help the wounded British soldiers in Eastern regions. During their missions, some nurses kept diaries, memoirs or travel accounts that can be valuable information for scholars in order to see the conditions of concerned land. This anonymous memoir, which I also consider as a travel account is believed to be written by a nurse named Martha Nicol. But in the text or the other sources, we do not have a clear proof that this account was written by Martha Nicol. The reason that the writer of the text preferred to keep her name secret is understandable since Victorian society restricted female mobility by gender-related doctrines.

> beautiful, and were gorgeously decorated with jewels; they did not all appear to object to our coming in and seeing the process of the bath, indeed, the owner of the place invited us. (Anon. 22-23)

In 1890, a British traveller who by coincidence passed through the Jewish quarter witnessed that the Jews were celebrating their feast in a lazy manner and chatting and speaking in a loud tone sitting at their houses' threshold (Warner 257). As it is revealed from many travellers' observations, Smyrniote women had the tendency or custom to sit in front of their houses and watch the passersby. This was the common tradition for all the minority groups of women in Izmir. This situation, during the nineteenth century was quite controversial for Turkish women.

As mentioned before, custom and religion made it impossible for a Turkish woman to be seen in her house from the streets – which was another difference between Muslim and Christian quarters – whereas it was normal for the Levantine, Greek and Armenian women to watch the happenings in the street while sitting on their doorsteps. Therefore, travellers who visited Izmir were hardly ever able to narrate the Turkish women, especially in their private houses and daily manners. For that reason, most of the accounts concerning the Turkish women were in the streets or in various celebrations and social activities and also, it was, naturally, unusual to meet with an account consisting of the beauties of Turkish ladies during the nineteenth century. In fact, it seemed that the travellers had no chance to see those beauties at all. Charles Fellows who came to Izmir in 1838 asserts that:

> The women, although they contrive to have a good view of strangers at a distance, cover up all but one eye as they

> approach; and some are always thus ensconced, having a horse-hair mask or cowl over the upper part of the face, and the lower part of concealed in the same white sheet which covers the rest of the body. The dresses are splendidly embroidered, a Turk thinking it nothing extraordinary to give fifteen or twenty pounds for a jacket. I saw a child whose clothes must have cost sixty or seventy pounds, the embroidery being a mass of gold, and one set of clothes was put over another; the child was not above eight years old, but was probably the pet of some wealthy merchant. (2)

Travellers' observations about the Turkish women in Izmir were limited because travellers only had the chance to see them in the streets with veiled appearance. With outwardly looking at those women, one other traveller makes a statement that the Turkish women were spending money for clothes so much; but still, it is impossible to make a generalisation with only this observation. More or less, some women travellers had the chance to see the Turkish women in housedress but these narrations are very limited. The same British nurse [Martha Nicol], appointed to the British hospital in 1856 notes her observations concerning the Turkish women:

> Soon after our arrival, the Commandant of the Turkish troops at Smyrna, asked to be introduced to us, and invited us to go and see his wives; a party of nine or ten went, and were ushered into a tawdry house, and seated on low cushions which surrounded the room, by a black slave.
>
> Soon the head wife, I fancy, made appearance, followed by her daughter, about eight or nine years old. She was what would be called a comely good-looking woman, stout, with a high colour, and blue eyes, was dressed in gaudy calico rags, and diamonds, which fastened the usual handkerchief-headdress on: and be it known, that Turkish ladies change their style of dress, and have

> their fashions like us, and some of them are equally absurd; for instance, the trowsers now fashionable, are fully half a yard longer than reaches the ground, and though they confine them at an ankle, they trail along the floor in the most extraordinary manner, and are unpleasantly suggestive of all kinds of entanglements of the feet, as well as other accidents; this is quite a recent innovation, and whether an imitation of our train-like dresses or not, I cannot say. Another late fashion is that of cutting the hair quite short when they are married; so that, instead of the beautiful long tresses which used to be worn, and which were such an adornment, now all the married females pretending in the least to fashion, have their hair cropped like boys. (Anon. 199-200)

In the same writer's travel account, the detailed features of the Turkish women gathered in a circumcision feast are as follows:

> The house was crowded with gaily-attired females, dressed something in the style of English court in the reign of George the Third – excessively low bodies, made very short at the waist – plain, tight, long trains – except that, of course, instead of the petticoats, were the excessively full and fashionable Turkish trowsers, which I have before described. (Anon. 243)

In the same account, apart from the fashion, dressing and decorating of the Turkish women, one can find the detailed daily life descriptions of the Turkish women in Izmir:

> The women, poor things! are idle and gossiping; but what can they do? they must have some amusement, and their principle one seems to be stumbling about in the bazaars all day, or, taking some coffee with them, to go out in hordes to the burial-grounds,

> or a little distance beyond Smyrna, and sit there in the sun, chatting and drinking this favourite beverage.
> I certainly never saw any of the want of liberty of Eastern women, so much talked about; on the contrary, they appeared to me to go out at all times they pleased, and often stay out the whole day; seldom alone to be sure, but in parties, apparently of two or three families. They are very rarely seen with their husbands, but occasionally on a Friday or Sunday, a family part may be observed, the husband walking in front with a young child on his shoulder, or holding it by the hand, and his wife or wives following with some more children; but the custom of having more than one wife is very much dying out. It is not the fashion among the richer classes, and the poorer cannot afford it. (Anon 197-98)

The writer of this account emphasizes that the Turkish women in Izmir spent their daily life much more freestyle than it was thought; on the other hand, she defines them as "poor things;" and this ambivalence is quite obscure in itself. Similarly, in another travel account titled *Report on Smyrna*, George Rolleston writes the general opinions about the daily life of the Turkish women inhabited in Izmir:

> Infanticide and prostitution are rare, but the Turkish woman, with a view of retaining her hold on her husband's affections, very commonly procures the abortion of her unborn child. A larger portion of Turkish women than is generally supposed possess the accomplishments of reading and writing, but beyond this degree their education has not advanced. The Turkish women make linen and silken textures of various degrees of fineness for the use of their own households, and within their own houses, but the manufacture of the Turkey carpet and the richly embroidered and flowery praying carpet is also almost entirely carried on by the female hands. (24)

Apart from the housedress of the Turkish women in Izmir, it was known that most of the Turkish women covered their heads with scarf while they were socializing in the nineteenth century. These features of the Turkish women led speculations about the daily life of the women of this community around many circles. Generally, travellers were inspired by their physical appearances and considered the Turkish women as inferior creatures; contrary to those narrations, there are also many travellers underlying the women's respectable status in the streets or at home. In *Narrative of an Excursion from Corfu to Smyrna*, Thomas Robert Jolliffe mentions this controversial subject as such:

> The Turkish women are universally veiled in public; a linen mask almost completely covers the face, leaving only a small aperture for the eyes and the lower part of the forehead: their persons appear undistinguishingly *en bon point,* each individual being clad in a loose cloak, which conceals the shape as effectually as a domino. Whenever they appear in the streets they pass without the slightest molestation: no one ever dreams of showing them the most distant attention: to be seen speaking to a female would subject the party to a severe flogging, and any attempt at a personal familiarity incurs a more rigorous penalty. (259) (emphasis original)

Turkish public life circumscribed the most extensive area in which travellers encountered Ottoman women in Izmir; in the streets, bazaars, squares, picnic areas, and cemeteries. There, women were seen but not spoken to as it was mentioned in Jolliffe's account. The object of travellers' curiosity remained, characteristically, silent and remote; but this situation was only valid for the Turkish women but not for Greek, Jewish, Armenian and Levantine women in Izmir (Quataert 151).

Private social space, defined by the walls of the Turkish home, was inaccessible to foreign visitors. The “selamlık”, the public part of a Turkish house where Turkish men entertained each other and their foreign guests, was one section of this social space. There, women made only marginal appearances. The other section, the “haremlik”, the part of a house divided up to women was out of bounds to foreigners and hence attractive.

On the other hand, in Izmir large numbers of Turkish, Levantine, Greek, Armenian, and Jewish women were seen in the streets, a phenomenon which struck travellers as being very different street view than in Britain. Since the great majority of travellers had an aristocratic to middle class social identity, comparisons with the liberties of their own classes came naturally to them; and thus, in Turkish society they had found a blurred reflection of their own but in Levantine society, they had found many similarities. Nevertheless, the contexts of their observations often reveal which level of society for urban Turkish women they have in mind. In his article titled “Down and Out on the Quays of Izmir: ‘European’ Musicians, innkeepers, and prostitutes in the Ottoman Port-Cities,” Malte Fuhrmann writes that when travellers speak in general terms simply about the women in Izmir, they always observe the upper and middle classes and hardly ever include the lower level. With the exception of prostitutes, the urban poor were disregarded. (169-185). Although they were visible, they did not become the objects of analytical attention.

The contrast between the conditions of Muslim women and women of different religious doctrines, which is to say those of non-Turkish ethnic origin, was often more imaginary than real, as Thomas

Trant assures his readers with regard to the Greeks: “The Turkish women, who are supposed to be such prisoners, enjoy a degree of liberty which is little understood in Europe: they walk out whenever they please […] Many of the Greeks have but little more similarity to European habits” (155-56).

3.6. A Labyrinth

Turkish social life, to recall a previous distinction, was not on view to British visitors either in the homes or at the windows. Travellers saw it only outdoors, in the streets, bazaars, cemeteries and picnic grounds of the city and those were the only favourite points of observation. Although travellers had to walk through the narrow streets of Turkish Izmir, for topographic reasons they did not choose to get on lengthy descriptions of this activity. British travellers perceived the urban structure of Turkish Izmir as weakly as that of Istanbul. They did not recognize the streets of the Turkish quarter which had no names and the houses which had no numbers; they disliked the area because they could not find their way through it. Incapable of reading the Turkish city, they pronounced it to be unreadable; Izmir as maze was a prominent image. Richard Madden calls Izmir “a filthy congregation of narrow lanes and pestilential alleys” and Richard Burgess complains: “The interior of Smyrna is a labyrinth of narrow ill-built streets, with a muddy channel as the only embellishment of each, and a Babel of confusion of tongues assails the ear on every side” (75).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the streets still had an ancient look. In fact, today, they have the same physical outlook with small differences. In 1871 traveller Edwin John Davis complains in his *Anatolica; or, the Journal of a Visit to Some of the Ancient Ruined Cities of Caria, Phrygia, Lycia, and Pisidia* that there were no sidewalks, no gas lamps, no conveyances that an open sewer ran down the middle of almost every street, so Smyrna was obviously “a city of the seventeenth, not of the nineteenth century” (13). The negative image of the streets of

Izmir was increased by the physical confusion of travellers moving through crowds. Hobhouse was quite concerned:

> The narrow streets are on some days so crowded as to be almost impassable, and the press is increased by the camels, which, in strings of two or three hundred, preceded by an ass, pace slowly along, or, lying down in the middle of the way, effectually prevent the crossing of passengers. (30)

Middle class travellers were likely to hate city crowds anywhere, whether in London, Paris or Izmir. The repressive presence of London crowds is a motif in the accounts of many British and foreign observers from Smollet to Wordsworth, De Quincey, Dickens, and T. S. Eliot. Still, some architectural landmarks such as the cathedrals, squares and bridges of London offered some orientation in this undesirable crowd of humanity. Izmir, an oriental city, did nothing to lift its own oppressiveness; it remained looking entirely foreign and exotic. Travellers searched in vain for familiar sights or landmarks; in contrast with Istanbul, the city had no remarkable buildings. Henry Christmas, in his *The Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean, Including a Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia*, compares those prominent cities in his 1851 visit to Izmir: “I should rate Smyrna as about on a par with an equal portion of Constantinople, but it has no remarkable buildings, wants the magical beauty of situation which distinguishes the greater city” (97). The mosques of Izmir were not as notably situated as the great mosques of Istanbul; consequently they did not function as signs of orientation for visitors. The only mosque that attracted the travellers’ attention in Izmir was the Hisarönü mosque in Kemeraltı. Without a dragoman a traveller was quickly lost in languages of confusion. The

effect of auditory, physical and visual disturbance created a psychological condition in which the Englishmen felt isolated, hemmed in, soiled by contact with crowds and beasts, incapable of communication and of keeping themselves to themselves. The prominent nineteenth century traveller Charles Swan writes in *Journal of a Voyage up the Mediterranean; Principally among the Islands of the Archipelago, and in Asia Minor* that the streets were scarcely three yards wide and this space had to be shared between pedestrians and animals (128). The wife of a clergyman Mrs. Baillie was a poet and a prolific writer of religious and travel literature. She visited Izmir in 1871 and there, Mrs. Baillie was so troubled by porters, donkeys, mules etc., continually coming up against her that she was pleased when she and her company emerged again into the open space (212-13). In fact, there was less open space in the inner city than in Istanbul where foreign travellers could visit the Sultan Ahmet (At Meydanı). Richard Burgess, in his *Greece and the Levant; or, Diary of a Summer's Excursion in 1834* mentions only the marina where he was permitted to "breathe in ease and security" (75). In 1872 another British visitor to the town E. J. Davis had the same idea in mind when he wrote in *Anatolica; or, the Journal of a Visit to Some of the Ancient Ruined Cities of Caria, Phrygia, Lycia, and Pisidia*: "Smyrna has no public promenade, and the single open spot we could find long the beach was the garden of a cafe near our hotel; here the European residents used to assemble every evening to eat ices and drink beer" (15).

