Venturing beyond borders – Reflections on genre, function and boundaries in Middle Eastern travel writing

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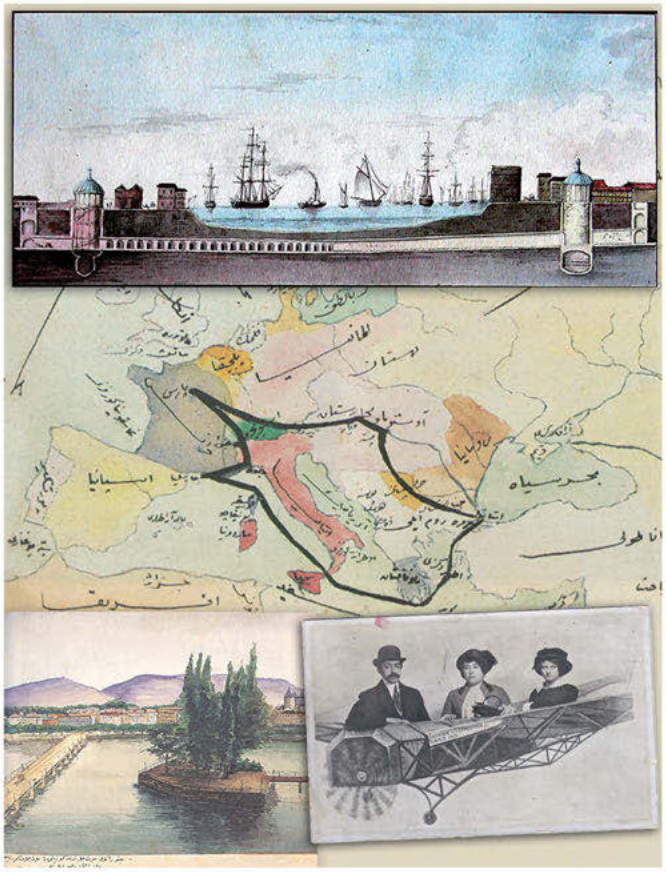

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Introduction

This volume is the result of a workshop entitled "Travel writing between fact and fiction – genre, functions and boundaries" organized at Boğaziçi University Istanbul in December 2010 within the frame of the research project "Europe from the outside – formations of Middle Eastern views on Europe from inside Europe", based at the University of Bonn.[1] Our aim was to provide a space within which scholars with expertise in a variety of languages and from disciplines ranging from Literary Studies to Near and Middle Eastern Studies and History could explore the complexity of travel writing as a historical, literary and cultural source for the 17th to 20th centuries. The workshop raised the questions of how to approach these narratives from different angles and in what ways they contribute to our understanding of their contexts. Although there was a strong focus on Ottoman-Turkish travelogues to Europe and to other places, we intentionally invited studies on travellers from Iran and the Arabic world in order to broaden the picture.

This book is a contribution to the academic conversation about travel writing in general and Middle Eastern travelogues particularly in two significant ways: First, it aims at crossing the paths of expertise on Middle Eastern travellers and the field of Travel Studies in order to create a basis for comparative research on Middle Eastern travelogues that reaches beyond the boundaries which Ottoman, Arabic and Iranian Studies have established both among each other and between themselves and studies on Western travel writing. Second, the papers provide a broad analytical framework thus representing various approaches to travel writing across disciplines, geographies and time. They make use of the theory and methods of Travel Studies, Gender Studies, Postcolonial Studies, Psychology and Transcultural History.

The book's title, "Venturing beyond borders – reflections on genre, function and boundaries in Middle Eastern travel writing", reflects these lines of thought. It challenges the reading of borders, frontiers and boundaries constructed by geography, politics, language, and gender, and examines their relevance for travelling and travel writing. This in turn also brings up questions of the contested

[1] Funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), this project focuses on travel accounts by Ottoman, Arab and Persian travellers in order to examine the changing and the enduring elements of Middle Eastern perceptions of Europe from the 19th century until the end of World War II. One focus of the project is to examine functions of mediated images of Europe and their significance for the conception of the Self. By locating this process within Europe, the project thus questions the socio-cultural boundaries of both the Middle East and Europe. For further information see the research group's website: www.europava.uni-bonn.de.

boundaries of genre and function: Where does travel writing end and memories, geographies, and biographies start? All papers tackle aspects related to these intertwined questions in specific ways. To broaden the scope we also included research on fictitious travel reports in order to complement the reflection on factual/literary fiction, intertextuality, and narrativity in Middle Eastern travel writing. Finally, the main question this volume raises is: What can we learn from these factual and fictitious travel narratives and how do they contribute to our understanding both of the travellers and the societies they came from and travelled to?

The contributions in this volume have been divided into three parts according to their content and approach:

The first part, entitled "Approaching the field of travel writing – the broad picture", provides a wide focus and offers an overview and introduction into the theory of travel and travel writing (İrvin Cemil Schick), the historical development of Ottoman travel writing on Europe with regard to content (Bâki Asiltürk) and with regard to numbers and genre, while also providing a list of the sources (Caspar Hillebrand). For reasons of readability, we have moved the extensive bibliographical part of Caspar Hillebrand's contribution to the end of the book.

The second part, "Writing on Self and Other – a closer look", focuses on theoretical and narrative issues as well, but concentrates on the representation of the Other and the Self and works with exemplary texts to give a more distinct, detail-oriented picture. Topics included in this section are Ottoman perceptions of "Oriental" Others, which are crucial in order to understand whether or not a particular perception of Europe was unique (Nazlı İpek Hüner), the role of religion in the construction of the travellers' identity and alterity (Bekim Agai), and gender as a significant factor both in travelling and travel writing and in the encounter with Europe as in the case of a female Iranian traveller (Jasmin Khosravie).

Finally, the third and last part, "Drawing lines – borders and crossings in genre", addresses the variability of the genre, asking about its limits and exploring connections between fact and fiction. It examines the relationships between different genres (travelogue, guide, political treatise) and the variety of sources that actually form a travel narrative (Leyla von Mende), the functions and techniques of composition, i.e. the construction of a coherent narration, its plot and fragments (Mehdi Sajid), and the interplay of the world of thoughts and dreams with reality and the connections between fact and fiction, novel and travelogue, that are significant in the textual formation (Olcay Akyıldız).

We see our workshop and its proceedings as a starting point to approach the complex variety of questions with regard to Ottoman-Turkish, Arabic and Persian travelogues in a comparative way – among each other and within the field of Travel Studies in general. We hope to inspire further research along this path, beyond the borders that exist within the academic community and along the lines of different languages.

We would like to thank the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), the editor of the series "Istanbuler Texte und Studien" Barbara Pusch and the Orient Institut Istanbul as well as our English editor Emily Coolidge Toker for their efforts and support at various stages of the publication of this book.

Bonn 2013 Bekim Agai, Olcay Akyıldız & Caspar Hillebrand

I
Approaching the field of travel writing – The broad picture

Self and Other, Here and There

Travel writing and the construction of identity and place

İrvin Cemil Schick, Istanbul

For the lay person, travel writing is a simple enough matter. A person leaves his or her domicile, travels to a foreign land, usually returns home, and writes down what he or she has seen and experienced. What could be more straightforward? And yet, we know that things are much more complex than that. It is not for nothing that a French proverb says, *a beau mentir qui vient de loin*, which is usually translated as "long ways, long lies."

Of course, it is not just a question of deliberate falsification. Travel writing is a subjectively mediated construction for many reasons. It is inevitably selective, for one could not possibly describe everything, and what exactly one chooses to describe is of necessity largely arbitrary. It is inevitably citational, for the traveller will often have read earlier accounts of similar journeys and will tend to fill in the blanks in his or her own experiences with borrowings from others. It is inevitably corroborative, for past writings create expectations that current writers will seek to fulfill, and will be loath to disappoint. It is inevitably ethnocentric, for even the best-intentioned traveller cannot help looking at other societies through the prism of his or her own. In short, like diaries, memoirs, and autobiographies – indeed, like ethnography and historiography – travel writing is first and foremost a rhetorical practice. It is not so much what it says that concerns me here, but what it *does*.

In these brief remarks, I would like to discuss what travel writing does in one particular domain: the construction of identity and place.[1] My analysis is based upon the simple insight that the traveller does not enter the experience of travelling as an already fully-formed subject. It is in part through his or her confrontation with the place to which he or she has travelled, and with the people who live there, that the traveller's own subjectivity is constituted. For this reason, the foreign land to which the traveller goes is not merely a passive stage for his or her travelogue; it is also an active constituent of the traveller and of the culture from which the traveller hails. Thus, through the works of Sir Richard Francis Burton, Mecca acts upon Britain; through the works of Ahmed Midhat Efendi,[2] Paris acts upon the Ottoman Empire.

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1 This chapter is largely based upon my *The erotic margin: sexuality and spatiality in alteritist discourse* (Schick 1999).

2 See the contribution of Olcay Akyıldız in this volume.

Travel writing is a vast field, of course, and while some travelogues purport to be factual accounts of the travellers' experiences, others are avowedly works of fiction. For my purposes, however, this distinction is artificial, as the difference between fiction and non-fiction is first and foremost a matter of degree. In the final analysis, every text is an emplotment of isolated facts into a textual fabric woven by the author. This is as true of travel writing as of any other kind of text, and it is therefore more productive, from the standpoint of textual analysis, to view this corpus as comprised of points along a continuum.

The construction of identity

Let me start by defining identity, a concept about which we have heard a great deal in recent years. Identity is a socially constructed, socially recognizable complex of attributes deriving from an individual's membership in such collectivities as nation, class, race, gender, sexuality, profession, generation, region, ethnicity, or religion. But identity is never complete; it is always "under construction." It is not an object, in other words, but a *process* – and an uneven one at that, since times of crisis or transition are often periods of particularly intensive identity construction. Thus, paraphrasing Teresa de Lauretis's formulation of gender, we can say that identity is a representation, and the representation of identity is its construction (De Lauretis 1987: 3). Identity comes to be through enactment, through performance, that is, through practices that construct it using a host of discursive instruments which, following Foucault, we may call "technologies of identity." Recall that Foucault introduced the term "technology" to denote the discursive tools with which knowledge of social realities and institutions is constructed, focusing on the technologies of production, sign systems, power, and the Self (See e.g. Martin et al. 1988). Travel writing is just such a technology, a technology of identity.

Though identity is a permanent process of construction and reconstruction, its fluid and mutable nature does not mean that it never enjoys any stability. A person's identity does not vary significantly from day to day, so there must be a slowly-evolving envelope containing (and constraining) the vicissitudes of self-enactment. I would suggest that this envelope is narrative. As David Harvey has noted, "while identity does not rest upon sameness or essence, it does acquire durability and permanence according to the stories we tell ourselves and others about our history" (Harvey 1993: 59). To be sure, this "durability and permanence" is only relative – a sustained period of construction or sequence of reconstructions; nevertheless, narrative plays a central role in the constitution and preservation of identity. It is a carrier of meaning, the channel through which an individual tells him- or herself and others the tale of his or her place in the world. It provides the Self with inertia, endowing it with some measure of temporal continuity.

The representation of identity is its own construction, then, and narrative is the medium through which that construction is realized. But the construction of identity is inseparable from that of alterity – indeed, identity itself only makes sense in juxtaposition to alterity. If we tell ourselves and others the stories of who we are, we also tell the stories of who we are not. To put it more explicitly, of the infinite multiplicity of characteristics that describe a given group of individuals, it is those that are *unlike* another group that are socially significant – in the measure to which, needless to say, establishing difference between the respective groups serves a social function. As James Clifford puts it, "every version of an 'other', wherever found, is also the construction of a 'self'" (Clifford 1986: 23–24). The construction of identity, therefore, is contingent upon the positing of a negative-identity, an Other as the repository of opposites. Acknowledged qualities, whether real or imagined, are centered and taken as the norm; simultaneously, rejected qualities, whether real or imagined, are marginalized and exoticized. Collectively, these latter form a "constitutive outside" that delimits the Self and thereby defines it.

Travel writing is a technology of identity, a discursive instrument through which identity is constructed and reconstructed, precisely because it relentlessly sets up oppositions between Self and Other, because it explicitly thematizes the Other and thereby authorizes definitions of the Self. But there is more: travel writing involves displacements that bring about confrontations not only with the Other but also with the elsewhere.

The role of place

Let us take another step, then: the notions of identity and alterity, of "us" and "them," are closely linked to the sense of place, that is, to the notions of "here" and "there." I want briefly to dwell on this idea. Thirty-five years after the publication of Henri Lefebvre's pioneering book *La production de l'espace* (1974),[3] the notion that place is not a neutral or inert location in which social relations unfold, but that it rather both structures, and is in turn structured by, these relations, is no longer new. To quote Edward Soja's succinct summary, "Spatiality is a substantiated and recognizable social product, part of a 'second nature' which incorporates as it socializes and transforms both physical and psychological spaces. As a social product, spatiality is simultaneously the medium and outcome, presupposition and embodiment, of social action and relationship. The spatio-temporal structuring of social life defines how social action and relationship (including class relations) are materially constituted, made concrete" (Soja 1989: 129).

3 For an English translation, see Lefebvre (1991).

Though Soja did not emphasize this point here, one generally differentiates between space and place, in that space is neutral whereas place is socially constructed. Place is, in other words, space that has been infused with meaning through human (spatial) practices. It follows, therefore, that in contrast to physical space pure and simple, *places* are not "objective" realities but exist only through particular human spatial experiences. According to Nicholas Entrikin, place is a "condition of human experience" since "as actors we are always situated in place and period and (...) the contexts of our actions contribute to our sense of identity and thus to our sense of centeredness." It follows, Entrikin argues, that "our relations to place and culture become elements in the construction of our individual and collective identities" (Entrikin 1991: 1, 4). Place, therefore, is a fundamental element of existence and hence of identity; the Self unfolds in space, and therefore bears the indelible traces of the place it calls its Here.

But given the complexity of the social, dissected as it is by myriad cleavages, can one speak of spatiality in the singular? Surely there must exist a multiplicity of places – "cross-cutting, intersecting, aligning with one another, or existing in relations of paradox or antagonism," as Dorothy Massey puts it (Massey 1994: 3). Thus, there is no single Here that defines identity, nor even a simple Here/There dichotomy; rather, there are an entire archipelago of places with which one engages in discursive relationships of inclusion and exclusion, attraction and repulsion, acceptance and rejection. In their interesting book *The politics and poetics of transgression* (1986), Peter Stallybrass and Allon White investigated "the question of displacements between *sites* of discourse – the fairground, the marketplace, the coffee-house, the theatre, the slum, the domestic interior of the bourgeois household." Arguing that "the very drive to achieve a singularity of collective identity is simultaneously productive of unconscious heterogeneity," they showed that place plays a crucial role in that process: "The grouping together of sites of discourse," they write, "the acceptance and rejection of place, with its laws and protocols and language, is at once a coding of social identity" (Stallybrass – White 1986: 194). The construction of identity, then, is at the same time the construction of a network of places – some tagged "here," others "there" – which are constituted by and simultaneously reproduce social cleavages such as gender (e.g. domestic vs. public), race (e.g. suburb vs. ghetto), or class (e.g. club vs. pub).

A foreign land depicted in travel writing is just such a There, a "space of otherness." Indeed, domestic and foreign sites of discourse are often fundamentally related, as race and ethnicity often function as metonyms for class, and likewise class itself is often constructed in terms of racial difference. A recent example from Turkey: the urban, westernized, educated, staunchly secular upper class is now known as "white Turks" – a term laden with racial overtones that are, needless to say, entirely imaginary. In nineteenth-century Britain, according to V.G. Kiernan, the English gentleman's "attitude to his own 'lower orders' was identical with that of Europe to the 'lesser breeds.' Discontented native in the colo-

nies, labour agitator in the mills, were the same serpent in alternate disguises. Much of the talk about the barbarism or darkness of the outer world, which it was Europe's mission to rout, was a transmuted fear of the masses at home" (Kiernan 1969: 316). The representation of plebian spaces such as the slum or the fairground, in other words, had much in common with that of colonies and other non-European territories.

But if identity goes hand in hand with place, and if identity furthermore only makes sense in the context of alterity, what can one conclude about the relationship between the Here and the There? First and foremost, that these two concepts define each other by delimiting each other: There begins where Here ends, and the Here is where any travel must commence and terminate: "The economy of travel," writes Georges van den Abbeele, "requires an *oikos* […] in relation to which any wandering can be comprehended. (...) In other words, a home(land) must be posited from which one leaves on the journey and to which one hopes to return" (Van den Abbeele 1992: xviii). But there is more to it than that: taking a cue from Gaston Bachelard's *La poétique de l'espace* (1957),[4] we can say that the Here is not only the Not-There, it is also the place where the There is imagined. It is therefore fundamentally linked to the There, as both its opposite and complement, and its site of construction. To make this a bit more concrete, consider this example: the wood-paneled study in which the British gentleman, armed with his pipe and tweeds, his dog peacefully curled before the crackling fireplace, read his travel books and daydreamed of the fabulous Orient or the jungles of Africa, could not help being transformed by these thoughts, and infused with an entire array of meanings that would have never existed were it not for them. It is this oneiric dialectic that unites the Here and There: home is where one dreams of the world.

Border-crossing narratives

Like identity and alterity, the Here and There are also constituted through narrative, and accounts of travel – both real and imaginary – play a central role in this process: they create both the context and the substance of a society's perception of the rest of the world. Suzanne Rodin Pucci has noted, for example, that in eighteenth-century Europe, "the growing interest in the objects of a culture far removed from the West and particularly of 'oriental' cultures was inextricably linked in both fiction and non-fiction to the narrative of voyage. Actual objects of beauty and curiosity plucked from foreign soil were brought by travellers to be sold, exchanged and inserted within the social and mercantile fabric of the West, whereas stories of these cultural objects in the form of adventures and travels were integrated into the narrative syntax of literature and document" (Rodin

[4] For an English translation, see Bachelard (1964).

Pucci 1990: 148). In this manner, travel narratives provided Europeans with what phenomenologists would call a "pre-thematic" awareness of the world.

Let me be more specific: Edmund Husserl held that we can only truly comprehend nature by factoring in our ordinary, intuited experience of it, in other words by grounding ourselves in our existence as creatures of nature in everyday contact with it, outside of – and indeed prior to – its being made the subject of scientific investigation.[5]

Husserl's phenomenological approach has been applied to time and history by David Carr, based upon the premise that both the past and our consciousness of it are elements of our experienced world, we are historical beings first and historians second, and any philosophy of history must take into account the temporality of the historian. Narrative is the primary tool for organizing our experience of time, and therefore plays a key role in the construction of this temporality (see Carr 1991). In the words of Paul Ricœur, "time becomes human to the extent that it is articulated through a narrative mode, and narrative attains its full meaning when it becomes a condition of temporal existence" (Ricœur 1984, 1: 52).

There are, of course, fundamental similarities between our apprehensions of time and space, and thus something similar must hold for our consciousness of *place*:[6] directly, because of the epistemic and ontological centrality of space; and indirectly, because time/narrative needs a location in which to unfold. Both place and our consciousness of it, then, are elements of our experienced world. Before becoming explorers of foreign lands – or geographers, cartographers, anthropologists, orientalists, tourists… – we exist in space, in an immediate relationship with spatiality. Wide-scale spatial practices like travel, migration, or colonialism can only be understood if that immediate relationship is given adequate consideration. But saying that the relationship is immediate does not mean that the ensuing consciousness is, say, purely instinctive. As with time, narrative is the primary tool with which we organize our experience of space; hence, it is again through narrative that human beings acquire their pre-thematic awareness of place. Space becomes human, that is, space is constituted as place, to the extent that it is articulated through narrative; and narrative attains its full meaning when it becomes a condition of spatial existence.

In his *L'invention du quotidien: Arts de faire* (1980),[7] Michel de Certeau discussed what he calls *récits d'espace* or narratives of space, which organize places by describing displacements and function to constantly transform space into place. These

5 See Husserl (1970: Part III A, particularly §§ 33–34 and 53–54).

6 In his 1946 presidential address to the Association of American Geographers, John Kirtland Wright gave an early – possibly the first – articulation of the idea that the lived experience of spatiality must be factored into the practice of geography as a "science" (see Wright 1966: 68–88). On phenomenological approaches to geography and spatiality, see Pickles (1985: Parts 2 and 4).

7 For an English translation, see De Certeau (1984).

are the narratives that embody our awareness of spatiality, that humanize the space in which we live by infusing it with meaning. But the construction of social space is not merely an intellectual exercise, it also determines praxis: narratives open a field for social practices (De Certeau 1984: 116, 118, 125). Thus, the experiences of travellers in foreign lands – ranging from the dilettante tourists, the writers and artists, to the occupying armies, surveyors, colonial administrators, and metropolitan officials – are overdetermined by the collective narratives that give normative significance to place, and thereby construct the Here and There.

In short, just as the historical past exists and must be tackled prior to and independently of its thematization in historical inquiry, geographical location too is part of our experienced world narrative provides us with a pre-thematic, background awareness of our global positionality which is key to understanding the politics of spatiality. Paraphrasing Rosemary Hennessy and Rajeswari Mohan's discussion of reading in history (cf. Hennessy – Mohan 1989: 326). I would suggest that the practice of geography always entails a theory of reading. Because geography (in the sense of actual places) is intelligible to us only through our locally available ways of making sense of spatiality, geography (in the sense of knowledge of places) is accessible to us only through its production by means of readings that are inevitably grounded in and colored by our local ideological biases. In this sense, reading is a material practice contributing to the construction of social reality; any reading is first of all an ideological intervention in the ways of making sense of spatiality available to the subject in the subject's own locality. Geography as a discursive practice must be evaluated not in terms of its performance in recovering a particular place "as it really is," but rather in terms of uncovering the local socio-cultural relevance of that place in light of the interests served by the geographical narratives as material practices that act upon social reality.

To put it most starkly, "without a reading, there is no place." Place is a discursive and rhetorical construct, and geography is therefore an inherently literary practice; as Stephen Daniel says, it is "a grapheme or writing of the world: it provides the text or topics which specify places not as precise functions of minutes or seconds of latitude and longitude but as functions of humanly significant concerns. (...) [T]here simply are no places at all until they can become incorporated into a vocabulary of interests" (Daniel 1989: 18, 21). Travel writing is an excellent example of a literary practice that specifies places "as functions of humanly significant concerns" and incorporates them "into a vocabulary of interests."

Now, some might object that while time travel still eludes us, and our knowledge of the past is therefore necessarily contingent upon the reading of texts (in the broadest sense of the word), the same does not hold for space: one could, in principle, go to virtually any place on the globe and acquire knowledge of it firsthand. Thus, one might argue, spatial knowledge is accessible in a far more unmediated form than is temporal knowledge. At first, this would seem correct; but empirical observation does not yield knowledge unencumbered by the cognitive

structures imposed by the subject's mind. Even the most unbiased traveller takes along a great deal of cultural baggage acquired prior to the journey which inevitably colours his or her perceptions; the acquisition of knowledge, in other words, is precisely an act of reading. Furthermore, no one can visit every square-centimeter of the world, so that any regional knowledge is necessarily the result of an intellectual process of interpolation. And finally, the overwhelming majority of people acquire their geographical knowledge (such as it is) through the mediation of books, magazines, newspapers, movies, television, and so forth. In short, it is texts (in the broadest sense of the word) that provide us with the tools for making sense of place – both foreign lands and, dually, our home territory.

The semantic density of place

It is important to appreciate the fundamental nature of this geographical awareness. As Kay Anderson and Fay Gale point out, "the cultural process by which people construct their understandings of the world is an inherently geographic concern. In the course of generating new meanings and decoding existing ones, people construct spaces, places, landscapes, regions and environments. In short, they construct geographies." Thus, like time and temporality, space and spatiality too guide human consciousness and praxis at a most basic level. Moreover, the representation and construction of place is a perpetual process: "Human geographies are under continuous invention and transformation by actions whose underlying fields of knowledge are themselves recreated through geographical arrangements. People's cultures and their geographies intersect and reciprocally inform each other" (Anderson – Gale 1992: 4–5).

Because life itself depends on it, the element of space has of course been present in narrative since the earliest times; however, its meaning has not always been precisely the same. Emphasis on the specificity of place increased markedly during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: increasingly, works were set in a distinctive locality that took on an independent imaginative existence, rendering the story's setting at least as important as other narrative elements, and sometimes more so. Indeed, the fictional genres of the early nineteenth century generally put great emphasis on place, grounding their narratives in specific geographical regions that were seen (by both authors and readers) as embodying particular moral and cultural values (Keith 1988: 3; Perera 1991: 35).

The view of space as an active and constitutive component of the social has not yet been fully assimilated into social science practice. Spatial units are generally treated as given, and the socio-political forces underlying their selection or construction are not questioned. As Alexander Murphy writes, although "regional settings are social constructs that are themselves implicated in that which is being examined," too often "the regional framework is presented essentially as a backdrop for a discussion of regional change, with little consideration given to

why the region came to be a socially significant spatial unit in the first place, how the region is understood and viewed by its inhabitants [or, for that matter, by people who live elsewhere], or how and why that understanding has changed over time" (Murphy 1991: 24). It is necessary, in other words, to problematize regionalization itself, and understand how and why regions are conceptualized as distinct spatial units.

Rob Shields has noted that "as space is humanized and infused with meaning, sites or groups of sites acquire symbolic significances and become metaphors for particular states of mind or value systems. In this manner, real spaces are hypostatized into the symbolic realm of imaginary space relations. The world is cognitively territorialized so that on the datum of physical geographic knowledge, the world is recoded as a set of spaces and places which are infinitely shaded with connotative characteristics and emotive associations. The resulting formation – half topology, half metaphor – is inscribed as an emotive ordering or *coded geography*. It is enacted in ritual, as gesture, and encoded in further guiding metaphors which define our relationship to the world" (Shields 1991: 29, 264–265).

In other words, places have significances that transcend their physical/geographical characteristics, and these significances mediate our relations with our environment. The significance of a particular representation of place derives in large part from the connotative power of the metaphors used to construct it. References to Auschwitz or Hiroshima, Entrikin writes, "have a 'semantic density' that extends far beyond the geographic locations to include the terrible events that took place there" (Entrikin 1991: 11). It is impossible to hear them without instantly tapping into a large collective memory that endows such places with meanings transcending their physical/geographical realities. Places take on meanings according to events that occur there, becoming infused with human memories, hopes, values, and fears. But places also take on meanings according to what has been written about them, whether or not it has any basis in fact.

In a series of lectures on the importance of place in fiction, the novelist Eudora Welty argued that "every story would be another story, and unrecognizable as art, if it took up its characters and plot and happened somewhere else. Imagine *Swann's Way* laid in London, or *The Magic Mountain* in Spain, or *Green Mansions* in the Black Forest" (Welty 1957: 11–12). Unthinkable? Perhaps, but why exactly? Is it because each one of us has travelled to Proust's Combray, Mann's Davos, or Hudson's Upper Amazon – not to mention London, Spain, and the Black Forest – and can vouch from personal experience that the stories would be irredeemably altered if transposed? I do not think so. Rather, I would argue that knowledge of place largely derives from text, and it is important not to lose sight of this circularity when assessing the relationship between spatiality and literature. Welty writes that location "is to be discovered" by the writer (Welty 1957: 25), but in fact it is to be invented, based upon a combination of personal experience and available knowledge.

Writings and readings of the world

But how does this come to be? How do places acquire these layers of meaning? Again following Foucault, we can say that places are discursively constructed by means of "technologies of place." These are the discursive instruments and strategies by means of which space is constituted as place, that is, place is socially constructed and reconstructed. It is clear that travel writing is a technology of place. Like colonial novels, travel narratives too are not merely reflections of their authors' exposure to foreign peoples and places, they are also "narratives of space" by means of which spatial knowledge is encoded and the world is cognitively constructed. Or, to put it another way, they are *writings* of the world, through the *reading* of which space is made into place.

And therefore they are among the building blocks with which a political discourse of spatiality is constructed. Why "political," one may ask? For the reason that, as Michael Keith and Steve Pile have argued, "all spatialities are political because they are the (covert) medium and (disguised) expression of asymmetrical relations of power" (Keith – Pile 1993: 38, 220). For example, Mary Louise Pratt has analyzed how European travel writing produced "the rest of the world" for European readerships, as well as fostering Europe's differentiated conception of itself in relation to its Others, how travel books created the domestic subject of European imperialism, and how they engaged metropolitan reading publics to expansionist enterprises (Pratt 1992: 4–5).

What I am trying to say is that carving the world into regions is never innocent. It invariably entails marking some as "central" and others as "peripheral," some as "here" and others as "there." And unequal power relations always underlie such practices. Let me present to you a passage from Foucault's *History of sexuality* which I have modified to refer to spatiality instead:

> "One must not suppose that there exists a certain sphere of *spatial construction* that would be the legitimate concern of a free and disinterested scientific inquiry were it not the object of mechanisms of *exclusion and inclusion, or centering and peripheralization*, brought to bear by the economic or ideological requirements of power. If *place* was constituted as an area of investigation, this was only because relations of power had established it as a possible object; and conversely, if power was able to take it as a target, this was because techniques of knowledge and procedures of discourse were capable of investing it. Between techniques of knowledge and strategies of power there is no exteriority, even if they have specific roles and are linked together on the basis of their difference."[8]

That is to say, the very existence of a discourse of spatiality is reflective of a system of power. In an analysis of the social construction of the outsider, and of the

[8] Foucault (1978–1986, vol. 1: 98). Instead of the three phrases/words which I have italicized here, the original passage has the words "sexuality", "prohibition", and "sexuality", respectively.

nature of the spaces to which outsiders are relegated, David Sibley has shown that marginalization "is associated not only with characterizations of the group but also with images of particular places, the landscapes of exclusion which express the marginal status of the outsider group" (Sibley 1992: 107). In other words, segregation reproduces itself: spaces of Otherness become not only repositories of Others but indeed one of the primary indicators/producers of alterity.

Like eddies, the exercise of power spawns places of identity and alterity, both mimicking and reproducing the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion prevalent in society. Asking rhetorically, "Is it conceivable that the exercise of hegemony might leave space untouched? Could space be nothing more than the passive locus of social relations, the milieu in which their combination takes on body, or the aggregate of the procedures employed in their removal?", Lefebvre replies: "The answer must be no. (…) [S]pace serves, and (…) hegemony makes use of it, in the establishment, on the basis of an underlying logic and with the help of knowledge and technical expertise, of a 'system'" (Lefebvre 1991: 11). Hegemony, then, moulds space into place, and hegemonic constructions of place in turn reproduce power relations. Not only does power influence spatial practices, but the very existence of a discourse of spatiality is born out of the functioning of power. The territorialization of space is a discursive practice, as is our consciousness of those territories; they cannot be analyzed independently of the networks of power that generate them.

This political angle is worth keeping in mind when one studies travel writing. In his well-known essay on Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon* (1791), Foucault wrote that "a whole history remains to be written of *spaces* – which would at the same time be the history of *powers* (both these terms in the plural) – from the great strategies of geo-politics to the little tactics of the habitat" (Foucault 1980: 149). Following this line of thinking, we could ask ourselves what power relations travel writing reproduces, and how we can read this literature – this technology of identity and place – against the grain.

Writing difference

Admittedly there may seem to be a bit of a paradox in the way travel writing figures in this scheme. It presupposes the presence of the author in the space of otherness, but also assumes that the author has made it safely back to his or her home. To be sure, the traveller's encounter with the foreign land and its people could lead to a sort of *rapprochement*, a deeper understanding of each other. But I think that more often than not travel writing tends to exoticize the Other and thereby leads to a territorialization of the world. That this goes hand in hand with power politics is clear from the fact that, during the nineteenth century, the European outlook on the world – to use Lefebvre's terminology, the space of representations devoted to Europe's representations of space (Lefebvre 1991: 33,

38–39) – was not only a reflection but a prime mover of the spatial practice that was colonialism. The transformation of the earth into a constellation of places – the filling in of the big blank spaces on the map,[9] so to speak – was intimately related to hegemony, and must be analyzed within that context.

How are spaces of otherness actually constructed? Michel de Certeau has emphasized the role of *boundaries*, arguing that:

> "It is the partition of space that structures it. Everything refers in fact to this differentiation which makes possible the isolation and interplay of distinct spaces. From the distinction that separates a subject from its exteriority to the distinctions that localize objects, from the home (constituted on the basis of the wall) to the journey (constituted on the basis of a geographical 'elsewhere' or a cosmological 'beyond'), from the functioning of the urban network to that of the rural landscape, there is no spatiality that is not organized by the determination of frontiers" (De Certeau 1984: 123).

But it seems to me that it is not, strictly speaking, the *boundary* that defines a place, rather the imagined *contrast* between the "inside" and the "outside." Encircling an arbitrary chunk of Antarctica with a picket fence would not appear particularly meaningful to most observers, since there would be little or no difference between what lies within and without the fence. Likewise, what makes the home is not the four walls that delimit it, but rather the fact that it is that unique place where we can be together with our loved ones, sleep at night, enjoy our belongings, or keep warm in the winter and dry during rain. Doreen Massey makes this argument more precise: she proposes an alternative interpretation of place based upon the premise that "what gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus." Thus, she writes, instead of "thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings" (Massey 1994: 154).

It is *difference*, then, that makes place; to imagine a place, it is not even necessary to know explicitly the precise location of its boundaries. Take for example the "Orient": in the nineteenth century, it was sometimes held to begin at the river Leitha, a small tributary of the Danube just downstream of Vienna (Armstrong 1929: xii). But how literally must such an assertion be taken? Surely it was not a real or imagined line passing through the southeastern suburbs of the Austrian capital that divided East from West, but rather the differences between the respective characteristics attributed to each region. In other words, in contrast to physical locations, whose boundaries can be expressed in degrees and minutes, the distinctions between *socially constructed* spaces are primarily *qualitative*.

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9 [Sir Arthur] Conan Doyle (1912: 13). Joseph Conrad's use of this image is perhaps better known: cf. Conrad (1988: 11f.).

This is what travel writing often does. It constructs difference. This is not to say, of course, that there was no difference to begin with. The point is that one could, in theory, write a travel account in which only those aspects of the foreign country that are identical to those of the home country are retold. Such a book would seem boring and pointless, would it not? Consequently it is always difference that travel accounts underscore. And for this reason travel literature is complicit in the territorialization of the world, with all attendant power asymmetries and political consequences.

As an example, it is instructive to consider the 1956 film based on Jules Verne's *Around the world in eighty days*.[10] Certainly this is a delightful imaginary voyage, and a fine example of Hollywood at its classical greatest. But what is genuinely striking about the film (and the novel) is the degree to which it represents each visited country by the most minimalist set of stereotypes. Spain is flamenco dancers and bullfights, India is elephant rides and widow immolation. This is perhaps an extreme case, but it provides a good illustration, I think, of the propensity of travel writing to essentialize geographical areas and thereby construct regional differences.

The chapters that follow discuss travel writing both generally and through descriptions of specific travel accounts by particular individuals. Some are noteworthy as literature, others as ethnography, still others as autobiography. In all cases, they are fascinating for what they tell us about power asymmetries and about differences between Here and There, Self and Other.

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[10] Directed by Michael Anderson, screenplay by James Poe, John Farrow, and S.J. Perelman, produced by Michael Todd, William Cameron Menzies, and Kevin McClory. For more information, see http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0048960/fullcredits#writers (accessed 26 November 2011).

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The image of Europe and Europeans in Ottoman-Turkish travel writing

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Translated from Turkish by *Burcu Yoleri*

Travelogues unfold from humankind's urge to know new places and people, and to learn and pass on different cultures and ways of life. A traveller will surely give his utmost attention to the ever-changing environment; he will turn his gaze upon never before seen buildings, forests, roads, vehicles and people. The voyages discussed here are long journeys to the vast centres, where great civilizations dwell. From this perspective, Marco Polo, Ibn Fadlan, Evliya Çelebi and others were great travellers in every sense of the word. In their works we can find detailed descriptions of every aspect of the places they claim to have seen.