In its borders Izmir had no pleasure gardens such as New Spring Gardens or Hyde Park in London where Englishmen of all classes assembled for their evening entertainment, no Piazza di Spagna as in Rome where the aristocratic families would parade in self-representation

of their owners or no Pariser Platz where the noble German citizens parade and socialize. The lack of such psychological space in Izmir led foreign travellers to a favourite narrative strategy. Before the middle of the century, most of the travellers tended to omit their own spatial experience of the city while focusing on their experience of ethnic and social life. Travellers selected and reserved static points of observation for themselves and did not go with the crowd in the human flow. Their narrative standpoint has some resemblance with a painterly point of view favoured by Romantic artists who employed the icon of the observer at the open window. The icon of the open window reminds us the paintings of Salvador Dali, especially the one titled “figure at a window.” According to art historian Lorenz Eitner, in painting, the figure at the window provides the view of emotional quality shelter onto nature outside: the window functions as an entrance and at the same time as a barrier (286). This function occurs in Oriental travellers’ accounts as well. They were aware of the setting between themselves as eyewitness subjects and the observed object out there. However, the emotional feelings differ from the romantic equivalent. There was no desire to plunge themselves into the crowds of that Oriental society and to create their own personal expressions, subjective text out of the experience. For that reason, separation between the subject and object was inevitable, because travellers and their Oriental object preferred to retain a recessive position towards one another, since the constant lack of disturbance helped the travellers’ sorting eye. In addition, travellers in the early nineteenth century continued selectively; they fixed their standpoint according to the Oriental object. Generally, for the urban scenes travellers favoured a narrow, static standpoint; for rural scenes

they more often employed a wider picture; for total views of cities, for instance, in Istanbul, travellers' descriptions turned more panoramic.

According to the above mentioned narrative stance of the British travellers', they had chosen a genetic and typifying description of Ottoman subjects until the middle of the nineteenth century. Travellers generally wrote about "the grave Turk" or "the stately Armenian" rather than the crowd of passing Turkish camel caravans or merchants. With an eye on Turkey's rich and multicultural ethnic mixture, the categorization went on according to typical social and ethnic markings: the range of costumes along with their given or traditional colours, and the various ethnic appearances. An ordering of these things requires prior knowledge of such indices, whereas the imitating traveller who watches a charming swirl of colours has either abandoned, or is no longer able to give an interpretation of markings. For instance, in Izmir Charles Fellows observed the East or the mixture of the East and the West from a window of the Navy Hotel. Edward Napier selected the bazaar as the best point from which to observe the multinational crowd and then gave a description of the ethnic groups encountered in the streets (Napier 344). William John Hamilton also chose the bazaar, pushing himself out of the description:

> The most striking object there is the great variety of curious and gay costumes, various even amongst the different classes of Turks; but still more so from the heterogeneous nations that swarm in this busy quarter. The grave and stately Turkish merchant in his ample robes, and squatting on his shop-board, contrasts with the almost gigantic *hamal* or porter. Their dress is as simple as that of the other is ostentatious, with bare legs and white drawers, and a wisp of cotton cloth rolled round their dirty

> fez or red skull-cap. Again, the Xebeque from the mountains with bare legs and white drawers fitting tight to his thights, but made preposterously loose behind, with his high and gaudy turban bedecked with tassels and fringes, is a very different being from the Euruque or Turcoman, clad in sombre brown. Then the Armenians and Levantines, with their huge kalpaks and flowing robes, their dark complexions, and clean-shaved chins, are as different from the mean-looking fair-haired Jews, with bare foreheads, long-pointed beards. Hard by is a long train of Turkish women, silently shuffling along in their yellow slippers concealed by a black silk mask, which strangely clashes with the white shroud or cloak thrown over their heads. (58) (emphasis original)

The Izmir variety of the mode of Turkish male activity was most interesting to British travellers. On places outside coffee-houses, those were built on spots overlooking the sea; the men were seen smoking their pipes, sitting. Macfarlane tells us this moment as "in mute and almost motionless groups for hours at a time" (92). Such habit seemed out of place to the European traveller; to him the division of activity and motionlessness represented a fundamental opposition between the European and the Oriental character. Excessive Oriental tranquillity was seldom seen as virtue.

Apart from the bazaar, Caravan Bridge[16] was a spot attractive to many British travellers. The name refers to the place that the camel caravans to set off for moving to inner Anatolia were assembled at this place; as the equivalent to modern Turkish bus terminals for this

[16]The Caravan Bridge over the River Meles at Izmir is believed by archaeologists to be one of the very oldest in existence. The river does not exceed 40 feet in width, and it is crossed with a single span. On the banks of this river, Homer lived and played when a boy twenty nine centuries ago and Saint Paul on his journey into Smyrna probably entered the town over Caravan Bridge. The parapets and pavement have been renewed within the last two centuries, but the remainder of the bridge is in its original condition. (Çınar, M. Atay. *Tarih İçinde İzmir*. İzmir: 1978. pp. 28-29).

gathering place. The bridge was a Roman channel and today, one can see the ruins passing through Yeşildere to Karabağlar. Caravan Bridge lay but a short walk north of the town and the inhabitants of Izmir were fond of leisurely walking there especially in the evening [Appendix 2, pic. 8, 9, and 10]. Charles Fellows observed this place as “an object picturesque in itself and highly interesting to the people of Smyrna, as it is the land-gate or entrance to the city” (15). Arundell noted that many people were seated on chairs and taking refreshments under the shade of the coffee-house trees (5). In 1806 Robert Semple chose this place as the proper observation point from which to watch a scene of Ottoman daily life. The scenery of this “paradise of the East” was made up of a small stream of the river Meles, coffee gardens, picnic grounds, a cemetery and an old bridge with a single arch. Involving in coffee and tobacco was one pleasure, listening to stories and fortune-tellers was another. Semple exclaims that “Caravan Bridge is the theatre of Smyrna; and Aristotle himself, were he to rise from the dead, could not criticise the unity of the scene. This theatre was founded on principles and feelings common to all nations” (204-05). Robert Semple was not so much concerned with the otherness of Orientals as with the Enlightenment demand that travellers uncover a general humanity below the exotic variations of nations; to him, Turks and Levantines shared a common nature.

The picnic grounds near the Caravan Bridge presented to British travellers the picturesque image of a Turkish society whose material constitution and class separation remained veiled under an aesthetic surface. With this feature, they were equal to the picnic grounds near Istanbul and Bursa. Furthermore, Caravan Bridge served the same social function like its more famous equivalents. Arundell accepted this

fact and wrote about the spot as an Oriental substitute for a Parisian boulevard: “Caravan Bridge may be called the Boulevards Italians of Smyrna and if the refreshments are not Parisian, and if there be but little of female society, yet the scene is a showy one” (5). The anonymous author of “A Ride to Magnesia” (1847) saw the picnic grounds near the bridge as “a sort of Turkish Vauxhall” happily without a single drunkard (Anon. 240). In Aydın a boulevard of an unusual kind was noticed by Algernon Mitford in 1864:

> We came down upon the track of the Smyrna and Aidin Railway. What the Sweet Waters of Europe are to the ladies of Constantinople, that to the fair dames of Smyrna were the less romantic rails. The fashionable promenade of the Sabbath-keeping *bourgeoisie* – the line was thronged by numbers of Turkish ladies in many coloured dresses. (319) (emphasis original)

All in all, the general observations of the British travellers in Izmir were only depended on the daily gathering points such as Caravan Bridge, picnic grounds, cemeteries and the bazaar. Apart from plunging into the street crowds, most of them chose to take the outside picture of the places, and peoples. With an eye on Turkey’s rich and multicultural ethnic mixture, the categorization went on according to typical social and ethnic markings: the range of costumes along with their given or traditional colours, and the various ethnic appearances.

3.7. The Scenery

The nineteenth century British travellers tend to substitute picturesque experience for analysis. Before their observations, the Oriental scene transformed itself into the object of a series of drawings and paintings. When nineteenth century well-known writer William Makepeace Thackeray came to Izmir in 1844, he considered the paintings “faithful transcripts of everyday Oriental life” rather than the demonstrations of state affairs and magnificent landscapes; “the camels afford endless motives couched in the market-places lying by thousands in the camel square” and the Caravan Bridge “would afford a painter subjects for a dozen of pictures” (59). In 1873 E.C.C. Baillie characterized the tired voice of the tired traveller and all she had to say was: “most picturesque are the oriental groups to be found at this spot” (214).

Turkish graveyards and their surroundings with their forests of funereal cypresses and marbled tombs belonged to the favourite places for Europeans anywhere in the country [Appendix 2 “Near the Caravan Bridge”]. The main cemetery of Izmir on the slope of a hill was visited by British travellers for the reason that they were excited at this picture of Oriental solitude, solitude being a commodity much traced by the romantic traveller. In 1825 James Emerson found this in Izmir:

> It is in these spots that one feels truly in the East, where all around reigns the stillness of death, and the only gaudy objects to allure the eye are the calm cloudless heaven and the glittering sea, where the hum of the bee amid the thyme-covered graves and the stately waving of the funereal cypresses, alone disturb the solitary grief of the mourners who frequent them, and who are

> seen in melancholy group seated in tears beside some fresh made grave. (59)

In this narration of Emerson, melancholy groups of mourners gave him the proof that family sorrow and sadness for the dead were common for Turks and British alike.

In the usual sequence of impressions of the travellers, the panoramic view of the town within its landscape setting came into sight first when British travellers sailed up the Gulf of Izmir. Above all other descriptions of British travellers, one text embodies the romantic view of Izmir common in the travellers of the nineteenth century. It is Arundell's *A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia; with an Excursion into Pisidia*, of his first arrival in 1822 when the town presented to him a picture of inexpressible beauty approaching from the sea:

> The acclivities of Mount Pagus and the plain beneath, covered with innumerable houses, the tiled roofs and painted balconies, the domes and minarets of mosques glowing and glittering with the setting sun; the dark walls of the old fortress crowning the top of the mountain, and the still darker cypress-groves below, shipping of every form and country covering the bay beneath; flags of every nation waving on the ships of war, and over the consulate houses; picturesque sacolevas, and innumerable caicks skimming along the surface of the waves; mountains on both sides of stupendous height and extraordinary outline, the effect of volcanoes or earthquakes, tinted with so strong a purple, that neither these nor the golden streaks on the water could safely be attempted to be represented even by a Claude: at the margin of the water on the right, meadows of the richest pasture, the velvet turf contrasted with the silvery olive, and covered with cattle and tents without number. (356)

Another textual picturesque representation similar to Arundell's words belongs to Adolphus Slade when he first approached to Izmir by the Gulf in 1837. His observations are as detailed as Arundell's. He begins his colourful words as follows:

> We visited Smyrna eighteen miles off. Beautiful is the city, in the distance, resting on the slope of that brown hill; and gay is yon row of houses, inhabited by Franks, stretching along the beach to the northwards, sparkling with their bright casements, and grotesque with the crown-capped ensign staves, denoting the abodes of consuls, not less in the estimation of Levantines, than those Rome sent forth to rule kingdoms. Mournful is yon cypress grove on the right, where the living seek communion with the departed, and the traveller of the day meets the traveller bound on his last journey, the crack of his whip disputing echo with the Imam's farewell hymn. (83)

Another prominent British traveller Charles Fellows echoes the same words in his travel account during his visit to Izmir. His first impression was literary and impulsive for the ordinary reader of that day. His observations of the panorama of the town are as follows:

> I am now in the Frank town of Smyrna, having this evening set foot for the first time in Asia Minor. The whole of the Greek Islands which I have passed since leaving Syra appeared barren and uncultivated, with scarcely a tree to be seen. As we drew near the coast of Asia Minor, the Bay of Smyrna came in sight, bounded by mountains and woods, all green, rich, and beautiful. The approach to the city is very imposing, and the multitude of little boats scudding about, though not so picturesque as those of the Italian or Greek Isles, have a striking and characteristic effect, the boats

> being gaily painted, the men all wearing turbans, and the women concealed in white drapery. (1-2)

The above examples of textual representations are matched to a high degree by visual representations by some painters in the nineteenth century (Appendix 2). The similarity of images derives from the shared principles of romantic landscape apprehension. All visual representations do not craving to be topographical and they subordinate rightness of detail to an overall impression. Nearly all the pictures present the city at a distance; they present the town embedded in a large framing landscape. The city constitutes the natural centre; the landscape provides a background that sets mood and atmosphere. Those engravings, generally, belong to a type of visual urban representation that existed until well into the nineteenth century. One can also find many engravings of rural representations around Izmir. Those engravings (Appendix 2) harmonize a romantic catalogue; natural and human construction elements combine in such a manner that a unified atmosphere is created. In these engravings, cityscape of Izmir constitutes a theatrical scene; they dramatize by increasing the natural props and satisfying the urban ones. When we look at the engraving, named “Smyrna, From Mount Pagus,” on the left side of the picture, the city stretches from the foreground into the background and, although the domes of some mosques contrast with the small roofs of countless houses, the picture gives a relatively small space to the town and even less prominence to the gulf and the boats in it. In almost all engravings, the background is formed by the impressive silhouette of the castle matching the outlines of the mountains across the bay. Especially in Thomas Allom’s (1804-1872) engraving, the centre of the cityscape is

curtained off from the background by the groups of funereal cypresses and the foreground of the picture is filled with motifs of melancholy such as the trees, the gravestone, the Turkish mourners probably carrying a coffin. In the same picture, one can also notice a group of Turks on the right. Those kinds of visual representations of lively Izmir by a cemetery can be linked to traveller James Emerson's appreciation of the sentimental value of Turkish burial grounds, where "one can feel truly in the East." Engravings that have been considered in this study and especially the one that represents the burial scene exposes a painterly approach to the Orientalisation of Izmir; in many of those scenes there is no hint of Paris of the Levant. In many parts of Allom's engraving, especially the funeral landscape expresses the intention of unhappiness, solitude, gloomy atmosphere; they are the recurring motifs in British descriptions of the Turkish country side; in turn, the pictorial presence of vehicles carrying such sentimental links warrants the Oriental quality of the object as a whole.