Travel was also a significant means by which Turks learned about Europe. To the Ottoman Empire, Europe was a Mediterranean Europe, the Europe discovered in the 15th century, since the first direct contact between the Ottomans and the countries of Europe was established with the city-states on the northern shores of the Mediterranean, which today are cities in Italy such as Naples, Florence and Venice.[1] It would be a mistake to assume that these relations have remained only within the frames of trade and war.[2]

The major rapprochement was of course the fall of Constantinople (1453); since this important historical event, relations between the Turks and Europe have expanded and continue to this day. The Turks, who had already established ties with the Italian city-states on the Mediterranean shores in the 15th century, soon came into close contact with Spain and Portugal. The majority of these contacts came about either through naval battles or, in a more peaceful manner, through trade relations. The cultural influence remained limited in this century.

With this introduction to Europe, the Turks envisaged veering towards the Austro-Hungarian territory and, eventually, deep into Europe. Over time, direct diplomatic relations were established with powerful European states such as Brit-

1 Mentioning these relations Ülken states: "The West that we [the Turks] came into contact with was the Byzantine Empire and the mercantile cities of the Mediterranean (Venice, Genoa, Ragusa [Dubrovnik])" (Ülken 2005: 24). [All footnotes translated from Turkish by Burcu Yoleri.]

2 I would like to draw attention to Turhan's thoughts on this matter: "In fact, if the beginning of the westernization movement is accepted as the transfer of singular elements of culture, especially the transfer of technical resources, it is possible to trace its history to the 15th century according to the available documents (for example the importation of the printing press to our country by the Jews)" (Turhan 1987: 135).

ain, France, Germany, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, parallel to which cultural interactions became increasingly manifest. The cultural developments, especially during the period between 1718 and 1730, also known as the Tulip Era (*Lâle Devri*), and the periods of reformation that followed, are remarkable: The first printing press was established in 1728 in Istanbul by İbrahim Müteferrika and Sait Efendi, and the first paper factory that resembled its European counterparts was opened in 1744 in Yalova to meet the demands of the press. During the same years new libraries were established, especially in Istanbul, the translation of several Occidental works into Ottoman Turkish began, and Occidental influence on architecture and painting likewise became apparent. During the reign of Selim III (1789–1807), permanent embassies were established in the most important European capitals to more closely monitor developments in Europe.[3]

Reciprocally, the interest of European thinkers in Ottoman culture had grown throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Literary figures such as Alphonse de Lamartine and Edmondo De Amicis described their journeys to Istanbul in travelogues, and painters who came to Istanbul, such as Jean-Baptiste van Mour, Heinrich Schlesinger, Ivan Aivazovsky, Fausto Zonaro, Amedeo Preziosi, Leonardo de Mango, Salvatore Valeri, Warnia Zarzecki and many more, contributed to the acknowledgement of modern painting in the Ottoman Empire (cf. Tansuğ 1999, Renda 1977, Renda – Erol 1980, and Turani – Berk 1981).

During the 18th century, when the Ottoman Empire began to lose its preeminence in Europe, an idea to Europeanize especially the army, the educational system, and state institutions gained prominence, and reform efforts became widespread around the end of the century and the beginning of the 19th. Parallel to this, the travels of the Ottoman statesmen, ambassadors and travellers began to pick up steam in the 1700s and reached a peak in the 1800s.

Travel accounts on Europe

In the 19th century, the Ottomans' perception of Europe was primarily centred on France, followed by Britain. Even though political relations with Britain were quite important, the Ottomans' opinion regarding Europe in cultural and social terms was centred mainly on France, most likely due to the considerable importance of France in European politics before and especially after the 1789 Revolution. The fact that Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet was sent to France in 1720/21 as part of the first extensive diplomatic mission is very telling in this regard. Additionally, that the majority of Ottoman travel writing in the 19th century was on France conveys the extent of this political and cultural orientation. Shortly be-

[3] On this subject, see: Ülken (2005: 28–31), Mardin (1991: 12–16), Turhan (1987: 135), and Ortaylı (1995: 165–168).

fore and after the Tanzimat, alongside the reports of the official diplomatic delegations (*sefaretname*s), travelogues played an active role in representing Europe directly through first-hand accounts. Memoirs, travel writings and the correspondence of statesmen, as well as of individuals outside the court regarding Europe, allowed European countries such as France, Britain, Austria and Italy to become known in the Ottoman territory.

The interest and orientation towards Europe mostly followed a precise and determined course, whether it ended with triumph or defeat, in war or in diplomacy. Even the journeys that Ottoman officers and intellectuals took for reasons other than war or diplomacy should be taken into account within this perspective. The trips undertaken to European countries for diverse reasons between the 17th and 20th centuries are an important source that nurtured the image of Europe and Europeans in the Ottoman imagination. The accounts of these journeys can be interpreted as complementary aspects of a greater resource; a bigger picture is revealed when information from various travels is brought together.

Official travel: the sefaretname*s*

*Sefaretname*s (diplomatic travel accounts)[4] on Europe emerged in the second half of the 17th century and became widespread in the 18th. They were written by Ottoman ambassadors to European countries such as France, Prussia (later the German Empire), Austria, Italy and Spain, and contained information usually collected from an official but occasionally also from an unofficial perspective. In reports such as the *sefaretname*s of İbrahim Paşa on Vienna, dated 1719, of Hattî Mustafa Efendi on Austria (1748), of Ahmet Resmî Efendi on Vienna (1758) and on Prussia (1764), of Vasıf Efendi on Spain (1787–88) and of Ebubekir Ratib Efendi on Austria (1791–92), the information presented about the respective countries is of a more official nature. By the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, in line with the political relations between the two states, the Ottoman ambassadors to France produced a continuous stream of *sefaretname*s. These works, composed by Moralı Seyyid Ali Efendi (1797), Amedî Mehmed Said Galib Efendi (1802), Seyyid Abdürrahim Muhib Efendi (1806–11), and Seyyid Mehmed Emin Vahid Efendi (1806) present the France of that period from different perspectives, but mostly within the frame of political liaisons.

Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi's Fransa Sefaretnamesi

Considering its impact, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi's trip to Paris in 1720/21, deemed the first great official expedition in Ottoman history, played a

[4] For a definition of the term *sefaretname*, see Unat (1992: 43–46).

major role in quickening the relations between the Ottomans and Europe. Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi (d. 1732) went on an extensive, colourful, and important 11-month journey as ambassador to Paris and published the outcomes of his trip in his *Fransa Sefaretnamesi* (Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi 1288/1872). Even though, as shown above, many other *sefaretname*s were written afterwards, none were as influential as this one. Like all *sefaretname*s, this work was produced in the style of a report on the impressions of an official visit. Nonetheless, this *sefaretname* was more than just an official report: It is inscribed with Mehmet Efendi's curious gaze on almost every page, and is one of the cornerstones in the history of Europeanization of the Ottomans. Referring to the work, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar accentuates its importance by asserting that "no other book holds a more important place in our history of occidentalization than this little *sefaretname*. (…) In truth, a whole program is hidden inside this *sefaretname*" (Tanpınar 1985: 44). What Tanpınar means by "program" is Mehmet Efendi's suggestions regarding the path the Ottoman Empire must follow on its march to westernization. The information presented in *Fransa Sefaretnamesi* is of a striking depth, combining both the information expected in an official *sefaretname* and impressions of his travel. The advice proposed to the palace throughout the work, sometimes in detail and sometimes implicitly, was effective in opening the doors to Ottoman modernization.

Considering Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet's evaluations regarding France in general, the ambassador's feelings of "admiration" for France appear frequently. Especially when describing the artwork in Paris, this admiration is clear in his frequent repetition of expressions such as "innumerable", "indescribable", "sight unseen", "impossible to describe without seeing it", "inexplicable", "impossible to put into writing".[5] Nonetheless it would not be realistic to expect different wording from an ambassador who is introducing a new and advanced civilization to a society in which few are closely acquainted with Europe. Furthermore, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi's *Fransa Sefaretnamesi* is not only important for proposing a modernization program to the Ottoman Empire, but also because it paved the way for further official and personal trips to France.

Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi, who was sent to France as an ambassador in 1720 by Sultan Ahmet III, relayed a vast amount of information in his *sefaretname* about how the French lived in the first quarter of the 18th century. He recounted anything that he could catch sight of in cities including Marseille, Paris, Toulon and Toulouse, from castles to roads and palaces, from streets to opera houses and theatres, from officials in the courts to people on the streets. The information that he provided was received with excitement in the Ottoman palace, and his travel report was read closely as innovations were made.

[5] "kabil-i ta'dâd değildir, tabir olunmaz, ta'dâdı mümkün değildir, naziri görülmemiştir, görülmedikçe tabir ve tavsif ile beyan olunmak muhaldir, vasfı mümkün değildir, kabil-i tahrir değildir, ifade ve beyan mümkün değildir..."

The independence and status of women in France is one of the important matters that grab Mehmet Efendi's attention: "In France women are held in a higher esteem than men. Therefore they do whatever they wish and go wherever they want. They are respected and courted even by the elite and their opinions are valuable".[6] Noting that the streets are always crowded, the ambassador marks this as a consequence of women's presence within everyday life and their comfort walking the streets. According to his description Parisian women never stay in their houses; they are always on the streets, going from house to house, shopping. Since the spheres of men and women are not separated, the streets are constantly crowded. The storekeepers are also generally women. Since they have "never seen a Muslim in their lives" and find Ottoman attire intriguing, Parisians, especially women, observe the ambassador and his company with great interest (Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi 1288/1872: 17).

One of the most interesting parts in Mehmet Efendi's *sefaretname* is his description of the Opera in Paris, a description that many researchers concentrate on to this day. This should not come as a surprise, for Mehmet Efendi describes with admiration an entertainment and art form that is foreign to Ottomans: the modern opera theatre. He describes going to the opera to watch a play: As every night, the theatre is full of women and men. More than a hundred instruments are ready, several hundred "beeswax" candles are lit, and the hall is entirely illuminated. Mehmet Efendi finds this lighting "indescribable" (Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi 1288/1872: 25).

Mehmet Efendi did not forget to emphasize the characteristics of Paris's city structure and to include his observations of its inhabitants. He states that Paris is not as big as Istanbul. However, the fact that the buildings are constructed three, four, or even seven storeys high bears testimony to the city's greatness, even though it does not add to its territorial expansion. Since many of the buildings are made out of stone, they are not only beautiful but also strong. He describes the layout of the city, noting that the Seine, as it passes through the middle of Paris, seems to have cut the city into three islands. Crossing is only possible by bridges. Since they are built within short distances of each other, one can stumble on one of them in every corner of the city. Mehmet Efendi makes a little comparison and appraises Paris as "a city without equal, apart from Istanbul".[7]

According to the *sefaretname*, which proposes France as the embodiment of Europe in the Ottoman public opinion and which mostly speaks about "Françe" in particular and sometimes generally about "Evropa", free social life, science, and work are at the roots of European civilization. Mehmet Efendi continually

6 "Françe memalikinde zenânın itibarı, ricâline galib olmağla istediklerini işlerler ve murad ettikleri yerlere giderler. En âlâ beyzade en ednâsına hadden ziyade riayet ve hürmet ederler. Ol vilayetlerde hükümleri cârîdir" (Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi 1288/1872: 9).

7 "İstanbul'dan kat'-ı nazar bî-nazîr bir şehir" (Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi 1288/1872: 38).

draws attention to the coexistence of women and men in social life, to the order in working life, and to the innovation and progress in science and technology. As Unat points out, the work provided inspiration to a range of new measures taken by Grand Vizier Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa that were important in shaping the intellectual life of the country, from the introduction of the first official printing press to urban architecture in Istanbul. On the other hand, the success of Mehmet Efendi's mission served to further relations with France, abolishing existing prejudices about Turks and creating sympathy towards the Ottoman Empire (Unat 1992: 56).

> "For Yirmisekiz Çelebi was civil, smart and a freethinker in all his actions and dealings. He would frequent workshops of painters to commission portraits, not showing the slightest bit of the fanaticism attributed to Turks" (ibid.).

From sefaretname*s to personal travels: Mustafa Sami Efendi and Sadık Rifat Paşa*

Personal travelogues recounting individual, non-official impressions of travels to Europe started to be published around the mid-19th century, presenting perspectives different from those of the official reports. Two *risale*s (treatises, pamphlets) published in the mid-1800s are especially interesting because they include semi-official impressions about France and Europe. These two works, Mustafa Sami Efendi's *Avrupa Risalesi* ('Treatise on Europe') and Sadık Rifat Paşa's *Avrupa ahvâline dair risale* ('Treatise on the state of affairs in Europe'),[8] are the products of their writers' long years of diplomatic duty and experiences in Europe. They can neither be considered as purely official reports nor as purely civil travelogues and thus are representative of a shift from official to personal travel writing, or from *sefaretname*s to *seyahatname*s. The two *risale*s, which contain comparisons with Europe from various angles, show the influence of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi's *sefaretname*, but they were also themselves taken as examples for subsequent travelogues. Mustafa Sami Efendi and Sadık Rifat Paşa's ideas on matters such as education, economy, social welfare, justice, industrialization, urbanization, and ecology had an impact on subsequent travel writers such as Ahmet Midhat, Ahmet İhsan, Hüseyin Hulki, Halit Ziya, Cenap Şahabettin, Asmai, Fağfurizade Hüseyin Nesimi, Selim Sırrı, and Mehmet Celal. In the *risale*s of Mustafa Sami Efendi and Sadık Rifat Paşa there is extensive information regarding France as well as Europe, with the latter being introduced through the former.

After holding various offices related to the palace, Mustafa Sami Efendi (d. 1855) was appointed first secretary of the Ottoman embassy in Paris in 1838, *chargé*

8 See Mustafa Sami Efendi (1256/1840) and Sadık Rifat Paşa (1290/1874). The latter was written around 1838.

d'affaires in Vienna in 1846, and ambassador to Berlin directly thereafter.[9] As for Sadık Rifat Paşa (1807–57), he was a statesman with ample experience in Europe, having served two terms as Ottoman ambassador in Vienna and several terms as minister of foreign affairs. Apart from his *risale*, Sadık Rifat Paşa also wrote a travel account about Italy (*İtalya Seyahatnamesi*, 1838), which he visited on official mission during his time as ambassador in Vienna.

Through their usage of certain wording in the *risale*s, it becomes clear that these two statesmen were aware of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi's embassy report, and it would not be incorrect to say that they shared certain opinions with him. Considering the three works together, one notices similarities in the way the writers convey their impressions and choose the topics for their considerations on Europe. The clearest examples for these parallels are the descriptions of women's contributions to social life and the reflections on science, art, and educational activities. Mustafa Sami Efendi also directly refers to his predecessor when he remarks on the importance of reading Mehmet Efendi's *sefaretname* for those who wish to truly know Paris (Mustafa Sami Efendi 1256/1840: 23f.).

Mehmet Efendi, Sadık Rifat and Mustafa Sami were certainly conscious of what they were doing as they showcased their firsthand knowledge of European civilization in a period during which the Ottomans were intent on reform, and especially while insistently emphasizing the liberties in Europe, respectively France, in everyday life, the status of women, the progress in science and art, people's willingness to both work and create, the order and discipline in working life, and the importance given to the education of children and adolescents. Holding importance also in terms of being among the last of the *sefaretname*s to showcase Europe, *Avrupa Risalesi* and *Avrupa ahvâline dair risale* do not differ greatly from Mehmet Efendi's report in terms of the main concerns treated. With this in mind, it seems that the three Ottoman intellectuals' reports complete and support each other, and have contributed more to the Turkish history of reform than is assumed. The two later authors' insistence on the project of Europeanization even increases the significance of their texts as two of the last embassy reports.

Non-official travel accounts: the seyahatname*s*

Looking at Europe in the mid-19th century: United Kingdom and France

In the beginning of the reform movement, the Ottoman travellers' gaze towards Europe primarily focused on France; later travel works, however, tried to present Europe as a whole, a sphere of the new civilization at which the Ottoman Empire was aiming. This does not mean, of course, that the travellers in their de-

[9] For further information on Mustafa Sami Efendi and his *risale*, see Andı (2002) and Ercilasun (1983).

scriptions of the various European countries and societies only concentrated on the similarities; they also felt it necessary to point out the differences. This new outlook and the widening of travel destinations by the mid-19th century from France to Northern Europe, Great Britain and Germany, testify to the Ottomans' perceived need to learn about Europe's different regions. It was the *seyahatname*s that introduced wider knowledge about the United Kingdom, Austria, Germany, Scandinavia and the Mediterranean countries to the Ottoman-Turkish public during the modernization period: Not only did their authors provide in-depth geographical accounts, but they also provided information about the things that could not be seen in their own country. The writers' points of view vary in relation to the lands they visited and to their previous experiences. Some of them admire almost anything they lay their eyes on, while others are more careful with their judgements.

It was particularly the literary figures of the reform period known as the Tanzimat who, for various reasons, regularly went to Europe. The journalist İbrahim Şinasi (1826–71), although sent to Paris for an education in finance in 1849, worked on literature and language instead, and laid the first stone for the westernization of Turkish literature. In his newspaper articles, as well as in the travel notes *Paris'ten Londra'ya ve Hotel Metropole* ('From Paris to London and the Hotel Metropole', published in 1897) by Ebüzziya Tevfik (1849–1913), an acclaimed editor and publisher of the Tanzimat period, there are first hand impressions of Europe. The prominent writer, journalist and government official Namık Kemal (1840–88), who fled to Europe in order to engage in the activities of the oppositional Young Ottomans in 1867 after getting into conflict with the government because of his liberal views, never published a straightforward *seyahatname* but put down some solid observations on European civilization in his articles *Terakki* and *Londra*[10] dated 1872, as well as in some of his letters written while he was in Europe. His article *Terakki* is especially important as it showcases the level that the British and the European civilizations had reached, according to him, in terms of science and technology.

Another writer and poet of the same period is Abdülhak Hâmit (1852–1937), who spent a large part of his life in Europe due to various posts he held in the foreign office. He went to Paris in 1876 as the second secretary to the embassy, to London in 1886, to The Hague in 1895, and once more to London in 1897, where he stayed for several years, before moving to Brussels in 1906. He got to know European high society closely, observing from close proximity the quotidian life of the Europeans, their traditions and customs, and he gave a vivid account of his observations in his letters and memoirs. His impressions were not limited to the everyday life of Europeans and the foreign office entourage; he also elaborated especially on the nightlife of Paris and London. The experiences

10 'Progress' and 'London', respectively (Namık Kemal 1872a and 1872b).

he and other writers and poets made in Europe are reflected again and again in their literary works as well as in the political milieu of their homeland. However, for some reason, these literary figures contented themselves with touching shortly upon the time they spent in European countries in memoir passages, letters and various other writings, which is why I will not examine them further here and instead focus on travel writing proper.

The traveller Mehmet Rauf, about whom there is unfortunately not much biographic information, and who is sometimes mistaken for another Mehmet Rauf, the author of the novel *Eylül*, wrote an account of his trip to Europe in 1851. *Seyahatname-i Avrupa* ('Travel account of Europe') is one of the important works that reflect the gaze of an Ottoman towards Europe in the very middle of the 19th century; it is also through this book that the United Kingdom appears at great length for the first time in a travelogue.

The author, who embarked on a ship that brought Ottoman goods to the world's fair opening in London in that year, not only described the exposition but also carefully observed and expressed his opinion regarding the social life of the locals. One important aspect of the work is that it also delivers extensive information about the countries visited along the way, such as Malta, Italy, Austria, and Switzerland (the author left the ship halfway and continued his journey by train). London, the centre of the Industrial Era, had a deep impact on this young Ottoman traveller. He writes at length of the city's overcast weather, its orderly streets, numerous and spacious parks, museums, palaces, trade and industrial activities, the harbour as the main artery of commerce. One might postulate that Mehmet Rauf's attention was directed towards the social life and economy because of his desire to glean the secrets of material life in Europe.

During the winter, he writes, the majority of people retreated to the countryside since they could not stand the polluted air of London; thus, balls and soirées were organized during the summer as opposed to other major European cities, which held them in the winter. For entertainment and diversion, people went for a stroll "within the city gardens, called 'parks', each a one- or two-hour width, specially designed with large lakes and pleasant trees and adorned with grass."[11] Some of these parks were lit with thousands of oil and gas lamps for night strolls. While touching upon the French nightlife, Mehmet Rauf states that especially in Paris the public squares and arcades such as the Place Vendôme and the Place de la Concorde, and avenues such as the Champs-Élysées were sites of entertainment in their own right, and the main amusement of the people was to drive or walk around them by day and night. As in London, Paris also had mag-

11 "şehrin içinde beherinin bir-iki saat vüs'ati olmak üzere *park* tabir ettikleri mahsusen yapılmış pek vâsi' göller ve latif ağaçlar ve çimenler ile müzeyyen [bahçeler]" (Mehmet Rauf 1851: 28).

nificent parks "illuminated in various ways by lighting countless gas lamps"[12] especially for night walks, where those who wished could watch all sorts of dances being performed. There was even a garden roofed with iron and glass for winter entertainment. Mehmet Rauf also writes about the circus near these parks where "there are two extremely large and well-equipped equestrian theatres, where extraordinarily strange spectacles are performed."[13]

The anonymous *Seyahatname-i Londra* ('Travel account of London'),[14] dated 1852, is interesting in that it almost exclusively deals with the British capital. Its author, another visitor of the 1851 world exposition, describes London both in general and through small details, underscoring the city's importance for the British Empire by comparing it to the proverbially famous Persian city of Isfahan: "Just as Isfahan is said to be half of the world, we could now coin the proverb 'London is half of the United Kingdom' about this city..."[15]

The first thing that draws the traveller's attention is the abundance of people: Many people from all around the world had come to London for the exhibition, making a large and diverse crowd. Despite the smoggy weather caused by coal burning in the winter, he finds London's streets, houses, shops and offices perfect and everything in the city neat and orderly. The great docks on the bank of the Thames are described as being among the places that nurture the city economically. Although there were a few wooden buildings in London, he writes, most were made of stone and brick, such that there was little damage during fires. Having visited some of the palaces and churches in the city, he draws attention to the ornamentation in such places. He also found the opportunity to closely observe the everyday life of Britons and recounts in detail how they spent their time in the streets, cafés, pubs and gymnasiums. He hypothesizes that the ever-overcast weather of London caused its citizens to become addicted to entertainment activities.

His observations of the entertainment in music halls (*gazino*), which held an important place in the London nightlife, are quite interesting. The music there, he writes, was of such a high quality that it could make people insane with joy.[16] Since everyone was there for entertainment, the music hall ambiance aroused one's "passion and desire" (*sevda ve hevesini*, ibid.) and washed away all sorrow. The traveller tells how he enjoyed watching the best examples of polka dances and, although he was not familiar with the quadrille, could not resist when he

12 "türlü resm üzere hesapsız gazlar yakılarak aydınlatılmış" (Mehmet Rauf 1851: 38).

13 "İki adet gayetle cesim ve muntazam olmak üzere at canbazının tiyatrosu dahi olmağla fevkalade garîb oyunlar oynanılır" (ibid.).

14 The name of the author could not be determined.

15 "Şimdi biz dahi Isfahan nısf-ı cihan denildiği misillü Londra nısf-ı İngiltere meselini şehr-i mezkûr hakkında îrâd ederken..." (N. N. 1852: 14).

16 "muzikaların hevâları ve sadâları insanı deli etmek derecesinde neş'e-mend edecek" (N. N. 1852: 28).

was surrounded by several girls and one of them took him by the hand, inviting him to dance.

The author also noticed that contests and sports competitions were a major part of the entertainment life in London, prompting some unique descriptions we don't find in other travelogues, as for example when he relates how everyone, high or low, was enthusiastic about boxing so that a poor man mastering that sport could be supported by noblemen and make a fortune (N. N. 1852: 30). It is interesting how he not only pays attention to the sport and the sportsmen but also to those organizing the boxing games. The most successful boxer, he writes, was like a "national wrestling champion" (*millet başpehlivanı*) and had a special "badge" (*alâmet*). When someone else aspired to win this "badge", the author claims, a bare-knuckled fight "to the death" was held between the two boxers, and the victor then became the possessor of the "badge" (ibid.).[17] Apparently the word *alâmet* is used here to refer to what would be called a "championship belt" today.

The author of the *Seyahatname-i Londra* also notes the Britons' strange habits of entertainment and betting practices extending beyond boxing to dog and cock fights, rat coursing with greyhounds, beach entertainments, puppetry, circus, wrestling, horse racing, and soccer. Habits of entertainment and gambling were so common among Britons that even two stampeding cattle on the street were enough for butcher's apprentices to bet on. Since outright gambling was forbidden by law and people could not easily abandon those inclinations, the public satisfied their need with these sorts of races and bets.

The author also mentions the Britons' banquet procedures, remarking that male attendees were obliged to trim their moustaches and wear white neckties, gloves, a vest, black trousers and an open short tailcoat. The seating arrangement in official banquets was planned in advance and everyone sat only in the seat reserved for him or herself. Towards the end of the dinner, he writes, the women left the table all at once, while the men, with additional appetizers brought to the table, continued eating and drinking until they were fairly drunk. According to the traveller's observations, this habit was almost abandoned in London but still prevailed among the nobility in other cities of the United Kingdom. He notes that from high officials to members of the parliament, from factory workers to powerful rich men, everyone organized frequent banquets for those near them and all had a great time. According to him, there were ample private diners for banquets of three to five hundred guests. In these banquets, which at times lasted for hours, topics that had provided occasion for the gathering were discussed and resolutions made while the guests were entertained. Especially when a ball was organized, people met by midnight and enjoyed each other's company until sunrise.

[17] "Greek and Roman fist fighting was revived by the Britons in the 18th century. Britain's first champion was James Figg (1694–1733); Jack Broughton established the first boxing rules (*London Prize Ring Rules*, 1838). Bare-knuckle fights organized by wealthy supporters or bookmakers were common in Britain and the U.S." (N. N. 1992).

Gazes to Europe towards the end of the 19th century

By the end of the 19th century, there were a considerable number of Europe *sehayatname*s. Most prominent, however, are the two *seyahatname*s written by Ahmet Midhat and Ahmet İhsan, because they treat almost each and every topic encountered in the works of other travellers at great length. Among the travellers of this period, who had by now accepted the orientation towards Europe as a state policy, it was Ahmet Midhat Efendi (1844–1912) who presented the broadest view of Europe. This popular Tanzimat novelist and journalist is an interesting figure for his proximity to the Palace and for embodying the conservative Ottomanist point of view. After journeying through Europe in 1889 at the request of Sultan Abdülhamit II, he first serialized his travel impressions in the newspaper *Tercüman-ı hakikat* ('Interpreter of truth') and after a few years re-published them as a colossal work of 1044 pages entitled *Avrupa'da bir cevelan* ('A stroll in Europe', Ahmed Midhat 1308/1892). Maintaining a comparative perspective throughout his travel notes, the writer, partly out of adherence to the palace's politics at the time, appreciates Europe's "material progress" (*terrakiyât-ı maddiye*) but nevertheless alleges that the people of Europe, apart from the Northerners, are characterized by a "moral decadence" (*tedenniyât-ı maneviye*). The author's thoughts on the French likewise carry traces of his conservatism: According to Ahmet Midhat, Parisians do not even have a proper domestic life. Since they always dine in restaurants and always wear ready-made clothes, it is impossible for them to have the order and the warmth of a family in their home. The author's verdict on the disappearance of such an important part of civilization as the family in a city as advanced as Paris is:

> "What remains of the humanity of the creature we call human if it has not the relation and attachment to and love of a mother and father, children and siblings? And if this is so, wouldn't it be befitting of humanity for these people, who really need to be attached, to have relations and affinities also with grandmothers, grandfathers, uncles, aunts, in-laws, nephews and so on? By the looks of the civilization that I saw in Paris, all of these words should be omitted from dictionaries. For they are invalidated."[18]

When examining material elements, the author reasons like a civilizationist (*medeniyetçi*) with progressive ideas; however, when it comes to moral issues, he thinks like a moral purist (*ahlakçı*). He advocates that the elements constituting material civilization in Europe must be adopted without hesitation. Nevertheless, in doing so, no harm should be inflicted upon the customs, the ethics, the way of life proper to the Ottomans.

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18 "İnsan denilen mahlukta ana, baba, evlat, karındaş münasebeti merbutiyeti, muhabbeti de bulunmaz ise onun insanlığı neden ibaret kalır? Halbuki doğrudan doğruya mürtebit olmaları lazım gelen bu adamlarda bir de büyük valide, büyük peder, amca, dayı, hala, teyze, enişte, yenge, yeğen falan münasebetleri, muhabbetleri de bulunmak şân-ı insaniyetten değil midir? Paris'te gördüğüm medeniyete bakılır ise kamuslardan bu kelimelerin kâffesini tayyetmelidir. Zira hükümleri kalmamıştır" (Ahmet Midhat 1308/1892: 770).

The real particularity of this colossal work by Ahmet Midhat is that it is overflowing with detailed, almost scientific information on European countries such as France, Italy, Austria, and Germany, as well as the Northern European states. The quotidian lives of Europeans, their manners of working and entertainment, their habits, their considerations regarding Easterners: all are discussed at length and through comparative analysis in Ahmet Midhat's work. Considering that the Ottoman travellers before him did not provide much information on Scandinavian countries, the work is also important in geographical terms. At all the meetings he participated in, and in all the communities into which he was accepted, Ahmet Midhat made a great effort to represent the Ottomans in the best possible way.

The principle reason behind Ahmet Midhat's trip to Europe was to participate in the Stockholm Orientalists' Congress of 1889. Ahmet Midhat gives extensive information on almost every European he became acquainted with either at the congress or during his later travel, and in doing so, he tries to establish a generalization of the European individual. Being the first author to extensively introduce the Northern European regions to the Ottoman public, he thinks highly of their inhabitants. While comparing the Northerners with the other peoples in Europe, he makes a point of touching upon the difference between them in terms of morals, and he asserts that in spite of contributing to the progress of Europe in science and industry, they do not participate in moral indulgences.

Another traveller with a similarly critical approach to the European civilization, and especially to its people, is Asmaî. Asmaî went on his journey to Europe two years after Ahmet Midhat and visited a country that his predecessor did not: the United Kingdom, about which he did not harbour especially positive opinions. In his travel account *Seyahat-i Asmaî* ('Asmaî's journey', Asmaî 1308/1892), the author, who stayed in Britain for quite a while, concentrates mostly on the British family structure, the attitude towards foreigners, and social relationships. Being close to the worldview of Ahmet Midhat and following in the steps of his master who wrote that the French were morally low, Asmaî considers British people conceited and insincere and believes they bear enmity towards Islam. Additionally, when stating his thoughts on London, he proceeds with a feeling of constricted appreciation more than admiration. But this animosity can be explained: Asmaî began his trip to Europe in Egypt, and his journey coincides with a period of British colonial rule there. Against this background, the reason for his extremely negative attitude towards British people becomes more apparent.

Ahmet İhsan (1867–1942), the owner of the journal *Servet-i fünun* ('Wealth of knowledge') and an important actor in the westernization of Turkish literature, went on a trip to Europe in the spring of 1891 to observe the progress in printing technology. He conveyed the impressions of his journey in the voluminous, 600-pages *seyahatname*, *Avrupa'da ne gördüm* ('What did I see in Europe?', Ahmet İhsan 1307/1891). Ahmet İhsan was one of the period's intellectuals representing the Western conceptualization and advocating westernization both in the field of sci-

ence and technology and in the practices of everyday life. This is probably the most apparent difference between Ahmet Midhat and Ahmet İhsan. When describing "what he saw" in Europe, Ahmet İhsan is mostly impartial towards issues, milieu and people. He is aware that the ethics and way of life of European nations are part of the European civilization; that everything in Europe is part of a whole whose elements are causally related. For this reason he objects to those who claim that the French or other European nations are morally decadent. Objecting to Ahmet Midhat in particular – although he does not name him specifically –, he states that each society must be considered within the scope of its own values. There is not much difference between his views on material progress and technology and on the morals of people; he approaches them as a whole. Observed as such, it is remarkable how Ahmet İhsan's assessments regarding the French are the complete opposite of Ahmet Midhat's. Although Ahmet İhsan is in accord with him on many issues, from science and technology to architecture and museology, he is not as puritanical as Ahmet Midhat on issues regarding Parisians' morals.

In the section entitled *Hâtime, Paris'in hâli* ('Epilogue, Paris's condition', Ahmet İhsan 1307/1891: 141), Ahmet İhsan elaborates on the morals of the Parisian population, and compares the knowledge he acquired from certain sources before his travel with his own travel impressions on this subject. Before the journey, taking into account the novels he read and the claims of Ottoman journalists, he had presumed that the women of Paris were morally corrupt; however, throughout his journey he sees that this is not quite the case. He writes:

> "Generally the Parisian morals are quite well preserved. Even signs of high morality are widespread. What has misled the gaze has only ever been the outward looks of things! For example, a man who comes to Paris and goes for a walk at night through the boulevards would confirm the claims of our journalists if his thinking succumbs to the outward appearance; however, if you dig a little bit below the surface and analyze in depth, a truth will emerge before you, which is that the morals have been well preserved."[19]

These words are not only his views but also a critique of the writers preceding him – especially Ahmet Midhat – who gave false information regarding the Parisians' ethics. According to Ahmet İhsan, Parisian women do not have low morals, as others believe; instead of giving too much credit to the 'outward appearance', people should base their judgments on their own observations. Insisting that Parisians are not morally decadent, the author later often likens the joyful attitude of the people in the countries he visited afterwards to the joy of the Parisians. For example, he states that the people of Rotterdam, in fact all Dutch citizens,

[19] "Umumiyet itibariyle Paris ahlâkı pek mazbutçadır. Hem ahlâk-ı ulviye âsârı cümleye yayılmıştır. Nazarları aldatan hâl hep delâil-i hariciye imiş! Meselâ Paris'e girip geceleri bulvarları şöyle dolaşan adamın fikri delâil-i hariciyeye kapılarak gazetecilerimizin iddiasını tasdik eyler; fakat biraz müşkülpesent olur da derin tedkik ederseniz pîşgâhınızda bir hakikat tezahür eder ki o da ahlâkın mazbutiyetidir" (Ahmet İhsan 1307/1891: 141).

"have the joy of Paris and are good-humoured and happy" people (Ahmet İhsan 1307/1891: 287).

In his travel writing, countries such as the United Kingdom, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, and notably France are lengthily showcased. Ahmet İhsan does not content himself with describing what he saw; he also tries to get to the core of issues by asking questions and seeking answers, in particular the factors that played a part in the fast development of Europe. One of the main reasons he discovers is the fact that the Europeans take possession of their own past and make good use of what they have in the present. In the important European countries, works are executed within pre-established plans; education, art, culture, communication, and everyday life seem to be in cohesion. It is impossible to separate one from the other, because all of them are embedded in the lives of Europeans in a complementary way. According to Ahmet İhsan, the main characteristics of Europeans are their courtesy, the esteem shown to women, the fact that they know both how to work and how to enjoy themselves, and that they go about their lives without wasting time. Even though he resorts to comparisons from time to time, Ahmet İhsan seems to have mostly grasped that Europeans have their own way of living.

From the 19th to the 20th century: The widening concept of Europe and the orientation towards Germany

There is a shift in the destination of trips to Europe around the turn of the 20th century that coincides with the Ottoman State's affiliation with Germany, a realignment which caused the latter to be recast as the real centre of Europe. Journalists, scientists, politicians, soldiers etc. went on many trips to Germany and published their travel impressions.

In his three-volume work *Seyahat hatıraları* ('Travel memories')[20], Şerefeddin Mağmumi (1869–1927), a Young Turk who was instrumental in paving the way for the Ottoman Empire's Second Constitutional Era and who went to Europe at the end of the 19th century, makes extensive comparisons between cities in European countries such as the United Kingdom, Italy, Belgium and Germany on the one hand, and Istanbul and Egypt, which he considers one of the most developed places in the Orient, on the other. With special attention to urban planning, Mağmumi advocates that new planning, such as that present in European cities, be done for Istanbul and Egypt. This is an argument voiced almost since the beginning of the Tanzimat in regard to the problems of urbanization. But despite the familiarity of his argument, Mağmumi's attitude towards Europe is especially interesting to the extent that he focuses on matters such as population, urbaniza-

[20] Only the last two volumes are about Europe: Şerefeddin Mağmumi (1326/1910 and 1330–33/1914–17).

tion, the meaning that buildings bear for nations and citizens, and the stratification in the society, and that he specifically stresses the importance of institutions in these matters. Museums hold an essential place among these institutions, drawing attention to the importance Europeans accord to the "old". The British Museum has a special place in Mağmumi's travel notes. Describing this museum in comparison to other great ones in Europe, the author not only introduces it but he also stresses the institution's importance in Great Britain's history (Şerefeddin Mağmumi 1326/1910: 118–130).

Having sojourned in Berlin for ten days during his trip to Europe, Şerefeddin Mağmumi first draws attention to the cleanliness, the beauty and the prosperity of Friedrichstraße, one of the city's biggest avenues. Both sides of the street are lined with tall buildings, grand hotels, nice restaurants and pubs, shiny stores and shops. The avenue's only problem is that it is narrower compared to other great avenues. Going for a short walk on another major avenue, Unter den Linden, Mağmumi specifically mentions the trees and awnings there. He relays detailed information on the libraries, the Tiergarten park, the museums, the opera, and several churches, palaces and squares, which he visited during his stay in Berlin. All this information comes down to the civilization that Germany has built throughout centuries.

It is in Mağmumi's work that we see the first traces of the admiration for Germany that will become apparent in travel accounts at the beginning of the 20th century. Though not entirely different from travellers to Germany of the previous periods, such as the middle and end of the 19th century, it is easy to catch glimpses of a Young Turk's signature in his notes. It should be noted that when the Tanzimat was drawing near, 'Europe' meant France and travellers wrote of their opinions regarding Europe in that perspective, whereas in Mehmet Rauf's *Seyahatname-i Avrupa* and in the second volume of Şerefeddin Mağmumi's travel work the discourse is centred upon Great Britain. This demonstrates how the axis slowly shifted and diversified. The fact that Mağmumi turns the course of his travel towards Germany in the third volume of his travel memoirs should not be overlooked, considering that he is a Young Turk. The meaning that a traveller attributes to the concept of Europe shows differences according to his approach and his travel map.

After a short period of time, as we have pointed out above, Germany would become the favourite country of Europe and along with Mağmumi, many more would embark on extended journeys to Germany. It seems as if, for Ottoman travellers around the turn of the 20th century, all the positive associations of the word 'Europe' now only meant 'Germany'. Having been introduced through its museums, certain state institutions, and some of its cities in the travelogues of Ahmet Midhat and Ahmet İhsan, and described in detail in Mağmumi's travel notes, Germany now came to be written about extensively by writers such as: Ce-

lal Nuri (1882–1936),[21] renowned for his westernizing ideas in the 1920s; Halit Ziya (1865–1945),[22] a famous novelist representing the westernizing approach of the literary movement *Servet-i fünun* (named after the journal); Mehmet Akif (1873–1936),[23] who, although supporting Ottomanism-Islamism, did not refrain from voicing his admiration for the German civilization after travelling to Berlin in 1914 (where he was shown – for propaganda purposes, of course – a special prisoner camp for Muslim captives, who enjoyed privileged treatment); the statesman Mehmet Celal (1863–1926),[24] who wrote a propagandistic travel account emphasizing German strength, ability and valour; and Cenap Şahabettin (1871–1934),[25] a *Servet-i fünun* poet who came to know Western life by living in Paris for four years and travelling around Europe towards the end of the 1910s. The reason behind this increased interest is, of course, the political rapprochement: The affiliation between the Ottoman Empire and Germany that led the two countries to become allies in World War I paved the way for travellers to turn their steps toward this particular country.

The travels of the five writers stated above all took place during the 1910s; aside from that of Celal Nuri, all trips coincide with World War I. Among them, Halit Ziya presented Germany most extensively, discussing his observations and experiences in his 'Letters from Germany' and his conclusions in 'German life', always speaking positively about "our ally". The fact that he positions Germany at the centre of his travel notes and that he designates Germans as role models cannot be considered apart from the political developments of the period. A *seyahatname* published during World War I full of praise for opposing countries such as France, the United Kingdom, or Italy would be against the aura of the time. If writers turned their gaze towards Germany from these lands previously praised and deemed the centre of civilization, it was due to the politics of the state and public sensitivity.

Halit Ziya went on his first journey to Europe in 1889 and was deeply impressed and amazed, being still very young. The same admiring gaze is expressed in his 1915 travel letters, though this time directed specifically at Germany. For him, the civilization that Germany built through its people, its administration and institutions, and the progress it showed, embodied all of the innovations built by the European civilization. According to Halit Ziya, who elaborates especially on the importance of educational institutions, European civilization was equivalent to Germany. This bias, which began with Celal Nuri and continued with Halit Ziya, can also be observed in Cenap Şahabettin, who also writes at

21 *Şimal hatıraları* ('Northern memories') and *Kutup musahabeleri* ('Polar conversations'), Celal Nuri (1330/1914 and 1331/1915).
22 *Almanya mektupları* ('Letters from Germany') and *Alman hayatı* ('German life'), Halit Ziya (1915 and 1916).
23 *Berlin hatıraları* ('Berlin memories'), Mehmet Âkif (1943).
24 *Almanya'daki ihtisâsâtım* ('My impressions in Germany'), Mehmet Celal (1917).
25 *Avrupa mektupları* ('Letters from Europe'), Cenap Şahabettin (1335/1919).

length about the issue of education, attempting an analysis of the German educational system and institutions. Clearly revealing the underlying rationale of speaking about a friendly and allied country, the poet is convinced that Germany was constantly rising higher on the four pillars of education, army, industry, and economy; and while discussing professional life in Germany, he points out the impact military discipline had on the industrial sector. Halit Ziya and Cenap Şahabettin's minds were sharp enough to spot the important role that Germans would play in 20th-century history.

General evaluation

The European culture and civilization with which the Ottomans came into contact starting from the 15th century have been examined in various ways since the first days of this contact. Especially during and after the Tanzimat, works translated from European languages, source books introducing European countries, newspaper articles, etc. constituted an important means of familiarizing Ottoman subjects with the continent. In the period just before the Tanzimat and afterwards, the *sefaretname*s and *seyahatname*s played a role that should not be underestimated in conveying information about Europe in a relatively direct way through firsthand accounts. Moreover, it can be said without doubt that Europe was presented *primarily* by means of the reports and accounts of ambassadors and travellers.

During the Tanzimat period, when bilateral relations between the Ottoman Empire and European countries grew closer off the battlefield as well, ambassadors on both sides directly supported the process of mutual acquaintance through their reports, which at times would reach book-length. A little later, the vast number of travel accounts written by European and Ottoman travellers extended the depth and breadth of this acquaintance, presenting the individual European countries and peoples as well as European culture and civilization as a whole.

As westernization became increasingly prominent on the Ottoman political and intellectual agenda, the travel routes began to change noticeably. To be sure, there were also travellers who journeyed to Africa or Central Asia and recounted for their countrymen what they had seen. But the 19th-century Ottoman travellers towards Europe amounted to a veritable 'travel caravan'. Of course, even the greatest number of travel accounts cannot capture a whole civilization in all its aspects; however, the impact which the images of Europe and the Europeans that they created had on the Ottoman public opinion should not be underestimated. The fact that travel notes were often immediately published in newspapers or printed as books soon afterwards indicates the extent of their importance. What it was that the Ottoman public apparently wanted to learn about Europe can be seen in the notes of the travellers: Nearly all of them elaborate at length on European day-to-day life, entertainment venues and the experiences therein, educa-

tional and scientific institutions, and the order and discipline observed in working life – all of which was aimed at projecting a complete image of European social life. Whereas certain travellers, such as Ebüzziya Tevfik and Mehmet Rauf, were generally content with recounting their own experiences, others such as Ahmet Midhat, Ahmet İhsan, Cenap Şahabettin, and Halit Ziya felt it necessary to relay additional information on countries and cities from a number of different sources. This was due as much to the desire to base their impressions on solid ground as to their effort to produce a satisfying and objective work for the reader.

Regarding the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, one has to be more cautious in the assessment of the *seyahatname*s' practical benefits. The increase in the number of illustrated newspapers and periodicals, the remarkable development of the media, and the fact that knowledge acquired on Europe could be transmitted quickly through these means lessened the informational value of the *seyahatname*s. Particularly after the turn of the 20th century, they have to be viewed rather as a form of individual expression. Thus, just as the ambassadorial reports, which had addressed a specific audience and remained more or less within the official circles, had been followed by the *seyahatname*s, which were addressed to a wider audience, these non-official travelogues themselves gradually handed their functions over to other means of yet broader dissemination.

In several Turkish studies of the history of westernization and modernization in the Ottoman Empire (e.g. by İlber Ortaylı, Mümtaz Turhan, Hilmi Ziya Ülken), special importance is given to a few primary sources, such as Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi's *Fransa Sefaretnamesi* and the *risale*s written by Mustafa Sami Efendi and Sadık Rifat Paşa. However, if we look closely, almost all of these are introducing a France-centred Europe to the Ottoman public. While it is true that the Ottomans gave priority to France in the beginning of the modernization movement, we should not overlook the fact that subsequent travel writers exposed the rich diversity of the European map. It was by means of travelogues that the Ottoman public learned about the existence of different cultures and lifestyles in the various countries of Europe, which had been previously perceived as a unified body within the conceptualization of 'Christianity'. Thanks to the *seyahatname*s, Turkish readers in the Ottoman modernization period gained an extensive knowledge not only of France but also of the United Kingdom, Austria, Germany, Scandinavian and Mediterranean countries. Even though some countries received particular attention at certain periods, the majority of the travel writers had a more general approach. As mentioned above, this was based mainly on Europe's broadly shared development in the domains of science and technology.

Many of the *seyahatname* writers 'packed' their works with almost anything they deemed interesting and that they thought would arouse the attention of the readers. Their stated aim in doing so was, to a great extent, to 'be beneficial', to ensure that their readers were informed about the modern world. While producing their works with this purpose, some of these travellers analyzed Europe with a critical

mind, such as Ahmet Midhat, while others did it with admiration, like Ebüzziya Tevfik. But even those who hesitated on spiritual and moral issues unconditionally accepted Europe's superiority in areas such as urbanization, education, art and labour. The principal areas in which all authors of *seyahatname*s agreed on the superiority of Europe can be enumerated as: economy, industry, conveniences that technology provided in daily life, the participation of women in social life, the education of children and young adults, healthcare, conservation of historical artefacts, absolute openness to innovations, fine arts, urbanization, transportation, architecture, respect for the human and human rights, governments tolerating a diversity of ideas, etc. The travellers' sympathetic impressions regarding these issues are generally based on their own observations, made in museums, hospitals, schools, harbours, stations, factories, workshops, restaurants, shopping centres, entertainment venues, theatres and so on. Almost all the travellers are in accord with the great leap of Europe in the domain of science and technology, sometimes emphasizing this aspect even to the point of tiresome repetition.

Regarding modern urbanization works in Europe and the new regulations in this field, lengthy descriptions in travelogues are dedicated especially to urban planning and the construction of roads and squares in the prominent 19th-century capitals of Paris, London and Vienna. The travellers also show great interest in the presentation of scientific and technological knowledge, such as industrial exhibitions, zoological and botanical gardens, and in its results, such as new means of transportation and communication, large factories and work houses. Likewise, schools and anatomy classrooms as places of applied education, and galleries of fine art are reflected in the travel works. Theatres and opera houses are treated both as institutions where these performing arts were actively followed and as illustrious architectural monuments. In churches, the travellers talk about the architectural characteristics and beautiful artwork rather than religiosity, and in palaces and castles about their history, art and architecture. Museums, monuments and historical buildings are presented as reminders that all elements of culture and civilization are to be protected and meticulously preserved, and that history is revered in Europe.

The idea that steam power, the press and freedom had a great impact on the rapid development of the European civilization is either directly or implicitly expressed by almost all of the travellers. Immediately after this comes the affirmation that civilization depends substantially on human beings, and as such the value and importance attributed to the human being in European countries is among the main issues upon which travellers dwell. Countries develop and civilization progresses by virtue of human determination and industriousness. The idea is commonly accepted among the travellers that Europeans execute each task with perseverance and diligence and that they are and will be successful in every single endeavour. The assiduousness of the European person who "works day and night," and the fact that he or she spares time for entertainment as much as for

work are some of the points that attracted the travellers' attention. Parallel to people's orderliness and their sensibility to comply with the laws of the state and the rules of the society, the travellers maintain that administrators for their part strove to make the lives of people easier and to better serve them. It can be assumed that the aim of mentioning these matters was proposing solutions to problems within the Ottoman state government. In fact, this is a characteristic already seen in the reports of ambassadors.

The fact that the same approach can be found in *sefaretname*s and in the *seyahatname*s that replaced them indicates the travellers' desire for a similar situation to fall into place in their own country. In Europe, justice, education, law, art, politics, technology, in sum *everything*, was supposedly at the service of the people. It was believed that the fact that Europeans had a mindset that did not differentiate between genders greatly contributed to their accomplishment. In education, entertainment, business, court etc., i.e. in every area of life, men and women were together; their rights and duties were equal. The important thing was not man or woman, but the society. Nevertheless, women were accorded privileges in certain special circumstances; men were always courteous to women and assisted them at receptions and in public places.

The travellers insistently underline certain points where they noticed Europe's superiority in order to support the attempts of reform within the Ottoman State and to contribute to quickly meeting the requirements to reach Europe's level. Absolute reformists such as Ahmet İhsan, Ebüzziya Tevfik, and Celâl Nuri aside, even writers such as Ahmet Midhat and Mehmet Âkif, who adhered to a traditional view of life and culture and who felt the necessity of touching upon the drawbacks of westernization, seem to support the Ottoman State in putting into practice the reforms that advanced Europe. Whatever their worldview, all the travellers appear to agree on this matter. The disagreement originates from the approaches to such matters as moral philosophy, family life, entertainment styles, and the relationship between genders.

In the Europe perceived by the *seyahatname* writers, all institutions are like the constituents of a whole, interlocking with and complementing each other. Science and agriculture, industry and trade, entertainment and art, education and technology, urbanization and ecology, economy and justice – even those parts that seem unrelated – are invariably intertwined within a system that runs like clockwork. The concept of institutionalization appears to be the factor that creates coherence in all of the European countries. Some travellers who trace the causes of the countries' prosperity also touch upon the issue of colonialism and make denunciatory statements; but in the end, even they praise Europeans for advancing civilization. They are also aware that, in order to 'protect civilization', prominent European countries such as France, Great Britain and Germany needed to possess powerful regular armies. Endeavours and reforms in this field find their echoes in the travelogues.

Generally speaking, the travellers journeyed through Europe with feelings of marvel and admiration. However, they also knew how to get to the bottom of matters: by resorting to analogies while analyzing European institutions, by making new and constructive suggestions for their country, by comparing the European people with the Ottomans on various levels, and by contrasting countries with each other.

Europe was not just considered a colourful and lively picture; they also evaluated the ways in which this picture came to life. Conscious that they were gazing at a different world, and exploring the reasons for this difference, the travel writers experienced the sadness of being on the outside of a superior civilization instead of being a part of it, and they reacted to this experience. Especially writers such as Mustafa Sami Efendi, Sadık Rifat Paşa, Ahmet Midhat Efendi, Fağfurizade Hüseyin Nesimi, Ahmet İhsan, and Şerefeddin Mağmumi put forward 'program'-like proposals on various matters and included constructive comparisons. For all their biased perspective, even Celal Nuri, Halit Ziya and Cenap Şahabettin reiterate these constructive suggestions. The impressions that all these writers gained on their travels can be combined like pieces of a puzzle to create a big picture of Ottoman images of Europe. There are different colours, different lights and shades that constitute the whole. The travellers either openly or indirectly expressed their wish to see in the Ottoman Empire the same progress and advances that they had witnessed in Europe. They saw Europe as a model for an easier life, a life of liberty and without fear that they wanted to achieve in their own country.

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Ottoman travel accounts to Europe

An overview of their historical development and a commented researchers' list

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This article is a result of my work in the research project "Europe from the outside"[1] at the Institute of Oriental and Asian Studies at Bonn University. While approaching the subject of Ottoman travel accounts to Europe, I found that it was hard to get a good and comprehensive yet concise overview of the existing primary and secondary literature. There are a number of partial overviews listing specific types of reports (e.g. diplomatic reports) or the most prominent and (in the eyes of the respective researcher) interesting examples, and there are a lot of studies dealing with individual travel accounts, but what I was missing was a) an introduction to the genre as a whole that focuses not on individual aspects but on the outline of the historical development as a genre, and b) a complete list of the primary sources with editions, translations, and possibly even the most important secondary literature.

I did not find such an overview or list and so started compiling them myself, as doubtlessly many other researchers have done before. The result of this work up to now is what I want to present in this article to share it with the research community and so hopefully facilitate the work of other researchers, particularly those addressing questions which cannot be sufficiently answered by looking at a few individual texts but need a broader foundation of source texts.[2] I also hope to further open up the subject to scholars from other fields than Ottoman studies who do not speak Turkish but are examining travel accounts in other literatures. For this purpose I have tried to include into the bibliography as many English (but also German and French) translations and studies as possible.

The structure of this article is as follows: After a short discussion of the existing research literature and of the aims and scope of the article itself, I will give an outline of the historical development of the Ottoman travel account to Europe which incorporates a list of all the individual authors of such accounts that I could find. This list is arranged in chronological order and includes information on the nature and destination of the respective journeys as well as non-biblio-

1 For more on this project, see www.europava.uni-bonn.de.

2 Cf., for example, Suraiya Faroqhi's comment on the question of 'values' among Ottomans and Europeans (Faroqhi 2009: 86), or Denise Klein's observations on the "apparent evolution of the *sefâretnâme* genre in the course of the eighteenth century" as "another subject that deserves study" based on "a larger sample" (Klein 2010: 100).

graphical comments in footnotes.[3] Since I will argue that the history of the Ottoman travel account to Europe can be perceived as consisting of three broad periods, the list is divided into three corresponding sections, each of which will be followed by remarks about the texts and their context. Apart from this periodization, I also want to point out certain circumstances which suggest that the diplomatic accounts known as *sefâretnâme*s can be seen as not just a related genre but as an integral part of the genre of the Ottoman travel account. Finally, the bibliographical information for each travelogue (secondary literature, translations, editions and facsimile prints) will be provided in a separate list, along with the bibliography. Because of its length, this bibliographical part has been moved to the end of this book.

Overview of the research literature and scope of this article

As stated above, there are a number of 'partial overviews' of the material available on Ottoman travel. On the one hand, there is the detailed and comprehensive work of Bâki Asiltürk (Asiltürk 2000a and, in a more concise form, Asiltürk 2009), which covers a lot of Ottoman travel accounts. However, it does not attempt to include all of them, it does not have an index of personal names, and it makes comparatively few references to secondary literature on the individual works. Another meritorious book containing a lot of information on the evolution of the genre but focusing on a different subject, viz. the historical development of the Ottoman attitude towards Europe, was published by İbrahim Şirin in 2006 (2nd ed.: Şirin 2009). This, too, however, is only based on a selection of travel accounts.

On the other hand, there do exist several short, concise overviews with a claim to completeness for a specific type of travel account, namely the *sefâretnâme*s, i.e. official reports of Ottoman envoys to foreign countries.[4] All of these works, however, explicitly or implicitly, regard the *sefâretnâme*s as a separate genre, not as a part of the genre of Ottoman travel accounts as a whole. The same apparently holds true for Asiltürk (2000b), who compiled a very valuable bibliography of

[3] For the sake of clarity, all bibliographical information is given in the appendix at the end of this book.

[4] The most up-to-date studies here are Afyoncu (2009, 1st ed. 2007) for all Ottoman *sefâretnâme*s up to 1845, and Yalçınkaya (2010, in English) for those up to 1797; the most comprehensive information is still given by Unat (1992) (orig. 1941, supplemented and published by B.S. Baykal in 1968). Furthermore, there are overviews by Süslü (1981/82, in French), Yalçınkaya (1996), Tuncer – Tuncer (1997), as well as the lists in Korkut (2007: 235–7) and Şirin (2009: 145–51). Unat (1992) and Süslü (1981/82) also list prints and the repositories of the manuscripts. An overview of the research literature on *sefâretnâme*s is provided in Korkut (2003) (which also includes a list of printed *sefâretnâme*s) as well as, in footnotes, in Afyoncu (2009). An account of their development is given by Beydilli (2007) (re-published in slightly modified form as Beydilli's part of Bozkurt – Beydilli 2009). See also the section on 'general reading' at the end of the bibliographical list (see end of book).

primary sources which meant to include all works of travel writing in Turkish literature, but excludes almost all of the *sefâretnâme*s.[5] Such an approach, while not denying the existence of a relationship between diplomatic reports and travel accounts, nevertheless perpetuates an a priori division between them, neglecting the possibility of texts belonging simultaneously to different genres.

The present article, while being indebted to all the works mentioned above, attempts to see these texts from a new, more general and more inclusive angle in the hope that this may help others to discover new relations between the different members of the genre of travel accounts. At the same time, in combination with the appendix at the end of this book, it provides the kind of comprehensive yet concise reference list of Ottoman travel reports to Europe I wished for. In preparing this list, I have tried to cover *all* Ottoman travellers to Europe who wrote an account (even though there are probably some missing, see below), and attempted to give the most important secondary literature on their respective works as well as editions, translations (into modern Turkish, English, German and, to a certain degree, also French[6]) and facsimile prints. As far as I know, this is also the first general introduction to the subject in English, together with Bâki Asiltürk's contribution to this volume.

Naturally, there have to be certain limitations as to the scope of this article. Thus, it does not attempt to cover Turkish travel literature as a whole but restricts itself a) to travels to Europe, including a few accounts of voyages to other regions *via* Europe;[7] b) to the Ottoman period, making an externally motivated and in a certain sense 'artificial' cut in the year 1923, when the Republic of Turkey was founded;[8] and c) to Ottoman-Turkish texts,[9] leaving aside accounts by Ottoman subjects in other languages.[10] Another unavoidable limitation is that

5 It also does not give information on secondary sources and is arranged only according to authors' names, not chronologically.

6 This selection does not, of course, imply in any way that there isn't any important research literature in other languages. Some information on research in Russian and Polish, for example, may be found in Conermann (1999).

7 For Ottoman travel accounts to other regions see e.g. Palabıyık (2012), Herzog – Motika (2000) and Le Gall (1990).

8 Texts that were written (or first published) after 1923 are generally not included here, even if they describe travels before that date.

9 With the exception of the accounts of Mahmud Râif Efendi (1793–7) and Zeyneb Hanım (1906–13) (and possibly also the anonymous illustrated *sefâretnâme/seyâhatnâme*, 1834/5), which were written in French or English – see their respective entries in the lists in this article.

10 The most prominent example here is certainly Rifāʿa aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī, who wrote a highly influential report in Arabic about an educational mission sent to France in 1826–31 by the then governor of Egypt, Muhammad Ali. Although Egypt was *de facto* largely independent at the time, it was officially still part of the Ottoman Empire. On Arabic-language travel accounts to Europe, see e.g. Newman (2001, 2002 and 2008), Matar (2009), Zolondek (1971), and (in Arabic) Ḏākir (2005); on Ṭahṭāwī's report, see also Bekim Agai's contribution in this volume. Another highly interesting topic which has scarcely been studied is

the list only covers the minority of travellers who actually wrote about their travel experiences (or, in some cases, had someone write about it), excluding the far greater number of those whose stories were told only orally or not at all. The influence and currency such oral accounts may have had is of course nearly impossible to determine today; nevertheless, as Suraiya Faroqhi has emphasized, it shouldn't be forgotten (Faroqhi 2004: 181).[11]

Finally, it lies in the nature of a research list like this that it can never be entirely complete – neither in regard to the secondary literature nor even in regard to the primary sources themselves. I will have overlooked a few, and there will be more texts discovered in the future. So, even as it is printed, this list will probably become outdated again. However, there is a way to address this problem: I will publish a version of the list online,[12] and I am asking every reader and researcher using it to e-mail me with improvements, supplementations and suggestions so that I can update the list regularly to keep it up-to-date and make it as complete within its scope as possible.[13] In this interactive way, I hope to achieve my above-stated primary purpose to provide a reference list for researchers in the field of Ottoman travel accounts to Europe.

What reports are there? An attempt at a broad periodization

In this section, I will provide the Ottoman travel accounts to Europe that we know of, suggest a rough periodization of their development based on very general criteria such as their nature and frequency, and try to correlate this with historical events. I will not go into much detail about individual reports, but will indicate a few aspects where I think such a more detailed look might be useful to obtain a 'higher resolution' of the overall image.

If one pictures the development of the Ottoman travel account to Europe on a timeline, where each individual report known to us today is represented by a separate mark (see figure 1 below), one can distinguish at once two main phases. From the beginning of the eighteenth century on, the number of reports starts to increase markedly, and this tendency continues, with a few short interruptions, right up to the end of the Ottoman Empire (and also during Republican times

travel literature by Ottoman Greeks (see e.g. Minaoglou 2007); many thanks to Konstantinos Gogos, who is working on the topic himself, for bringing this to my attention.

11 Further literature on travellers with and without travel reports can be found, for diplomatic travellers, e.g. in Yalçınkaya (2003) and in Yurdusev (ed.) (2004). For non-diplomatic travellers, it is even harder to keep track; some information about the different groups of Ottoman travellers to Europe can be found e.g. in Aksan (2004), and Faroqhi (2004: 178–181). On Ottoman prisoners of war, see e.g. Yanıkdağ (1999) and Hitzel (2003).

12 See www.bfo.uni-bonn.de/projekte/ottoman-travel-accounts.

13 It goes without saying that any help provided will be gratefully acknowledged in the online document.

until today). Before that, however, in the early period from the end of the 15th century until around the year 1700, Ottoman travel accounts to Europe are few and far between.

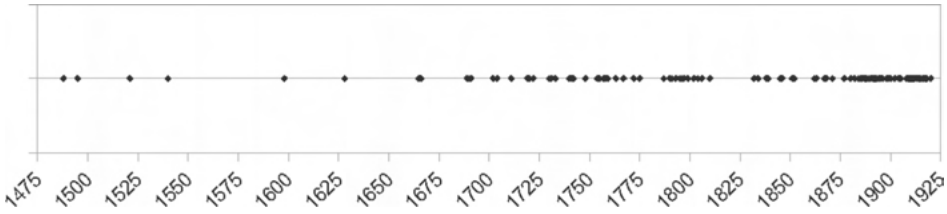

Figure 1: Frequency of Ottoman travel accounts to Europe

The authors[14] of travel accounts from this early phase are listed below according to the chronological order of their journeys; the list will be continued in the same way for the proposed second and third periods. In those cases where I was not able to determine the year(s) of the actual journey, I have given the year in which the text was written or first published, preceded by the small letter b (for 'before or in').

The capital letters in the second column of the table indicate the nature of the travel account: 'D' stands for diplomatic accounts and is supplemented by a small letter s – i.e. 'Ds' – for those diplomatic accounts which are counted among the *sefâretnâmes*[15]; 'P' is for accounts of prisoners-of-war; 'O' is for other accounts.

The third column states the name of the traveller and (in brackets and italics) the title of the work(s). The last column gives the main European countries visited during the journey.[16]

14 In some cases there is more than one name associated with a text, e.g. if an ambassador had someone from his delegation write his report for him. Such cases are always explained in the footnotes. In the spelling of Ottoman personal names and book or manuscript titles throughout this article I have used a simplified transliteration based on that of the *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (vol. 1: İmlâ esasları, no page numbers).

15 For an explanation of this term see below, after the second part of the list. I have indicated in footnotes attached to the respective entry those cases where there is no general agreement in the research literature over whether a text is a *sefâretnâme*.

16 This last column is supposed to serve purely for orientation; it does not represent a complete list of all the countries visited by the respective traveller. In particular, the transit stations are often missing, although many reports give more or less extensive information on these, too (cf. e.g. Oğuz Karakartal's collection of excerpts from the accounts of Ottoman and Turkish travellers passing through Italy on their way to other countries of Europe; Karakartal 2003: 125–156).

The first period: 'exceptional travel accounts'

1482–95	O	Cem Sultan / Anonymous (*Vâkıʿât-ı Sultan Cem*)[17]	France, Italy
1495[18]	D[19]	Hâcı Zaganos	Austria
b.1521	O	Pîrî Reis (*Kitâb-ı Bahriyye*)	Mediterranean
ca. 1540[20]	D	Hidâyet Çavuş	Austria
1597–99	P	Maʿcuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi (*Ser-güzeşt-i esîrî-i Malta*)	Malta
1625–32	P	Esîrî Hüseyin bin Mehmed	Malta
1665	Ds	Kara Mehmed Paşa	Austria
1665[21]	O	Evliyâ Çelebi (*Seyâhatnâme*)	Austria, Hungary, Balkans, Russia
ca. 1685–93	P	Süleyman Ağa[22]	France

[17] After the death of his father Mehmed II, Cem Sultan lost the battle for succession against his brother Bâyezid and fled to the Knights of St. John on Rhodes, from where he was brought to France and later to Italy. An account of his life and his experiences in Europe is given in the *Vâkıʿât-ı Sultan Cem* written years later by one of his companions – possibly his secretary Haydar Bey (cf. Vatin 1997: 86f., Hitzel 2003b: 28 and İnalcık 2004: 80f., note 2). A modified version of the text is known under the title *Gurbetnâme-i Sultan Cem* (İnalcık 2004: 66 and 81, note 3).

[18] The report is undated. Unat (1992) and Baykal (who revised and completed the work after Unat's death) believe the year of the delegation to be "before 1462" (p. 44), and in the table on p. 221 give 1443 as the date (see also Karamuk 1975: 289). In the absence of a better alternative, Unat tentatively identifies the signatory "Hâcı Zaganos" as the vizier of Sultan Mahmud II, Zaganos Paşa (on him, see e.g. Savvides 1999). Süslü (1981/82: 238), Yalçınkaya (1996b: 331) and Şirin (2009: 147) apparently follow this view, giving dates around 1460. However, G. Karamuk convincingly argues that the envoy Hâcı Zaganos is not identical with the vizier Zaganos Paşa and that the year of the delegation has to be 1495 (Karamuk 1975: 288–300, esp. 296).

[19] The diplomatic accounts of Hâcı Zaganos and Hidâyet Çavuş are often mentioned in connection with the *sefâretnâme*s, but are usually not counted among them.

[20] Süslü (1981/82) gives 1544 as the year of Hidâyet Çavuş's delegation but does not list a report by him. Şirin (2009: 147) and Yalçınkaya (1996b) give the date as 1540 (the latter with a question mark). See also Unat (1992: 44).

[21] Date of Evliyâ's trip to Vienna in the delegation of the envoy Kara Mehmed Paşa. Evliyâ's report about this visit was written much later, around 1683, as part of his ten-volume travel memoirs, the *Seyâhatnâme*. This work also contains passages about Hungary, the Balkans and Russia, as well as two fictitious accounts of trips to Western Europe. For an overview of the *Seyâhatnâme*'s contents, see Kreiser (2005: 6–8), or, in more detail, Dankoff/Kreiser (1992).

[22] Süleyman Ağa was a janissary who fell into captivity either during the second siege of Vienna in 1683 (Asiltürk 2009 and Akıncı 1973: 9) or at the Austrian conquest of the fortress Uyvar (today's Nové Zámky) in 1685 and was given as a slave to a French architect. For the following eight years, he travelled through France with his master, before he was finally allowed to return to the Ottoman Empire. The text is unusually structured as a game

1688–92	Ds	Zülfikār Paşa	Austria
1688–94	P	Öküzöldüren Ahmed Paşa[23] [letters]	Austria
1688–1717	P	Osman Ağa[24] [autobiography]	Austria
1704	D	Osman Ağa [diplomatic account]	Austria

The texts and their context (first period)

The reports we have from the first period are a motley crew of texts differing widely in character and form: There are diplomatic reports (Hâcı Zaganos, Hidâyet, Kara Mehmed Paşa, Zülfikār Paşa, Osman Ağa – the latter probably not officially commissioned), accounts or letters written by (former) prisoners of war (Maʿcuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi, Esîrî Hüseyin bin Mehmed, Öküzöldüren Ahmed Paşa, Osman Ağa, Süleyman Ağa), geographical (Pîrî Reis)[25] and biographical works (Cem Sultan), and Evliyâ's 'Travel book' (*Seyâhatnâme*), which defies any genre label.[26] Some are rather short and sober (Zaganos, Hidâyet, Kara Mehmed, Öküzöldüren), while others are more aptly characterized as whole books of great detail (Süleyman Ağa, Osman Ağa, Cem Sultan) or even works of epic dimensions (Pîrî Reis and particularly Evliyâ's work of ten volumes). Next to

of questions and answers, with Süleyman being asked about his experiences in front of a round of noblemen in Egypt, some time after his return (Altuniş-Gürsoy 2011: 79f., Akıncı 1973: 8f.). – This Süleyman Ağa is most probably not identical with the special envoy Müteferrika Süleyman Ağa, who was sent to France in 1669, as suggested e.g. by Şirin (2009: 145, 148 and 155–159). Akıncı (1973), whom Şirin cites as a reference for this (Şirin 2009: 156, footnote 288), does not credit Müteferrika Süleyman with the text's authorship but rather explicitly states that it is not known whether he authored a *sefâretnâme* or not (Akıncı 1973: 7). On p. 9, footnote 10, Akıncı does remark that she had thought at first that Müteferrika Süleyman might have been the author, but she then goes on to say that the content of the text examined and partly translated by her speaks against this hypothesis. Pending further research, she concludes, it is not possible to determine the identity of the text's narrator Süleyman Ağa or indeed to say whether he is a historical person at all or just a fictitious one.

23 As commander of the fortress of Belgrade, Ahmed Paşa fell into Austrian captivity in 1688 and was held in Vienna until 1694. There are five short letters by him extant from this time, which are examined in Ursinus (2004).

24 Osman Ağa was a former Austrian prisoner of war, who after his return to the Ottoman Empire worked as an interpreter and a diplomat. He wrote an autobiographical work (Kreutel 1954, Kreutel/Spies 1962) as well as an account of some of his diplomatic missions (Kreutel 1966). Since he served as a diplomatic envoy only on a local level (see Kreutel 1966: 10–13), this latter report is not considered to be a *sefâretnâme*.

25 Another geographical work that is often mentioned in this context is Kâtib Çelebi's *Cihânnümâ*. However, since this is "almost exclusively based on written sources or testimonies" (Hagen 2007: 2) and not on actual travel experience in Europe, I have not listed it here. See Hagen (2007) for more information.

26 According to Robert Dankoff, the leading scholar on Evliyâ, "the most exact generic description of the *Seyahatname* is: Ottoman geographical encyclopedia structured as travel account and personal memoir" (Dankoff 2005: 73).

the information-focused writings of the diplomats and geographers – but also Ahmed Paşa's rather functional letters from captivity – stand the autobiographical narratives of the other former captives and the literary 'Jack-of-all-trades' Evliyâ Çelebi.

The relatively low number of travel accounts attributable to this period is not surprising given the fact that a journey to Europe was long, troublesome and dangerous; for large parts of Europe, the early-modern era was a time of almost constant warfare (cf. Tallett 1997: 13–15). Also, Ottoman travellers on the Mediterranean had to wait through the obligatory quarantine before entering a European port, and individual (non-diplomatic) Muslim travellers had the added disadvantage of not having a clear legal status in most European countries.[27]

All in all, this first period can be regarded as a phase in which Ottoman travel accounts to Europe were something exceptional and also 'accidental' in the sense that there was no coherent tradition or institution of writing them. A similar observation is made by Nicolas Vatin concerning the beginnings of Ottoman-language 'travel literature' when he says that prior to Evliyâ Çelebi's account at the end of the 17th century, there was no text which treated the voyage itself as its subject (Vatin 1995: 14). I have therefore called this first phase the 'period of exceptional travel accounts'.

Let us now return to the timeline and focus on its second part, in which the reports become more numerous (i.e. after ca. 1700). If one introduces the distinction between diplomatic and non-diplomatic as another factor, a second shift appears at around 1845, when the nature of the reports all of a sudden changes from almost exclusively diplomatic to almost exclusively non-diplomatic.[28] Figure 2 below shows this by marking every diplomatic account (D) with a downward triangle (▼), while the non-diplomatic accounts (P/O) are represented by an upward one (▲). This gives us a second distinct period between ca. 1700 and ca. 1845, which is the subject of the next part of the list.