In contrast, Arundell describes Izmir in a melancholic tone; he suggests a mood of wealth, luxury and happiness, but also he creates his effects by a painterly mode of description. Then his eyes remove from the mountains in the background of the city, up to the castle and Mount Pagus and the cypresses beneath, next to the Izmir Bay with full of ships of different countries, and at last, down to the foreground covered with domestic animals and Turkoman tents. These kinds of texts are the typical and common examples of popular picturesque formulas of his day. Richard Payne Knight, in his *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (1805) defined the picturesque in nature as consisting of "harmonious, but yet brilliant and contrasted combinations

of light, shade, and colour; blended, but not confused; and broken into masses such as display to the eye intricacy of parts and variety of tint and surface" (16).

Ranges of shade and surface are prominent in Arundell's text: purple mountains, golden strip on the water, and velvet turf against silvery olive. Massy shapes, too, – stupendously high mountains – are blended with intricate detail – the tiled roofs and painted balconies. Arundell's Izmir is a lively Levantine port. In his narrations one can find skimming boats and waving flags of the consulates. He almost exceeds the verbal painting by putting together picturesque elements with those of the heroic landscape which, to his contemporaries, was soonest evoked by reference to Nicolas Poussin's or his friend Claude Lorraine's art.[17] Arundell most probably had the Nicolasian or Claudean landscape in mind. Izmir's glow and glitter is set in the golden light of a setting sun, the purple colours of the mountains, the gold and silver tones of sea and olive woods furnish the scene with a romanticized harmony. Arundell's view of Izmir rooted in its landscape is typical for the manner in which Europeans arrived at the aesthetic perception of a Turkish town from a distance. Francis Harvé went one step further and conceived the town as a minor element in a transcendental landscape painting:

> Smyrna appears sufficiently obscured to leave only its beauties distinctly visible; its mosques and minarets, rising from the mass of roofs, alone arresting the admirer's eye; whilst beyond its noble bay presents her wide silver sheet, bounded by the wild barren mountains, whose mantling brows shut the scene. Thus you have

[17] They were 17th century French painters. Both have been known as painters of landscapes and seascapes. In Poussin the landscape is a background to the figures; whereas for Claude, despite the figures in one corner of the canvas, the true subjects are the land, the sea, and the air. (R.R. Tatlock. "Poussin and Claude." *The Burlington Magazine.* 38(214), 1921. pp.2-5+9).

for your foreground the richest and gayest fertility that nature and art can bring together, whilst your extreme distance, though arid and naked, presents a grand romantic outline. (314)

Conclusion

The ports of the Levant, you know that they are what is richest and most populous! Smyrna, what wealth!

Tsar Alexander I to General Comte de Caulaincourt, ambassador of Napoleon I, 12 March 1808

The concepts of the West and the East work on the basis of a particular logic and are generally seen as opposed, West versus East. If the West is to be considered as the West and to have meaning as the West, it has to be defined in relation to the East. As Jacques Derrida argues, “the same cannot be the same except by being the other’s other” (128). Therefore, The West must negate the identity of the East in order to be distinguished as the West. In Edward Said’s critical remarks, the West “[gains] in strength and identity” (3) by virtue of defining itself against the “Other.” Through the detour of the “Other,” the West arrives at self-understanding. However, in Wimal Dissanayake’s and Carmen Wirkramagamage’s words “in the process of the representation of the other, there is also the domestication, distortion, simplification, and even caricaturing of the Other” (3). Robert Young remarks that such mastery shows itself in an “implicit violence of ontology itself, in which [the West] constitutes itself through a form of negativity in relation to the other, producing all knowledge by appropriating and sublating the other within itself” (13). The West consolidates its sovereignty by defining and denigrating its colonies and identifying them as “Others” (17). By reducing the “Others,” the West stabilizes itself, at one time by means of colonizing the “Others,” yet at another time by means of war as a “form of the appropriation of the other,” (13) which legitimises the Western foreign policy to expand its “democracy abroad.” Moreover, the West’s “other has been a narcissistic self-image through which it has constituted itself while never allowing it to achieve a perfect fit” (17).

From another vantage point of discussion, in terms of identification, the West and the East are inseparable from each other, for identity is defined in a reciprocal interaction between these two poles. To omit one part means to disregard the other side, as well as both of them; thus, their identities rely on the presence of both.

Travel to the Orient has been one of the prominent media through which the Western traveller enters into the process of understanding both his own culture and the culture of the "Other." Travel, as a productive activity, produces knowledge. During his travels, the traveller is in the act of becoming, growing and developing. He learns through the travails and experiences of travel. Such experiences confirm the fact that the traveller "learns what he did not know before and did not expect" (Palmer 232). Each step of travel introduces either a pleasant or unpleasant experience to him which might contradict his expectations.

By the same token, a positive re-evaluation of the Ottoman nineteenth century has been going on for the last years in Turkish media and among the scholars. New approaches such as new Ottomanism[18] have become popular for re-analyzing the buffer zone age; as the nineteenth century was the period that many revolutionary movements by means of cultural and social changes took part in the Ottoman Empire. Much of the new imagery of that earlier society is melancholic, romanticized, fictionalized. For instance, the drawings taken into consideration in this study show this very explicitly. Particularly, Thomas Allom's drawings given in Appendix 2 well exemplify this general trend for prints. His engravings were sold in large quantities just because of the popular belief that they showed a romantic and flattering truth. Such

[18] Şaban H. Çalış. *Neoosmanlılık, Özal ve Balkanlar*, Konya: Çizgi Yayınevi, 2006. In his 2008 article Ömer Taşpınar explains the term New or Neo Ottomanism. He explains the two conflicting drivers of Turkey's new activism in the Middle East (Taşpınar, Ömer. "Turkey's Middle East Policies Between Neo Ottomanism and Kemalism," *Carneige Papers*, Number 10, September 2008).

kinds of images produced by British travellers appear to be the most useful medium for assessing the present state of fictionalization. However, all those products were not false flatteries. For instance, Ottoman ethnic and religious tolerance in Izmir had been known even before the twentieth century. Therefore, such an attitude was also inscribed in those drawings, which deserve appreciation accordingly.

On the other hand, British travellers' observations, judgements, and descriptions of Izmir and of the manners of its inhabitants have not, in general, enjoyed a friendly coverage. On this account, when critics discuss this cultural area, their views represent similar enthusiastic ideological loyalties. Most of these views share similar beliefs with those of British representations in terms of being equally ethnocentric, essentialist, imperialist, racist, androcentric. Concerning British, and also European treatment of the Orient and "Others," especially within the context of my topic, Izmir seems to have been exposed to similar negative judgements, in the light of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978).

However, British travellers have always been accused of their support of the idea of characteristically European superiority and ignorance towards their Turkish hosts. In the nineteenth century, British cultural arrogance, although it is unacceptable, has not always been a British choice and seems to have increased where there was technological, political and cultural dominance of one culture over another. Bernard Lewis reminds us that in times of their own assumed cultural superiority the Muslims and the Turks also spoke altogether arrogantly of Christians and Europeans (14, 67, and 109).

Subsequently, my examination in this work has been concerned with the exposition of the varieties of the British nineteenth century Izmir experience. The richness in British travellers as explained in the

preceding chapters has also proved it impossible to speak about only a single type of Orientalism. Travellers' experiences of Izmir were often shaped by religious, class and gender prejudices. I equally claim that there are large areas of factual (accounts) rather than ideological nature; i.e., because of the fact that British travellers narrate incidents such as Ottoman public justice and the fight of Greeks against Turks in Izmir, or native and foreign precautions against those incidents, or outdoor entertainment. Historians need to turn to such travellers because Ottoman sources about Izmir are much more silent. Considering the historical flow of Izmir – having witnessed many fires and earthquakes – one can claim that this town was raised "from its ashes" after the 1922 fire. The value of travellers' accounts must, therefore, not be underestimated. In this study, much of such factual material – British travel accounts on Izmir – has been collected and pieced together from large sum of small details.

My concern in this study has also been to examine the effects of a theory of discourse applied to Oriental travellers. If travellers are regarded as anonymous individuals whose statements connect with an equally anonymous and domineering discourse, then the Orientalist traveller comes to be far too skilfully in his writing. The reasonable usefulness of the theory of Oriental discourse is that it enables the critics to establish what the majority of travel writers have said over periods of time and how. For many Westerners, travel accounts "have traditionally been the vehicle which our knowledge of things foreign has been mediated" (Porter 3). Yet there has always existed radical disagreement between individual travellers; there have always been ongoing debates in the periodicals in the home country (Britain).

In accordance with Edward Said's view, this study has revealed that individual travel writers had an impact on the later mass of private and public opinion. However, in the field of this current study very few important travel writers are the primary concern of this dissertation due to the fact that among British nineteenth century travellers to Izmir there were no prominent names such as Thomas Cook, Gerard de Nerval, Gustave Flaubert or Richard Burton. The exception was W. M. Thackeray, and for other parts of Ottoman towns Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, whose embassy letters from Istanbul excited travellers, as well as readers back home.

With regard to the homogeneity of the Orientalist discourse, Edward Said's theory of Orientalism still has its divisive strength. Especially in the nineteenth century many travellers to the Orient were stained by European ethnocentrism and cultural arrogance. Hence their systematic or, rather, not so systematic journeying of these lands could be reduced to a systematic cultural, and sometimes political misuse which Said called Orientalist. Yet, this is not the entire scope. Said's most balancing assertion appears amazingly off the mark, namely "that every European, in what he could say about the Orient, was consequently a racist, an imperialist, and almost totally ethnocentric" (204). The attribution of a constant, even monolithic Orientalism to Oriental travellers alike, the discovery of their Orientalist discourse, the radical embodying of their attitudes and prejudices – one can find out those attributions and discourse from the travel accounts I have drawn on in this study. However, as a significant finding of this study it should be underlined that when all those travelogues are considered in detail, it becomes visible that there is not only a monolithic type of Orientalism but on the contrary there are varieties of Orientalisms among their accounts.

The nineteenth century British travellers frequently shared a set of cultural assumptions as regards superiority: Christianity over Islam, British institutions over Ottoman ones, British morals over those of the Turk. Therefore, I have been concerned to document that these Orientalist attitudes were dominant in the course of the nineteenth century and those attitudes were the inevitable parts of the cultural baggage of individual travellers.

The contrasts and differences of British travellers' "Izmir experience" are equally surprising and cannot be denied. Ranges of judgement and ideology of the travellers display a synchronic feature and diachronic extension, and vary under the philological examination of many texts. For the primary aim of this study, sources from the beginnings of the nineteenth century onwards have been consulted; I have taken around fifty travel narratives into account. Apart from the travel texts, I included names such as John Cam Hobhouse, William Cochran, Charles Fellows, Charles Macfarlane, William Knight and Francis Harvé since they are the major writers whose accounts covered Izmir extensively in the large part of their accounts. In addition in this study, those texts have also been compared to other British travellers' texts on Izmir. Observers of Ottoman lands, Izmir to speak of a major area of observation, may fall into three main groups. Firstly, those who observe the Ottoman lands with too much eighteenth century enlightenment confidence asserting that every human being is universally similar. Secondly, those who reveal Victorian honesty, fighting with the virtues of the Turkish society and highlighting the roots of Hellenic culture in Izmir or elsewhere in the Empire. Lastly, those who believe that British are the best and are proud to exhibit their belief.

Fundamentally and intentionally, I have abandoned two areas, one for material, and the other for practical reasons. Practically I have declined to share a postmodernist view with regard to the travellers of foreign civilizations since for this view; travellers' texts are coherent cultural constructions and their own fantasy making. This is what postmodernists called absolute relativism. Absolute relativism is a belief stating that the truth is only what you choose it to be. It is relative to your own choice and nothing more. As a rule, travel writing conveys knowledge that expands or transgresses native experience, irrespective to its measure of reality or reliability. If facts, values and truths are relative, then there is no value, no fact, and no truth. Moreover, there is no society except in the eyes of the beholder or observer.