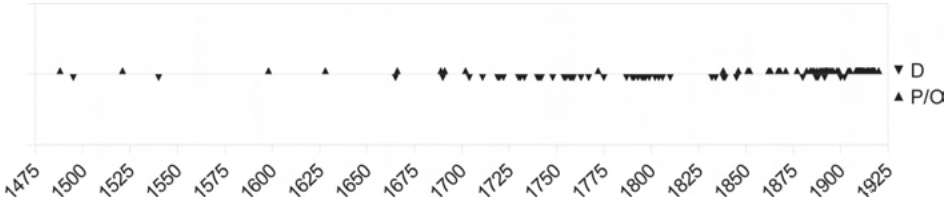

Figure 2: Nature of Ottoman travel accounts to Europe

27 Agai (2012: 12). On these matters, cf. also Hitzel (2003b).

28 There is only one exception between 1700 and 1845, which is the report of the prisoner-of-war Necâtî Efendi from Russia (1771–5), although this is often counted as a diplomatic account. The only exceptions after 1845 are the so-called *Livadya sefâretnâmeleri* (1886–1902). See also the footnotes to the respective list entries below.

The second period: the 'institutionalization' of travel accounts

1711	Ds	Seyfullah Ağa	Austria
1719	Ds	İbrâhim Paşa / Anonymous[29]	Austria
1720/1	Ds	Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi	France
1722/3	Ds	Nişli Mehmed Ağa (*Rusya sefâretnâmesi*)	Russia
1730	Ds	Mehmed Efendi (*Lehistan sefâretnâmesi*)	Poland
1730[30]	Ds	Mustafa Efendi (*Istılâh-ı Nemçe*)	Austria
1732/3	Ds	Mehmed Said Efendi[31]	Sweden, Poland
1740/1	D	Ebû Sehil Nuʿman Efendi[32] (*Tedbîrât-ı pesendîde*)	Austria
1740/1	D	Ahmed Merâmî Efendi / Hattî Mustafa Efendi (*Takrîr-i Ahmed Merâmî Efendi*)[33]	Russia
1740–2	Ds	Mehmed Emnî Beyefendi	Russia
1748	Ds	Hattî Mustafa Efendi (*Viyana sefâretnâmesi*)	Austria
1754/5[34]	Ds	Ziştoylu Ali Ağa / Anonymous[35] (*Lehistan sefâretnâmesi*; *Takrir*)	Poland
1755	Ds	Derviş Mehmed Efendi	Russia

[29] The report about İbrâhim Paşa's mission was not written by the envoy himself but by an unnamed member of his delegation (Afyoncu 2009: 109).

[30] In 1746, Mustafa Efendi was commissioned to write an addition to his report that was to treat the history of Tuscany and the election of its Grand Duke Francis as Holy Roman Emperor (cf. Unat 1992: 58 and Karamuk 1975: 130). This may be the reason why Şirin (2009: 147) gives 1748 as the year of Mustafa Efendi's *sefâretnâme*.

[31] Son of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi. On his embassy mission to Sweden, he also passed through Poland. Having accompanied his father to Paris in 1720/1, he was later also sent there himself (1741/2). Unat and also Afyoncu assume that he wrote a *sefâretnâme* about this mission as well, which, however, has not been discovered yet (Unat 1992: 72; Afyoncu 2003: 525r).

[32] Cf. Faroqhi (2009: 88–90). Although Nuʿman Efendi was a member of a diplomatic delegation, his report is not considered a *sefâretnâme* since he was not sent to a foreign court. He belonged to a commission measuring out the new border between Austria and the Ottoman Empire after the Treaty of Belgrade (1739). In his report, he describes the problems and difficulties of this mission (see Erich Prokosch in Ebû Sehil Nuʿman 1972: 10).

[33] A border-commission report like that of Ebû Sehil Nuʿman Efendi, it was written by Hattî Mustafa on behalf of Ahmed Merâmî Efendi after surveying the new border with Russia in 1740/1 (cf. Afyoncu 2009: 113, footnote 490). Hattî Mustafa also authored a *sefâretnâme* about Vienna (see below, year 1748).

[34] According to Topaktaş (2010: 997), Ali Ağa left Istanbul in 1754 and probably returned in 1755. Yalçınkaya (1996b: 332) lists only the year 1755; Unat (1992: 97) gives 1755, too, although the table at the end of his book has 1754. Süslü (1981/82: 246) has 1756.

[35] Ali Ağa's *sefâretnâme* is the only one written entirely in verses. These were not composed by Ali Ağa himself but by someone in his delegation (Unat 1992: 98).

1757/8	Ds	Kapıcıbaşı Mehmed Ağa	Poland
1757/8	Ds	Şehdî Osman Efendi	Russia
1757/8	Ds	Ahmed Resmî Efendi (*Viyana sefâretnâmesi*)	Austria
1763/4	Ds	Ahmed Resmî Efendi (*Prusya sefâretnâmesi*)	Prussia
1767/8	Ds	Kesbî Mustafa Efendi (*İbretnümâ-yı devlet*)[36]	Russia
1771–5	P	Silahdar İbrâhim Paşa / Necâtî Efendi[37] (*Sefâretnâme-i Necâtî / Târih-i Kırım*)	Russia
1775/6	Ds	Abdülkerim Paşa / Mehmed Emin Nahîfî Efendi (*Sefâretnâme-i Abdülkerim Paşa*)[38]	Russia
1787/8	Ds	Vâsıf Efendi	Spain
1790–2	Ds	Ahmed Azmî Efendi	Prussia
1791/2	Ds	Ebûbekir Râtib Efendi[39]	Austria
1793/4	Ds	Mustafa Râsih Efendi / Seyyid Abdullah Efendi[40]	Russia
1793–7[41]	Ds	Mahmud Râif Efendi (*Journal du voyage de Mahmoud Raif Efendi en Angleterre*)[42]	UK
1795–7	Ds	Yûsuf Âgah Efendi / Anonymous[43] (*Havâdis-*	UK

[36] Süslü was the first to list this text as a *sefâretnâme* (1981/82: 236, footnote 9; 247), giving the title as *İbretnâme-i Devlet*. Yalçınkaya (2010: 32; 41) also lists it as a *sefâretnâme*, but under the title *İbretnümâ-yı Devlet*. This latter title is also found in Lemercier-Quelquejay (1965: 267); according to the information given there, the text was written only in 1213h (1798/9). Afyoncu (2009) does not include this text in his enumeration of *sefâretnâme*s.

[37] This report is listed by Unat as the *sefâretnâme* of Silahdar İbrâhim Paşa (Unat 1992: 116–128). The latter served as commander of the Ottoman army on the Crimea in the Russian-Ottoman war of 1768–74 and was captured by the Russians in 1771. The actual author of the report was his secretary Necâtî Efendi, who was also captured. Unat states that although the text is not a *sefâretnâme* in the usual sense (Unat 1992: 116), there are some similarities, particularly in the part describing the invitation of the pasha as a prisoner-of-war to the court of Catherine the Great in St. Petersburg (Unat 1992: 122ff.). Süslü (1981/82: 247) and Yalçınkaya (1996b: 332) also count the text among the *sefâretnâme*s, whereas Afyoncu instead lists it among the captivity reports (*esâretnâme*s) (Afyoncu 2009: 157). The title of the work is mentioned as *Târih-i Kırım* ('History of the Crimea') at the end of the text itself, according to Unat (1992: 117).

[38] This report was not written by the envoy, Abdülkerim Paşa, himself but by the poet and writer Nahîfî Efendi, who accompanied the delegation as its official chronicler (Unat 1992: 130).

[39] Apart from his main report of 490 pages, Ebûbekir Râtib Efendi also wrote five shorter treatises about his stay in Vienna (cf. Yalçınkaya 2010: 31).

[40] The report was not written by the envoy Mustafa Râsih himself but by his first secretary Seyyid Abdullah Efendi (Conermann 1999: 263f.).

[41] Years according to Yalçınkaya (1996b: 332) and Yalçınkaya (1994: 385). Süslü gives 1793/4 for Mahmud Râif and 1793–6 for Yûsuf Âgah (whom Mahmud Râif served as first secretary) (Süslü 1981/82: 237). Unat has 1793–6 for both of them (Unat 1992: 168, 178).

[42] Mahmud Râif wrote his account in French.

		nâme-i İngiltere)	
1797/8	Ds	Giritli Ali Aziz Efendi[44]	Prussia
1797–1802	Ds	Moralı Seyyid Ali Efendi[45]	France
1802	Ds	Âmedî Mehmed Said Gālib Efendi	France
1802–6	D	Hâlet Efendi[46] [letters]	France
1806/7[47]	Ds	Seyyid Mehmed Emin Vahid Efendi (*Fransa sefâretnâmesi*)	France, Poland[48]
1806–11	Ds	Seyyid Abdürrahim Muhibb Efendi (*Büyük sefâretnâme*; *Küçük sefâretnâme*)	France
1832	Ds	Mehmed Nâmık Paşa (*Takrirler*)[49]	UK
1834/5[50]	D(s?)	Mehmed Nâmık Paşa / Anonymous / Aleko Paşa(?)[51] [illustrated *sefâretnâme/seyâhatnâme*]	France, UK

[43] Yûsuf Âgah Efendi was the first permanent ambassador of the Ottoman Empire in the UK and in Europe as a whole. The *Havâdisnâme-i İngiltere* is a collection of his notes and correspondence with the Sublime Porte compiled by an unnamed writer (Afyoncu 2009: 117). Although Yûsuf Âgah was ambassador from 1793 to 1797, this text only covers the years 1795–7 (Yalçınkaya 2010: 13).

[44] First permanent ambassador of the Ottoman Empire in Prussia.

[45] First permanent ambassador of the Ottoman Empire in France.

[46] Hâlet Efendi did not write a proper *sefâretnâme* but sent letters about his experiences back to Istanbul. See Safi (2011: 51) and Kuran (1988).

[47] Şirin (2009) gives the year 1807 on p. 145 (footnote 201), but has 1806 on p. 148. Yalçınkaya (1996b: 332) has 1806, Süslü (1981/82: 241) has 1806/7. Şirin also speaks of a second *sefâretnâme* by the same author entitled *1811 senelerinde Avrupa vaḍ'iyyeti*, which deals with the political and economic situation at the time in several European countries including Russia (Şirin 2009: 145, footnote 201). However, since this short description seems to suggest that this was not the report of any specific diplomatic mission or journey, the text does probably not qualify as a travel account or even a *sefâretnâme* in the 'classical' sense of the term (cf. below).

[48] Mehmed Emin Vahid Efendi led a delegation to Napoleon I of France. However, since Napoleon was on a campaign in Poland, Mehmed Emin Vahid had to follow him there before meeting him again in Paris a few months later (Helmschrott 2012: 78–80).

[49] Mehmed Nâmık Paşa was sent to London twice: first in 1832, then again in 1834–6 (see Unat 1992: 211 and Saydam 2006: 379); the *Takrirler* are a collection of political/diplomatic notes and letters from his first mission (Unat 1992: 210–4). Apart from these, there is also an illustrated *sefâretnâme* of more general content which is often attributed to him but was actually composed by someone else (see next entry).

[50] Süslü lists a *sefâretnâme* about Austria by an Aleko Paşa from 1876 (Süslü 1981/82: 239). Neither Unat (1992) nor Yalçınkaya (1996b) say anything about Aleko Paşa. (See also following footnote.)

[51] According to Şirin (2009: 244–8, cf. also 145, footnote 203), this report was written by an Ottoman official close to Mehmed Nâmık Paşa (possibly someone from his delegation or his successor Beylikçi Nûrî Efendi) and is the first illustrated Ottoman travel account. There are two manuscript versions, of which the slightly shorter one was presented by Buluç (1981) and examined by Şirin in an as yet unpublished lecture in 2008 (see Şirin 2009:

1838	Ds/O[52]	Mehmed Sâdık Rif'at Paşa (*İtalya seyâhatnâmesi; Avrupa ahvâline dâir risâle*)	Italy, Austria
1838	Ds[53]	Mustafa Sâmî Efendi (*Avrupa risâlesi*)	France
1845[54]	Ds	Abdürrezzak Bâhir Efendi (*Risâle-i sagīre*)	France, UK

The texts and their context (second period)

As mentioned above, we can see in the list that the texts of this period are almost exclusively diplomatic in nature – in fact, all but a few of them are so-called *sefâretnâme*s, i.e. ambassadorial reports written by Ottoman envoys to a foreign country after their return to Istanbul, usually containing not only details of the envoy's diplomatic activities but also general observations regarding the respective country and its institutions.[55] Among the best-known examples are the accounts of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi (1720/1),[56] Ahmed Resmî Efendi (1757/8 and 1763/4) and Mustafa Sâmî Efendi (1838).[57] Although the *sefâret-*

245, footnote 371, and p. 399). The other one was partly published in Kaplan et al. 1974–89 (I: 94–6) and attributed to a certain Aleko Paşa. According to Şirin, however, it is probable that Aleko Paşa just translated the text and it was written originally in another language (possibly French). A comparison of both manuscripts by Şirin and Musa Kılıç is to appear soon (Şirin 2009: 245, footnote 371). Süslü lists Aleko Paşa as the author of a *sefâretnâme* about Austria from 1876 (Süslü 1981/82: 239). (See also previous footnote.)

52 Sâdık Rif'at Paşa wrote an account of his journey to Italy, where, as the Ottoman ambassador to Vienna, he visited the coronation of the Austrian Emperor Ferdinand I as King of Italy. During his time in Vienna, he also authored a 'Treatise about the condition of Europe' as well as several other writings (Unat 1992: 215f.). Asiltürk (2009: 932) does not mention his report among the *sefâretnâme*s but among the 'other travel reports'; cf. also his contribution to this volume.

53 Şirin lists him first as the author of a *sefâretnâme*, then of a non-diplomatic travel account (Şirin 2009: 148 and 250f., respectively). Asiltürk (2009: 932) also does the latter. In classifying his report as a *sefâretnâme* here, I have followed Unat (1992: 214) as well as Süslü (1981/82: 242), Yalçınkaya (1996b: 332), and Afyoncu (2009: 120) (cf. also footnote 57 below).

54 Şirin (2009: 242) gives the year 1843. Unat (1992) has 1845 on pp. IX and 216, but 1834 in the table at the end of his book (Unat 1992: 236, table XVI).

55 For a full definition, see e.g. Unat (1992: 43–46) or, more recently, the opening chapter in Yalçınkaya (2010: 21–45). A new approach that expands this 'classical' definition is taken by Klein (2010), who examines the *sefâretnâme*s' various functions as ego-documents (cf. Klein 2010: 89f.).

56 This report is often seen as the most important *sefâretnâme*, as it is said to have exerted a great influence not only on many of the later *sefâretnâme*s but also on cultural life among the Ottoman elites as a whole and on the Ottoman attitude towards the West. See e.g. Unat (1992: 53f.), Göçek (1987: 72–81), as well as Bâki Asiltürk's contribution to this volume. However, there is also criticism of this 'historical narrative' – see Erimtan (2007).

57 Mustafa Sâmî's report, although rather short, provoked strong reactions due its author's ideas of reaching out to the public (Sagaster 2001: 165f.) and was highly influential for some later writers (Şirin 2009: 251, 286f.). In the research literature, there is some uncertainty about its position within the genre, which seems to be a hybrid one: While Unat calls it the last *sefâretnâme* written in the old style ("eski tarzda yazılmış olan sefaretnamele-

*nâme*s can show considerable variation in length, style, scope of content and secondary functions,[58] they generally share a similar pattern[59] and the primary function as an official, diplomatic travel account.

Even the few exceptions all have some sort of diplomatic background: There are two reports by members of border-setting commissions (Ebû Sehil Nuʿman Efendi and Hattî Mustafa Efendi, both 1740/1); one by an Ottoman official who visits the court of Catherine the Great in St. Petersburg as a prisoner-of-war (Necâtî Efendi, 1771–5); several letters by an Ottoman ambassador to Paris (Hâlet Efendi, 1802–6); and a report by an anonymous member of a diplomatic delegation (Mehmed Nâmık Paşa / Anonymous, 1834/5). So, in contrast to the first period, where written travel accounts were the exception, there now starts to emerge an organized pattern and a regular social context. One could therefore say that Ottoman travel accounts to Europe started to acquire a social function *as a genre* (whereas before, they functioned only as individual texts). Since a genre is a sociocultural institution (cf. Brenner 1990: 5), as diplomacy is a political one, I have called this second phase the 'period of the institutionalization of travel accounts'.

This development of the textual functions is rooted in the historical context, of course. Compared to the first period, the journey to Europe had not become much easier by the turn of the 18th century, but now there was an increased interest in information on European countries on the part of the Ottoman state, which led to an increased number of (diplomatic) travel accounts.[60] An important turning point in this direction had been the series of military defeats in the years after the dramatic last-minute failure of the second siege of Vienna in 1683. It finally ended in the peace treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, which marked the end of Ottoman military superiority over the coalition of European powers and at the same time

rin sonuncusu sayılabilir", Unat 1992: 214), Beydilli on the contrary states that it had not much to do anymore with the classic examples of its kind ("bunların klasik örnekleriyle artık pek alakaları kalmamıştır", Beydilli 2007: 27 and Bozkurt – Beydilli 2009: 293, right column). Asiltürk does not count it as a *sefâretnâme* at all (Asiltürk 2009: 932) (cf. also footnote 53 above).

58 Two extreme examples in length are the *sefâretnâme*s of Ebûbekir Râtib (1791/2), which fills 245 manuscript folios (see Findley 1995a: 42), and Giritli Ali Aziz Efendi (1797/8), whose transliteration covers less than four pages (Schmiede 1990: 31–34). The *sefâretnâme*s' style ranges from plain, to-the-point bureaucratic language (cf. Karamuk 1975: 208) over more elaborate prose interspersed with poems (e.g. Mehmed Emnî, 1740–2; see Klein 2010: 94) to one written entirely in verses (Ziştoylu Ali Ağa, 1754/5). Concerning the scope of their content, Karamuk distinguishes those writers who focus more on their journey and the diplomatic ceremony from those who concentrate more on the observations during their stay (Karamuk 1975: 127); see also footnote 64 below. Klein (2010) provides an examination of various secondary functions of *sefâretnâme*s.

59 For a description of the typical parts of a *sefâretnâme*, see Karamuk (1975: 127–30), or Yalçınkaya (2010: 37f.).

60 The increase in reports cannot simply be attributed to an increase in diplomatic travel. A comparison of the list above with the list of all Ottoman diplomatic envoys to foreign countries (with and without *sefâretnâme*s) provided by Unat (1992: 221ff.) shows that these two figures are not proportional.

the beginning of a new Ottoman approach toward diplomacy which placed increasing emphasis on diplomatic negotiations rather than war as the "chosen and preferred instrument of international intercourse with Europe" (Abou-El-Haj 2004: 90; cf. Aksan 2006b: 107–110). This revaluation of diplomacy was accompanied by a gradual change in the outlook on Europe in general among the Ottoman political elites, with the dominant attitude of cultural, economic and military superiority slowly giving way to the recognition of equality and even the (grudging) admission that in certain areas there were things to be learned from the European Others (see Şirin 2009: 368–370; Faroqhi 2009: 84f.; Beydilli 2007: 23). This, however, required more comprehensive and detailed knowledge about Europe – a problem the Ottoman government addressed, at least in part, by commissioning[61] more of its envoys to write *sefâretnâme*s (cf. Berridge 2004: 116; see also Aksan 2006: 109f.).[62] Of course, there were, and had long been, other sources of information, such as the rulers of the Danubian principalities and other border territories, the dragomans of the European ambassadors in Istanbul, merchants, Christian subjects, soldiers and spies (see Arı 2004: 45f.; Korkut 2007: 17–19; Faroqhi 2004: 178–181). However, it seems that the quantity or quality of the information they provided was not sufficient for the new demand (see e.g. Aksan 2004; Conermann 1999: 255–258).

The *sefâretnâme*s did not only grow in numbers – they also gradually opened up in regard to their content and the range of topics they covered.[63] Again, it has been suggested that this development may be seen as a manifestation of the gradual change in attitude towards Europe: While the earlier reports, which more or less stick to the account of the diplomatic mission, are said to reflect an indifference that doesn't see any need to learn from an inferior society, the later ones,

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61 Beydilli points out, though, that certain characteristics of the 'classical *sefâretnâme*s' suggest that they may have been voluntary rather than obligatory reports (Beydilli 2007: 25 and Bozkurt – Beydilli 2009: 293, left column).

62 It is important to note here that the relationship between the *sefâretnâme*s and politics of reform and Westernization worked in both directions: Not only was the production of *sefâretnâme*s partly a consequence of the will to change and reform, but reform-minded diplomats also actively used their texts to make the case for certain European-style reform measures before the sultan and the political elites. In doing this, they did not just provide knowledge and information but also constructed 'imaginary places' to serve their goals. (See Findley 1995a, esp. pp. 42 and 66, for a concrete example. On the construction of place in travel writing, cf. Irvin Schick's contribution in this volume.)

63 Thus Klein suggests a three-step evolution "from chronologically structured, diary-like activity reports of diplomatic missions" (e.g. Nişli Mehmed Ağa, 1722/3; Dürrî Efendi, 1721 [to Iran]; Seyfullah Ağa, 1711) via such reports that look more frequently beyond the diplomatic horizon (Mehmed Emnî Paşa, 1740–2; Şehdî Osman Efendi, 1757/8; Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, 1720/1; Ahmed Resmî Efendi, 1757/8 and 1763/4) "to complex accounts covering a variety of aspects of the foreign country" (e.g. Ebûbekir Râtib Efendi, 1791/2, or Mustafa Râsih Efendi, 1792–4) (Klein 2010: 100). Similar examples of 'progress' are given by Hitzel (1995: 19 and 23) and Bozkurt – Beydilli (2009: 292f.). Another three-step development is described by Karamuk, who traces it back to changes in the diplomatic system as well as in the intended readership (see Karamuk 1975: 124).

with their often very detailed descriptions of society and institutions, are taken to demonstrate the government's demand for a "fuller coverage of the visited country".[64]

The practice of writing *sefâretnâme*s, and with it the period of the diplomatic travel accounts, came to an end with the definitive establishment of the system of permanent diplomatic representation in foreign countries by Mahmud II in 1834.[65] This meant that all of a sudden, the genre of the Ottoman travel account was deprived of the institution that had, until then, provided its socio-cultural setting. However, as the next section of the list will show, this was by no means the end of the story.

The third period: the 'diversification' of travel accounts

1846	O	Anonymous (*İngiltere seyâhatnâmesi*)[66]	UK
1851	O	Mehmed Rauf[67] (*Seyâhatnâme-i Avrupa*)	UK, Malta, Italy, France
1852	O	Anonymous (*Seyâhatnâme-i Londra*)	UK
1862/3	O	Ömer Lütfî (*Ümid Burnu seyâhatnâmesi*)[68]	Italy, France, UK
1862–4	O	Hayrullah Efendi (*Yolculuk Kitâbı*)	France, Austria, Italy, Belgium, Germany, UK
1867	O	Ömer Fâiz Efendi[69]	France, UK

64 Klein (2010: 100); see also footnote 63 there. Erünsal (2000: 26), who is also referenced by Klein, draws similar conclusions. Although this seems probable, we have to be careful here: The *sefâretnâme*s' expansion in scope as such may also simply indicate a change in the function of the genre. This is one more reason why it is important to trace the development of the genre as a whole.

65 Selim III had already appointed the first resident ambassadors in the early 1790s, but the system was soon suspended again (for more information on the introduction of this system, see Naff 1963, Kuran 1988, Kürkçüoğlu 2004, as well as Hanioğlu 2008: 42–54). At that time, however, the *sefâretnâme* tradition was not discontinued, as can be seen in the list above.

66 Olgun (1973: 725) and Asiltürk (2000b: 227) list this text as a travel report by the commander of the frigate *Mir'ât-ı Zafer*. Apart from the data given there, I have not been able to find any information on this travelogue.

67 Not to be confused with the novelist of the same name (1875–1931) who wrote for the journal *Servet-i Fünun* (cf. Asiltürk 2009: 933, footnote 25).

68 Ömer Lütfî's destination was South Africa, but since he boarded a ship from Liverpool, his travelogue also contains a detailed description of the journey from Istanbul to England via Italy and France (cf. Asiltürk 2009: 958).

69 Ömer Fâiz Efendi was a mayor of Istanbul who accompanied Sultan Abdülaziz on his trip to Europe – the first and only one made by an Ottoman sultan – on the occasion of the world exhibition in Paris in 1867.

1867–70	O	Nâmık Kemal [letters]	UK, France
1871	O	Basîretçi Ali Efendi [memoirs]	Germany
1876–1914	O	Abdülhak Hâmid [Tarhan] [letters and memoirs]	France, UK, Netherlands, Belgium
1877	O/D[70]	Çaylak Mehmed Tevfik (*Yâdigâr-ı Macaristan asr-ı Abdülhamid Han*)	Hungary
1877–91	O	Saʿdullah Paşa [letters]	Germany, Austria
1880s[71]	O	Ebüzziyâ Tevfik (*Paris'den Londra'ya ve Otel Metropol*)	France, UK
1880–6, 1901–21	O	Sâmîpaşazâde Sezâî [articles, notes and letters][72]	UK, France, Switzerland, Spain
b.1883–6	O	Ali Cevad Bey[73] (*Felemenk seyâhatnâmesi; Almanya seyâhatnâmesi*)	Netherlands, Germany
1886	Ds	Edhem Paşa (*Livadya seyâhati*)[74]	Russia

[70] Çaylak Mehmed Tevfik took part in an official delegation to Hungary as a journalist in 1877. His impressions were partly published in the newspaper *Basîret* before appearing in book form in the same year (Akün 1993: 244).

[71] The exact dates of the journey are unknown. According to Türesay (2008: 618), it was sometime between 1880 and 1890.

[72] Sâmîpaşazâde Sezâî worked at the Ottoman embassy in London in 1880–5 and spent a winter in Paris in 1885/6. From 1901 to 1908, he lived in exile in Paris, and from 1909 to 1921 (apart from a longish stay in Switzerland for health reasons from 1916 to 1918) he served as Ottoman ambassador in Madrid. After that, he worked as a writer in Istanbul (Sagaster 1997b: 173). He wrote about his experiences abroad in several articles, notes and letters (see Sâmîpaşazâde Sezâî 2003).

[73] In İhsanoğlu (2000), these two travelogues are listed as belonging to a certain Cevad Bey, on whom there is no other information given (İhsanoğlu 2000: 598); there is a separate entry (İhsanoğlu 2000: 460–5) for the known geographer Ali Cevad, thus suggesting they are two different persons. However, the information (number of pages and year) given on a manuscript by the geographer Ali Cevad entitled *Felemenk kıtʿası …* in this entry exactly corresponds to the data given by Olgun (1973: 724) and Asiltürk (2000b: 215) about the travel account *Felemenk seyâhatnâmesi*. Therefore I assume that the 'two' authors are the same person after all (and the *Felemenk kıtʿası …* is the *Felemenk seyâhatnâmesi*). – Olgun and Asiltürk also list a third travel account by Ali Cevad about Russia from 1888. However, this is probably identical with Fuad Paşa's Sivastopol report of the same year (see below), since Ali Cevad belonged to Fuad Paşa's delegation and may have written the report for him.

[74] The *Livadya sefâretnâmeleri* were reports of 'welcoming missions' sent by the Ottoman government to the Russian tsars in their summer residence in Livadya near Yalta (or, in at least one case, also Sivastopol), not far from the Ottoman territory, to bring presents and discuss current diplomatic matters. The Livadya delegations were sent from at least 1863 until at least 1914, probably at irregular intervals. M. Aydın has provided evidence for 11 cases, of which 5 reports are known (viz. Edhem Paşa, 1886, as well as Fuad Paşa, 1888 and 1891, and Turhan Paşa, 1900 and 1902) (Aydın 1989–82: 323). K. Beydilli calls these accounts the last of the "classical *sefâretnâme*s" (Beydilli 2007: 28).

1887/8	O	Ali Kemal[75] (*Ömrüm*)	France, Switzerland
1888	Ds	Fuad Paşa [Livadya/Sivastopol report][76]	Russia
1889	O	Ahmed Midhat (*Avrupa'da bir cevelan*)	France, Scandinavia, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy
1890	O	Hüseyin Hulkî (*Berlin hâtırâtı*)	Germany
1891	O	Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz] (*Avrupa'da ne gördüm*)[77]	France, UK, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy
1891	Ds	Fuad Paşa [Livadya report]	Russia
1891	O	Yûsuf Sâmih (Asmaî) (*Seyâhât-i Asmaî*)[78]	UK, Spain, Malta
b.1892	O	Hüseyin Gālib (*Efel Kulesi*)[79]	France
1893	O	Karçınzâde Süleyman Şükrü (*Seyâhatü'l-Kübrâ*)	France, Austria, Russia
1895	O	Ali Kemal (*Paris musâhabeleri*)	France
1895	O	Mehmed Enisî [Yalkı] (*Avrupa hâtırâtım; Alman rûhı*)	France
1895–8[80]	O	Tunalı Hilmî (*Avrupa'da tahsil*)	Switzerland
1896–1901	O	Şerefeddin Mağmûmî (*Seyâhat hâtıraları*; *Paris'den yazdıklarım*)	France, UK, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium

[75] Ali Kemal was a publisher. In 1887/8 he travelled to Paris and Geneva; the journey is described in his unfinished autobiography *Ömrüm* (Ali Kemâl 2004). He lived in Europe again from 1895 to 1900, and in 1895 sent regular contributions to the Ottoman newspaper *İkdam* which were published under the title *Paris musâhabeleri* ('Paris conversations'), and were soon after republished in book form (Ali Kemal 1897).

[76] Possibly the same text that Olgun (1973: 724) lists as Ali Cevad Bey's *Rusya seyâhatnâmesi*. Ali Cevad Bey was a member of Fuad Paşa's delegation and may have written the report for him.

[77] Apart from the very detailed travel account *Avrupa'da ne gördüm*, which was published in 1892, Ahmed İhsan also published two shorter books about his experiences abroad – *Tuna'da bir hafta* (1911) and *Tirol cephesinde: ateş hattında* (1917) – as well as his memoirs (1930/1, entitled *Matbûat hâtıralarım*), which also contain accounts of various voyages.

[78] Asmaî was the pseudonym of the interpreter Yûsuf Sâmih. Apart from *Seyâhât-i Asmaî* he also wrote travel memoirs about a trip to Sicily in 1920/1 (*Sicilya hâtırâtı*) (Karakartal 2003: 123).

[79] This text is listed by Asiltürk (2000b: 226); its record can also be found online in ToKat. As I did not have access to the text itself and was unable to find other information on it, it remains unclear as to whether it only contains information on the Eiffel Tower or is based on an (actual or fictitious) journey.

[80] Tunalı Hilmî stayed in Geneva in 1895–8 and again several times between 1901 and 1909. His travel guide *Avrupa'da tahsil* was published there in 1903 (see Leyla von Mende's contribution to this volume).

1898	O	Mustafa Said Bey	France, Austria, Switzerland, Italy
1899–1900	O	Necmeddin Ârif (*Paris'de tahsîl*)	France
1900	Ds	Turhan Paşa [Livadya report]	Russia
1902	Ds	Turhan Paşa [Livadya report]	Russia
1904[81]	O	Sâdık el-Müeyyed Azımzâde (*Habeş seyâhatnâmesi*)	France[82]
1904	O	Fağfûrîzâde Hüseyin Nesîmî (*Seyâhat*)	Italy, France, UK, Germany, Switzerland
1906–13	O	Zeyneb Hanım[83] (*A Turkish woman's European impressions*)	France, UK, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, Italy
1908–10	O	Selim Sırrı [Tarcan][84] (*Bizce meçhul hayatlar – İsveç'de gördüklerim*)	Sweden
b.1909	O	Mehmed Fazlı (*Resimli Afgan seyâhati*)[85]	Italy, Hungary, Russia
1909	O	Balint (*Budapeşte hâtıra-i ziyâreti*)[86]	Hungary

81 In some sources (e.g. Herzog – Motika 2000: 169), the journey is dated 1896. However, the dates given by Sâdık el-Müeyyed at the beginning of each chapter (including day of the week and day of the month but not the year; cf. Sâdık el-Müeyyed 1999) correspond to the year 1904 (the same year in which the text was published). This date is confirmed by Bostan (2008: 400).

82 The author, an Ottoman general, was sent by the sultan from Istanbul to Ethiopia, but the first destination was Marseille, where he boarded a British ship for the second leg of the journey. Although it was an official mission, the travelogue was not officially commissioned but written on Sâdık el-Müeyyed's own initiative (cf. Sâdık el-Müeyyed 1999: 13f.).

83 Zeyneb Hanım was the daughter of a high-level Ottoman politician. She fled to Europe together with her sister after allowing the French novelist Pierre Loti to write a book about them (*Les désenchantées*, 1906). Her real name was probably Zennur; Zeyneb was the name Pierre Loti used in his book, but she kept it as a pseudonym (Konuk 2003: 73). Disappointed by Europe, she returned to the Ottoman Empire in 1913 (Zeyneb Hanoum 2004: xi*). Her impressions of Europe, which she wrote down in English, were published in the same year by the feminist journalist Grace Ellison, who was a friend of the sisters.

84 In 1908, Selim Sırrı went to Sweden, where he was trained in education and sports for two years. After his return, he wrote down his impressions. An important sports functionary in the Turkish Republic, he later wrote more works about Europe (1929: *Garpta hayat*; 1930: *Bugünkü Almanya*; 1940: *Şimalin üç irfan diyarı: Finlandiya, İsveç, Danimarka*; 1948: *Yurd dışında Londra'da gördüklerim*).

85 Mehmed Fazlı was a Young Turk who was hired as an advisor by the Afghan government together with several other Young Turks. His account of this mission, containing illustrations drawn by himself, was published in 1909 (Herzog – Motika 2000: 174ff.). For reasons unknown, the group travelled via Trieste, Budapest and Odessa instead of taking the easier route via Suez, Bombay and Peshawar – a possible motivation being "a desire (…) to see some places of Europe and a possible thirst for adventure" (Herzog – Motika 2000: 188).

86 An illustrated travelogue of Hungary. Asiltürk (2000b: 220) lists the title without an author; the online catalogue entry of the Atatürk University central library has only the

b.1910	O	Anonymous (*İtalya'da bir cevelan*)[87]	Italy
1911	O	Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz] (*Tuna'da bir hafta*)	Germany, Austria, Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania
b.1911	O?	[Hasan Bedreddin (*İtalya nedir?*)][88]	Italy
1912/3	O	Celal Nûrî [İleri] (*Şimal hâtıraları*; *Kutub musâhabeleri*)	Russia, Scandinavia, Germany
1913	O	Ferid Kam	France, Germany, Switzerland
b.1914/5	O?	Şövalye Hasan Bahrî (*Avrupa'da Osmanlı*)[89]	?
1914/5	O	Mehmed Âkif [Ersoy] (*Berlin hâtıraları*)	Germany
1915	O	Hâlid Ziyâ [Uşaklıgil] (*Alman hayâtı; Almanya mektubları*)	Germany
1916/7	O	Ahmed Râsim (*Romanya mektubları*)	Romania
1916–8	P	Mehmed Ârif [Ölçen][90] (*Vetluga Irmağı*)	Russia, Poland
b.1917	O	Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz] (*Tirol cephesinde – ateş hattında*)	Austria
1917	O	Mehmed Celal[91] (*Almanya'daki ihtisâsâtım*)	Germany
1917/8	O	Cenab Şahâbeddin (*Avrupa mektubları*)	Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Austria
1920/1	O	Yûsuf Sâmih (Asmaî) (*Sicilya hâtırâtı*)	Italy

name "Balint" (http://kutuphane.atauni.edu.tr/yordambt/yordam.htm?-ac=arama&aa=demirbas&cAlanlar=0127678, last accessed on January 1, 2012).

87 According to Özege's catalog (cited here after Karakartal 2003: 123), this is a small booklet of only nine pages, of which seven are in Italian and two in Turkish. It was written by an unknown author and published in 1910 in Milan by Bertieri Vanzetti.

88 This text is not a travel report in the narrow sense but rather a sort of travel guide to introduce the country to a Turkish readership (cf. Karakartal 2003: 136f.). I had no access to the text itself, and from the information given by Karakartal it remains unclear whether the author actually travelled to Italy and if such a personal journey is mentioned in the text. However, the work is listed in Asiltürk (2000b), although not in Olgun (1973).

89 Listed in ToKat under this title and with the year 1330 [1914/15]. Olgun (1973: 721) and Asiltürk (2000b: 225) list the same author but a slightly different title (*Avrupa'da Türk*) and the year 1327. I did not have access to the original text, nor was I able to find any further information on it.

90 Mehmed Ârif was an Ottoman army officer who was captured by the Russians in 1916 and brought to the small town of Varnavino at the river Vetluga in the European part of Russia. In 1918, he managed to flee back to Istanbul via Warsaw. His memoirs are based on a diary he kept during his captivity ([Ölçen] 1994: 8–11).

91 In this short booklet, published in German and Ottoman Turkish, Mehmed Celal, a former Ottoman minister of the interior, relates his impressions of two trips to Germany during the First World War.

The texts and their context (third period)

The first thing to be noticed about this third part of the list is that it is the longest one, even though it covers the shortest amount of time. The texts are more diverse than in the first and more numerous than in the second period. If we look at the frequency of travel accounts in figure 2 above, we can see that it did not drop significantly after the end of the second period but continued at about the same level (and even started to rise markedly towards the end of the 19th century). The fact that the sudden transition from diplomatic to non-diplomatic travel accounts was not accompanied by a drop in the number of new texts suggests that, at least in the final stages of the second period, the diplomatic context had no longer been the genre's only socio-cultural setting.

Indeed, there are indications that some of the later *sefâretnâme*s were written for a wider audience than just the highest diplomatic and political circles.[92] In other words, the genre slowly 'grew out' of its original diplomatic-political setting and acquired new readerships. Whereas with the diplomatic reports of the second period, this still happened as a secondary function (at least on the surface)[93], the texts of the third period were often directly addressed to a wider public.

Another indication of this 'opening-up' is the diversity of both the texts and the authors of the third period. There are still diplomats, officials and bureaucrats – some also writing privately or in a semi-official function – as well as prisoners of war, but there are also physicians, military officers and businessmen, students, journalists, literary men, and soon also the first 'tourists' (cf. Sagaster 2001: 168). Accordingly, the texts differ widely in their form, scope, style of language and choice of content, ranging from letters to novels, from booklets to tomes of several hundred pages, from loosely collected anecdotes to carefully structured narratives, from travel memoirs to travel guides to treatises.

This diversity reminds us of the first period. The difference, apart from the far greater number of texts, is that for all the diversity it seems that a certain degree of standardization is still retained. This can be seen, for example, in the titles of

[92] An obvious case is Mustafa Sâmî Efendi's *Avrupa risâlesi* (published in 1840), in which the author explicitly states his intention of speaking to "the people of my country" (cf. Sagaster 2001: 165f.). The book was printed in two editions and also provoked literary reactions (cf. ibid. and Akyıldız 2010: 98f.). However, the beginnings of this development have been traced as far back as the second half of the 18th century: Thus, Beydilli sees indications for a wider, inofficial target audience among the "classical *sefâretnâme*s" (Beydilli 2007: 25 and Bozkurt – Beydilli 2009: 292f.), and Klein finds evidence in the reports of Şehdî Osman (1757/8) and Mehmed Emnî (1740–2) that suggests they could have been "intended as literature to be appreciated by a broad public" (Klein 2010: 99). Klein also stresses the importance of further research into this question on a more comprehensive textual basis and makes concrete suggestions as to how this topic could be approached (Klein 2010: 99f.).

[93] Cf. Klein's examination of the various secondary functions of 18th-century *sefâretnâme*s (Klein 2010, esp. pp. 96 and 98f.).

the works, many of which use the word *seyâhat(-nâme)* ('travel [account]'), and several of which are very similar (e.g. *Avrupa'da bir cevelan*, *İtalya'da bir cevelan*, *Tuna'da bir hafta; İsveç'de gördüklerim*, *Avrupa'da ne gördüm*; *Paris musâhabeleri*, *Kutub musâhabeleri*). This may be interpreted as signs of both intertextual references within the genre and a conventionalization of these words and phrases significant enough to arouse certain expectations on the part of the readership.[94] To verify this hypothesis, of course, a closer examination of the texts on an individual as well as on a comparative basis is necessary, but for the general purposes of this article, we can note that the Ottoman travel accounts to Europe seem to have continued to thrive *as a genre* while at the same time reaching out to other kinds of texts and developing in different directions. Therefore, I would like to call this third period the 'period of the diversification of travel accounts'.

Regarding the historical context of this development, a crucial factor in the period's diversification was technical progress. The achievements of the 18th century, such as the introduction of printing in the Ottoman-Turkish language[95] and the invention of the steam engine, began to show their full impact only in the 19th century.[96] The spread of printing in Arabic letters and the appearance of newspapers and magazines had direct consequences for reaching a broader readership – not only by considerably increasing the material's availability but also by raising the audiences' awareness of Europe and thus fueling their interest – an effect that was again multiplied by the establishment of the "Victorian internet", the telegraph (Standage 2007). Steamships and railway lines revolutionized long-distance travel, leading, in Bekim Agai's words, to a "collapse of time and space in the 19th century"[97], and thus making it far easier to travel in the first place.

These factors have to be seen in combination, however, with the intellectual and political transformations of the so-called Tanzimat (1839–76), an era of reform and modernization characterized by a strong orientation towards Europe. The prevalent discourse saw Europe as superior to the Ottoman Empire in many respects, with European states and societies being considered models to be followed (cf. Şirin: 370f.). Even those who did not share this attitude could hardly avoid the

94 Such expectations and intertextual relations are part of the so-called prefiguration of a text. On this topic, see Nünning (2009: 133f. and passim).

95 For Ottoman-Turkish, the printing press was introduced only in the 1720s (on the question of how 'late' this was, see Sabev 2011). An important role in this was played by Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi and his son Mehmed Said Efendi – who were also both authors of *sefâretnâme*s (1720/1 and 1732/3, respectively; see Göçek 1987: 80f. and Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi 2004: 50f.).

96 The printing press did not have a large cultural impact until the first newspapers were established and new printing technologies such as lithography made printing in the Arabic script easier and less expensive (cf. Hanioğlu 2008: 38, Sagaster 2001: 165 and Sabev 2007: 315).

97 Agai (2009: 192). For example, the voyage from Vienna to Constantinople was cut down from about three weeks to eight days by the arrival of steam ship lines on the Danube in 1832; on the Mediterranean, each of the European great powers operated regular steam lines by 1837 (ibid.: 196–200).

topic of Europe in the intellectual discussion. For travel accounts to Europe, this meant not only a further extension of the readership but also an increase in the number of potential authors, as travelling to Europe became more widespread and also prestigious among the members of the middle and upper classes.

Summary and conclusions

The above chapters have traced the broad outlines of the historical development of Ottoman travel accounts to Europe. Based on the general criteria of frequency and nature of the accounts, an overall development in three steps was suggested, which were respectively labelled as the periods of:

- 'exceptionality' (beginnings of the Ottoman Empire until about 1700; with few and very diverse travel accounts),
- 'institutionalization' (ca. 1700 until ca. 1845; increasingly more texts, all diplomatic in nature), and
- 'diversification' (ca. 1845 until the end of the Ottoman Empire; more texts of even greater diversity but within genre conventions).

It has been emphasized that this model is intended to be a first approximation that needs to be corroborated and refined by closer examinations of individual travel accounts (or groups of travel accounts). But nevertheless it is important as a new perspective on the genre as a whole, which may lead to insights that cannot be gained by looking at the texts from a 'shorter distance'.

One preliminary result regards the relationship between ambassadorial reports (*sefâretnâme*s) and non-diplomatic travel accounts, which have mostly been viewed as two related but distinct genres. However, the fact that there is only a single non-diplomatic travel account during the whole of what we have called the 'second period' seems to suggest that the genre of *sefâretnâme*s should be viewed as an integral part of the genre of travel accounts as a whole, irrespective of their other functions. Further systematic research on topics such as intertextuality and readership[98] in both diplomatic and non-diplomatic travel accounts could shed more light on this issue.

The list and overview given in this paper will hopefully facilitate such research. As stated in the introduction, all bibliographical information is provided in the appendix at the end of this book. At this point, I would like to remind the reader that an online version of the list, which will be continually updated, can be found under www.bfo.uni-bonn.de/projekte/ottoman-travel-accounts. I will be grateful for any suggestions, corrections or supplementations.

[98] Some concrete suggestions have been made by Klein (2010: 99f.) for *sefâretnâme*s. They are easily applicable to non-diplomatic travel accounts as well.

II
Writing on Self and Other – A closer look

Travelling within the Empire

Perceptions of the East in the historical narratives on Cairo by Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi[1]

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This paper comments on the "perceived" centre–periphery dichotomy in the Ottoman Empire by focusing on the examples of Istanbul and Cairo in the early modern period. For the study, the narratives of two Istanbulite literati, *Book of travels* (*Seyâhatnâme*) by Evliya Çelebi (b. 1611, d. after 1683) and *Description of Cairo* (*Hâlâtü'l-Kahire mine'l-âdâti'z-zâhire*) by Mustafa Âli (b. 1541, d. 1600), have been chosen. [2] The first part of this paper deals with the narratives on Cairo by Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi by giving a brief overview of their relevant works. Following that, the study briefly focuses on the question of *Rûmî* identity. Both Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi were *Rûmî*s, meaning that they were from the core lands of the Ottoman Empire. The way they perceived the Egyptians, as I will show, was shaped accordingly; their observations of the manners and customs of the Egyptian Others had an important place in their accounts, and reflected their *Rûmî*-centric worldview.

In the last part, I will refer to Edward Said's accounts of *Orientalism* to show the possible overlap between the early modern Ottoman context and the phenomenon of "Western" Orientalism. Thereby, my aim is to place Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi in the discussion of Ottoman Orientalism. I argue that the Ottoman Empire, considered in a way as the "Orient" itself by the Europeans, has similar tensions between its centre and peripheries. It would be misleading and anachronistic to label Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi as "Orientalists," but they certainly project the idea of the Other onto – and to some degree "orientalise" – Egypt and the Egyptians, as will be shown.

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1 For a more comprehensive discussion of the same questions, see Hüner (2011). I would like to sincerely thank Assoc. Prof. Tülay Artan, Prof. Metin Kunt and Assist Prof. Hülya Adak, who read several drafts of the thesis from which this article is derived and provided me with insightful comments that made this paper possible. I owe special thanks to Dr. Richard Wittmann, who read this paper and offered comments that helped me to improve it.

2 For the sake of consistency, the names and titles in Ottoman Turkish and Arabic in the text are transliterated as they appear in Evliya Çelebi (2007) and Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli (1975). Quotations from these works will be given accordingly.

Evliya Çelebi[3] *on Istanbul and Cairo*

Evliya Çelebi, now famous for his curiosity and passion for travel, was known for speaking wittily and without reservation, even when he was a young man.[4] He is the famous narrator of the unique travelogue of the Ottoman world, the *Book of travels*. In his monograph, *An Ottoman mentality: the world of Evliya Çelebi,* Robert Dankoff explains the "Ottoman mentality" as the Ottomans' "special way of looking at the world," and in that respect considers Evliya Çelebi as the "archetypal" Ottoman intellectual (Dankoff 2006: 7). His travelogue opens a wide space for historians to trace various aspects of social, cultural and daily life in the multifaceted Ottoman world.

Although Evliya Çelebi's narrative has long been criticized for its historical inaccuracies, overstatements, and its blurred line between "fact" and "fiction", his rich account provides historians with a wide variety of topics ranging from accounts of specific historical events to his insightful perceptions about these events.[5] For the purposes of this paper, I will be focusing specifically on the last volume of the *Book of travels*, which covers Cairo and its surroundings. The importance of Evliya Çelebi's account on Cairo has also been noted by scholars both for the amount of information it yields on seventeenth-century Egypt and the ideological issues related to the Ottoman presence it brings forth (Behrens-Abouseif 1994: 13; Haarmann 1988: footnote 83).

Evliya Çelebi went on a pilgrimage in 1082 (1671/1672), and instead of returning to Istanbul went on to Cairo. His first impression of the city was positive, and he wrote that its worldwide reputation and fame was well deserved (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 94). He dedicated the last volume of his travelogue almost entirely to Cairo and Egypt, where he spent the last years of his life and compiled his notes into the multi-volume *Book of travels*. Although his portrait of Cairo bears obvious parallels to the description of the Ottoman capital Istanbul in the first volume of his work, the latter remained the "natural" centre of the world for him (cf. Dankoff 2006: 1, 6). Istanbul was his birthplace, hometown and more importantly, the primary point of reference for other places throughout his work. Another yardstick for comparison employed by the author was what he called the lands of *Rûm,* the core lands of the Ottoman Empire, as Suraiya Faroqhi

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3 Although Evliya Çelebi's visit to Cairo was later than Mustafa Âli's, I will treat him first, since his travelogue is at the center of my study.

4 It is important to keep in mind that apart from his own work, there are nearly no sources about him. There are a number of inscriptions by his hand and a few documents mentioning his name including a map "created under his supervision." Further research might bring more of his works to light. In *The documentary trail of Evliya Çelebi*, Nuran Tezcan provides a detailed list of sources about Evliya Çelebi (Tezcan 2011). See also Dankoff (2011: 1–2) and Kreiser (2005: 2). For the map, see Dankoff –Tezcan (2011). For his inscriptions, see Tütüncü (2009).

5 For Evliya Çelebi's assessment in the academic circles, see Tezcan, N. (2009).

notes (Faroqhi *Tasty things* [unpubl.][6]). What *Rûm* meant to early modern Ottomans will be discussed in some detail below; however, may it suffice here to say that Istanbul was the centre of *Rûm* as well.

Mustafa Âli and the Description of Cairo

Shortly before Evliya Çelebi's birth in the year 1611, Mustafa Âli, who was also an Istanbulite, wrote his descriptions of Cairo. Many topics like the local customs, manners, and public visibility that Evliya Çelebi dealt with are also mentioned in Mustafa Âli's *Description of Cairo*, though more concisely. Mustafa Âli was a prominent figure in the early modern Ottoman historiography, best known as a "bureaucrat and intellectual" (Fleischer 1986). What distinguishes him from his peers is his courageous style and his outspoken way of addressing political, cultural, and historical issues. As a determined and demanding careerist, he followed a bureaucratic track rather than a scholarly path and in his twenties, served many men of important offices (Fleischer 1986: 8, 67). Unlike Evliya Çelebi, his life did not revolve around travel, but he ended up travelling a lot, mostly due to his appointments and patrons.

Mustafa Âli visited Egypt twice. During his first visit in 1578, he was delighted to be in Egypt. He appreciated its fertility, affluence and order, the decency of the cavalry and the good relations between people from the core lands of the Ottoman Empire (*Rûmî*s) and the inhabitants of Cairo. In 1599, while writing his world history, *Künhü'l-ahbar*, he requested a post in Egypt, thinking that Cairo would be the best place to finish his history, for he would have easy access to significant sources of reference.[7] Although he was unable to secure a post in Cairo, he was able to visit the city on his way to Jidda. Mustafa Âli stayed in Cairo for five months, and he wrote the *Description of Cairo*, also known as *Conditions of Cairo concerning her actual customs,* during his first three months in the city.[8] However, in comparison to his first visit, Mustafa Âli now found that the "good old times" were no more. Egypt had lost her prosperity, as well as her "honesty" and "chastity" (Tietze 1975: 25–27, 31–32). According to Mustafa Âli's narrative, it was the deterioration of social and political conditions in Cairo which led his friends to ask Mustafa Âli to write the *Description of Cairo*. Apparently, he liked the idea of compiling a critical book to fill this need (Tietze 1975: 28). However, another motive for the compilation of the *Description of Cairo* is equally possible: Mustafa Âli wished to become the governor general of Egypt. A successful display of his familiarity and concerns with the daily life and politics in Egypt could portray

6 I am very grateful to Prof. Suraiya Faroqhi for allowing me to read and cite her unpublished article.

7 For detailed information on *Künhü'l-ahbar*, see Schmidt 1991.

8 Fleischer (1986: 181–182). For information on the available manuscripts of the *Description of Cairo* see Tietze (1975).

him as a fitting candidate for the post. Beyond that, this would legitimize his request, remind his superiors of his desires and assure his position in the eyes of Gazanfer Ağa, to whom he dedicated the *Description of Cairo*.[9]

The personal difficulties Mustafa Âli met during the several campaigns he attended, as well as the challenges and disappointments he faced, had turned him into an alienated and bitter observer who painted a gloomy picture of the course of events in the late sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire. As the first Ottoman "political commentator," Mustafa Âli expounded on economic, social, and political transitions extensively (Fleischer 1986: 90, 101). In the example of Egypt, Mustafa Âli attempted to display the serious defects (e.g. moral degeneration, corruption, disobedience to laws, deficient governance) that he perceived as decline – not only in Egypt but as also having an impact on the entire Empire. Fleischer describes Mustafa Âli's approach as the amalgamation of the "traveller's curiosity," the "moral critic's eye for fault" and the "historian's passion for causes and patterns" (Fleischer 1986: 182).

The *Description of Cairo* is divided into four parts. The introduction provides a brief overview of the legendary pre-Islamic Egyptian history. The first part deals with the notable and praiseworthy characteristics of Egypt. It then goes on to detail the blameworthy features Mustafa Âli saw as symptomatic of and contributing to its decline. The epilogue focuses on the history of Egypt during the Islamic Era. At last, the appendix assesses the mishaps of the Ottoman rule in Egypt, and depicts the class of eunuchs as responsible for the "decline." Andreas Tietze, who made the transliteration and English translation of *Description of Cairo*, describes Mustafa Âli's account of Egypt as "kaleidoscopic glimpses through the eyes of an observant and intelligent tourist" rather than being the outcome of a thorough exploration (Tietze 1975: 17). Still, the *Description of Cairo* provides a good point of comparison to the account of Evliya Çelebi. Also, the personal observations of contemporary literati are as important as their thorough explorations.

A Rûmî *identity*

To understand how Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi portrayed others, it is necessary to comprehend how they described themselves. Both Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi were proud of their *Rûmî* identity. Today, nationalistic narratives of historiography and popular accounts refer to them as *Turks*; they, however, called themselves *Rûmî*.[10] Trying to define *Rûmî* or the borders of the lands of *Rûm* is a diffi-

[9] Gazanfer Ağa was the chief white eunuch of the imperial palace and he was a prominent figure during the reigns of Murad III and Mehmed III (Tietze 1975: 28, footnote 10; Fleischer 1986: 183).

[10] Both Evliya Çelebi's and Mustafa Âli's short biographies are available from different series entitled as *Turkish Grandees (Türk Büyükleri)*. See, for example, İsen (1988). A search in Google using the keywords "Evliya Çelebi" and "Türk Büyükleri" returns approximately

cult task, not only because of the porous boundaries and flexible identities of the early modern world, but also because of probable drawbacks of using ethnic and geographic identity markers.[11] However, since Evliya Çelebi's and Mustafa Âli's *Rûmî*-ness shaped their perception of Cairo, as I argue, it is necessary to define *Rûmî* provisionally.

Briefly, "*Rûmî* by ethnicity" is used to denote "someone from western Anatolia or the eastern Balkans, particularly the vicinity of the imperial capital" (Hathaway 1998: 53). Defining the lands of *Rûm* as "a region corresponding to the Eastern Roman domains, commonly designating Anatolia and the Balkans" is likewise possible, with a special reference to the root of the word, Rome or Romans (Necipoğlu – Bozdoğan 2007: 2; Kafadar 1995: 1–2). Many erudite (and lesser educated) people of Asia Minor had no problem with identifying themselves as *Rûmî*s or their lands as the lands of *Rûm* (Kafadar 2007: 7). This usage was accepted by Turkish-speaking people to address the lands where they lived, and over which they reigned. However, it is necessary to first note that the word *Rûm* had no static definition throughout the centuries. Sharing a similar fate with many loan words, the word *Rûmî* underwent a shift in its meaning in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[12] Besides, the lands of *Rûm* corresponded to not only a physical but also a cultural space (Kafadar 2007: 9–11). Fleischer analyzes Mustafa Âli's own use of the term *Rûm*. In the cultural context, *Rûm* meant roughly the Anatolian and Balkan regions of the Ottoman Empire where the Ottomans settled and expanded. Âli was apparently "proud of his *Rûmî* origins" and he was inspired and motivated by the Ottoman venture.[13]

Unlike Mustafa Âli, Evliya Çelebi did not introduce a definition for *Rûmî*s. Rather, he let his comparisons between Egypt and *Rûmî* lands speak for themselves. In most cases, the lands of *Rûm* and Egypt are presented in strong contrast.

6410 results, and in the case of "Mustafa Âli" and "Türk Büyükleri" it is around 943 results (date of retrieval: 05 August 2011).

11 The most comprehensive study on *Rûmî* identity between the 14th and 17th centuries is authored by Özbaran (2004). For a different example comparing the fluidity of identities in the early modern world in the cases of the French and Ottoman Empires, see Isom-Verhaaren (2004).

12 It is also important to recall the contemporary usage of the word. Over time, the meaning of *Rûmî* shifted and there occurred a distinction between *Rûmî* and *Rûm*; the latter started to be used to refer to Greeks or Greek Orthodox people (Kafadar 2007: 11).

13 In his world history, *Künhü'l-Ahbar*, Âli defined *Rûmî*-ness as follows: "Those varied peoples and different types of *Rûmî*s living in the glorious days of the Ottoman dynasty, who are not generically separate from those tribes of Turks and Tatars (…) are a select community and pure, pleasing people who, just as they are distinguished in the origins of their state, are singled out for their piety [diyanet], cleanliness [nezafet], and faith [akidet]. Apart from this, most inhabitants of *Rûm* are of confused ethnic origins. Among its notables there are few whose lineage does not go back to a convert to Islam (…) Either on their father or their mother's side, the genealogy is traced to a filthy infidel (…) The best qualities of the progenitors were then manifested and gave distinction, either in physical beauty or spiritual wisdom" (Fleischer 1986: 168).

One of the strongest examples in that respect is the description of the *hamâsîn* days in Egypt.[14] In these "cursed" fifty days, Egyptian people faced several disasters and illnesses. People were exhausted and weak; many died of the plague and newborns suffered from diseases. The survival rate was very low. In stark contrast to the miserable experiences of the Egyptian people, these days were good days for the lands of *Rûm*. Because of the mass deaths and the dissolution of towns, the (*Rûmî*) governor of Egypt received all escheated property, bolstering his land values. Evliya adds: "As a mystery of God, these black *hamâsîn* days of Egypt correspond to the nice spring days of *Rûm*."[15] Likewise, while the lands of *Rûm* were suffering under harsh weather conditions, Egypt experienced fresh spring days.[16]

When Evliya referred to *Rûm*, most of these references praised its preeminent natural features. For example, during his visit to the city of Reşîd, Evliya stated that the water and the weather of the city were similar to those *Rûmî* cities enjoyed.[17] Because of this resemblance, the people in Reşîd were thus praised. The similarity to *Rûm* in its weather and the quality of the water meant the people of Reşid were deemed friendly and amicable.[18] Beyond showing a close comparison to *Rûm*, this example – among many others – exemplifies Evliya's ode to *Rûm*. In most of Evliya's odes to *Rûm*, similar inferences are possible. I believe that these repetitious references to *Rûm* were intended by Evliya Çelebi as compliments, in addition to providing a point of reference for *Rûmî* readers. In all things – be it the weather or the culture – Egypt was defined by what it was not: *Rûmî*.

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14 The *hamâsîn*, or khamsin, is a "hot, dry, dusty wind in North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula that blows from the south or southeast in late winter and early spring" (Encyclopædia Britannica 2011: *khamsin*).

15 "Zîrâ Mısır'da hamâsîn günleri ta'bîr ederler elli gündür, Allâhümme âfinâ, aşağı şehr-i Mısır içre halka bir nühûset ü kesâfet ve emrâz-ı muhtelifeler ârız olup elli gün Mısır halkı bî-tâb ü bî-mecâl sersem ü serserî gezerler. Ve bu günlerde tâ'ûndan bezerler, hâl [ü] ahvâl-i pür-melâlleri perîşân-hâl olup dörd beş aylık ma'sûmlarının beynileri üstü çatlayup merhûm olur ve müsin âdemlerin dişine başına kaşına ve kuşuna inhidâr enüp kimi merhûm kimi halâs olur. Hazret-i Mûsâ'nın kavm-i Fir'avn'a bed-du'â edüp elli gün belâ nâzil olan hamâsîn günleridir kim Mısır halkının, 'Âh hannâk, hinnâm, hamâsîn' deyü havf etdikleri günlerdir. Ve bu günlerde Mısır paşasının yüzü güler, zîrâ çok köyler mahlûl olup niçe bin akçe dahi mahlûlât gelüp paşaya âyid olur. Ammâ hikmet-i Hudâ bu Mısır'da hamâsînin bed günleri Rûm'un bahâr mevsiminde letâfeti günleridir, aceb hikmetdir" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 160). All Evliya Çelebi translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

16 "Bu mahalde Rûm'da kış kıyâmet iken Mısır'da tâze bahâr olup atlar çayıra çıkar" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 186).

17 Reşîd was a city along the coastline; it is marked on Evliya Çelebi's map. See Tezcan – Dankoff (2011).

18 "Evsaf-ı şehr-i müzeyyen bender-i Reşîd: Ve bu şehrin âb [u] havâsı Rûm havâsına müşâbeheti vardır. Ve âb [u] havâsı Rûm havâsı olduğundan mahbûb u mahbûbesi memdûhdur (…) Âb [u] havâsının letâfetinden mâ'adâ Rûm bâğları gibi bâğlarında âbdâr üzümü olur. Ve halkı gâyet garîb-dostlardır" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 374).

Egypt, the geographical Other

The centrality, fertility, and uniqueness of Egypt stand out in both Evliya Çelebi's and Mustafa Âli's narratives. Although the lands of *Rûm* were the centre of the Ottoman intellectuals' world, Egypt was the mother and the centre of the earth as a consequence of its location, prosperity and distinctiveness. Evliya said that God gave the Earth a fertility of [the level of] ten; nine was given to Egypt, and the remaining one to the rest of the world.[19] Egypt was known to be a land where from a single wheat germ hundreds of ears of grain grew, and in each ear of grain there were 100 green seeds.[20]

Apart from being the "mother of the world," Egypt had an outstanding position among the Ottoman provinces as a result of its lands' immensity and resourcefulness. Egypt's significance to the Empire was both strategic and economic. Militarily, this province was a very important base for operations. In addition to the high agricultural revenues and taxes, these lands had a significant income from trade activities and customs. In addition to the monetary contributions, Egypt supplied various harvests and products like sugar, rice, lentils, and coffee to the imperial kitchens and shops (Winter 1998: 5). To understand the immensity of the province as well as its contributions to the Ottoman Empire, it should be sufficient to note that shortly after the Ottoman conquest, Egypt and Syria supplied one-third of the whole Empire's income (Behrens-Abouseif 1994: 49–50). Evliya recounted that each year Egypt provided to the Ottoman treasury the sum of 30 Egyptian *hazine*s, with each Egyptian *hazine* measuring 1,200 Egyptian purses, or *kîse-i Mısrî*.[21]

"Not disgraceful": People, manners, and customs in Egypt

Neither Evliya Çelebi's nor Mustafa Âli's descriptions of Egypt were limited to the geographical features or government of Egypt. Both Ottoman intellectuals shared a keen interest in practices, manners, customs, and public life – i.e. anything that constituted life in Egypt. To attract their readers' attention and spark their curios-

19 "Cenâb-ı Bârî rûy-ı arza on berekât vermişdir, tokuzu Mısır'a, biri cümle dünyâya vermişdir, zîrâ iklîm-i âhardır" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 17).

20 "Ve ol kadar zirâ'at edüp hubûbât-ı ganâyime mâlik oldular kim bir buğday dânesinden niçe yüz başak hâsıl olup her başakdan, âye[t]: "her başakda yüz dâne (habbe) bulunan" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 10).

21 "Hâsıl-ı kelâm cümle Mısır'ın iş erlerinin kavl-i sahîhleri üzre beher sene Mısır'dan otuz Mısır hazînesi mîrî içün hâsıl olur, deyü tahrîr olunmuşdur. Ve her hazînesi bin ikişer yüz kîse-i Mısrî olmak üzredir" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 81). – *Kîse-i Mısri*: "For large sums appearing in the Ottoman financial registers originating in Egypt, a new unit of account came into use in the seventeenth century, the *kese-i Mısri* ('Egyptian purse'), which equalled 25,000 *para*s. The *kese* was also used for *akçe*s elsewhere in the Empire, with the *kese-i Rûmî* equalling 50,000 *akçe*s. The *kese-i Mısri* of 25,000 *para*s equalled 60,000 *akçe*s regardless of the exchange rate between the two units" (Pamuk 2000: 97, footnote 21).

ity, they usually emphasized the particularities of Egypt rather than its similarities to the lands of *Rûm*. I believe that besides using these comparisons as a stylistic device, they were motivated by the urge to document practices that were unknown at the imperial centre.

In *Evliya Çelebi's tales of Cairo's guildsmen,* Faroqhi elaborates on Evliya Çelebi's attentiveness to the "different practices" in Cairo (Faroqhi *Guildsmen* [unpubl.][22]). It can be inferred that Evliya Çelebi saw a lot before he settled in Cairo to write his *Book of travels*, as he had been travelling throughout his life. This lifestyle, spent among places, cultures, and different customs, made him more open-minded and multi-cultural. And yet, being a "worldly man" did not prevent him from pointing out each and every thing that deviated from the "norms" he had known in Istanbul.

Although Evliya Çelebi had seen a lot and travelled extensively, he was also aware that he was an exception, and his audience was more attached to the *Rûmî* way of perceiving the world. Predicting his readers' reactions, Evliya added his famous phrase, "not disgraceful" *(ayıp değil),* when describing odd manners and customs. Dankoff analyzes the use of the concept "disgrace" in Evliya Çelebi's narrative in his eminent article, *Ayıp Değil* (Dankoff 2009). Dankoff asserts that Evliya used the preface "disgrace" in two different ways. First, it reflected Evliya Çelebi's (or the speaking person's) moral judgment, and the reference point was the culture of the Ottoman elite and Istanbul. In such instances, Evliya Çelebi assumed that his readers were of the same opinion and moral standard. Second, "disgrace" was mentioned to acknowledge the public opinion of a given region (Dankoff 2009: 109). Evliya used this phrase while mentioning the practices or traditions that were accepted in the relevant society but that may not have been accepted by his audience. In the first volume on Istanbul in the *Book of travels,* the phrase "not disgraceful" is not used. This is telling because it supports the argument that Istanbul was the point of reference for Evliya Çelebi; therefore there was no need for justification. However, "setting his foot out of Istanbul" in Egypt, Evliya Çelebi felt it necessary to use this explanatory phrase most frequently. This may well be because of Egypt's own peculiarities (Dankoff 2009: 114, 116–117). Evliya Çelebi's approach is described by Dankoff as a "guarded tolerance" that declares, "it is their custom, so we cannot censure it" (Dankoff 2006: 82). It is not clear if Evliya Çelebi was "bemused" or "sympathetic" toward the situation in each case; however, it is essential to recognize that Evliya Çelebi was respectful toward differences and he was consistently against any fanaticism (Dankoff 2006: 82).

Although Evliya Çelebi criticized zealous acts, he frequently voiced his support of despotic measures. One of the outstanding topics in Evliya Çelebi's narrative is the importance and necessity of the authority:

[22] I am very grateful to Prof. Suraiya Faroqhi for allowing me to read and cite her unpublished article.

> "Without capital punishment, for the sake of the reform of this world, it would be impossible to maintain control over the *fellahın* of Egypt, where even the preachers – with kohl on their eyes, prayer-beads in their hands, and toothpicks in their turbans – provide aid and cover to bandits and thieves" (Dankoff 2006: 84).

Evliya connected the janissaries' actions in Egypt to the old despotic rule of the Pharaohs (Dankoff 2006: 114). However, he pointed to the need of killing people to restrain the Egyptian *fellâhîn*, because without strong measures it would be impossible to suppress them.[23] This emphasis on oppressive rule stemmed from Evliya's opinions of the *fellâhîn*, which he believed were wilful, hostile, and tyrannical by nature.[24] If there were no officials around, the *urbân* (Bedouins) and *fellâhîn* would have killed each other.[25] Evliya Çelebi accepted and supported the necessity of authority, but he also criticized the government in Egypt for their affluence derived from over-taxation and exploitation of the poor. Likewise, Mustafa Âli chastises the provincial governors for their tyrannical and ruthless rule (Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli 1975: 56).

Both authors argued that drinking from the Nile River was another cause for the inherent despotism. Evliya Çelebi explained that the tyranny in Egyptian lands was the consequence of the Egyptian climate and environment. He emphasizes that even people from the lands of *Rûm* would turn into tyrants if they drank from the Nile for three years. The water from the Nile turned women into impudent and immoral humans, and made the horses evil-natured.[26] Similarly, Mustafa Âli explained that the "Pharaonization" was caused by the water of the Nile, and as a consequence, the governors of Egypt became autocratic. This "Pharaonization" was inherited from the pre-Islamic history of Egypt (Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli 1975: 45).[27]

The climate of Egypt not only turned people into potential despots, but also drew Egyptians to melancholy. Evliya further argued that because of women's de-

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23 "Islâh-ı âlem içün böyle âdem katl etmese Mısır fellâhının zabtı rabtı mümkin değildir (...) Hemân Mısır'a bir hâkim-i cebbâr lâzımdır" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 43).

24 "Allâhümme âfinâ, Mısır fellâhları kavm-i Fir'avnî bir alay kavm-i cebbârîn ve anûd, hasûd, fessâk kavimdir, görmeğe muhtâc kavimdirler" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 185).

25 "Yohsa hâkim tarafından âdem olmasa urbân ve fellâhîn birbirlerini katl ederlerdi" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 184).

26 "Âb [u] havâsının hükmü üzre cebbârlardır" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 24). "Ve bu Nîl suyunun ve baklasının hâssasındandır ki suyundan üç sene içen eğer Rûm âdemi dahi olursa bî-rahim ve cebbâr olur. Ve zenânesi gâyet mahbûb olup kalîlü'l-edeb ve kalîlü'l-hayâ olur. Ve atları Nîl suyun nûş edüp olup Katıyye ve Ümmü'l-Hasan çölün çıkup değme hâliyle bir gayrı diyâra varmaz" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 185). "Zîrâ âb-ı Nîl'i nûş edenin hükmü cebbâr ve mütekebbir olmakdır, zîrâ Ferâ'ine tahtıdır" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 219).

27 The discussion of Oriental despotism and hydraulic civilization is one of the important issues in historiography. In his well-known book *Oriental Despotism* Karl Wittfogel argued that civilizations in need of large-scale irrigation tended to become more authoritative (Wittfogel 1957). For critiques of Wittfogel, see for example Mitchell 1973. In his most recent study on Egypt, Alan Mikhail elaborates on irrigation in detail. He criticizes the thesis of Wittfogel as the historical facts did not support the argument empirically. For further analysis, see Mikhail 2011.

ception and tricks, the whole society was under their enchantment. The men who were prone to melancholy were sent to lunatic asylums for healing. However, this was only possible due to a decree from the Ottoman governor.[28] Besides the lunatics, both our *Rûmî* observers seem to have paid great attention to the eyes of the people. It becomes clear that in seventeenth-century Egypt many people had eye and vision problems. Both Evliya Çelebi and Mustafa Âli referred to the abundance of blind people. According to Evliya, there was a discrepancy between southern Egypt and the rest of the country, which he – again – blamed on the weather. The beautiful weather turned the eyes of the people into the beautiful eyes of gazelles, but people from the south of Egypt had *cimloz*/*cimroz* eyes.[29] The references to *cimloz* eyes are very common in Evliya Çelebi's narrative.[30] Likewise, Mustafa Âli mentioned that "one rarely meets a person whose eyes are bright and round" (Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli 1975: 42). Instead of blaming the climate, however, Âli argued that the cheap, heavy, and indigestible food (fried cheese) they consumed on a daily basis caused blindness, and Âli criticized Egyptians with the following pun: "[I]t causes a weakening of vision and leads to blindness; they still stretch out their hands for it in blind greed" (Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli 1975: 84). Beyond pointing out the illnesses and blindness rampant in the society, they emphasized the inefficiency of the society in dealing with these problems. For example it is repeatedly mentioned that although so many people had such eye problems, there were no oculists in Egypt.[31]

According to Evliya Çelebi's narrative, having problems but not having the necessary professions and tools to cope with them went beyond the problem of eye diseases. Egypt was a land:

> "where there were many horses but no horseshoers; many sick people but no physicians; many ruptured people, but no surgeons; many men but no rulers, they don't allow themselves to be ruled; many qadis but no one in the courts telling the truth; and many false witnesses; and many obdurate people but no one talking because of [?] the apathy;

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28 "Ammâ bu Mısır'ın âb [u] havâsı yübûset üzre olduğundan cümle halkı sevdâyîdir. Ve mekr-i zenânı çok olmağile ekseriyyâ halkı meshûr ve memkûrdur. Hemân ol âdemi ahâlî-i mahalle paşaya arz edüp buyurdı-yı şerîf ile bîmârhâneye koyup tîmâr ederler. Buyurdı olmasa bîmârhâneye komazlar" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 144).