If it were true that the practices of cultural description are all culturally determined and fictionalizing, British travel accounts on Ottoman Izmir would be mere creations of the imagination. Ironically, no mirror was believed to reflect only one way of life, or the mirror would have merely reflected the prejudices of foreign travellers. One of my responsibilities in this study, therefore, has been to reveal the perceptions out of the fictions that British travellers created about the hearsay that the natives (in this case the Turks and Levantines of Izmir) revealed to them. According to Ezel Kural Shaw, the knowledge imparted by the traveller can be classified in three categories: through reading, hearsay, and actual observation (18). These kinds of complex problems can be found in cultural and ethnic descriptions as well.

That is to say, it should be underlined that British travellers did fictionalize, in other words, attempted to construct coherent accounts of the incoherent reality they imagined and saw. When incoherent realities

were filtered through the travellers' own backgrounds and inclinations or cultural baggage, those accounts produced a different category in turn. Obviously, the level of distortion or misrepresentation of the travellers seem to differ and is often uncertain to assess. For instance, one could find wild hyperboles in negative or positive manners through the travel accounts that have been taken into consideration. There were accounts of experiences of anecdotal value which illustrated popular attitudes in certain areas, such as women dancing in the Casinos, the courage or cowardice of ethnic groups and soldiers, which often attracted the attention of the travellers. However, it seems possible to reduce the impact of too many distortions into either positive or negative images by evaluating a large number of contemporary opinions against one another. Perhaps, this kind of approach reveals a naive belief in the validity of quantity, but it is also preferable to select exaggerated statements and merge them into interpretive patterns which drop easily into polemics.

With a detailed observation of the travel accounts in this study, another prominent outcome has been revealed. It has been observed through the general discourses of the travellers that they almost entirely shared the same duplicative (bi-partition of Izmir into two parts: Turkish and Frank Izmir) style in their accounts: they either compared Izmir with Paris or almost never wrote about the Turkish part of the town. This kind of writing strategy can best be revealed especially in the accounts of Macfarlane, Fellows, Knight and Hobhouse among other travellers. Although there was bi-partition in the town, the different ethnic groups displayed astonishing tolerance towards one another till the half of the century. In the nineteenth century Asia Minor had several common ethnic and religious tolerances. In today's Izmir this situation can also be noticed when you see mosques, synagogues and churches in the town.

Izmir, the first gate to Asia Minor, occupied a unique position. As this town has been the bridgehead of Europe and Asia Minor, the western travellers had never felt like strangers yet, they were mostly unwilling to go beyond the city.

Besides, the intention of this study has been a modest one: I collected and presented the nineteenth century views about a unique town (Izmir) on the whole Ottoman land, because I attempted to retell what has been told. Because of the frequent recourse to quotations from the travel accounts that have been taken into consideration, and the subsequent piecing together of many statements into patterns, there has been found only relative coherence. Different opinions have been noted as far as the range of the sources I used allowed.

Necessarily, this study has left out large areas of the nineteenth century motifs for the multicultural Izmir as an Ottoman town; geographically, what happened outside the borders of the town. To discuss travels in Greece, Egypt or any other Ottoman towns would mean a different study. As an historical flow, many events in foreign policy between British and Ottoman Empires have been omitted; only the Greek War of Independence has been analyzed as this war had a great manipulative effect on the structural change of multicultural Izmir. The wars, battles, diplomatic manoeuvres and treaties of the sultans echoed through the accounts of British travellers, but analyzing this redundant topic would involve a different type of research.

Then such a question comes to mind; what can usefully be expected from the accounts of British travellers who insisted on their own version of truth, and their readers' pleasure, who were mostly intelligent men and women? In short, how do societies remember?

Descriptions in the accounts vary; mainly they were hardships and dangers to health and lives, difficulties of itineraries and accommodations, natural and architectural beauties and classical ruins (Ephesus, Mount Pagus, etc.), everyday life in the town and in the country, the Turkish, Greek, and Levantine characters, and the nature and position of women, ethnic diversity and Oriental sameness, generosity and attachment of inhabitants, danger of brigands (Greek or Turkish), especially outside the town. These written or visual images were made up of many subjective sources: individual dreams and disappointments, constructions and deconstructions of Ottoman reality, anecdotes, emotionally satisfied views, whether friendly or hostile.

In sum, British travellers saw the panorama of the nineteenth century Izmir sometimes as a large Muslim town, but those observations sometimes turned into the favour of Christian population in the town, through Christian spectacles, but did not entirely create out of nothing or come straight from the production of imperialist prejudices. In conclusion, it is worth noting here that one of the dangers of the current study has been that the detailed presentation of many everyday social facts might obscure the existence of a long term social structure of the target society. In order to prevent this danger, the problem extant throughout the nineteenth century has been documented; which is to say, from the beginning of the nineteenth century to around 1890s, as much as the collected sources allowed.

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APPENDIX 1

Following is the table of the British travellers and their works, listed in the order of the year of their visit to Izmir.

	Visiting Year	Traveller	Title	Printed in	Print Year
1	1800	William Wittman	Travels in Turkey, Asia Minor, [...]	London	1803
2	1803	Thomas Macgill	Travels in Turkey, Italy, and Russia, during [...]	London	1808
3	1804	John Griffiths	Travels in Europe, Asia Minor, and Arabia	London	1805
4	1805	Charles Wilkinson	A Tour Through Asia Minor and Greek Islands	London	1806
5	1806	Robert Semple	Observations on a Journey through Spain and Italy to Naples; and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople	London	1807
6	1809	G.C.B. Broughton	Travels in Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey [...]	London	1838
7	1809	Ray Turrell	Scarp-book, 1809-1922, A Village Near Smyrna	Surrey	1998
8	1810	John Cam Hobhouse	A Journey Through…Asia to Constantinople	London	1813
9	1810	Samuel Pepys Cockerell	Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant, 1810-1817	London	1903
10	1811	John Galt	Voyages and Travels in the Years 1809-1811	London	1812
11	1816	William Turner	Journal of a Tour in the Levant	London	1820
12	1817	Adam Neale	Travels Through some Parts of Germany, Poland, Moldavia, and Turkey	London	1818
13	1817	W. Birch	Journal of a Voyage up to Mediterranean	London	1818
14	1818	Peter Edmund Laurent	Recollections of a Classical Tour Through [...]	London	1821
15	1825	Robert Richard Madden	Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubai, and Palestine, in 1824-1827	London	1829
16	1825	Charles Swan	Journal of a Voyage up the Mediterranean	London	1826
17	1826	John Carne	Letters From the East	London	1826
18	1826	Thomas Robert Jolliffe	Narrative of an Excursion from Corfu to Smyrna: [...]	London	1827
19	1827	Robert Walsh	Narrative of a Journey from Constantinople to England	London	1828
20	1827	Charles Colville Frankland	Travels to and from Constantinople in the Years 1827 and 1828	London	1829
21	1827	Francis Vyvyan Jago Arundell	Discoveries in Asia Minor, including a Description of the Ruins of Several Ancient Cities [...]	London	1834

22	1828	Charles Macfarlane	Constantinople in 1828. [...]	London	1829
23	1828	James Emerson	Letters from the Aegean	London	1829
24	1828	Samuel Woodruff	Journal of a Tour to Malta, Greece [...]	London	1831
25	1829	George Thomas Keppel	Narrative of a Journey across the Balkan [...]	London	1831
26	1829	John E. Emerson	Letters from the East	London	1830
27	1830	Thomas Abercomby Trant	Narrative of a Journey through Greece, in 1830 [...]	London	1830
28	1830	Sir Adolphus Slade	Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece [...]	London	1833
29	1830	John Fuller	Narrative of A Tour Through Some Parts of the Turkish Empire	London	1830
30	1830	John Hartley	Researches in Greece and Turkey	London	1831
31	1830	Thomas Alcock	Travels in Russia, Persia, Turkey, and Greece	London	1831
32	1831	Sir Adolphus Slade	Turkey, Greece and Malta	London	1837
33	1833	John Auldjo	Journal of a Visit to Constantinople and Some of the Greek Islands [...]	London	1835
34	1833	Sir Grenville Temple	Travels in Greece and Turkey; and the Mediterranean	London	1843
35	1834	Marshal Marmont	The Present State of Turkish Empire	London	1839
36	1834	Richard Burgess	Greece and the Levant; or, Diary of a Summer's Excursion in 1834	London	1835
37	1835	William John Hamilton	Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, Armenia [...]	London	1842/1983
38	1835	Robert Walsh	A Residence at Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor, [...]	London	1836
39	1836	R.T.Claridge	A Guide along the Danube from Vienna to Constantinople, Smyrna [...]	London	1837
40	1836	Godfrey Levinge	The Traveller in the East: [...]	London	1838
41	1837	Charles Boileau Elliott	Travels in the Three Empires of Austria, Russia, and Turkey	London	1838
42	1837	Francis Harvé	A Residence in Greece and Turkey	London	1837
43	1837	William George Rose	Three Months' Leave	London	1838
44	1837	J.L.Stephens	Incidents of Travel in Greece, Turkey [...]	London	1838
45	1837	G. Charles Addison	Damascua and Palymra; a Journey to the East	London	1838
46	1838	William Knight	Oriental Outlines or, Rembler's Recollection of a Tour in Turkey [...]	London	1839
47	1838	Charles Fellows	A Journal Written During an Excursion in Asia Minor	London	1839
48	1839	Charles Fellows	An Account of Discoveries in Lycia	London	1841
49	1840	Thomas Allom	Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor	London	1850
50	1841	Edward Napier	Excursions along the Shores of the Mediterranean	London	1842

51	1841	Charles Fellows	Travels and Researches in Asia Minor	London	1852
52	1843	Schroeder Francis	Shores of the Mediterranean; with Sketches of Travel [...]	London	1846
53	1844	Alexander William Kinglake	Eothen	London	1982
54	1844	Eliot George Bartholomew Warburton	The Crescent and the Cross; or Romance and Realities of Eastern Travel	London	1845
55	1845	G.F. Weston	Journal of a Tour in Europe and the East	London	1894
56	1847	G. Cuthbert Young	Wayfarer's Notes on the Shores of the Levant, and [...]	Edinburgh	1848
57	1849	Albert Richard Smith	A Month at Constantinople	London	1850
58	1849	Aubrey Thomas de Vere	Picturesque Sketches of Greece and Turkey	London	1850
59	1850	Edmund Spencer	Travels in European Turkey in 1850	London	1851
60	1850	J.P. Fletcher	Notes From Nineveh and Travels in Mesopotamia [...]	London	1850
61	1850	W. John Barber	Patmos and the Seven Churches of Asia	London	1851
62	1851	Henry Christmas	The Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean: [...]	London	1851
63	1852	Eyre Evans Crowe	The Greek and the Turk; or Powers and Prospects in the Levant	London	1853
64	1852	B. Taylor	The Lands of the Saracen	New York	1855
65	1853	Earl of Carlislie	Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters	London	1854
66	1853	Fisher Howe	Turkey and Palestine in 1853	London	1855
67	1854	C.T. Newton	Travels and Discoveries in the Levant	London	1865
68	1855	[Martha Nicol]	Ismeer, or Smyrna and its British Hospital in 1855	London	1856
69	1855	N. Parker Willis	Summer Cruise in the Mediterranean	London	1856
70	1856	George Rolleston	Report on Smyrna	London	1857
71	1857	W. Nassau	A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece	London	1859
72	1857	S.W.H. Bird	And Unto Smyrna	London	1858
73	1861	Hyde Clarke	History of the British Community at Smyrna	London	1862
74	1872	Mrs. E.C.C.Baillie	A Sail to Smyrna: or, an English Woman's Journal [...]	London	1873
75	1873	Edwin John Davis	Anatolica; or, the Journal of a Visit [...]	London	1874
76	1876	Frederick Gustavus Burnaby	On Horseback through Asia Minor	London	1877
77	1876	Charles Dudley Warner	In the Levant	London	1877
78	1876	Eustace Clare	Roving Englishman in Turkey: [...]	London	1877
79	1884	M. Henry Field	The Greek Islands and Turkey after the War	London	1885
80	1886	William Cochran	Pen and Pencil in Asia Minor; or Notes from the Levant	London	1887
81	1892	J. Theodore Bent	Early Voyages and The Travels in the Levant	London	1893

82	1894	J.J. William Spry	Life of the Bosporus Doings in the City of the Sultan	London	1895
83	1895	David George Hogarth	A Wandering Scholar in the Levant	London	1896
84	1844	William Makepeace Thackeray	Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo [...]	London	1899