29 Cimroz /cimloz: *gözleri çapaklı* (having crust round the eyes). Dankoff 2004: s.v. "cimroz".

30 "Havâsının letâfetinden evlâdlarının gözleri mükehhal merâlî ve gazâlî gözlü olur. Ammâ aşağı Mısırlı gözleri cimloz ve koncoloz gözlü olur. Aceb hikmetullâhdır" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 105). "Ammâ Mısır şehrinde hâsıl olan evlâdların bi-emrillâh gözleri kuloğlu [Kuloğlu?] gözlerine döner. Mısır'ın bu kelâm darb-ı meselidir, ya'nî gözleri cimroz olur" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 164). "Bu darb-ı mesel gâyet sahîh kelâmdır. İki âdemin biri bi-emri Hudâ alîl olup gözleri cimroz olur. Bu dahi darb-ı meseldir kim bir âdem bir şey'e bir hoş nazar edemese, 'Senin gözlerin Mısır kuloğlusu gözüne benzer' derler" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 206–207).

31 "İki âdemin biri bi-emri Hudâ alîl olup gözleri cimroz olur(…) alîl a'mâ çokdur, kehhâl yokdur" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 207). "Evvelâ Mısır'da çeşmi alîl ve müşevveşü'l-uyûn âdemin hisâbını Cenâb-ı Bârî bilür. Ma'a hâzâ yine böyle iken üstâd-ı kâmil kehhâlı yokdur" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 272).

> many soldiers but no officers – they treat soldiers as companions –; they have a great treasury but no honest bookkeepers. These sayings are still being told in Egypt."[32]

By stating this, Evliya Çelebi drew a very pessimistic portrayal of the life in Cairo. Although these were just sayings, Evliya stated that these proverbs were still mentioned in the Egyptian society.

Women, beauty, and public life

Regarding the common man's public behaviour, Mustafa Âli noted that men were not ashamed of riding donkeys: he writes that more than one man could be seen on a donkey, though Âli is critical of this action, as it was a burden for donkeys (Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli 1975: 42). Of course, it is impossible to think that Evliya Çelebi, the curious traveller, would not refer to the donkeys.[33] Evliya Çelebi reported that all the donkeys, mules, camels, and sheep went around the bazaar in herds. The extensive amount of donkeys throughout Egypt was remarkable. The donkey riders were all yelling on the streets. Interestingly, Evliya Çelebi added that some donkey riders intentionally drove the mules among half-witted *Rûmî* men.[34] This fact may signify that *Rûmî*s in Egypt were identifiable; at least their "half-witted ones" could be identified by sight on the crowded streets of Cairo.

Women were frequently referred to in both Mustafa Âli's and Evliya Çelebi's narratives. Both authors felt compelled to inform their readers about the plenitude and recurrent public visibility of women in Egypt. Evliya was surprised to see that the Egyptian elites and women were donkey riders, too. It was "not disgraceful" for them to ride donkeys, and go to the promenades and public places

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32 "[K]im Mısır'da at çokdur, üstâd-ı kâmil na'lband yokdur, cümle hımâr na'lbandıdır; ve marîz çokdur ve hekîm ü hâkim yokdur" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 206–207). "Atı çok, na'lbandı yok; marîzi çok, hekîmi yok; debesi çok, kat'-ı fıtk eder cerrâhı yok; âdemi çok, hâkimi yok, hükm etdirmezler; kadısı çok, mahkemelerinde doğru söyler yok; ve yalan şâhidi çok ve lecûc ve lecûc kavmi çok, meskenet ile kelimât eder yok; ve askerî tâ'ifesi çok, zâbitleri yok, askere müdârâ ederler; ve tahsîl hazînesi çok, müstakîm muhâsebecisi yok. Bu kelimâtlar hâlâ Mısır içinde darb-ı mesel olmuşdur, efvâh-ı nâsda söylenir" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 272).

33 Donkeys attracted the attention of not only the Ottoman travellers, but also the Westerners, as Derek Gregory has shown for the American traveller Bayard Taylor, whose *Journey to Central Africa* appeared in 1854: "'Donkey riding is universal,' Taylor remarked, and 'no one thinks of going beyond the Frank quarter on foot.' Careering through the streets on these 'long-eared cabs,' the tourist gaze was acutely physical. 'There is no use in attempting to guide the donkey,' Taylor advised, 'for he won't be guided. The driver shouts behind; and you are dashed at full speed into a confusion of other donkeys, camels, horses, carts, water-carriers and footmen'" (Gregory 2005: 86).

34 "Ve bu Mısır'da olan devâbât makûlesi ya'nî at ve katır ve cemâl ve sığır ve câmûs ve koyun ve keçi çârsû-yı bâzârda sürü sürü gezerler. Ve eşek çokluğu şehr-i Mısır'ı dutmuşdur. Sokaklarda zahrek ve cenbek ve vechek ve yemînek ve yesârek deyü hammârların feryâdından geçilmez. Ve ba'zı hammârlar, "Tarîk yâ seydî, tarîk" diyerek kasden Rûm âdemlerinin eblehlerin eşeğe çiğnedirler" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 81).

on them. Referring to Istanbul, Evliya Çelebi added that donkeys in Egypt replaced the boats used in Istanbul to go to such places.[35]

In a more judgmental approach, Mustafa Âli was astonished that the women in Egypt rode donkeys:

> "[The fact that] their women, all of them, ride donkeys! Even the spouses of some notables ride on donkeys to the Bulak promenade. Week after week they mount their donkeys and dismount like soldiers. Moreover, when they marry a daughter off they let her ride on a donkey and seventy or eighty women ride [with her], while the only things visible in terms of weapons are their shields. People of intelligence find that this unbecoming behaviour constitutes a serious defect for the city of Cairo, because in other lands they put prostitutes on a donkey as punishment. In Cairo, the women mount donkeys by their own free will and expose themselves [to the eyes of the public]; therefore it appears appropriate that for punishment they be put on camels" (Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli 1975: 41).

It was reported that the first Ottoman military judge (*kazasker*) in Egypt was not welcome, especially by women, because he took some measures to limit the women's rights. One of these rights regarded donkeys; according to the new rules, women were not allowed to leave their houses or ride donkeys. Such actions resulted in serious sanctions like being "beaten" and "dragged through the streets with their hair tied to a mule's tail" (Behrens-Abouseif 1994: 75). Ibn Iyas reported that women were now expected to ride mules instead of donkeys – just like in Istanbul. Furthermore, donkey drivers were not allowed to let the women ride, and if they did, they could face capital punishment. The Ottoman *kazasker* claimed that the Egyptian women were demoralizing the soldiers by such improper actions. The Egyptian men were "rather pleased" by these new measures, but the female opposition secured the abolishment of some of these attempts. At the end, women were allowed to leave their houses to visit their relatives, and to go to bathhouses or cemeteries. All in all, referring to the quote above by Mustafa Âli, it is assumed that these new regulations did not have a real impact on the daily life and manners of Egyptians. Mustafa Âli reported that the women continued to ride donkeys (Behrens-Abouseif 1994: 75).[36]

The manners of women were widely discussed by Ottoman authors, not necessarily in relation to donkeys but also regarding other forms of behaviour in public and domestic services, beauty and sensuality. The attitude of both Evliya Çelebi and Mustafa Âli toward beauty and sensuality – especially with regard to

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35 "Zîrâ Mısır'ın a'yân [u] eşrâfı ve cümle nisvân-ı sâhib-isyânları har-süvârdırlar. Eyle fârisü'l-hımârdırlar kim Özbekiyye ve Salîbiyye ve Eski Mısır ve Bulak'a ve Kayıtbay'a varınca avretler zahrek hüşşek diyerek cirid oynayarak gümüş rahtlı ve katîfe abâyili alaca hınnâlı eşeklerle gezmek ayıb değildir. Zîrâ Mısır'ın kayığı ve peremeleri cümle eşekdir" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 81).

36 The place and impact of the Ottoman *kazasker* in Egypt was also a topic of discussion. Winter argues that the *kazasker*'s impact on both religion and society was barely existent and Egyptians did not think that he was on their side (Winter 2005: 193, 196).

women – is especially useful in tracing their mentality toward the Other. In that respect, Cairene women were the Others not only because they were natives to Egypt but also because they were women.

In *Description of Cairo*, a fairly large part of the work was about women. Women and their behaviour were described both in the sections on "praiseworthy" and "blameworthy" features. Âli noted that one of the praiseworthy features in Egypt is the clean white covers of women, thus Âli likened women to angels. The *Rûmî* women publicly demonstrated their *Rûmî* character and exceptional manners by carrying black veils that made them visually recognizable among Egyptians. The headscarves of the Cairene women were less neat than their *Rûmî* counterparts, but when they were unveiled, they had beautiful and fresh faces. Mustafa Âli added that he *heard* that these women were sensually attractive during sexual intercourse. The virgins in Cairo veiled their faces with a red cloth to depict that "their maidenhood has not been soiled with blood" (Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli 1975: 35).[37]

Âli continued his comments on women in the section of "blameworthy features." He repeated that the Egyptian women were not exceptionally charming in their looks but they were praised for their sensuality. He even gets graphic as he describes Cairene women as making "all sorts of movements during intercourse (...) [and] motions like an Arabian horse that has slipped out from under its rider, thereby enchanting sexual enjoyment," and they had lips "delicious as the cane sugar of Egypt."[38] The Ethiopian slave girls were especially held out as their "coital organs are narrow and hot" (Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli 1975: 51).

Âli's remarks on physical beauty need special attention. Âli argued that a good-looking person was often a *Rûmî*, or at least descended from one. Those with *Rûmî* ancestors in the first, second, and third generation looked better than the "pure" Arabs, although their beauty deteriorated with each generation. From the fourth generation onwards, they looked like *Tat* (other Arabs) "like those unbecoming, ugly ones, namely [pure] Arabs both on the father's and mother's side" (Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli 1975: 40). Mustafa Âli used similar genetic explanations for illnesses that are common among Egyptians. The children of *Rûmî* people in Egypt were expected to face similar health problems, and in further mixed generations these diseases were certain to occur.

The beauty and public visibility of women were among the outstanding topics in *Book of travels*, too. Referring to women, Evliya Çelebi used disparaging phrases like *nisvân-ı/bintân-ı/zenân-ı sâhib-isyân* ('women of rebellious nature'). Dankoff argues that the rhymed phrases Evliya used when referring to women should not be

37 On women's clothing, see Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli (1975: 42). In Orhan Şaik Gökyay's version of the book, the explicit manner of Mustafa Âli is criticized and Şaik states without explanation that he leaves out these parts (Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli 1984: 37, footnote 113).

38 The source of Mustafa Âli is claimed to be "the experienced womanizers and men of culture" (Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli 1975: 40).

taken too seriously (Dankoff 2006: 110). Being loyal to his encyclopaedic tendency, Evliya listed the names of women in Egypt: "Meryem, Havvâ, Azrâ, Safâ, Varka, Verdî, Ümmühân, Külsûm, Râbi'a, Rukıyye, Zeyneb, Sitiyye, Züleyhâ, Zaliha, Sâliha, Dümerye, Acîbe, Şinâs, Tâhire, Sâmi'a and Mâhiye" – and as expected, he acknowledged that there were still more names. It is noteworthy that Evliya differentiated between the names of Egyptians and the Ethiopian concubines whose sexual abilities were praised by Mustafa Âli. According to Evliya, the names of Ethiopian concubines were especially fascinating.[39] It appears that the names of women were markers of their social status, thus gender as a category was not homogenous. Women were from different social strata and moral status and they should be considered accordingly.

Like Mustafa Âli, Evliya Çelebi wrote that in Egyptian lands there were no men or women who were praised as being beautiful. Some powerful men took virgins from Behce, Hınadi, or from the Khazar Bedouins, or they brought distinguished and exceptional females from the lands of *Rûm* each worth an Egyptian treasury; among them, Evliya especially praised the women from Khazar.[40] Beautiful young men and women were conveyed from outside as there were no "charmers" in Egypt.[41]

Writing his observations on Dimyat (Damietta), a port city at the Nile Delta, Evliya pointed out that women were not allowed to go out there. They only left their houses at night with lamps. To go out, for women, was "disgraceful" here, consequently Dimyat was portrayed as an upright and virtuous (*ehl-i ırz*) town.[42] A very stark contrast to the city of Dimyat was the old city of Zeyla'. Sexual intercourse in this city was common and available; especially because of the excep-

39 "Esmâ'-i nisvân:Meryem ve Havvâ ve Azrâ ve Safâ ve Varka ve Verdî ve Ümmühân ve Külsûm ve Râbi'a ve Rukıyye ve Zeyneb ve Sitiyye ve Züleyhâ ve Zaliha ve Sâliha ve Dümerye ve Acîbe ve Şinâs ve Tâhire ve Sâmi'a ve Mâhiye ve niçe turfe esmâları var, ammâ bu kadar tahrîr etdik. Ve Habeşe cevâriler esmâları var kim âdem hayrân olur. Meselâ Hasîse ve Fesîse ve Kasîse ve Nefîse ve Fitne ve Eşmîne ve Şemsiyye ve Şemmûne ve Reyhâne ve Hediyye ve Verdiyye ve Hamrâ ve Kamrâ ve Amberiyye ve Cemîle ve bunun emsâli niçe nâmları vardır kim tahrîrinde melâlet vardır" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 275).

40 "Ammâ Hazarî kızları var kim serâmed ve serbülend, kaddi bülend, kıyâfeti şeh-levend, balaban kızlar olur" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 275).

41 "Ammâ cemî'i diyârın mahbûb [u] mahbûbeleri memdûh-ı âlemdir, ammâ bi-emrillâh Mısır'ın merd [ü] zenânında mahbûb u mahbûbe olmaz, aceb hikmetdir. Meğer ba'zı devletmend âdemler Behce ve Hınâdî ve Hazarî Urbânından kızlar alırlar, ve Rûm'dan mümtâz [u] müstesnâ mahbûbe duhter-i pâkîze-ahter nâ-şüküfte gonca-fem bâkireler getürürler kim herbiri birer Mısır hazînesi değer (...) Ve mahbûb gulâmları yine taşra diyârlardan gelmişdir. Yohsa Mısır'da dilber olmaz, olursa mu'ammer olmaz" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 274–275), and: "Ammâ şehr-i Mısır'ın hâricinde kurâ ve kasabâtlarda Sa'îdî ve Bedevî mahbûbeleri olur kim merâlî ve gazâlî Hoten âhûsu gibi mukehhal gözlü, şîrîn sözlü ve münevver yüzlü perî peykerleri olur kim medhinde lisân kâsırdır" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 275).

42 "Ve bu şehirde [Dimyat] şeyhü'l-beled defteriyle üç kerre yüz bin âdem vardır. Hamd-ı Hudâ bu kadar ecnâs-ı mahlûkât olup bâbullûk nâmında fâhişehâne bi'l-ittifâk yokdur. Gâyet ehl-i ırz vilâyetdir. Bu şehrin dahi nisvân-ı sâhib-isyânları çârsû-yı bâzâra çıkmak ayıbdır, gece fânûslarla gezerler" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 389).

tionality and abundance of 'perpetual' virgins, whose virginity regenerated itself.[43] It is astonishing that Evliya Çelebi did not adopt a judgmental approach in these cases; but rather, he just mentioned the virtuous nature of Dimyat.

An Ottoman Orientalism?

A geographically distant land, prosperous and exotic, with an unattractive population whose women were highly sensual. A chaotic city with a lot of donkeys. Mustafa Âli's and Evliya Çelebi's reflections on the various topics discussed inevitably reminds readers of Edward Said's eminent book, *Orientalism*. I argue that the authors' attitudes toward Egypt and Egyptians strongly echo the discourse of Orientalism. However, for the early modern Ottoman world, instead of the binary oppositions of the East and the West, talking about an imperial centre as a point of reference in relation to its peripheries would be more appropriate.[44]

In the light of the *Rûmî* narratives on Egypt, would it be appropriate to talk about an invented "Ottoman Orient"? While keeping in mind that the "Orient is not an inert fact of nature," it would be an interesting mental exercise to re-write some of Said's statements for an Ottoman context, as seen below (Said 2003: 4):

> "The [Ottoman] Orient was almost an [Ottoman] invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences."
>
> "The [Ottoman] Orient is not only adjacent to [the core lands of the Ottoman Empire]; it is also the place of [the Ottomans'] greatest and richest and oldest [provinces], the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the *Other*. In addition, the [Ottoman] Orient has helped to define [Ottoman identity] as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. Yet none of this Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of [Ottoman] *material* civilization and culture."

Of course, the aim of this exercise is not to make a broad generalization for the Ottoman context and fall into the same trap as Said did. Rather, my aim is to draw attention to the fact that it is possible to replace Said's "Europe" with Mustafa Âli's

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43 "Ve cimâ'ı bu şehrin gâyet lezîzdir. Ve Hıtâyî dedikleri zenânelerinden küsâm-ı hâsıl-ı kâm masdar-ı insân-ı kân bu diyâra mahsûsdur. Her cem'iyyetde bâkire bulunur mahbûbeleri vardır" (Evliya Çelebi 2007: 490). In his *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi Okuma Sözlüğü*, Dankoff explains that Evliya Çelebi sarcastically made *küsam* look like an Arabic word, although it is a made-up word by Evliya Çelebi as a combination of a Persian (*küs*) and a Turkish word for female genitalia (Dankoff 2004, s.v. "küsam"). *Hıtayi* is used for young girls whose virginity rejuvenated. Dankoff adds that the word may be related to Hıtay, meaning Turkistan, China (Dankoff 2004, s.v. "Hıtayi").

44 The discussion of core lands and peripheries has been introduced by Immanuel Wallerstein in his world-system theory. This theoretical framework has been utilized by many social scientists also in relation with the Ottoman Empire. See for example Heper (1980).

and Evliya Çelebi's "core lands of the Ottoman Empire" when considering narratives as primary sources.

In sharing their extraordinary observations, both Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi emphasized the "romantic" experiences of the Egyptian people, their different manners and customs. Cairo was, as Said said of the Orient, a "place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences." Egypt was located next to the lands of *Rûm*, it was the most lucrative province, and a centre of civilization and of languages. In the narratives about Egypt, the images of Others are defined along geographic, ethnic, economic, and educational lines. It is evident that the Ottomans shaped their identities as *Rûmî*s in contrast with the local Egyptians Others. Thus, Egypt was certainly an "integral part of the Ottoman material civilization and culture."

The historical contexts of Said's *Orientalism* and the early modern Ottoman Empire are substantially different. Said refers to a period of an imperialist domination by colonial powers. But, in more general terms, the relationship between the East and the West relies on uneven power relations, domination, and hegemony. As a consequence of these power relations, "the Orient was created or, as I [Said] call it, 'Orientalised'" (Said 2003: 5). In that context, the West had a flexible "positional superiority" and Orientalism helped justify the colonial rule (Said 2003: 7, 39).

In the Ottoman case, there is a powerful imperial centre with positional superiority, as revealed by the centrality of *Rûm* and Istanbul in the examples. To those in the centre, Egypt was a distant province, both physically and mentally. The relationship was not the one between the colonizer and the colonized; however, there is no question that the Ottoman imperial centre was powerful and claimed moral superiority over the lands it ruled. This claim of moral superiority was very clear in Evliya Çelebi's and Mustafa Âli's narratives, as both authors internalized and praised the norms of the centre without ever questioning them. Then, did the Ottoman intellectuals "orientalise" their Eastern provinces or peripheries?[45] And, did the Ottomans try to legitimize their conquest of Muslim lands? These questions are not simple enough to answer in a few sentences; however it will be helpful to keep them in mind while discussing further questions of Ottoman Orientalism.

Said argues that the Western visitors who travelled to the Orient went there first as Europeans and Americans, then as individuals; and being European or American was not an "inert" condition (Said 2003: 11). Similarly, "an Oriental man was first an Oriental and only second a man" (Said 2003: 231). Thereafter, I would like to argue that both Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi in Egypt were *Rûmî*s

[45] A further question would be the Ottoman center's perspective towards its non-Eastern peripheries. This discussion is beyond the physical limits of this study, however it may contribute significantly to the subject, as it will help to clarify if this Ottoman perception was applied towards the Eastern peripheries only or to the peripheries in general.

and Ottoman intellectuals first, and individuals second. Another point of resemblance is close to modern Orientalists who wrote about the Orient: Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi were well aware of the older sources on Egypt. Then we can ask if the Ottoman intellectuals were only confirming existing beliefs prevalent among their addressees, thus supporting Said's claim that the Orientalist "confirm[ed] the Orient in his readers eyes" rather than challenging the existing assumptions and perceptions (Said 2003: 65). As an inevitable consequence of this view, Said criticizes the Orientalist tendency of the "detachment from history" and isolation of their Oriental subjects as essential beings. He argues, "we will have a homo Sinicus, a homo Arabicus (and why not a homo Aegypticus, etc.), a homo Africanus, the man – the 'normal man,' it is understood – being the European man of the historical period, that is, since Greek antiquity" (Said 2003: 97). Again, if we compare this to the Ottoman situation, "the normal man" would be the *Rûmî* from Istanbul, who internalized the moral norms of the imperial centre. Did Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi describe the homo Aegypticus as well? Especially Âli's category, "the blameworthy features of Egyptians from ancient times," would lead us to believe that they did. However, it is necessary to underline that both Ottoman intellectuals were aware of different levels of "otherness" like ethnicity, class, gender, and mode of living, and they classified people accordingly. Besides their "pro-Istanbul biases" and sweeping generalizations, their narratives are multifaceted. However, it is evident that they considered themselves the "normal men" as *Rûmî*s.

Placing the early modern Ottoman world in the discourse of Orientalism as the power centre, as I have done, can be problematic. First, it can be viewed as anachronistic, because the discussion is closely associated with the modern era and colonialism. Second, the Ottoman Empire was itself considered "the Orient," and Said's *Orientalism* offered no exception. However, as Albert Hourani nicely put it, the Ottomans were the "Romans of the Muslim world" (Hourani 1991: 130). It is remarkable that Said does not refer to any sources from within the Empire, nor does he look closer at the Empire, even though Egypt, a former Ottoman province, was at the centre of most of his primary sources.[46]

The Saidian definition of Orientalism is criticized because of its "neglect of what the 'Orient' did with Orientalism" (Tezcan, B. 2009: 499). In the discussion of Orientalism, the Ottoman Empire is "dismissed as a sort of epiphenomenal (and dare one say it, quintessentially 'Oriental') creature." Said's overlook of the Ottoman Empire is interpreted as "fall[ing] into much the same trap as the writers he criticizes in his epic *Orientalism*" (Deringil 2003: 313). Esin Akalın argues that

[46] In the introduction, Said excuses himself, saying that due to practical reasons he had to leave out many sources. Rather than relying upon a set of books, he follows "historical generalizations" (Said 2003: 4). However, to trace these generalizations Said selects the "best suited" ones for his study (Said 2003: 16). This may well be the reason why the Ottoman Empire is almost non-existent in *Orientalism*.

Said intentionally omits the Ottoman Empire so that it would be easier to describe a more homogeneous East without considering the mixed, complex, and changing relations of the Ottoman Empire with the West (Akalın 2007: 112).[47] If he included the Ottoman Empire in his discourse, Said would challenge the Western representations of the East as weak and inferior (Akalın 2007: 118). Critiques of *Orientalism* find fault with Said's "model of fixity" and "historical and theoretical simplifications" because his generalizations turn out to be "ahistorical" and "ageographical", and his portrayal turns out to be "static" and "monolithic" (Akalın 2007: 112, 119; see also Yeğenoğlu 1998: 79; Gregory 1995: 30). Neither the Western subjects nor the texts on the Orient were homogeneous and monolithic. However, in the discourse of Orientalism the West is perceived as the "universal norm" (Yeğenoğlu 1998: 6, 71). In short, it is necessary to recognize that "each of these Orientalisms is internally complex and unstable" (Akalın 2007: 121). Different variables like class, race, gender, and sexuality, as well as their interactions and contradictions should be included in the discussion (Gregory 1995: 31). In both *Book of travels* and *Description of Cairo*, class, ethnic differences (not necessarily race), gender, and sexuality were important markers in defining the Other. Broader and multilayered perspectives of Orientalism would help place the Ottoman Empire and its complex relations in the discourse of Orientalism.

Another important facet of the discussion is the question of Ottoman Orientalism. Ussama Makdisi used the phrase 'Ottoman Orientalism' as the heading of his eminent article, the starting point of which is the claim that in the modern period, every emerging nation "creates its own Orient" (Makdisi 2002: 786). Makdisi extends the scope of Said's Orientalism by introducing the Ottomans' representations of their Arab peripheries, arguing that the existing discourse of "religious subordination" was replaced by a notion of "temporal subordination." In this system, the centre had the desire and power to "reform" and "discipline" the "backward peripheries." Accordingly, Makdisi affirms that Ottoman Orientalism was a prevalent and characteristic feature of Ottoman modernization which helped shape a modern Ottoman Turkish nation. Similar to the Western colonialist agenda, this discourse of Orientalism served to legitimize the imperial centre's rule over the ethnic or religious Others (Makdisi 2002: 768–770).

Makdisi places the concept of time at the centre of Ottoman Orientalism. Istanbul was not only the capital and the centre of the Empire, but it was also the "temporally highest point," making the "gaze" from the centre to the provinces not only looking at a physical distance, but also at a temporal one. This, again, served as justification of colonial rule (Makdisi 2002: 771; see also Ze'evi 2004: 74). This perspective of time denotes the complex character of the Orient, as it

[47] The critiques of Said's *Orientalism* are of course not limited to the discussion of the Ottoman Empire or to the fixity of Said's model. However, to discuss all the critiques here would be impossible. As an example of several points of critique, see Irwin (2006: 6–8).

shows that the East, in this case the Ottoman Empire, was not stagnant. In fact, it moved toward modernity at different paces (Makdisi 2002: 771–772).

Although Makdisi is attentive enough to draw attention to Evliya Çelebi's narrative, he does not make a theoretical attempt to explain these ethnic stereotypes and prejudices in the seventeenth century, or to look for continuities. He just mentions the deep ethnic and religious differences in the Empire, as well as the "Ottoman monopoly over the metaphors of Islam" (Makdisi 2002: 774). I argue that an extensive approach to a so-called Ottoman Orientalism should not disregard the pre-19th century period and dismiss the tensions between the centre and its peripheries at that time.

Likewise, Deringil focuses on the Late Ottoman period and in analysing the relationship between the Ottoman modernization and colonialism, argues that the Ottomans adapted colonialism as "a means of survival" during the modernization process. In other words, modernization necessitated the homogenization of the core lands of the Ottoman Empire, the lands of *Rûm*. In this process, the Arab provinces were degraded to colonial status; this is described as "borrowed colonialism," in imitation of Western colonialism, although because colonialism was a way of survival for the Ottomans, they were not oppressive like their European counterparts (Deringil 2003: 312–313). Like Makdisi, Deringil does not extend the question of Ottoman Orientalism to the early modern period. The break, according to Deringil, is "at the point that the stance of *moral superiority* leads to a position of *moral distance*, this perceived sense of 'them' and 'us'" (Deringil 2003: 341, emphasis in the original).[48] In light of the prior arguments, it would be necessary to ask: Could we not talk about a moral superiority and a moral distance as early as the early modern period, when it is not yet possible to speak of a colonialism to borrow?

Conclusion

Taking all this into account, it is still too much of a stretch to claim that Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi, two early modern Ottoman intellectuals, were Orientalists. As noted throughout this paper, "Orientalism" has many modern connotations, and it is closely linked to industrialism, colonialism, and the rise of the West.

[48] Hala Fattah's article on two Iraqi travelogues by provincial ulama, al-Suwaidi and al-Alusi, might be interesting as a point of comparison. These two intellectuals on the way establish a firm belief in the superiority of their own traditions through comparison with different cultures, and thereby they help to shape a more localized identity. As Fattah states, "travel gave the journeying scholar the opportunity to distance himself from the more 'venal' and 'corrupt' practices undertaken in neighboring Muslim societies and to compare these practices with the more 'upright' and 'equitable' moral code of his home region" (Fattah 1998: 52). In a similar perspective, Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi never questioned the uprightness of the moral codes in Istanbul; rather they recorded that the Egyptians' manners diverged from the normal into the realm of "venal" and "corrupt."

However, the echoes of Orientalism in these narratives beg for some kind of explanation. Following Fattah's arguments regarding "localized identities" (Fattah 1998: 52), I argue that the central position of the lands of *Rûm* plays an important role in the identity formation of the two authors treated here. In *Ottoman Orientalism*, Makdisi's emphasis was mostly on nation-state formation. Instead, according to Karateke, Ottoman Orientalism was shaped by a "regionalistic referential system," one centre being the reference point; and different parts of the Empire were attributed "'oriental' statuses" according to their physical and cultural remoteness to this point of reference (Karateke *Gurbet* [unpubl.]). In the case of Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi, the reference point was definitively Istanbul. Its physical, cultural, and perceived distance from the lands of *Rûm*, especially from the capital of Istanbul, defined the "oriental" status of Egypt.

Although it would still be misleading and anachronistic to label Mustafa Âli and Evliya Çelebi as "Orientalists," they certainly emphasize the "other" characteristics of – and to some degree "orientalise" – Egypt and the Egyptians. Specifically, the examples that were touched upon here – the beauty and sensuality of women, Egyptians' daily experiences, and despotic measures – closely echo the tales of the Orient. Though, as exemplified by the Egyptians' view of *Rûmî*s, "otherness" was really determined by the position and norms of the authors.

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Religion as a determining factor of the Self and the Other in travel literature

How Islamic is the Muslim worldview? Evliya Çelebi and his successors reconsidered

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Throughout history there has always been cultural contact to a varying extent between those regions today referred to as the Near and Middle East on the one hand and Europe on the other. Despite political, geographical and religious obstacles, goods were exchanged, ideas and knowledge were transferred, people travelled and migrated across borders, while borders themselves changed their course and people stayed or fled over to the other side. In this sense the boundaries proved to be porous, but they became considerably more permeable from the 19th century onwards. The reasons were twofold. On the one hand, developments in infrastructure and transport technologies, such as railways and steamers, rendered previous notions of distance obsolete. Then again this development went hand in hand with political developments. To an increasing degree, the Near and Middle East became part of the European political sphere while the relationship to the European states became more and more vital for the Middle Eastern centres of power on a political, economic and cultural level.

This paper will discuss the influence of the Islamic religion in the ability of Muslims to get into contact with non-Islamic Europe as well as the role of religion within the perception of "the Self" and "the Other". Does an understanding of the classical positions of Islamic law help us to comprehend historical developments? Bernard Lewis suggests that a "Muslim worldview" based on Islamic doctrinal positions determined cultural contact with Europe and prevented Muslims from broadening their horizons. His line of argument claims that unlike for Europeans, religion for Muslims has always been and still is *the* essential category of identity and restricted cultural contact.

I want to question the idea that Islam (as a normative religious tradition) is *per se* the predominant determiner for "the Muslim" (as a historical and social being) in cultural contact. I will do so by first discussing Bernard Lewis's line of arguments. This will be followed by a theoretical frame for dealing with identity, alterity and the mechanisms involved in the process of the imagination of Self and Other. By taking identity and alterity not as a feature of the entities themselves, but as a feature of their relationship that is determined by both sides, we may understand how much the "Muslim" traveller is or is not determined by ideas prefigured by religion. This will question Lewis' assumptions on a theoretical level. With this back-

ground I will analyze four texts, dealing with cultural encounters with Europe in different settings. If there is a "Muslim worldview" it has to be consistent throughout different texts from different times. Therefore I will analyze four travelogues reaching from the 17th up to the early 20th century in order to cover a relatively wide range of relationships and contexts of cultural contact. Only if we take these transformations into consideration can we then look for static elements in the discourse.

The anchor is formed by the well-known travelogue of Evliya Çelebi to Vienna in 1665. It will show that even a text that seems to be a clear manifestation of an unshaken Ottoman worldview does not at all fit into the simplistic pattern of a "Muslim worldview". In order to prove this, the text has to be read and discussed thoroughly, so longer passages will be quoted to illustrate the different narrative techniques used to describe Evliya's experiences on the other side of the border of Ottoman/Muslim territory.

The findings of this analysis will then be discussed in the light of three further texts: The travelogues of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi (1720/21), of Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī (1826–31) to France and Şerefeddin Mağmumi's travel accounts of his journeys through Europe in the late 19th and early 20th century. The first two are literary milestones in the genre of travelogue that have influenced their readerships for whole generations. They can now be reread under new the theoretical premises, which I will elaborate below. The travels of the Young Turk Şerefeddin Mağmumi may raise the question of how a "Muslim worldview" may have developed in the light of secular ideas both within the Ottoman Empire and within Europe, and furthermore raises the question of the extent to which self-perception is shaped by the perception of the Other. The latter three examples will be discussed in addition to the text of Evliya Çelebi, showing that certain patterns continue to exist while others may change over time. This shall protect us from generalizing one text within a narrative tradition, while at the same time allowing us to see similarities.

In my conclusion I will argue in favour of new ways of dealing with cultural contact in travelogues that transgress the ideas of a "Muslim worldview" and instead may see Muslims as embedded into a relationship to the West that sometimes is mutually based on religious ideas but sometimes also transcends these ideas. I will show the content and context of descriptions of identity and alterity and ask for the importance of religion in this regard. The analysis of the relationship and the function of the categories in use show that these categories may anticipate zones of contact and conflict, but are not eternal constants and are indeed changeable.

The Muslim worldview? The world as seen through an Islamic lens?

The idea of a "Muslim worldview" transcending time and space with a set of stable values and preconditions assumes that religious ideas form a Muslim subject

whose perception of the Self and of the Other, of the near and the far is primarily shaped by an Islamic tradition. This idea and the expression "Muslim worldview" itself were put forward by Bernard Lewis, most prominently in his book *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (Lewis 1982). This premise is also the basis of Lewis' book *What went wrong* (Lewis 2002), tracing the attested backwardness of the Middle East to this form of "Muslim worldview", giving it a deterministic quality. In his line of argument he makes extensive use of travel literature. The starting point of his (and others') assumption is an evaluation of the canonical Islamic texts dealing with the relationship between Islam/Muslims and the respective Other.

When it comes to territorial concepts he claims that the Islamic concepts of *dār al-islām* (house/territory of Islam) and *dār al-ḥarb* (house/territory of war)[1] determined and continue to determine the worldview of people with an Islamic background. He writes:

> "In the Muslim world view the basic division of mankind is into the House of Islam (*Dār al-Islām*) and the House of War (*Dār al-Ḥarb*). The one consists of all those countries where the law of Islam prevails, that is to say, broadly, the Muslim Empire; the latter is the rest of the world."[2]

According to him, this legal/religious dimension prevented travelling, and cultural contact was not sought after, and instead developed only out of "dire necessity":

> "Even during such periods of relative peace, traffic with the infidel was discouraged. (…) [T]he jurists for the most part agreed that the only legitimate reason for a Muslim to travel to the House of War was to ransom captives. Even trade was not an acceptable purpose, though some authorities permitted the purchase of food supplies from Christian lands in case of dire necessity" (Lewis 1982: 61).

Lewis thus deduces a general disinterest into everything beyond the *dār al-islām*. The region of the "unbelievers" (i.e. Europe) was seen as one entity (Lewis 1982: 63). Living under Christian rule was not accepted by Islamic law (Lewis 1982: 67).

It has to be summarized here that in fact Lewis argues that the borders of cultural, political and economic contact where actually shaped by Muslim ideas about these borders and that these ideas were based on canonical texts. This might seem convincing at first, but it leaves out the possibility that these ideas may reflect political realities which might have their pendants on the other side, too. In a passing comment he states:

> "In general, Christian unwillingness to tolerate Muslim subjects was matched by Muslim unwillingness to remain under Christian rule" (Lewis 1982: 66).

This comment, if taken seriously, turns his line of argument upside down. It means that the Islamic norms and Muslim behaviour corresponded to the treatment en-

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1 On these concepts see Abel 1991a; Abel 1991b.

2 Lewis 1982: 60f. (italics by the editor). Accordingly, Muslims are seen as being in constant *ǧihād* against the rest of the world.

dured from the other side. In this case Islam is not necessarily the cause of certain attitudes and worldviews but may, in a legal sense, reflect a certain form of relation. The idea that Muslim legal norms were created within contexts of relations and were not given as such does not occur to Lewis at all. The dichotomy between the land of the believers and the land of the infidels, which had to be fought, was not only held by the Muslims in particular, but was also part of politics and discourse on the other side, yet it could be ignored by both sides when serving special political purposes and needs. As long as the *dār al-ḥarb* was a political reality for the traveller/soldier/captive, we cannot deduce that this political reality was produced by the Muslim worldview. In fact even the concept of a Muslim world, a *dār al-islām* as a single territorial unit in the sense of modern statehood, posing no borders to the traveller, must be questioned.

If we look at the time after the French Revolution, when secularism offered a basis for Muslims to stay in Europe and the borders are mutually recognized, this idea of the Muslim worldview as such seems to fail, considering a context where certain European states were politically even closer to the Ottomans than to their Christian neighbours, like France at the end of the 17th century, when the Ottomans were at war with the Austrians. Therefore the overwhelming role of religion in shaping territorial concepts of nearness or farness to the Other is still waiting to be proven and has yet to be tested. Only by comparing different travellers, who were in contact with the European Other in various periods and under varying social and political contexts, can we determine whether there is a consistent and genuine Muslim view of the Other or not. This is exactly what Lewis did, but I would argue that his approach gives too much meaning to the words of the text, ignoring the context and the situation, the reader and possible implications and functions of the narration, treating the texts as the truth of the author, not as a world created by a narrator for a certain public. Analyzing the texts on this level is closely linked to the question of how much Islam as a broad tradition influenced the identity of the single (Muslim) traveller. As identity has different layers to it, it is not a question of whether or not Islam plays a role in identity-building, but rather how and to what degree it does. A look at some aspects of identity may be helpful here.

Identity as a process and form of relation with the Other

Identity is dealt with in different disciplines, looked at from different angles, while stressing different dimensions of its properties. In the following observations I will take into consideration those theoretical aspects that will help us understand how identity is displayed and constructed in travelogues.

Identity, the sameness of a person over time (Noonan 2005: 33f.), has an individual as well as a collective dimension. The individual gains its notion of Self through contact with Others near or far, relating itself to them (see Maker 2007).

In its collective sense, the term *identity* is also used in the context of groups (group identity), implying the sameness of groups through time. All imagined national, social or religious groups and their members share this idea of an essential core that remains constant through changes of circumstances in the course of time.[3] Belonging to these groups and having premises with regard to the group members forms not just the identity of the individual but also the way the Others and their actions are perceived (Tajfel 1981).

Identity and alterity are dialectic concepts. There is no Self without the Other. The same is true for groups, there is no "we" without "them" (Schäffter 1991: 12). Therefore identity and alterity have to be dealt with within one framework, which obviously is neglected by the position taken by Lewis and others, as outlined above. Following Erving Goffmann, identity is acquired and ascribed at the same time, with ascribed identities influencing the acquired ones and vice versa.[4] Identity is about drawing and perceiving boundaries towards others. We can't have a notion of our own Self if we can't determine the boundaries between Self and Other. The picture of the Other is related to us, the pictures of ourselves to the Other. In a process of identity/alterity construction we choose the techniques to describe the Other and ourselves, determine the angle, the displayed details, the depth, the focus, use different filters, sharpen the contrasts or soften them (Fludernik 2007: 261).

Ideas of identity and alterity exist in a social and cultural setting and need confirmation to be acquired by the individual Self and groups alike. Travelogues are historical evidence of that process. Identity and alterity are culturally embedded and part of the collective memory. They display how the individual constructs itself and its group through narrative, thus using culturally existing forms of narratives. The branch of narrative psychology examines the way identity is constructed through narratives, claiming that we are what we are, because we tell it to ourselves as well as to one another in different cultural forms (Mancuso 1986: 99ff.; Giddens 2010: 54). Religion, then, as part of the collective memory, can also serve as a very important source for ideas about one's identity.

But still there lies a certain contradiction, tension and illusion in the term identity, as identity emphasizes consistency, yet at the same time identity has to adapt to changing contexts. Established concepts can only survive if they are updated, brought in line with ever changing realities. This is done through a narrative process that explains new realities within established frames and may transform these frames for the future, becoming itself part of the collective memory.

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3 Classical reading in the context of nationalism is Anderson (1983) and Hobsbawm (1985).

4 Engelhardt (2010: 126). Goffman has analyzed the influence of stigmatization on concepts of the self: Goffman (1990).

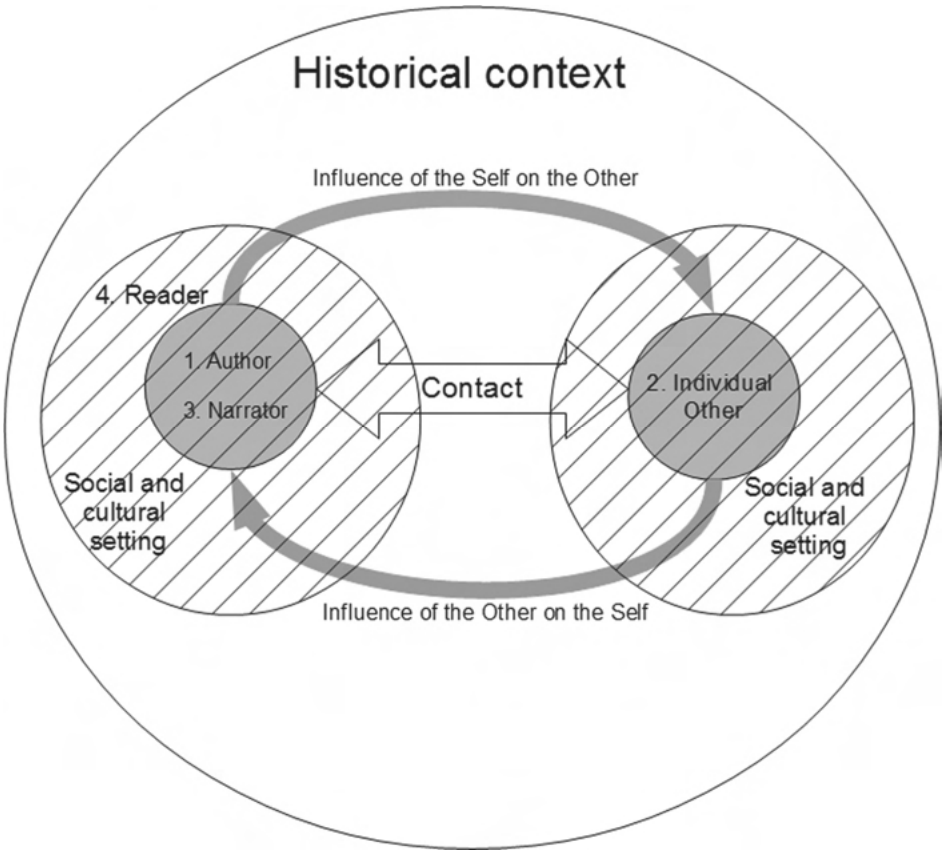

Figure 1: Narrative model of the processes involved in the description of the Other

Let me explain my arguments with the scheme above. Identity construction combines processes that are psychological, social and narrative. Travelogues therefore are neither purely factual nor purely fictitious, but perform different functions on different levels at the same time. A travelogue has a collective and individual dimension and combines factual experience with previous knowledge. It creates new knowledge but is tied to established narrative forms and assumptions of the reader.

The author as a person (1) is embedded into his social surroundings and into narrative traditions that include certain ideas about the Self and the Other. The narrative traditions may be shaped by religious traditions, factual and fictitious accounts. He gets in contact with his counterpart, the individual Other (2), who himself is embedded in another social and cultural setting including its particular narratives. The observations of the traveller and his perception by his host are therefore both *prefigured* by existing cultural patterns, literary traditions, cultural schemes and images. The view of the traveller is directed in a certain angle even

before he or she makes the first move (Nünning 2009: 128–136). While culture (and religion is part of culture here) determines the part of the Other that attracts attention and is potentially visible and understandable for the observer, it is in fact the individual condition and the general context that puts the Self into relation with the Other. The individual's intention to travel, i.e. their motivation, is as important as the specific historical context, war or peace, the conditions of travelling and the view of one's own society in comparison; all this affects the view of the respective Other. There is no objective observation. From the very beginning, the view is directed according to the categories of Self and that way reveals only a certain part of the Other, giving it a shape, taking a very restricted glance for the whole picture, whereas reality is much more complex.

During the actual contact there is no clear boundary between the observer and the observed (as suggested in the travelogue). The observer simultaneously enters the scene and causes reactions and adjustments on the part of the Other; in this sense his presence always influences the situation. He becomes part of the scene that he pretends to observe from an objective distance, although he too is a subject and is being observed by the Other. What he actually observes then is a selected section of the Other and the relationship between it and the traveller's Self. This "restricted Other" is then mistaken for the Other itself, whereas obviously it does not exist as such, but only in relation to the Self. Following the diagram, the Other influences the idea of the Self (Influence of the Other on the Self), while the presence and contacts of the traveller shape the Other's ideas of the Self (influence of the Self on the Other). As a result of the contact, neither side remains the same.

After returning home and writing the travelogue, the traveller becomes a narrator in his social context, directing his narration to a public within its setting. Prevailing ideas of the Self and the Other are referred to and observations prepared for the reader within the boundaries of his narrative and cultural norms. This form of communication therefore takes place within a prefigured narrative field and also contributes to this field.[5] The author's knowledge consists of both factual and a fictitious elements. Therefore the so-called "objective" knowledge, acquired through experience and put into narrative frames for the reader, contains these two elements as well.

Viewed in this light the travelogue should not be seen as offering the truth about what it describes but as constructed by the expectations of the observer as much as by those of his audience. The traveller creates a document that serves as a "passport", a re-entry card, to his own society and culture.[6] Therefore the picture of the Other contains a huge proportion of the Self. That is to say, the picture of

5 Nünning divides the narrative process into the three steps of *prefiguration/premediation*, *configuration* and *refiguration*, see loc. cit.

6 Regarding the travelogue as a practice of reaggregation see Harbsmeier (1997).

the Self within the travelogue has to unconditionally fit into the cultural norms of the traveller's home country. Furthermore, it has to be stressed that the real traveller and his judgments may be quite different from the protagonist of his story, constructed by the narrator[7] (no. 3 in the figure above). For his own prestige, the author may tell/construct certain episodes and conceal others (Brenner 1990: 21). The reader of the time (no. 4 in the figure above) only gets to know the protagonist and narrator of the story, yet unfortunately some historians tend to mistake him for the author, taking both for the same person.

Travelogues create previous knowledge (*prefiguration*) for the next generation of travellers and stand within a literary tradition. The cultural dimension and the intertextual embeddedness of travelogues very much speaks in favour of a continuity of the topoi and the borders between the Self and the Other. But if we take a look at the chart above, we see that all of its elements are in constant flux. In our case, the Ottoman Empire and the Arab centres of power had changing relations (ranging between peaceful and adversarial) with Europe – some states were allies, some enemies – and above all, even changing relations with one another. In this context individual and collective frames of reference constantly shifted, and with the French Revolution and technological innovations of the time, the changes and adjustments gained momentum. Therefore changes in the conception of the Self and the Other – identity and alterity – are highly likely to have occurred.

Paying an ambivalent visit to the enemy: Evliya Çelebi and his visit to Vienna

The account of the experienced traveller Evliya Çelebi of his visit to Austria/Vienna in 1665 is an early and central document of cultural contact between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Empire. As there is a whole branch of "Evliya Studies" and the author is well known,[8] I will not go into details on his person and the political context but will rather concentrate on the text itself as a narrative of a cultural encounter.

The circumstances for this encounter could not have been any worse: The gun smoke of the last war still lingered in the air and the peace treaty that was to be signed by the delegation Evliya was part of in Vienna was not to last very long.[9] The border between Austria with the dynasty of the Habsburgs (*nemse* for Evliya Çelebi) and the Ottoman territory was not a diffuse imagination between the *dār*

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7 In the case of the travelogue the author creates a narrator who should be considered identical to the author himself.

8 On Evliya's life, the state of scientific research and available literature see Dankoff (2011), Kreiser (2005), Dankoff (2006), Tezcan (2009) and Tezcan – Atlansoy (2003).

9 Regarding the historical context of the encounter see Tezcan (2010), Kreiser – Neumann (2003: 206–215), Shaw – Shaw (1976: 200–225), and Kurtaran (2009).

al-islām and *dār al-ḥarb*, but a very real border between two distinct units that were not only of different religious preferences. The border existed on the political, economic, cultural, religious and linguistic level and was not merely a construct of the Muslim mind but a tangible material reality, constituted and militarily contested by both sides. This given reality structured the conditions of cultural contact. For each side, the imagined Other in this context was the negation of everything the Self stood for. The Habsburg and Ottoman dynasties were mutually exclusive to one another. Religious and dynastical ideas were the frame of political reference, leaving no place for the Other. Unlike the Christians on the Ottoman side, who were subjects of the Empire, the Christians on the side of the Habsburgs were enemies not in matters of religious preference (Christians formed the majority in the Ottoman part of the Balkans), but in a political and military sense, and unlike Christians under Ottoman rule, life under Christian rule was not just unthinkable for the Ottomans, but impossible. The conquest of Ottoman/Muslim territory by the Habsburgs meant the end of Muslim life as such on the conquered territory. Lewis totally ignores these quiet concrete preconditions of cultural contact and therefore the content of the terms in use. But contact itself and the narration of cultural encounter never takes place without a context, influencing the traveller, his experience and his narration as it is processed for his audience.

In this regard we must be careful in which sense Evliya Çelebi uses the terms *gavur* and *kafir* to characterize the Austrians. This distinction between the Muslim Self and the infidel Other initially seems to support the dichotomy of *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* attested by Lewis. It seems that the "Muslim worldview" determines the view of the Other, who is described in negative terms. Simply pointing out the pejorative use of these words to label the Other could lead to the conclusion that Evliya himself had no interest in the Other. But if we take a closer look at the context of the encounter and the relationship between the Ottomans and Habsburg, it becomes apparent that he draws clear boundaries based on a religious terminology. However, in pre-secular times the religious dichotomy is a worldly one as well. Within a framework of religious references in a pre-secular age made by state and society, the Other, as counterpart of the Self is necessarily expressed in religious terms by both sides. For the Habsburgs, whose religiously legitimated ruler was the *Kaiser* of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, and the Ottoman Muslims (and in different contexts, also Christians of other denominations) were the unbelievers. Also the territory of the Other was not simply hypothetically *dār al-ḥarb*. The border between the territories was only temporarily respected by both sides, during a period in between the last and the next war. Therefore dār al-ḥarb was not constructed; it was a given, a very tangible reality. Instead of taking the categories *gavur* and *kafir* as a starting point, handling them anachronistically as "religious" in a modern sense, meaning a personal preference of spiritual life, and deducing a general disdain

and ignorance with regard to the cultural contact of Muslims in general, one should instead look at the descriptions themselves, which prove to be more sophisticated than the Muslim/unbelievers dichotomy suggests.

Taking the readership into consideration, who might be sceptical when it comes to descriptions related to the arch-enemy (Faroqhi 2004: 178–181), the use of a delimitative language becomes even more plausible. We might even take into consideration the idea that the author may make deliberate use of the Muslim/unbelievers dichotomy in order to fulfil the reader's expectations, which might be the precondition of enticing them to read and to continue reading the description that might ultimately even challenge the reader's established point of view. In this sense the travelogue uses established categories of identity to describe the Other, which might eventually lead to a repositioning towards this constitutive figure. Within the scheme presented at the beginning, it is obvious that the narrator has to present his narration to the reader within the established cultural and narrative forms and conventions in order to be understood.

For Evliya the clear boundaries don't prevent him from taking a closer look. Reading through his description it seems that his clear distancing from the Other is a precondition allowing him a closer, differentiated look even at positive aspects of the Other. As shall be proven, we can even establish that, precisely because the Other is a military threat and the essential opposite of one's own norms (the unbeliever in a worldview based on religious categories), it is out of question for the narrator and his public that the (appreciative) observations could challenge their own identity. When firm boundaries are drawn, corresponding aspects of the Other lose their threat. When the Other is of no challenge to one's own identity, it can be easier to learn from and use it as an object of projection, be it even in a fancy and positive way.

When it comes to the description of life in the lands of the enemy, Evliya often describes technological developments, artisanship, medicine and political measures very positively. Some of his stories are exaggerated and even fictitious in a favourable manner and tell *mirabilia* (*ʿağāʾib*) (see Dubler 1986), which form part of the genre but in this particular case shed a very positive light on the Austrians.

For example a "dentist" applies the following treatment after pulling out a rotten tooth from the mouth of a patient:

> "He then took one of the red-hot wires from the brazier and applied it to the root of the tooth. (…) He removed the tip of the wire from the rotten cavity and with it a tiny black-headed worm. He stuck another red-hot wire onto a second root of the tooth and a similar tiny worm emerged from the decayed part. Then, without touching the tooth with his hand, in the same fashion as he had extracted it he put it back into its socket. (…)
> 'This tooth won't ache any more and it is stronger than before,' said the surgeon."[10]

[10] Evliya Çelebi (2010: 245 [109f.]). All English quotations are taken from the outstanding expert on Evliya Celebi, Robert Dankoff. In square brackets, I have always added the reference to the critical transliteration of the Ottoman text in Evliya Çelebi (2003).

Evliya is not only the witness of this procedure, but also enjoys this treatment for three of his own teeth, making them firm like steel and strong enough to crack hazelnuts and walnuts with them. If we take into consideration that medicine was a highly appreciated discipline in the Ottoman Empire and similar "wonders" are told at other occasions (Evliya Çelebi 2003: 100, 107–111), such a positive fancied story is remarkable. But also in other fields of knowledge the infidel Austrians seem unbelievably clever. They construct wondrous machines, for example, that move things in a perfect way without the aid of horse and oxen (Evlia Çelebi 2010: 232 [100]).

For a public among whom mechanical innovations such as clocks and musical boxes are highly appreciated, such and other similar descriptions of the Austrians' wondrous mechanical skills would have been very impressive. But not only does Evliya tell positive *ʿağāʿib*, some of which may have been discovered as fictitious by the reader, but he reports highly positive aspects of practical life in the land of the "infidels". The roads are clean, women are very beautiful and some architectural achievements are without comparison, even in the case of churches (vide infra) (Evliya Çelebi 2003: 86, 100, 111). Here the positive abilities of the Other are even more interesting to analyze and explain, as they don't relate to *mirabilia*, but to qualities, desires, abilities and knowledge that are an integral part of the Self. Still, this does not question the Self, but serves as a motivator, even more so when the Other is in fact the enemy.

But there are other qualities and traits of character which are unique to the Self and can't be shared, so some borders are stressed and affirmed. As the positive descriptions have to be analyzed according to their functions and within the whole text, the negative attributes and descriptions must be analyzed within the same frame and the specific balance and blend must be taken into consideration. A central passage in the description is like a snapshot of the identity of the Self and otherness, and reveals the function of proximity and distance. Evliya, for instance, compares the Austrians to the Hungarians, portrayed as their conquered enemies:

> "Still, compared to the Hungarians the Austrians are like the Jews: they have no stomach for a fight and are not swordsmen and horsemen. Their infantry musketeers, to be sure, are real fire-shooters; but they have only a single rapier at their waist, and when they shoot they brace their muskets on a forked gun-rest – they can't shoot from the shoulder as Ottoman soldiers do. Also, they shut their eyes and shoot at random. They wear large hats and long pointed shoes with high heels, and they never remove their gloves, summer or winter" (Evliya Çelebi 2010: 230 [87]).

In this passage he deprives the Austrians of the central attributes of virility and braveness. They are compared to the Jews of the Ottoman Empire, who don't serve in the army. The Austrians lack the capabilities of the Ottoman soldiers and their courage and practical skills like fighting face-to-face in a sword fight and on horseback. Both abilities are pivotal to the Ottoman professional soldiers such as the Janissaries or Sipahis. All the Austrian soldiers can do is "shoot" and

then they even have to shut their eyes and shoot at random. Their overall appearance is described as ridiculous. We clearly see that Evliya draws a boundary between the Ottoman Self and the Austrian Other and which techniques he uses to achieve this. But he continues the description utilizing yet another very interesting narrative figure, namely by introducing the Hungarians in opposition to the Austrians. By using this technique of asymmetric description (Harbsmeier 1982: 17), the Austrians' enemies are constructed to be of a different quality and are displayed in very close resemblance to the Self.

> "The Hungarians, on the other hand, though they have lost their power still have fine tables, are hospitable to guests, and are capable cultivators of their fertile land. And they are true warriors. Like the Tatars, they ride wherever they go with a span of horses, with five or ten muskets, and with real swords at their waists. Indeed, they look just like our frontier soldiers, wearing the same dress as they and riding the same thoroughbred horses. They are clean in their ways and in their eating, and honour their guests. They do not torture their prisoners as the Austrians do. They practice swordplay like the Ottomans. In short, though both of them are unbelievers without faith, the Hungarians are more honourable and cleaner infidels [Org.: El-hâsil ikisi de kâfir-i bî-dînlerdir amma Macar aslah-i mevcud pâk keferelerdir]" (Evliya Çelebi 2010: 230f. [87]).

Though having been defeated by the Austrians and the Ottomans alike, the Hungarians, according to Evliya, still share attributes that arouse a positive association to the Ottoman Self. They have fine tables; they have the virtues of hospitality and knowledge of agriculture. When it comes to attributes of manhood, they are favourably compared to the (Turkish) Tatars, well known for their riding skills. The Hungarians hold the virtues of cleanness and of being respectable soldiers, as they know how to use the sword, but at the very same time are civilized, as they won't torture their prisoners. These positive traits have to be read under the premises of "like us". This is emphasized to such an extent that it exposes a heavy contrast to the Austrians.[11]

In so doing, Evliya uses the Hungarians to portray the Austrians in a negative way. In order to belittle the Austrians as much as possible, he enhances the status of the (defeated) Hungarians to such an extent that he has to reinforce the central dividing element again at the end. The quote points out that the enemy of the enemy can be near to the Self again, within the essential categories of the Self. But after so many compliments and inclusions into the concept of the Self, he then eventually redraws a border. The Hungarians are depicted as unbelievers, but in contrast to the Austrians as "clean" (i.e. "good") ones. The religious category here seems to act as an agent for reassurance as well as protection for the author, in order not to question the superiority of his own society despite the sometimes very positive observations of the Other.

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[11] Evliya Çelebi (2003: 87). It is interesting to note that in other cases, if it serves Evliya's purpose, the Austrians are presented as very clean, for example when he praises how organized a city is or when he tries to describe with how much honour they were received in a certain village. See e.g. Evliya Çelebi (2003: 81, 100).

The use of asymmetric description is typical for travelogues; the Other can either be similar to the Self in certain ways (as the Hungarians in this case) or the complete opposite of the Self (like the Austrians). Therefore the categories, appreciative or negative and condescending, are centred around the Self (Harbsmeier 1982: 17). What remains as the essence of that rough sketch of the two Others is a quite precise description of the author's and his audience's self-perception. The Ottomans are believers, clean, have good cuisine, and are generous hosts. They don't torture their prisoners; they have the central virtues of warriors and possess true manhood. In the descriptions of the Austrians and the Hungarians the Self is thereby reassured.

On the other hand, differences in very important categories of the Self, like gender, are portrayed with a certain amount of open-minded curiousness, but again, after the quite neutral (not at all negative) description the boundaries between the Self and the Other are drawn very clearly (Evliya Çelebi 2003: 89). In various cases Evliya satisfies his (or the readers') lust for exoticism and eroticism. Women and boys are described as very beautiful and attractive and the differences in gender relations – which he seems to enjoy – are at first merely stated and only later condemned (Evliya Çelebi 2010: 231[89]). In this way, anything can be reported to stimulate the curiosity of the reader, but the norms remain unchallenged.

This, Evliya, can even be free to report an encounter with a blond boy, the shape of a female's breasts etc. without ever leaving the frame of the norms at home (Evliya Çelebi 2003: 124). As İpek Hüner points out in her contribution to this book, we find very interesting aspects of "Orientalism á la Turca" in Evliya's (and other travellers') descriptions. Again, appreciative or curious descriptions are followed by affirmations of existing boundaries; this can be seen as a technique to balance the two aspects of the travelogue, the affirmation of the identity of the Self and the reader on the one hand and telling an interesting story that might challenge the Self on the other hand.

The challenge of this balancing act becomes even more obvious when Evliya enters the religious sphere. When he describes St. Stephan's Cathedral he has nothing but admiration for the architecture, not as a specifically Christian achievement, but as a universal one. It is presented as a wonder (*ʿağā'ib*) and he praises its architecture and the library. Despite, or because of, his use of the dichotomy of us (the believers) vs. them (the unbelievers), he says:

> "Of all [the building], the monastery named (St) Stephan in the very center of the city is such a grand and ancient structure that nothing like it has been or will be built in Turkey, Arabia and Persia, or in the seven climes of Christendom. Travellers coming by land and sea say that it has no equal in the inhabited quarter of the world, and it is true" (Evliya Çelebi 2010: 235 [103]).

Even the organ is praised as exceptional and connected to David (Davūd), known in the Islamic tradition for his affinity to music, explaining its impressive

effect in Islamic terms (Evliya Çelebi 2010: 238 [105]). It is not just that the architectural skills and the craft of making instruments are appreciated; Evliya additionally makes use of the positive description of the enemy to criticize the situation at home, to abash the reader. The more negative his description of the Other and the more significant his approval of others' positive achievement, the greater the shame that should be evoked in the reader. Describing the library at St. Stephan, he remarks:

> "Now, my dear, the import of this long disquisition is the following: These infidels, in their own infidel manner consider these books the word of God. They have seventy or eighty servants who sweep the library and dust off the books once a week. In our Alexandria, on the other hand, there is a great mosque known as the Perfumers' mosque supported by many pious foundations including hundreds of shops, *hans*, baths and storerooms; but the mosque itself lies in ruin, and its library that houses thousands of important volumes – including priceless Korans (…) is rotting because of the rain. Worshippers who come to this mosque once a week for Friday prayers can hear the moths and worms and mice gnawing at the Korans. No one from the community of Muhammad stands up and says, 'These Korans are being destroyed, let's do something about it.' That won't happen, because they do not love the word of God as much as the infidels do. I only wish that God make that mosque as prosperous as this church, and that its servants and governors regard that abandoned mosque with the eye of compassion" (Evliya Çelebi 2010: 236f. [103f.]).

Again the functional aspect in the description becomes obvious. Evliya, a learned person himself, uses a positive description of the enemy with its "false belief" to advocate his cause. The Muslim reader should now feel ashamed and be motivated to change the situation at home. In this sense the positive description is not necessarily aimed at describing the Other in a positive way at all.

The last episode of this section of his description works the other way around. It shows how Evliya skilfully and thoughtfully varies his techniques to enter into a dialogue with his reader. This time, he starts with an affirmation of the Self and then tells a highly appreciative description of figurative depictions that should be condemned from a normative Islamic standpoint. Under the headline "Account of the spectacle of images in the church of Vienna", he gives the following description of a situation highly challenging to the iconoclastic Muslim reader:

> "There are so many statues and icons in this church, images of the sons of Adam, and so many idols (…). I was on good terms with several priests and, partly as polemic, partly in jest, I said, 'How many gods you have – God forbid! – that whenever you pass by one of them, you remove your hats and bow down and worship'" (Evliya Çelebi 2010: 240 [105]).

So far so good, at the beginning of the episode he makes his (and the reader's) religious standpoint clear, refuting the use of images and statues from a normative position as idolatry (*širk*). But then he seems to enter into a discussion, as he gives room to the presentation of the Christian standpoint.

> "'God forbid', they replied, 'that we should consider them gods. The sole creator of you and of us is God, the Holy Spirit. God forbid that we should bow down and worship these images, or that we should pray to them for sons and daughters, blessings and worldly fortune and long life. They are only images of our prophet Jesus and his disciples, of our saints who came afterward and our monarchs who were world conquerors and pious endowers of good works. Whenever we behold these images, we respectfully offer our benedictions. Most of all, we show reverence to the prophet Jesus, because he is the spirit of God. In our religion, it is permitted to make images. When our priests harangue the people, just as your sheikhs do, they have difficulty conveying their message with fine words alone. So we convey the message through images of the prophets and saints and paradise, depictions of divine glory. And we show hell with demons, flaming fire and boiling water, depictions of divine wrath. When our priests give sermons, they point to these images saying, 'Fear God!' But we do not worship them in any way'" (Evliya Çelebi 2010: 240f. [105]).

In this balancing act Evliya gives room for the explanation of the Christian standpoint, perhaps even with a slight criticism to common practices of worship at Sufi-shrines where some Muslims might pray "for sons and daughters, blessings and worldly fortune and long life" (Evliya Çelebi 2010: 240 [105]).

The presentation is not commented on by Evliya, but after such an appreciative normative explanation, the religious ego of the reader should be restored again, namely through the words of the priest himself who goes on to explain the use of the depictions merely as the corrective for a deficit of the Christians. The Muslim sheikhs, on the other hand, are depicted by the enemy as superior in using words, which is especially important for the Islamic Self perception, as rhetorical skills and the high esteem for the language, which is the language of the Quran, are very important within the Islamic-Arabic culture. The praise from the highest representatives of the enemy must have been very sweet talk to the reader. The depicted images are explained by the priest as born out of a deficit in this field. Once this is made clear, Evliya can then get into the description of the actual content of the depictions that he seems to have been so impressed by, without exposing his description to criticism. He explains the depictions in a mediating way, by explaining the Christian art within an Islamic frame.

> "But when one sees the depiction of paradise in this Stephan Church of Vienna, which is the ill-fortuned seat of the German king, one wishes to die and go to heaven, recalling the Koranic verse (89:30), *Join My servants and enter My Paradise*. (…) Truly, when it comes to painting, the Franks prevail over the Indians and Persians" (Evliya Çelebi 2010: 241 [105]).

With a side blow to the Kaiser, expected from his public, he shows how the depictions can evoke strong (Islamic) religious feelings in him, which is also true for the depiction of hell.

> "Those who see once the depictions of these tortures – men roasting in the fires of naphtha and tar; groaning at the hands of demons and the whips of tormentors; bitten by scorpions, snakes and centipedes, vipers as long as camels' necks – will repent their ways of Nimrod and Pharaoh, Korah and Shaddad. They will cleanse themselves from

> backbiting and slander, adultery and fornication and pederasty, usury and wine drinking. They will leave off eating and drinking and spend the remainder of their precious life in a hermit's cell, having washed their hands of the filth of this world, and will say, 'It is God's to command: if it is not to be heaven, at least let my place be purgatory and not hell'" (Evliya Çelebi 2010: 241 [106]).

In these passages we see that Evliya is not just describing what he sees, but is giving room to his impressions and highly religious and emotional feelings, which are evoked by a) Christian art and b) through artistic means that are not appreciated within the normative tradition of his audience. But despite these obstacles he is somehow touched by the art of the enemy. This should not be underestimated and shows that he wants to convey a certain idea of closeness to the Other. When we think of how he condemns the "infidel" Austrians on other occasions the description of a central religious place and the ideas presented there show many similarities to the Self and perhaps even dimensions of Christian religion that can be admired.

Descriptions of the Other should not only be linked to real observations, but have to be read within their narrative function. Sameness and otherness can have very different functions within the construction of identity and alterity. Positive and negative descriptions may be directed towards the Other, but may just also play a functional role for the Self. If the Austrians really care so much about books or are such bad soldiers, all this has strong implications for the readers' self-perception. In the case of Evliya we see a whole variety of drawing boundaries while also creating openness. Sometimes there are no religious boundaries, for instance in cases when worldly wonders such as achievements in architecture and city planning are described. Sometimes he is inclined to draw clear boundaries and use a pejorative language at first, but then discusses even hotter topics, transgressing boundaries. Extracting single statements from the text, one could confirm the thesis of a "Muslim worldview" according to Lewis, but if we look at the function of these statements, the composition of the narration and function of the text in a specific socio-political context, the picture becomes much more complex.

From a narrative perspective the narrator must take the ideas of his audience as the basis for a convincing narration, but we must not rest at this observation. In the quotes being discussed we can see how complex the description even of the archenemy can be, despite being an Other who stands for the total negation of the individual and social Self. The description fluctuates between utopian and dystopian elements, between rapprochement and rejection, between affirmation of the reader's identity and a critique. The religious identity of the reader, being a precondition of reception and narration, is taken into consideration and reassured in many ways. This is not surprising, for the essential category of the enemy was a religious one (the Austrian King was the Kaiser of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, empowered to rule through religious legitimation), just like that of the Ottomans. But as we have seen, the religious condemnation should neither be seen as a religious statement in a modern sense, nor

does it serve as a sign of a general reserve with regard to new observations. In Evliya's text we see that even in times of war, cultural contact took place and that the "Muslim worldview" was not an obstacle at all. The affirmation of the dividing elements must be viewed within the frame of its context and the constellation of the traveller, his counterpart and his audience.

Shifting impressions in the change of context and audience: Evliya's successors and their ideas of Europe

The travels of Evliya Çelebi took place within a certain historical setting. His descriptions, when analyzed within my theoretical framework, are the outcome of his culture, the specific setting of the encounter, the existing ideas and textual foundations prevailing in his and the audience's mind as well as ideas the Other had about Muslims. The impact of these factors becomes obvious in the upcoming travelogues that will only be roughly described, contrasting the presented account of Evliya. The three texts chosen cover a period of about two hundred years, a period with massive changes with regard to the context of encounter and the expectations of the audience, and may show that the personality of the traveller is also of importance. This helps us look for stable elements of a "Muslim worldview" or the evidence necessary to question it on theoretical grounds.

When Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi Efendi travelled to France in 1720/21,[12] France was no threat for the Ottomans but rather their partner and potential ally (against the Habsburgs). The tulip era had many things in common with the spirit at the French court in that time and the Ottomans were eager to import new styles, as were the French. Yirmisekiz's *sefaretname* (ambassadorial report) has been described as a crucial document in the Ottoman perception of Europe, but it reads very differently from Evliya's account.

As the text has been extensively discussed from a historical perspective and is dealt with in this volume by Bâki Asiltürk as well, I will only focus on the question of his characterization of the encountered Other, i.e. the French. Unlike Evliya's work, in this travel account it is not the differences between the Self and (in this case French) Other but rather the similarities that the authors focuses upon. In the "Muslim worldview" of this high-ranking diplomatic mission to France, religious dichotomies don't seem to play any role whatsoever in the description. The words *kafir* and *gavur* are totally absent in his diction, as are any references to the author's own religious identity; all this despite the fact that the addressee was

12 Regarding his route of travel and the historical context see Akyıldız (2010), Erdem (2010), Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi (2004), and Göçek (1987: 7–71). The Ottoman Text and a translation into modern Turkish can be found in Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi (1993). My references will be related to the popular Turkish translation by Şevket Rado (Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi 2008). In square brackets after the reference to Rado, a reference to the Ottoman version contained in *Tarih-i Raşid* 1283h will be given.

none other than the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, holding the title of Caliph of the Muslims. However, this can be understood if we consider that this audience was probably not interested into the reproduction of stereotypes, particularly when it sends a highly costly diplomatic mission to France.[13] Yirmisekiz Mehmed also knew that his description was to be translated into French, therefore he had a double audience in mind and a diplomatic responsibility.