APPENDIX 2

1. Voyage Pittoresque dans l'Empire Ottoman, Choiseul Gouffier, (1776).

2. Charles Gleyre, *Turkish Woman (Angelica), Smyrna* (1834)

3. Charles Gleyre, *Jewish Woman, Smyrna*, (1834)

4. Thomas Allom, A Street in Smyrna, (1840)

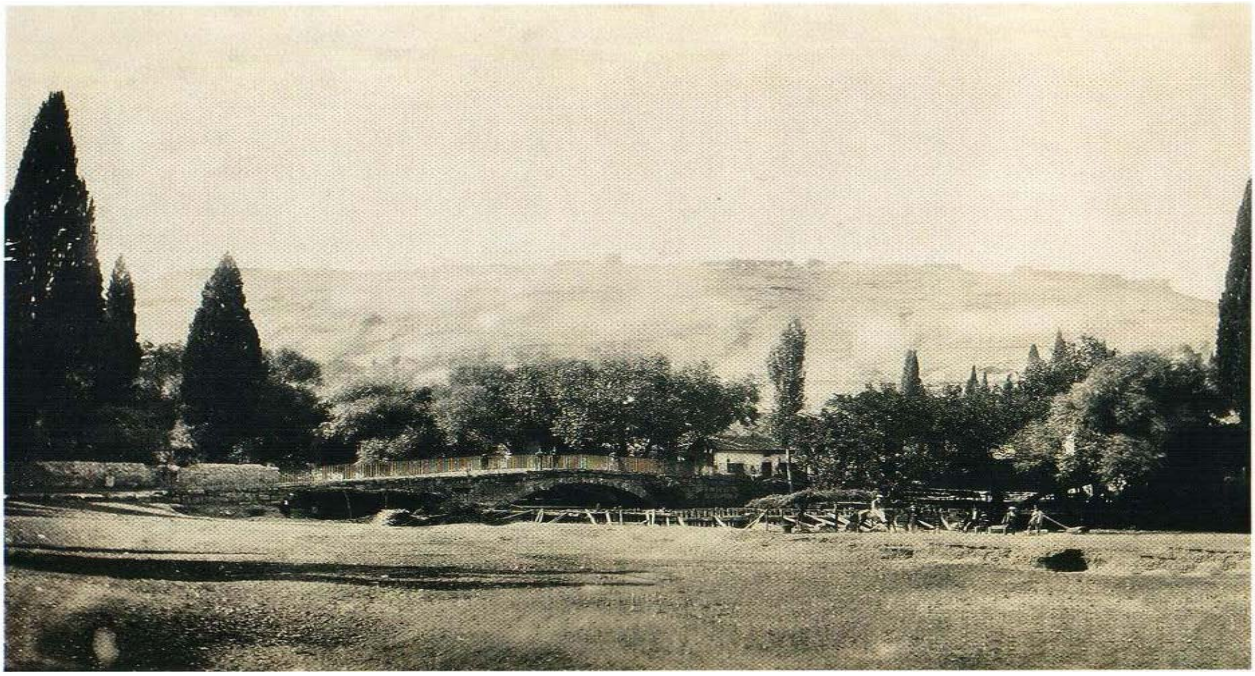
5. Thomas Allom, Smyrna (no date).

6. Izmir, Antique 1890, Art Print Engraving.

7. William James Muller, Near the Caravan Bridge, (1843)

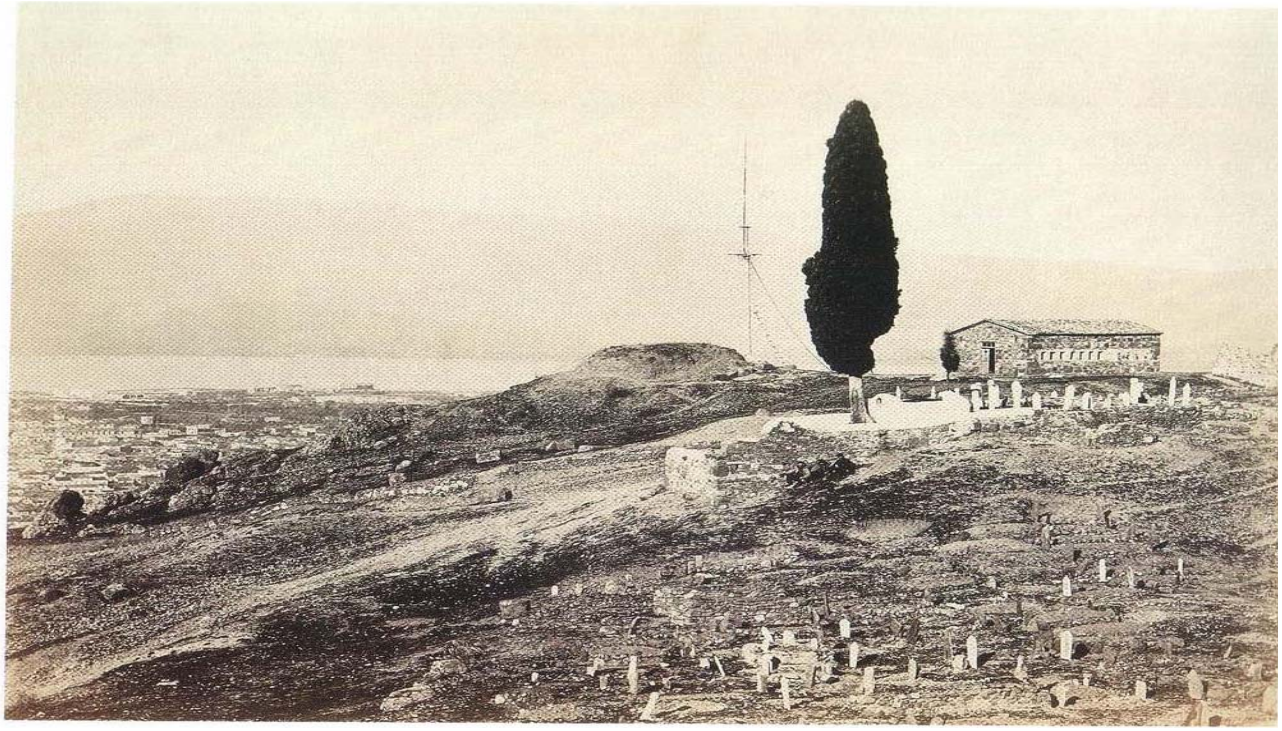
8. Pont des Caravanes, (no date)

9. Unknown engraving (no date)



10. Alexander Sandor Svoboda 1865, Caravan Bridge.

11. Alexander Sandor Svoboda 1865, Mount Pagus (Kadifekale).

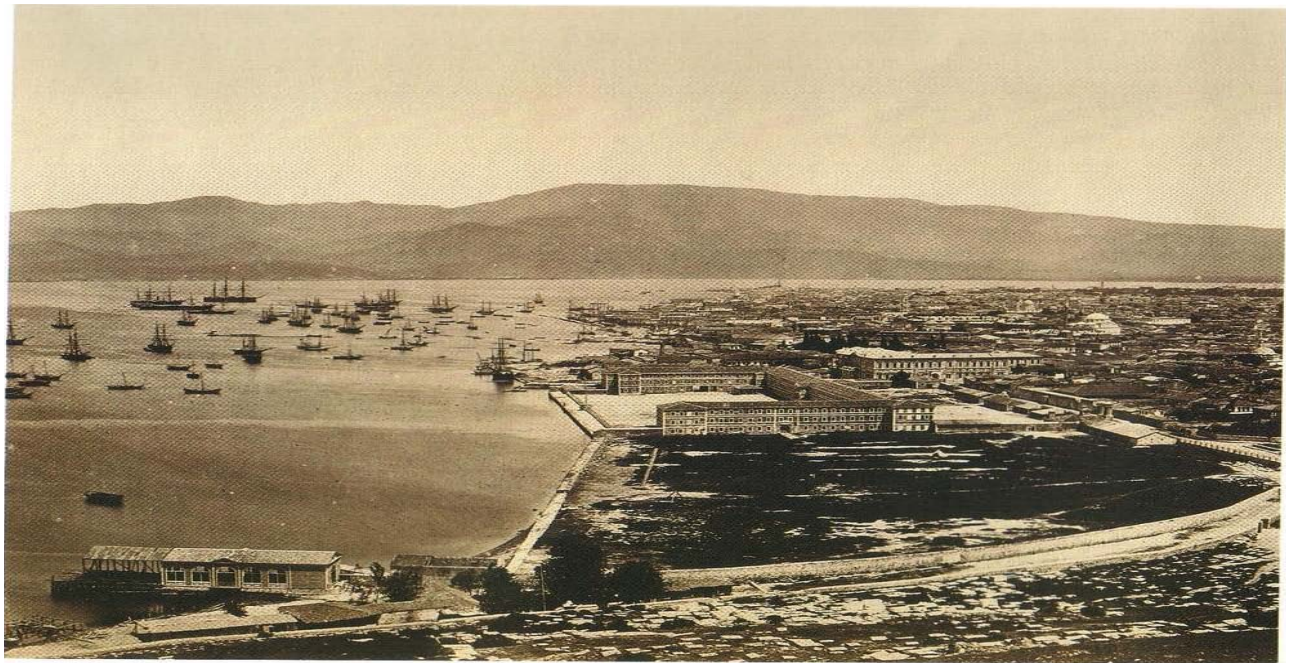


12. Alexander Sandor Svoboda 1865, Slopes of Mount Pagus

13. Alphonse Rubellin 1880, Mount Pagus (Kadifekale) and Chapel of St. Polycarpe

14. Alexander Sandor Svoboda 1865, Port and Sarı Kışla

15. Felix Bonfils 1878, Training field and Sarı Kışla.



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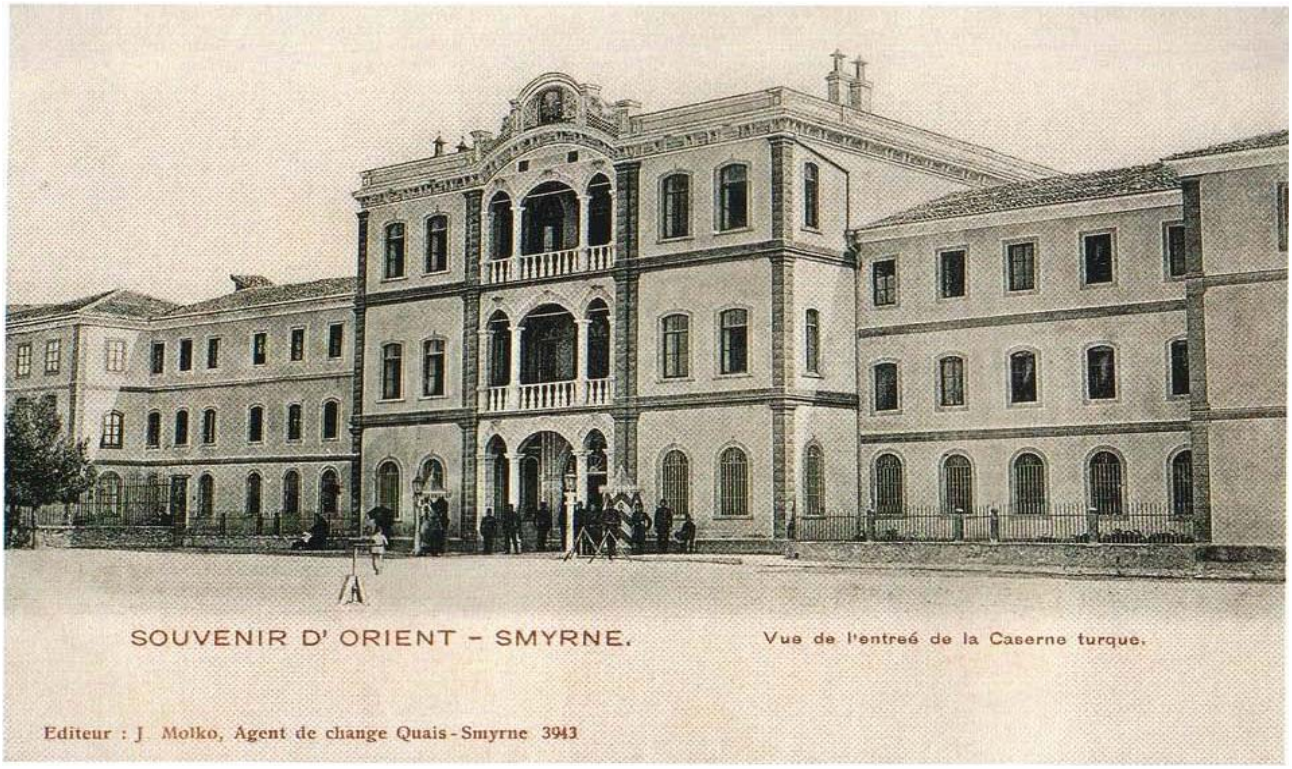
17. Alphonse Rubellin 1878, Turkish graveyards and Sarı Kışla.



18. Postcard 1900, Sarı Kışla.

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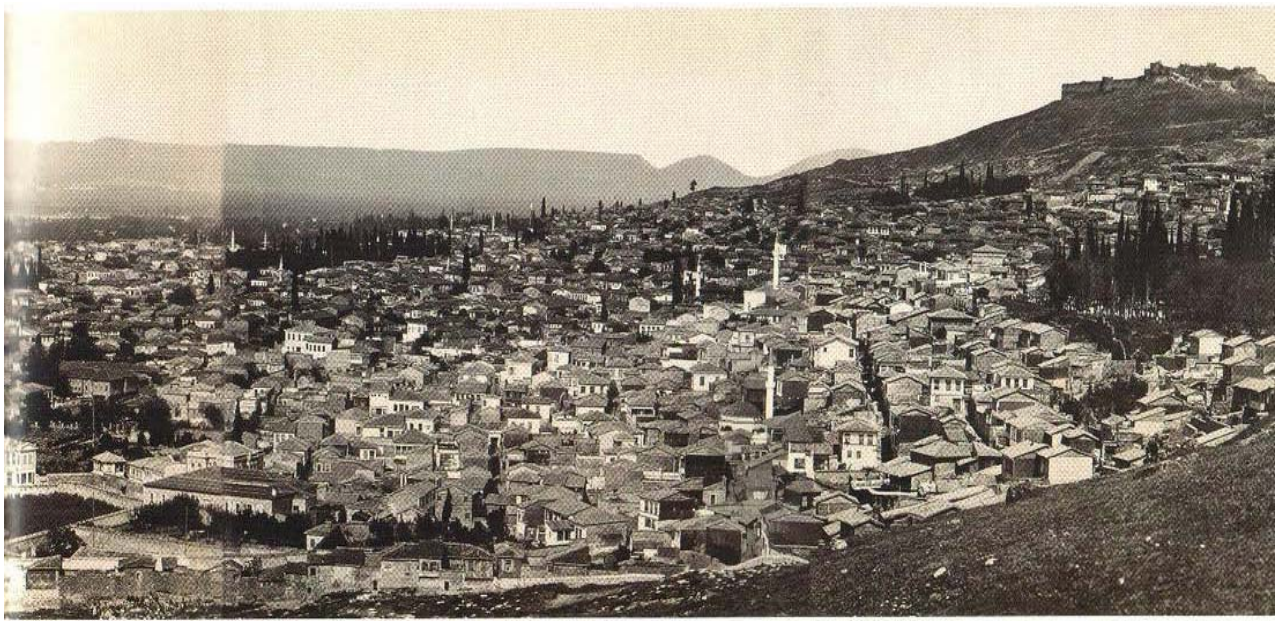
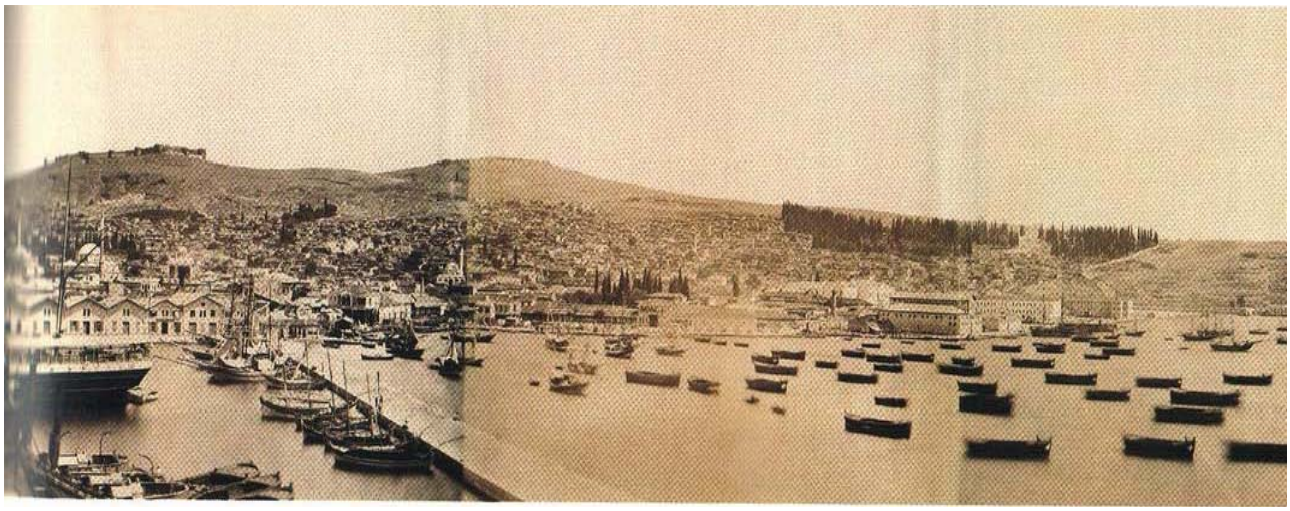


20. Anonymous 1860/1865, Panorama.

21. Alexander Sandor Svoboda 1865, Panorama.

22. Alexander Sandor Svoboda 1865, Panorama

23. Alphonse Rubellin 1870, Izmir Panorama.



24. Alphonse Rubellin 1870, Izmir Panorama.

25. Postcard 1895, Panorama; Port of Izmir.

26. Amateur photography 1896, Panorama.

27. Amateur photography 1896, Panorama.

28. Alphonse Rubellin 1860, Old Port and Mount Pagus (Kadifekale).

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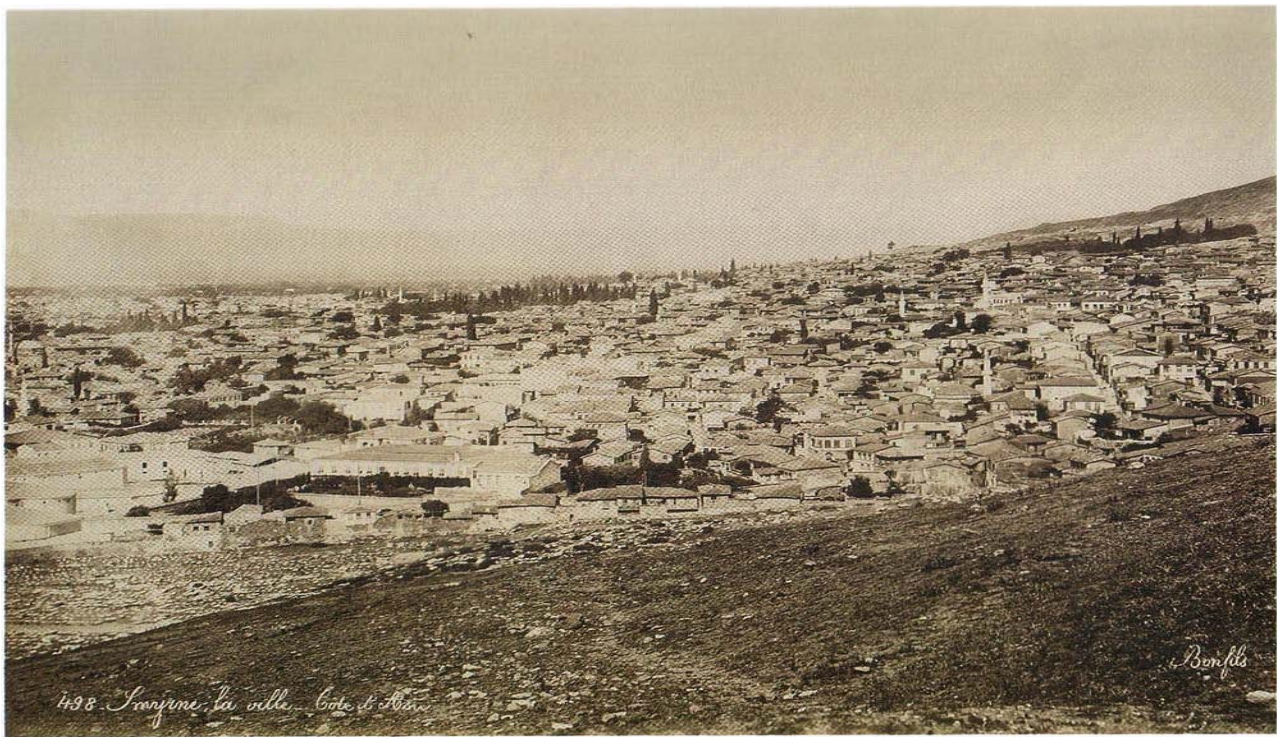
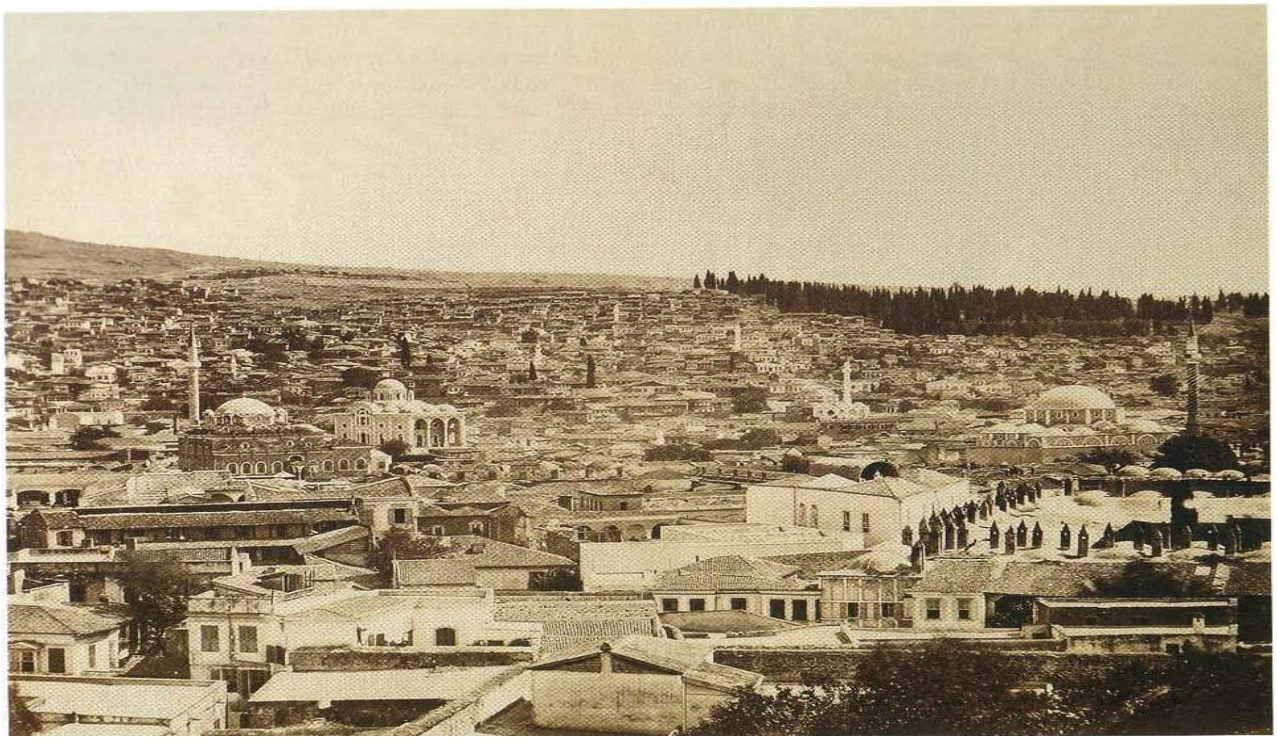
30. Alphonse Rubellin 1880, Turkish quarter and Kadifekale.



31. Felix Bonfils 1880, Turkish Quarter.



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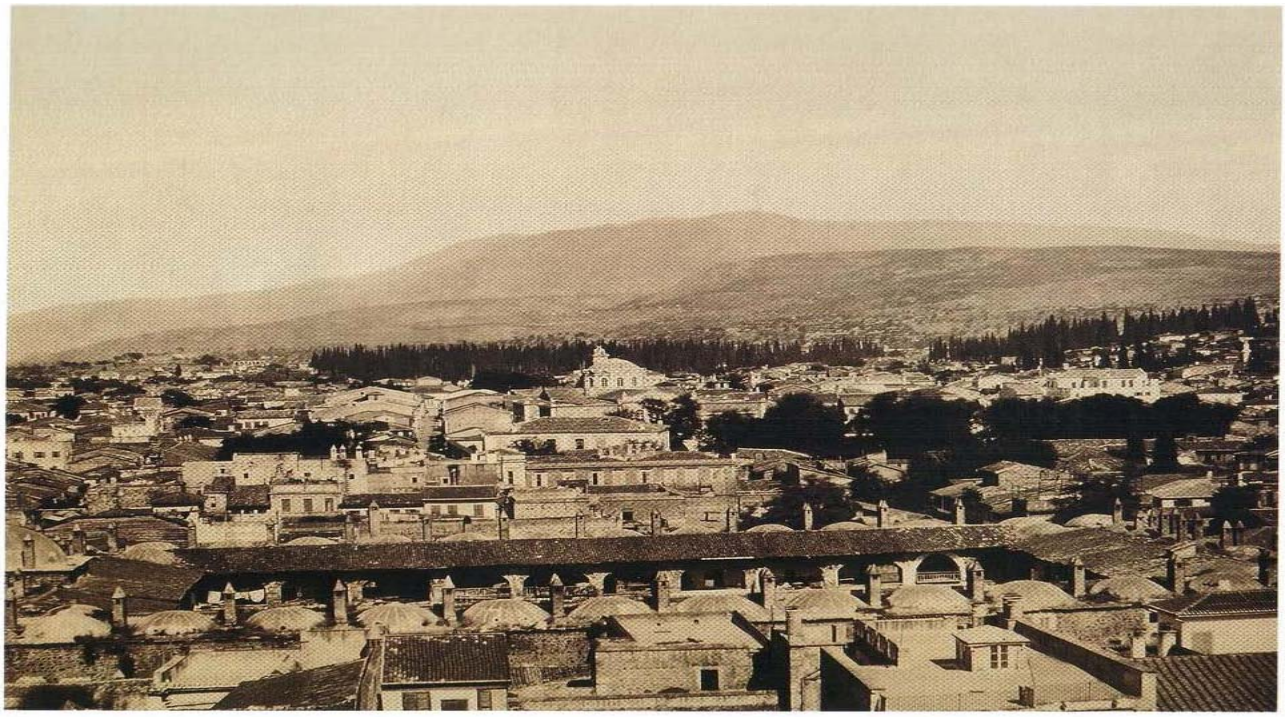

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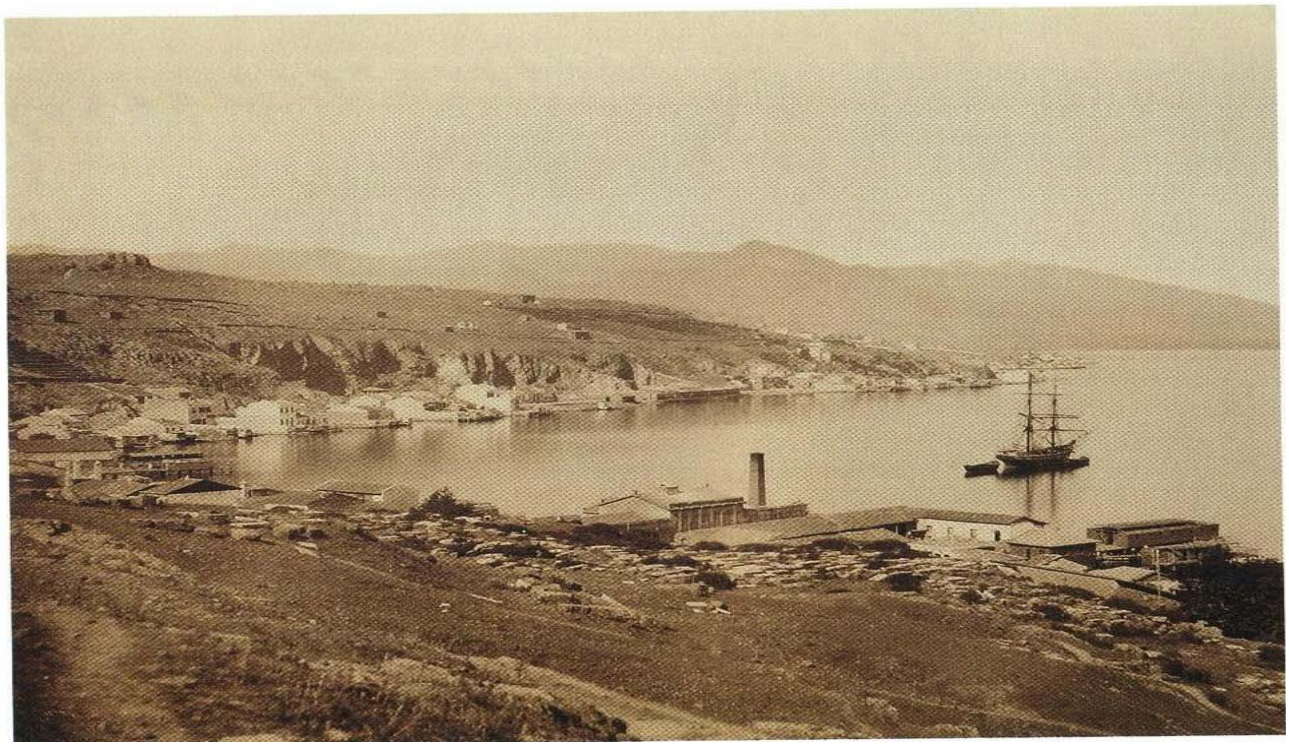
37. Postcard 1900, Karataş (Melantia)



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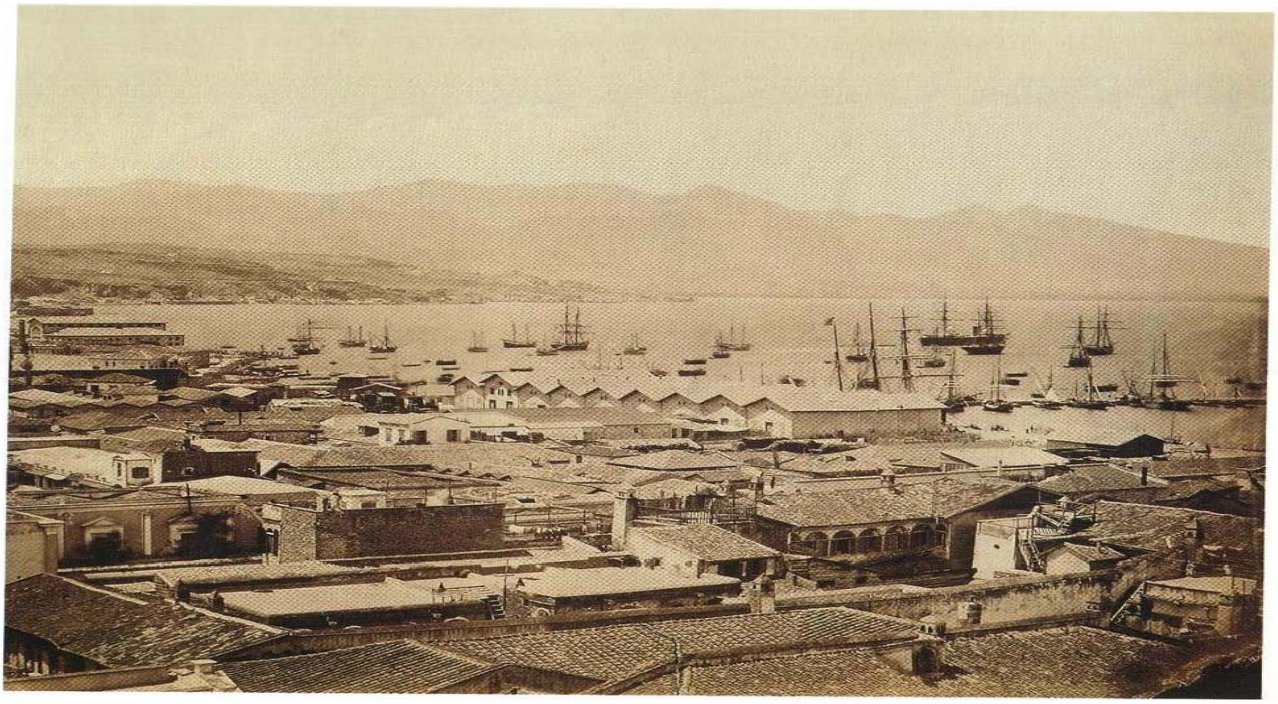
40. Postcard 1901, Konak Square (Konak Meydanı).

39. Postcard 1901, Clock Tower.



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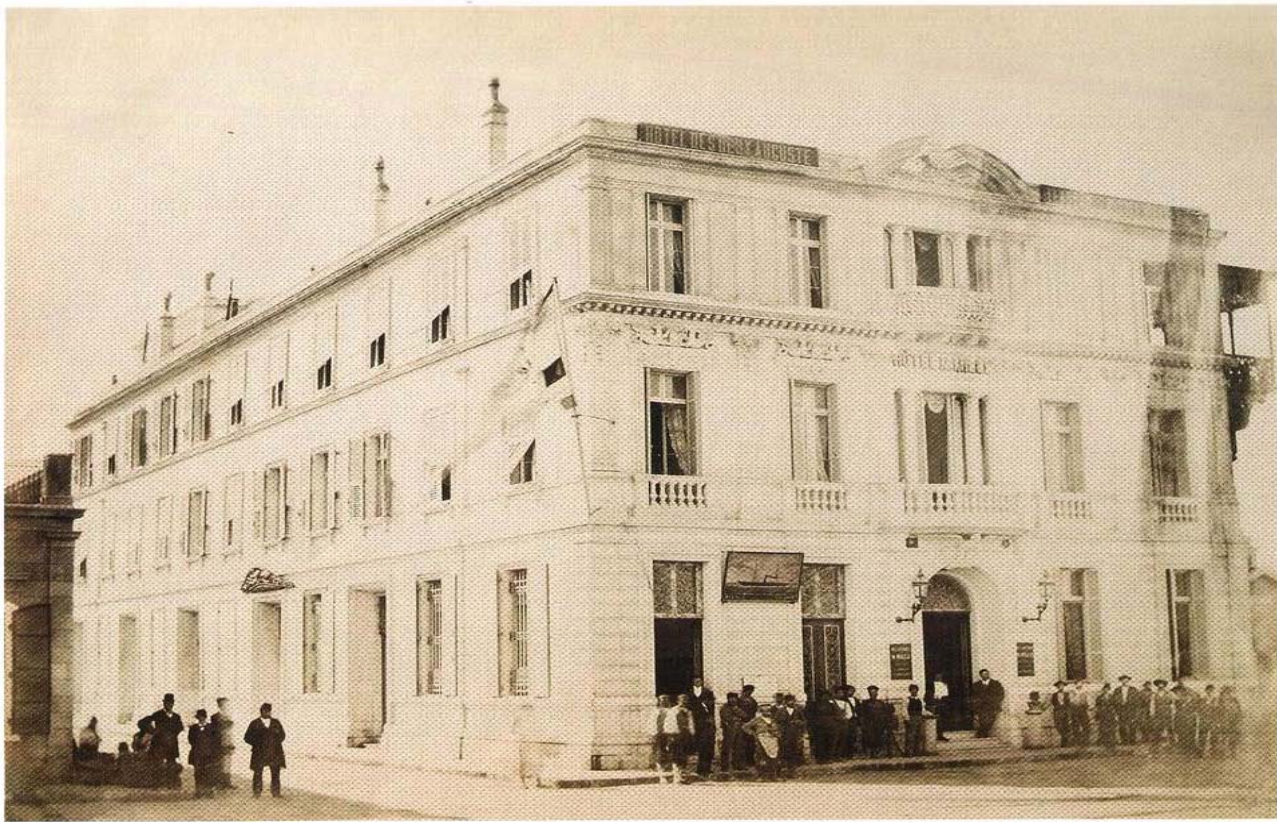

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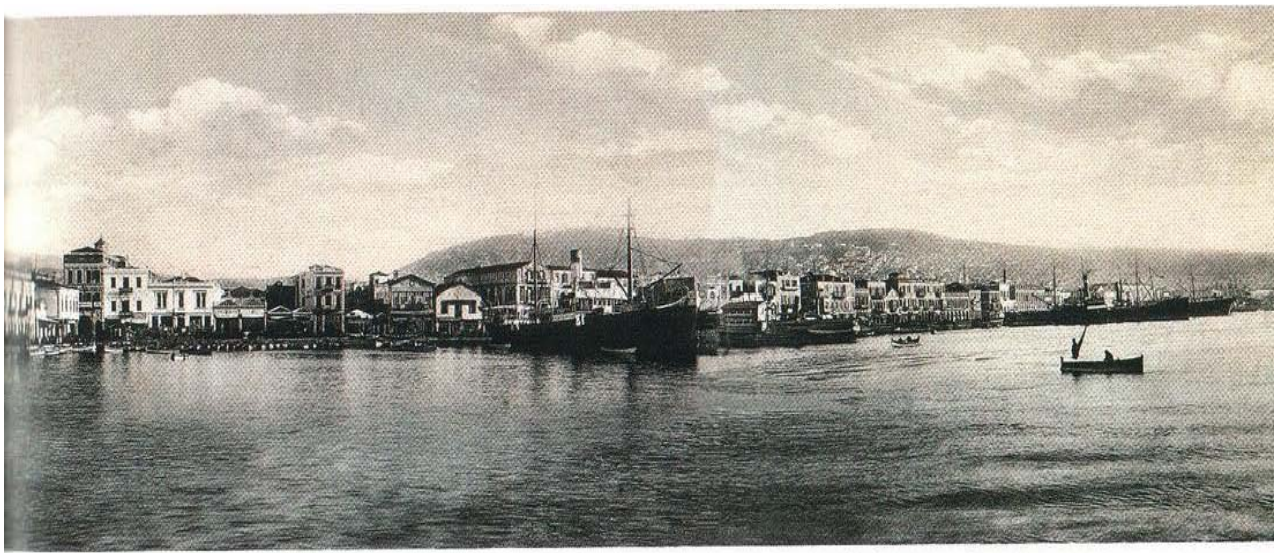

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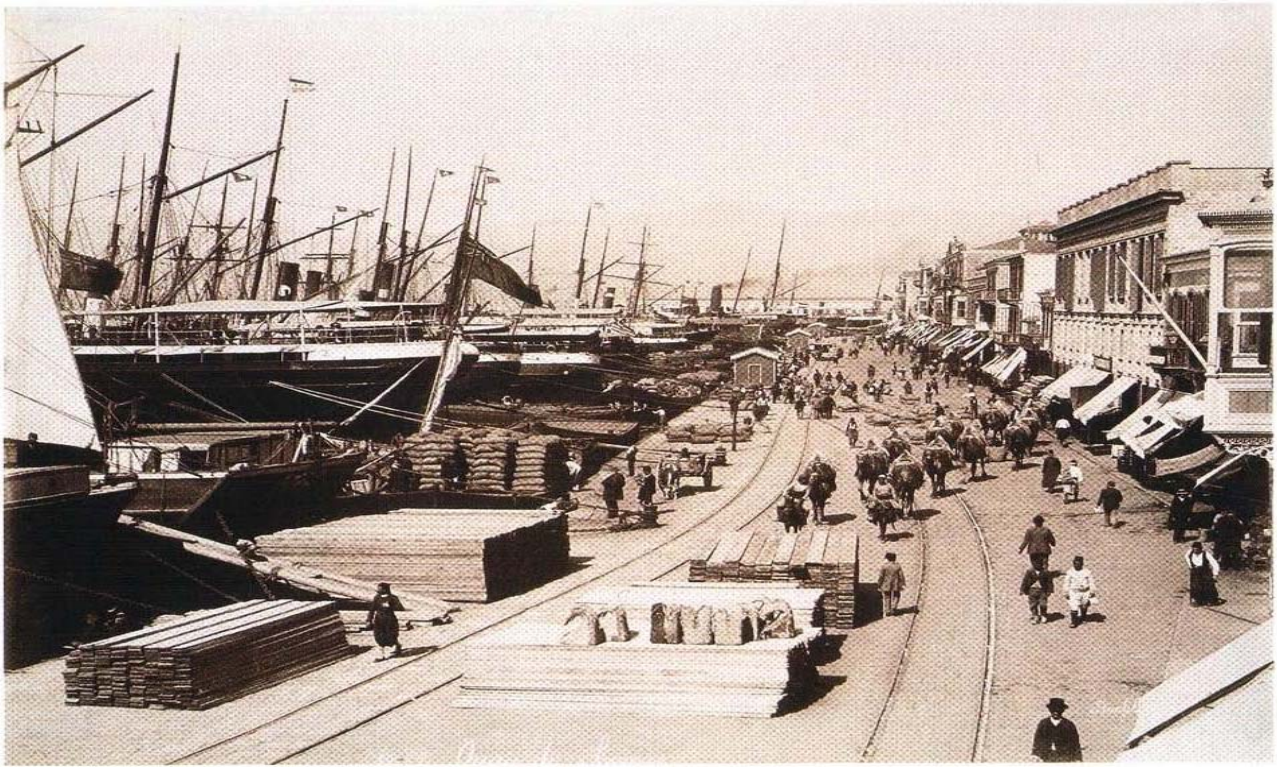

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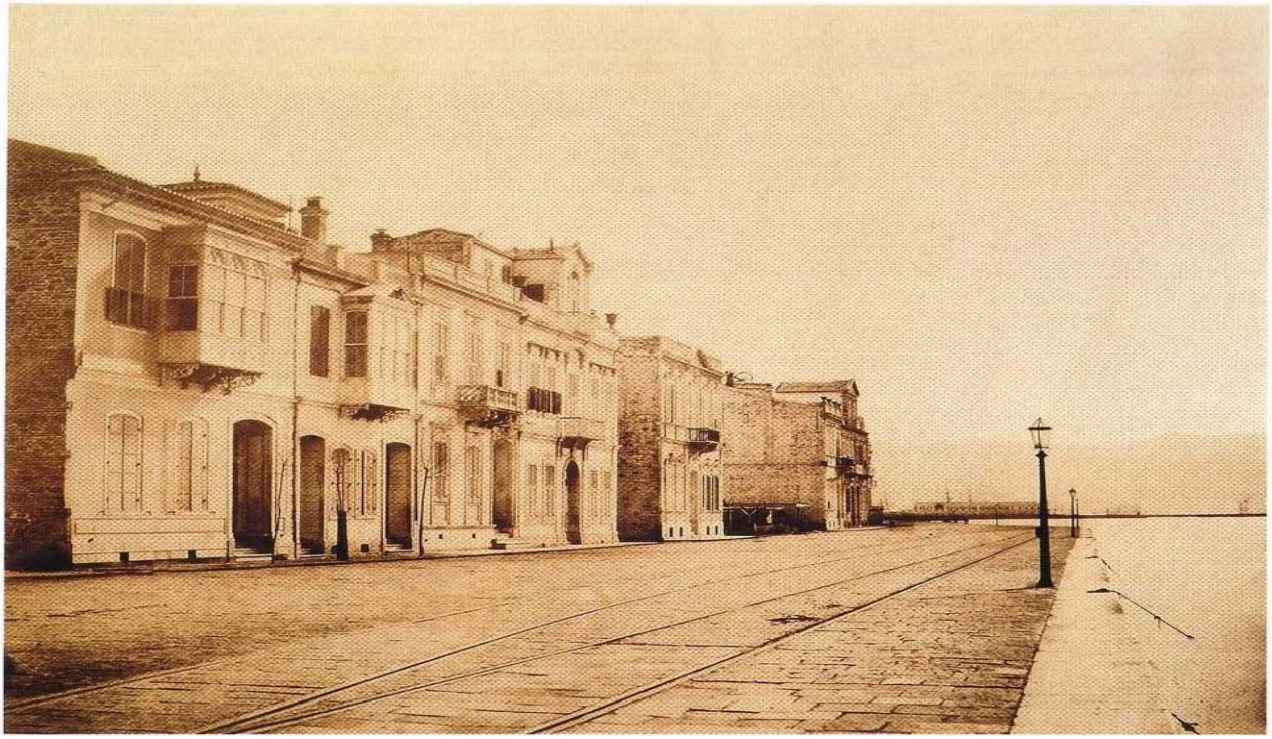

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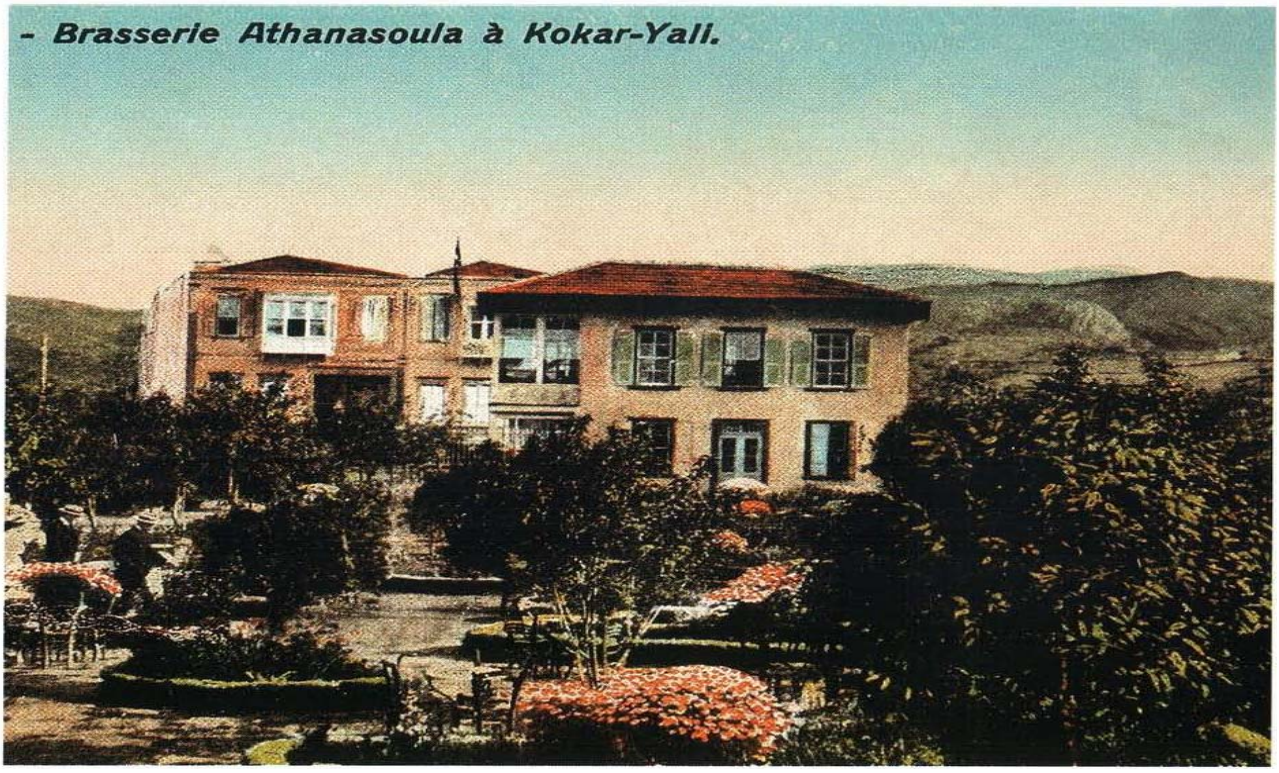

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ÖZGEÇMİŞ

1978 yılında Ankara'da doğdum. 1996 yılında Dumlupınar Üniversitesi İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü'nde lisans öğrenimime başladım ve 2000 yılında mezun oldum. Aynı yıl Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'nda 1 yıl boyunca öğretmen olarak çalıştım. Şu anda Ege Üniversitesi İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü'nde Araştırma Görevlisi olarak görev yapmaktayım. Yüksek Lisans tezimi 2004 yılında aynı üniversitede tamamladım. Akademik ilgi alanlarım arasında seyahat edebiyatı, dedektif romanları, Avrupa ve Ortadoğu Tarihi gibi konular yer almaktadır.

ÖZET:

Edward Said'in *Orientalism* (1978) adlı çalışmasını ve bu çalışmaya bağlı olarak "Öteki" kavramını kendisine hareket noktası olarak alan bu çalışma, 1800'den 1900'lere İngiliz seyahat yazınında İzmir ve İzmir'deki kültürel yapının nasıl temsil edildiğini incelemeyi amaçlamıştır. Said'e göre, Oryantalizm Doğu'yu araştıran nesnel bir bilim dalı olmaktan çok, Doğu hakkında söylenebileceklerin ve söylenemeyeceklerin sınırlarını belirleyen, Batı emperyalizmi ile beslenen, Oryantalistlerin iddialarının aksine son derece politik bir söylemdir. Said'in eseri akademik dünyada öylesine büyük bir etki bırakmıştır ki, "sömürge sonrası çalışmalar" ("postcolonial studies") adıyla bilinen alanın doğmasına vesile olmuştur. Said'in eserlerini başlangıç noktası olarak kabul eden yüzlerce inceleme yapılmış, doktora tezleri yazılmış ve üniversitelerde dersler açılmıştır. Bu temsillerin, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl İngiliz seyyahların anlatımlarında İzmir hakkındaki yansımalarının ne şekilde farklılıklar gösterip göstermediği bu tezin ortaya koymaya amaçladığı en önemli sorunsaldır. Bu bağlamda, Charles Fellows'un *A Journal Written during an Excursion in Asia Minor* (1839), Charles Macfarlane'in *Constantinople in 1828* (1829), John Cam Hobhouse'un *A Joruney Through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia* (1813) adlı seyahatnamelerini ve on dokuzuncu yüzyılda yazılmış diğer başka seyyahların eserlerini, başlangıç noktası olarak kabul etmiş ve diğer İngiliz seyyahların eserleri ile karşılaştırarak incelemiştir. Bu İngiliz seyyahların eserlerinde Oyantalist söylemle doğru orantılı olarak "Öteki" kavramının ne şekilde belirlendiği, hangi metinler arası ilişkilerle beslendiği ortaya konmuştur. On dokuzuncu yüzyılda yazılmış İzmir ve İzmir kültürünü temsil eden seyahatnamelere baktığımızda, bu eserlerde Oryantalist söylem her ne kadar egemen söylem konumunda olsa da, birçok farklı söylemin eş zamanlı olarak farklı eserlerde kullanıldığını gözlemliyoruz.

Anahtar kelimeler: Oryantalizm, Ötekileştirme, seyahat yazını, söylem, İzmir.

ABSTRACT:

Taking Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and its "othering" as a departure point, this study attempts to investigate how Izmir and its cultural structure have presented in British travel writing between 1800 and 1900. According to Said, far from being an objective field of study, Orientalism is a discourse which predetermines what can and cannot be said on the Orient. Said's work has created such a huge impact on the academia that its influence led to the birth of the field known as "postcolonial studies." Hundreds of books and PhD dissertations which take *Orientalism* as a departure point have been written and a great number of courses have been thought at universities. How these criticisms have brought differences and similarities to the nineteenth century British travel writing on Izmir is the most important problematic of this dissertation. In that context, Charles Fellows's *A Journal Written during an Excursion in Asia Minor* (1839), Charles Macfarlane's *Constantinople in 1828* (1829), John Cam Hobhouse's *A Joruney Through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia* (1813) have been investigated along with forty other travelogues. This study has examined how the Orientalist discourse operates, how intertextual affinities determine the discourse and the modern counterparts of the concepts that the Orientalist discourse is mainly constructed upon. When we examine the travel accounts written in the nineteenth century on Izmir, we see that travel writing is far from being homogenous in terms of discourse. Although the Orientalist discourse is the dominant one, it is still possible to see that counter-discursive accounts do exist side by side with the Orientalist discursive practices.

Key words: Orientalism, othering, travel writing, discourse, Izmir.