In his characterization of the host country the national-monarchic principle is emphasized. His duty does therefore not lead him into a diffuse region of *dār al-ḥarb*. From the very beginning he makes it clear that he is the envoy to the French King (*françа padişahı*), for the preparations are conducted by the French ambassador in Istanbul (*françа elçisi*), and he also boards a French ship (*fransız sefinesi*) (Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi 2008: 13 [74]). France is referred to as *fransa memaliği* (the French lands) (Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi 2008: 19 [84]) and seen as a distinctive unity which corresponds to Ottoman political realities.

The contact takes place not between unequal peoples (believer/unbeliever), but between equals (two hereditary monarchies). Creating closeness is very important for the author, as the official travelogue is aimed at describing and presenting those aspects of the Other that can be emulated, and because the author knew it was to be read by French diplomats as well. He aims at including the Other in the Self, annihilating boundaries throughout the travelogue. Being treated on an equal level with the French in the diplomatic field seems to have been pretty much the aim of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi. The Other and its achievements are therefore described as variation of attributes and abilities of the Self. The Other is not presented as alien to the Self.

In his account the author stresses that the Ottomans were treated with high esteem by the Other. He describes the diplomatic protocol, the different visitors to the delegation and the interest of the public in the Ottomans. The interest of the Other of course increases the value of the Self. Since his readers at court know the religion of the French and that the relationship with France is not hostile, there is no need to stress the religious differentness. The traveller would have even failed in his duty if he told things already known and repeated normative positions already acknowledged by the reader.

His topics are palaces, water plays, the opera, craftsmanship, festivities with women, hunting, marvellous technological developments etc., even a wonderful organ in a church (Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi 2008: 44).

Observations that may contradict his norms or those of the audience, like gender relations, are described with interest as a kind of exoticism, free of judgments. France is portrayed as a paradise for women, as they could do whatever they liked (Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi 2008: 19). The world of France does not seem to question or threaten the Ottoman Self. It is remarkable in this

[13] About 80 persons accompanied the mission, which lasted 11 months.

context that Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi could report in a self-confident way his presence at occasions that contradict the norms at home, without feeling the urge to justify himself or his actions. He participates at diplomatic receptions, visits balls and theatres where women are present and describes it unself-consciously for his readers. The public interest in the Ottomans is reported with pride. The only occasion where we learn that in fact our ambassador is the representative of a Muslim empire is presented within this context of public interest, namely when the French are invited as visitors to the Ottoman delegation's breaking the fast during Ramadan. This ceremony is reported as if it was a diplomatic event. The ambassador stresses the high esteem for the Ottomans, as crowds appeared to witness their Iftar reception, to see the Muslims eating and praying (Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi 2008: 80ff). The interest in the Ottomans and the crowd's eagerness to see them are reported as a sign of admiration and respect for the delegation and their own political importance (Akyıldız 2010: 94). Ramadan is described as a social and political happening, not as a religious one in a modern sense. Like in the case of Evliya, we have to question the term "religious" when describing a pre-secular age. Beyond this episode there is no mentioning of religion. This indifference towards the religion of the Other is perhaps even more striking than his futile mission to ransom Muslim prisoners of war (Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi 2004: 144, 168).

The explanation for the difference between the two descriptions is once more to be found in the constellation of author, readership, and context. France (unlike Austria) is a remote place and¸ for the alien observer, a society with no fundamental significance to the Self. Neither could France question the Ottoman legitimacy or impose any norms on the Ottomans (unlike 100 years later), nor were the Ottomans able to intervene into French affairs, or conquer parts of their land. Bearing in mind the geographical and emotional distance, it is understandable that their differentness could have been observed with curiosity. However, the differentness of the French appears to have no relevance for the reader (unlike the differentness of the Habsburgs). For the host in France the Ottoman differentness was seen in the same way. The two were not engaged in mutual "holy wars", but tried to direct their politics against "other Others", i.e. Austria. Once again the mode of relationship and the expectations of the readership(s) decide how the Other is depicted.

This is how Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi's France appears to be a highly interesting place with a luxurious court culture and exotic habits. Some elements of the representative culture were described as suitable to adopt, other elements (like the gender relations) were described with curiosity as exotic and remote. In this sense, France is not the Other, but still different. Offering no surface for serious contact or friction, the otherness has a total different quality than the Austrians did for Evliya: it is of a quality that does not challenge the Self. Accordingly the obvious religious differentness is not a topic in this account of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi.

The amount of direct contact and accompanying friction between the Ottomans and European countries changed significantly over the next 100 years, and France was a source for both. It appeared on the battlefields in the Middle East, but at the same time became the country that most significantly influenced the minds of the reformers in the centres of the Middle East in the 19th century. One important document of this period is the well-known travelogue of Rifāʿa aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī, which can be understood to express the following: "Too near to be near".

While the account by Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi could be seen as the "eye opener" for the 18th-century Turkish Ottomans, it was the Imam Rifāʿa aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī who played the same part for the Arabs about a hundred years later. When he travelled to Paris in 1826 the world had changed. Europe was successfully active in the Near East on the military and civilian level and an important role model of modernization for the Ottomans and their *wālī* of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī. France was sometimes an active threat, sometimes a potential threat, but its achievements in the technological and military fields were a model. The closeness of the Other and the perceived weakness of the Self are not the ideal determinants for cultural contact, but a perceived need to learn more about the successful Other may stimulate curiosity. The well-known report of the Egyptian Rifāʿa aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī from his travel to France/Paris (Ṭahṭāwī 2002)[14] is a product of such a constellation and significantly shaped the image of Europe in his home country and beyond, so that even the Ottomans were its eager readers (Strauss 2003: 56f.).

For him and his readers the French Other is highly important for the Self: France occupied Egypt between 1798 and 1803, but became its ally against the imperial ambitions of the British later on. Only a few years after the French Revolution, cultural contact and conflict witnessed a whole new age: Merchants, military officers, teachers, doctors and missionaries from Europe became part of the townscape of North African and Middle Eastern centres (Agai 2009: 201; Newman 2002: 11). Ṭahṭāwī's ruler Muḥammad ʿAlī, as well as the Sublime Porte were in a paradoxical situation. The rapprochement to Europe and the emulation of European models were seen as the only way to protect against an expanding Europe. Ṭahṭāwī, as the Imam for the students of an Egyptian educational mission to France (1826–1831), gained significant insight into French culture and knowledge, as he was the only one amongst them who had studied the humanities. While others were trained in technical fields of knowledge, he had studied translation and had an understanding of various fields of knowledge, including literature and philosophy.

[14] Daniel Newman has presented an excellent translation with a long introduction into the context, a biography of the author, a comparison of different versions of the text, explanations of key words and a comprehensive documentation of the state of research (Ṭahṭāwī 2011). Additional references in square brackets are to the Arabic text in Ṭahṭāwī 2002.

In his account for his fellow countrymen, we can literally feel the struggle taking place in the narrator. He wants to and is supposed to present France as a model for the future Egyptian Self. Yet at the same time he has to prepare the readership for this message and soften its potential negative impact on their shaken self-confidence. Like Evliya he employs an elaborate technique to sell his bitter medicine to the potentially sceptical reader and make it as attractive and unthreatening/similar to the Self as possible. From the very beginning he reassures the Islamic identity, stressing differences and raising the self-confidence of the reader, and justifies his journey in Islamic terms (Ṭahṭāwī 2004: 109ff. [29]). He considers the Islamic concepts to be the proper frame for the comparison, for example when it comes to the order of continents according to their importance (Ṭahṭāwī 2004: 119f. [38]). He also tries to frame the Other through categories of the Islamic-Self. To put it bluntly: the message was not that the Egyptians should become like the French, but that the French are, in their positive aspects, the way Arabs should actually be. Modern knowledge, for example, is presented as just an update of original Muslim knowledge and scholarship, and therefore as belonging to the Self. This is especially true for scientific knowledge, which, according to Ṭahṭāwī, was a quality of the Arabs but belongs to a universal category and was and is to be found at other cultures as well. He presents France as a model in his time in this regard (Ṭahṭāwī 2004: 110 [23]).

Interestingly, this strategy of extensively justifying one's journey in Islamic terms in order to promote one's program to the sceptical readership is not to be found in the other two texts. It seems that being a part of an Ottoman diplomatic mission was enough justification for travelling. But as Ṭahṭāwī stayed for a longer period with the explicit purpose of learning from the Other, Ṭahṭāwī stresses his Islamic identity and assures the reader that he is only approving things that are not in contradiction to the text of the prophetic *sharia* (*naṣ aš-šarīʿa al-muḥammadiyya*) (Ṭahṭāwī 2004: 110 [24]). He is writing in self-defence, as the place of his learning is a challenge and threat for the whole region, even more so than Austria had been for Evliya's audience.

Like Evliya, Ṭahṭāwī sees Islam as a central quality of the Arab/Muslim Self. Ṭahṭāwī disapproves of any religious quality of the French; they can't be religious (because he and his reader are). France is described as the "land of unbelief and defiance" (*diyār kufr wa ʿināḍ*) (Ṭahṭāwī 2004: 101 [25]). The inhabitants are Christians by name only (Ṭahṭāwī 2004: 126 [42]). Unlike the Austrians (being portrayed as Christians) for Evliya, the French according to Ṭahṭāwī have no religious affiliation at all. But it seems that the lack of religious belief in the Christian faith is presented as a positive feature of the French. As he describes France as a utopian paradise, in many regards it cannot be Christian. It seems to be easier for the narrator and his public to accept a rational atheist as a teacher than a Christian. While Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi Efendi and even Evliya can admire and exaggerate positive aspects of the Other without feeling questioned in their

own identity, it seems to be the other way around for Ṭahṭāwī; it seems that his and his audience's self-confidence has been severely shaken by the demonstrations of French and British military, technological and economic power.

But while Ṭahṭāwī detaches the French from the Christian religion, thus creating borders if we consider "religion" as a potential similarity, he annihilates these borders again by "Islamizing" the knowledge of the French. As far as the knowledge that could and should be acquired from the French is concerned, it is attributed to the God-given *ʿaql* (the human ratio) (Ṭahṭāwī 2004: 173 [91]). Hygienic measures in the city of Paris are presented as an Islamic duty for the Muslims, a habit of the "ancient Egyptians" (Ṭahṭāwī 2004: 222 [134]), who should be leading in this field. In Ṭahṭāwī's travelogue we see how religion is used to incorporate the Other, but for the first time the Other is attributed Islamic traits.

While religion as a normative and cultural-literal tradition is a strong marker of difference and a mechanism to portray similarities and differences with regard to the Self, it is not the only category of the Self. While for Evliya and Yirmisekiz Mehmed court culture and luxury were a link to the home culture, this element is now missing. Instead, for example, similarities with regard to gender are stressed, such as the courage of the French soldiers (they are as brave as the Egyptian ones) (Agai 2010: 46ff.). With regard to women the situation is more complex. Although their reported behaviour reverses the Islamic order, it is not condemned, and even modesty is attributed to some French women. For Ṭahṭāwī and his audience the possibility that the Egyptian women could emulate these models is nevertheless still unthinkable.

In his description we see that the French are displayed in a way showing that they are near enough to be appreciated and acceptable partners, though different enough so that they don't pose a danger. Paradoxically it is the strongly felt nearness that results in the need for differentiation from the Other. A "cultural conversion", unthinkable in the case of the two travellers discussed above, here becomes so tangible[15] that narrative and discursive strategies have to be used to resolve all doubts about the author's loyalty to his own society. The resulting message is that the "Egyptian" has much to learn from France, but what he has to learn is essentially already within the own categories of the Self.

While Ṭahṭāwī wrote for the sceptics of modernity, i.e. within their system of reference, the world 70 years later proves to be very much different for the following traveller, who presents yet another facet of selfhood and otherness. His positioning towards Europe can be described as "Wanting to be European, being made Oriental". The text asks the importance of the term "Muslim" in a secular context and if an individual is tied to the religious-cultural tradition by birth despite his individual belief. Şerefeddin Mağmumi, born in 1869, and student of

[15] Ṭahṭāwī even mentions converts from the time of the French occupation who left Egypt together with the French (Ṭahṭāwī 2011: 70).

the *Askerî Rüşdiye* military school where he was being trained as a medical doctor in the *Askerî Tıbbiye* in Gülhane, was among the first members of the Committee of Ottoman Union (*İttihad-ı Osmani Cemiyeti*), a predecessor of the Committee for Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*).[16] As a military doctor he belonged to an Ottoman elite that was raised under a European system of education conducted in French in contact with political ideas that contradicted the established political order of the sultanate and therefore the established order in society. The Other, as we can interpret from his description of Anatolia and the Arab provinces, existed mostly within one's own society.[17] From 1896 onward Mağmumi travelled extensively in Europe (Belgium, England, France, Switzerland, Italy and the German Empire), after choosing the exile due to his political ideas. His observations appeared in Turkish newspapers and journals already during and after his travels; furthermore in 1908 and 1914 they were published as books. For him and his audience, travelling by train or the steam liner was a routine part of life. European costumes and literature were part of daily life and a common frame of reference. This lifestyle and culture, these aesthetics were present for them when they went out in the highly "European" quarter of Pera in Istanbul. It was part of their life through personal observations at home or in Europe or through literary and journalistic receptions.

With the *Baedeker* in his hand, Mağmumi travelled through *his* Europe, which had been part of his world since his childhood. Even in his first travelogue, when he still hadn't travelled to Europe, he makes references to the region, for example when he compares a landscape at the Aegean coast with the panorama of the St. Gotthard and the Mont Blanc. (Şerefeddin Mağmumi 2008: 129). Though he and most of his audience have not yet been there it is still part of their imaginative world. In his travelogue the "we" is constantly changing from situation to situation. Sometimes it is the travellers involved, sometimes it refers to those with a modern European culture, including himself, sometimes the Turks, every so often even "the Asian people" in general (Şerefeddin Mağmumi 2008: 385).

For him there is no border based on religion, culture, or progress. A railway coupé in Belgium may be worse or better than those in the Ottoman Empire, a park in France may be suggested as a model for a park in Istanbul and an Ottoman *kiraathane* or *kahve* which he finds in other European countries as well, may be preferred to the British pub (Şerefeddin Mağmumi 2008: 197). Religion for him doesn't seem to be of any interest; it is portrayed as a historical relict which has brought about many beautiful buildings, an approach that he can imagine for his native country as well.[18] He explicitly does not care about Islamic dietary restric-

16 Regarding Mağmumi's life and impact within the movement see Polat (2002: 17–62).

17 For the modern Turkish translation see Şerefeddin Mağmumi (2008), for the Ottoman version: Şerefeddin Mağmumi (1909).

18 As can be seen in the description of his trip to Italy (Şerefeddin Mağmumi 2008: 258–283). Regarding the highly critical attitude of parts of the Young Turks with regard to reli-

tions, making remarks about the quality of the beer wherever he passes, and portrays himself as a European gentleman. Everything would be perfect if it wasn't for the Europeans, who consistently confront him with his own difference, depicting him as oriental and Islamic. Episodes leading to discussions about an Islamic identity are initiated by the reactions of his fellow passengers or by false "orientalist" staging of Turks. He complains that others attribute false traits to him and his fellow countrymen on a number of different occasions.[19] In one episode this is beautifully illustrated: Travelling from Brussels to Paris by train, a very beautiful woman enters the train compartment. He is (unlike the other fellow passengers) a perfect gentleman to her. Though nobody recognizes him as a Turk, there evolves a discussion about Turkey in the cabin. Though none of his fellow passengers has ever been to the Ottoman Empire, nor knows a Turk, all of them nonetheless seem to have strong opinions: The Turks are barbarians! They wear absurd large turbans! They do not belong to European culture! They treat their women like slaves! They sell children! They are impolite to women! They are without any courtesy!

The young lady then raises the issue of polygamy. He thinks about saying something, but is too frustrated to do so, as he has experienced similar situations before. At the customs check-point he is the only gentleman who helps the lady with her suitcase, which is quite heavy. When she asks him if it is not too heavy for him he replies: "Rest assured, mademoiselle. I am a Turk. And the world can attest how strong the Turks are." The lady asks amazed: "Oh, you are a Turk?" He replies full of pride "Yes!"

Now he begins to explain to her his conviction that there is no difference between people in Europe and the Turks when it comes to civilization (*medeniyet*) (Şerefeddin Mağmumi 2008: 93–96). In this context we may say that 'his religion is progress': he believes in science and progress and thinks that they are universal to mankind. He rejects the very idea of a possible "Muslim worldview". Religions are for him of no importance. He wants to find commonalities, even though his fellow passengers stress his differentness. Within the scheme presented at the beginning we see how much the Other shapes the way the individual perceives him or herself in cultural contact, how much self-perception is shaped by the ideas of the Other.

As with the other travellers Mağmumi's description of the European Other (or the non-Other) serves certain aims and has to be read according to these functions as well. His Europe cannot be essentially different, as he tries to promote it at home. Therefore, besides few occasional episodes, religion is not depicted as a European feature. In this respect he is similar to Ṭahṭāwī, but unlike him, Mağmumi does not create his picture to flatter his religious audience at home. In the

gion see Hanioğlu (2005). Regarding Mağmumi's highly materialistic positions see loc. cit.: 44f. and 49f.

19 For example during his visit to the World Fair in Brussels in 1910 (Şerefeddin Mağmumi 2008: 37–41).

Europe he describes, religion seems to have been overcome, just as he himself wants religion to be overcome during the process of modernization in the Ottoman Empire. He describes this despite the fact that membership in the European "club" is denied to him in some occasions on the basis of his being a Muslim or an Oriental, which he himself denies. This rejection of his chosen identity influences Mağmumi's self-perception, and in his case we see that identity is part of a relationship: We can't choose it deliberately, but we acquire it through interaction with Others. Therefore any "Muslim worldview" can only make sense by taking the relation as such into account; that is, if the own ideas about the Self and the Other are treated on an equal level with the corresponding ideas that the Other in turn has about himself and his innate Others. It is highly unlikely that Mağmumi really did not see the continuous importance of religion during a time where the religious tensions in France were at a peak, resulting in the highly repressive law of separation between religion and state of 1905. But this fact does not fit with his idea that there are no borders when it comes to ideas of progress and enlightenment. There are borders between states, but according to him the modern culture should be floating across them. In this sense he presents himself as one of the rare 'real' Europeans.

Conclusion

Cultural contact creates many different kinds of frictions. Sometimes it leads to an affirmation of parts of one's identity; sometimes it leads one to question them. Sometimes Otherness is seen as a threat, sometimes as interesting. Within the period discussed, developments in infrastructure, politics and on the level of ideas influenced identity and alterity of Muslim travellers in different ways. Some borders lost their relevance; others were created anew, and yet others entirely changed their functions. In this context, Lewis's ideas of "a Muslim worldview" that were initially discussed have been challenged in this paper on two levels.

Firstly, a theoretical reflection on the process of the construction of identity and alterity in travelogues was conducted. A deeper inquiry into the development of a travelogue suggests that identity as well as alterity don't purely exist as fixed units and are not created by a single person or culture, rather they exist in a relationship with the respective Other. The context of the encounter is as important as the prefiguration of the traveller himself and his text. In this sense and under certain conditions, religion can play a role within the relationship but is not the only variable affecting the encounter.

Secondly, in the analysis of texts where Evliya Çelebi was used as a standard of comparison, it became clear that even within one single text, one subject can be described very differently according to the situation and the message which the author wants to convey. Coming back to the "Muslim worldview", we discover in Evliya's text that religion can be used to create a framework to integrate certain as-

pects of the Others, to describe them through similarities, but at the same time can stress boundaries, which themselves are very ambiguous as they sometimes are reaffirmed for purely functional reasons, when the Other is described in a positive way. The comparison with the other travelogues has illustrated that there is no such thing as a clear "Muslim view" with regard to religion. Religion can be totally left out of the description (as in the case of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi) when identity is not challenged, or used for the purpose of approach and creating distance (as in the case of Ṭahṭāwī), or it can also be brought up by the counterpart, though it does not play an important role for the Self in that particular moment (as in the case of Mağmumi).

Lewis neither thematizes the functional aspects of the use of otherness nor does he consider the importance of the context of the encounter for the description. Before the French Revolution, *dār al-ḥarb* was a mutual relation and therefore theologically valid, and far from being an innovation of the Muslims alone. Secularism in fact changed the situation, but did not really solve the issue of religious alterity; instead, religious difference was transferred into a new rhetoric. When terms of otherness lose their relevance, otherness is constructed in different terms, as it is vital for the Self. In this sense the experience of Mağmumi is highly interesting, for he is rendered by the Other on the grounds of religion/culture and nationality: He is being made a Turk although he himself longs to be associated with Europe. This is incidentally what we currently witness in the much debated political discourse on the issue of migration in Germany, which involves much the same processes that were witnessed by Mağmumi a hundred years earlier.

We have seen that otherness can have different functions and is created in a reflexive process. Drawing a line of distinction in travelogues may be a precondition of rapprochements, as well as a tactic of inclusion rather than exclusion. Identity can be found in the otherness of the Other, but can also be a consequence of ideas that the Other has about one's own Self. The devoted European secularist Şerefeddin Mağmumi is involuntarily made a Muslim/Turk in such a process. Religion can determine Self and Other in very different ways, but it is not just one of the involved parties that decides the outcome. It is imperative that identity, alterity and the specific context of cultural contact of both sides be described in relation to each other and within a single paradigm, taking further into account historical and contemporary processes. When it comes to religion and other categories, identity and alterity are created in this sense. Religion is therefore as much a determiner of Self and Other as further categories are, and it exists in the specific context of relationship but does not necessarily have to determine it.

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Iranian women on the road

The case of Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī in Europe, 1923–27

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This paper deals with Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's (1882–1961) travel experience in Europe during the 1920s, an early-recorded case of an Iranian woman's residence abroad. It examines the ways in which gender affected travelling in terms of identity, self-representation and narrative, thereby focusing on the question of how the traveller's notions of cultural identity and Iranian womanhood shaped her perception of the encounter with Europe and with fellow Iranians along the way. This will be done by reviewing some of the traveller's writings, such as correspondence, speeches, and newspaper articles, produced during her years of residence in Europe. Prior to that, the paper briefly addresses female-authored travel accounts in general and sheds some light on the (as yet unwritten) history of Iranian women on the road.

Gendered travelling

Scholarship on European and North American female-authored travel accounts from the late 17th until the 20th century has repeatedly raised the question of the gendered nature of travelling and whether women travelled and wrote about their experiences differently from their male counterparts.[1] As such, women as travellers are often depicted as somehow exceptional: different both from other, maybe more conformist women and from male travellers, who seem to have travelled to explore while women's ventures often appear to have been a way of fleeing their confined lives at home.[2] While the individual's motives[3] for undertaking a journey were certainly much more multifaceted than stated above, this telling suggestion implies that the public act of travelling was utterly male dominated and that early female voyagers were disregarding a cultural taboo by leav-

1 See for instance Mills (1991), Melman (1995), Pelz (1999), Scheitler (1999), Maurer (1999), McEwan (2000), Siegel (2004) and Habinger (2006). For a general discussion of scholarship on female-authored travelogues see Bassnett (2002).

2 Holländer (1999: 203). Here, the underlying perceptions of womanhood refer to the domesticity ideal of European middle-class women.

3 The motive of a journey obviously depended on certain circumstances such as the purpose of the trip (pilgrimages, long distance family visits, recreation trips, business trips, exploration, or accompanying the husband) while an underlying intention of getting away from daily duties, responsibilities and constraints may have always played a significant role.

ing their traditional social space (Pelz 1999: 174). Those women (and men) who voluntarily ventured into the world were mostly privileged members of society with the necessary means and power to do so, and some of them decided to take on the task of writing about their travel impressions.[4] In studies on travelogues of European and North American women the question of gender's impact on genre, narrative and discourse has become a significant angle of reviewing these sources. It has been suggested that women's travel accounts differed from the works of their male counterparts in specific ways, such as a tendency to be richer in detail and to be more concerned with narrations of social matters and relationships (Robinson 2001: xiv, xvi). However, any attempt at defining fundamental differences between the travelogues of men and women bears the danger of essentializing the role of gender rather than highlighting the diversity of the accounts and the complexity of their authors.[5]

Along with gender, the consideration of determinants such as time, place, status, race, the traveller's destination and contemporary dominant discourses (e.g. colonial, imperialist, nationalist) is relevant for a thorough understanding of a travelogue.[6] Yet in the dynamic interplay with other parameters, gender is undoubtedly a crucial factor, as it not only shapes the author's identity and scope of action in fundamental ways but also determines his or her access to travelled spaces. Women travellers would be admitted to homosocial female spaces (e.g. the Middle Eastern context) which generally remained inaccessible to (foreign) men.[7] Through differences such as these, the gendered nature of travel experience regarding the perception of people and society becomes quite obvious and also raises the question of gendered discourses of alterity. The dynamic process of defining Self and Other may have been affected by the female traveller's search for her own role and identity and may have informed her text in specific ways.[8] Therefore, it remains an important yet difficult task to trace gender's im-

4 It is impossible to determine when (European) women started writing travel accounts, but according to Sara Mills the earliest examples are to be found from the 14th century onwards. However, it is the 18th and 19th centuries which are regarded as a golden age of women travellers and female travel writing (Mills 1991: 27, Holländer 1999: 192).

5 Billie Melman's seminal work on English women travelling the Middle East emphasizes the significance of gender as an analytical category while at the same time acknowledging the multiplicity of related dynamics and diverse contexts that come along with these texts (Melman 1995).

6 Ulla Siebert has convincingly argued for considering the "entanglement" (*Verschränkung*) of different determinants and their layers of meaning in female-authored travelogues (Siebert 1994: 166–167).

7 Meyda Yeğenoğlu discusses the issue of gendered spaces and the limited accessibility for (male) Western travellers to the Orient. Thereby, she problematizes the supplementary nature of women traveller's reports on female space in regard to male-dominated Orientalist narratives (Yeğenoğlu 1998: 68–94).

8 As women were excluded from a tradition of travelling for the purpose of collecting natural scientific or anthropological knowledge and material they had to position themselves and their texts among a male domain – another factor which may have had an impact on

print in travel accounts while avoiding generalizations and to place it within its contextual intersections.

The arguments and questions brought forward above draw upon the rather rich body of European and North American travel literature which has gained increasing scholarly attention among different disciplines during the last thirty years. In the following, I shall direct attention to the Middle Eastern – or more specifically, to the Iranian – context by consulting the travel experience of Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī, an Iranian educator, publisher and feminist activist, who went to Europe in 1923 and resided in Paris for four years. To introduce the scope of Iranian women travelling and writing about it, a brief historical outline will be provided.

Iranian women travelling

When it comes to Iranian travel accounts a comparative approach to the nature of male and female-authored works seems to be a challenging project, especially as scholars are aware of only a few travelogues by Iranian women, and those mostly deal with pilgrimages to holy sites. Afshar and Karāčī mention three travelogues before the 20th century: one pilgrimage to Mecca originating from the Safavid era, which was recorded as early as 1692/93,[9] one pilgrimage to the Shiite holy sites (ʿAtabāt) in 1880/81,[10] and the journey of Bībī Šādlū, who travelled from Boğnūrd to Tehran (around 1899/1900).[11] Recently, the travelogues of Sakīne Solṭān Vaqār ad-Doule, a wife of Nāṣer ad-Dīn Šāh (r. 1848–96), who visited the ʿAtabāt and Mecca in 1899 (Sakīne Solṭān Vaqār ad-Doule 2010) as well as the city of Šīrāz in 1905 (Sakīne Solṭān Vaqār ad-Doule 2005), and the account of Ḥāğğiye Ḫānum ʿAlaviyye Kermānī travelling to Mecca in 1892, have been published.[12]

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the textual representations of their travel experience. Additionally, life on the road differed much from women's lives back home, which encouraged women to re-define themselves (Bassnett 2002: 231–235).

9 See Bānū-ye Iṣfahānī (2007). This lady of Azerbaijani origin lived in Isfahan and was married to Mīrzā Ḫalīl, a secretary to the Safavid court. She travelled to Mecca after her husband's death. Given the poetic form and remarkable length (1,300 couplets) of her travel account it may well be assumed that she belonged to a family of writers and poets. On this account see: Babayan (2008) and Huseynova (2010). A recent work (Mahallati 2011) on the topic of Iranian women performing the *ḥağğ* to Mecca provides an overview on the sources and narratives.

10 The traveller was Mehr Māh Ḫānum ʿEṣmat as-Salṭane (d. 1888), daughter of prince governor and conservative intellectual Farhād Mīrzā Moʿtamed ad-Doule (1818–88). The comprehensive and ever growing online archive *Women's Worlds in Qajar Iran* (http://www.qajarwomen.org) of Harvard University provides the manuscript of her travelogue online. *Women's Worlds in Qajar Iran.* "Hajiyah Mihr Mah Khanum 'Ismat al-Saltanah 1882". According to Amineh Mahallati (2011: 838), this account has been edited by Rasūl Ğaʿfariyān in the Persian quarterly *Miqāt-e ḥağğ* (17, 1375 [1996], 57–117).

11 Afshar (2002: 161) and Karāčī (2002: 63–71). For an edited version of this travelogue see Šādlū – Šādlū Boğnūrdī (1995).

12 ʿAlaviyye Kermānī (2007). In Tehran, where she stayed for well over a year after her return from Mecca, ʿAlaviyye Ḫānum Kermānī seemed to have been a kind of 'society lady' and

Yet the dearth of female-authored travelogues – or rather: the dearth of published or known manuscripts – is not to suggest that there were no female travellers frequently moving around inside or outside of Iran, nor that none of those women recorded their experiences and thoughts. Indeed there were numerous women who went on journeys of all kinds, whether they went on the *ḥağğ* pilgrimage, visited the shrines of various saints or imams, met relatives in distant places or accompanied their husbands, brothers, fathers or sons on business, diplomatic or recreational trips.[13] Europe as a destination for Iranian women appears to have been as exceptional as it used to be for men. In fact, before the end of the 19th century, we know only very few examples of women who travelled to Europe. A common reason for their travels was to accompany their husbands or relatives. One prominent and very early case was the Circassian lady Teresia (d. 1668) who was brought up at the Safavid court and who travelled to Europe three times over the course of her life. She was married to Robert Sherley (d. 1628), who functioned as an ambassador for Šāh ʿAbbās (gov. 1588–1629) and was sent on two diplomatic missions to European courts (1608–12, 1616–27) in the company of his wife. After Robert Sherley passed away, Teresia retired to Europe in 1628 and died in Rome forty years later.[14]

About two centuries after the Sherleys travelled to Europe, the Qajar envoy Mīrzā ʿAbū'l-Ḥasan Ḫān Šīrāzī Īlčī (b. 1776) attracted much attention on his second mission to England in 1819 when he brought along Dilārām, referred to as the 'fair Circassian' by the British.[15] Another famous example is the case of several wives of Nāṣer ad-Dīn Šāh, whom the Shah included among his entourage on his first trip to Europe in 1873. However, his plan to bring them along failed after being discouraged by advisors and several clergymen while the Shah and his wives were on the road. Concerns regarding self-representation in this encounter with Europe, and for the preservation of female honour were expressed. Consequently, Nāṣer ad-Dīn sent the women back to Tehran, keeping only his favourite wife Anīs ad-Doule (d. 1896/97) at his side. However, he arranged for her return to Iran from Moscow before continuing his trip.[16] Another documented case of a couple travel-

well-known wedding planner for prominent and royal clients, among them princess Tāğ as-Salṭane (1884–1936). She stayed as a guest among the court ladies and her account provides a unique glimpse into daily life at the royal *andarūn* (harem). Her travelogue covers the years 1892–94.

13 For some examples see: Karāčī (2002: 69).

14 Wright (1985: 3–8) and Eskandari-Qajar (2011). Before being baptized by Carmelite missionaries in Isfahan the young woman's name was Sanpsonia (or Sampsonia), see Eskandari-Qajar (2011: 254).

15 Eskandari-Qajar (2007: 61–77), Eskandari-Qajar (2011). It remains uncertain though whether Abū'l-Ḥasan Ḫān brought Dilārām from Iran or – as rumor had it – from Istanbul as a temporary wife (Eskandari-Qajar 2011: 260–261).

16 Karāčī 2002: 70–71. The same happened on his third trip to Europe in 1889, when he sent two of his wives and a daughter back to Tehran when they reached the Caucasian border (Karāčī 2002: 71).

ling to Europe from Iran during the 19th century is that of the Assyrian pastor Yacoub Yauvre and his wife Mourassa from Urūmiyye. Both were among the first graduates of the American Mission School and travelled to the court of Queen Victoria in 1879 and returned to Iran in 1881.[17] Apparently, Mourassa's knowledge of the English language was far better than that of her husband, which often made her his mouthpiece while residing abroad (Baaba 1998: 22–23).

Another reason for Iranian women to go to Europe was for medical treatment. When Nāṣer ad-Dīn Šāh's wife Amīn-e Aqdas (d. 1893) suffered a severe deterioration of her eyesight, he sent her to Vienna for an operation in 1891. Apparently, she was the first royal Iranian woman travelling to Europe (Nashat 1984).

During the first half of the 20th century however, an increasing number of Iranians travelled to and resided in European cities for different reasons, among them diplomats, princes, intellectuals and students.[18] Naturally, some of them brought their wives and families along, as in the cases of Noṣrat Moẓaffarī as-Salṭane and Malek Manṣūr Mīrzā.[19] Apart from wives accompanying their partners or family members, higher education became a travel motive for women in the early 20th century. Besides the case of Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī, we also have knowledge of further Iranian women who went to the West in order to earn a university degree, as in the cases of Qodsiyye Ašraf (U.S.A.),[20] who left a brief but detailed account of her travel, and ʿEṣmat al-Molūk Doulatdād (Europe).[21] Other than Ṣadīqe Doulatā-

17 Baaba (1998: 11). The couple went to Europe twice. This travelogue covers their first trip.

18 Apart from London and Paris, Berlin was one of the European metropoles that became home to a vivid Iranian diaspora community during the early 20th century. For protagonists and activities see Mahrad (1979) and Epkenhans (2005).

19 The *Women's Worlds in Qajar Iran* collection contains a family picture showing the Qajar prince Noṣrat Moẓaffarī as-Salṭane (d. 1945), his wife Aʿẓam as-Salṭane and daughter on a trip to Europe taken in 1924/25 (1303š). In another case, Gouhar Farmānfarmāiyān, probably Aʿẓam as-Salṭane's daughter-in-law, wrote a letter to Aʿẓam as-Salṭane about her life in Berlin. Although the letter is not dated, it may be assumed that it was written in the late 1920s or in the 1930s. *Women's Worlds in Qajar Iran*. "Nusrat al-Saltanah, Aʻzam al-Saltanah, and Marziyah Khanum, ca. 1924", and "Gawhar Farmanfarmayan to Aʻzam al-Saltanah, 8 January [19--?]". The Qajar prince Malek Manṣūr Mīrzā visited the World Exhibition in Gent (Belgium) in 1913 along with his wife, their son and a nanny. A souvenir photomontage shows the couple with their nanny seated in a propeller-driven airplane with the lettering: "Souvenir de L'Exposition de Gand 1913". *Women's Worlds in Qajar Iran.* "Malik Mansur Mirza and Farah al-Saltanah at L'Exposition de Gand, 1913".

20 Qodsiyye Ašraf (b. 1886) was a Bahāʾī who travelled to Chicago in 1911 and attended classes there until 1919. She apparently composed her travel account many decades later in 1965 (Sulaymānī Ardakānī 1976: 428). The idea of going to the U.S. for education was encouraged by Dr. Susan Moody, an American Bahāʾī who resided in Iran for a couple of years and who – among others – established the Persian-American Educational Society which supported such ventures. For a detailed account see Sulaymānī Ardakānī (1976). This source also contains Qodsiyye Ašraf's own notes on her journey on pages 418–438.

21 ʿEṣmat al-Molūk Doulatdād began her studies at the Free University of Brussels in 1918. Upon her return to Iran she dedicated herself to social services in the field of education, specializing in kindergarten level. She became the head of the kindergarten department of the Ministry of Education under Reżā Šāh Pahlavī and was also involved in women's work

bādī's and Qodsiyye Ašraf's notes though, there are hardly any other female-authored written accounts or documents available (or known at the time of this writing) that would shed light on Iranian women's travels and sojourns in the West during the first decades of the 20th century. Nonetheless, for some Iranian women Europe especially was a desirable place to see and functioned as a significant point of reference in regard to lifestyle, education and gender relationships.[22]

The paucity of female-authored travelogues in general and accounts on Europe in particular has to be understood within the context of the general development of women's prose writing[23] (e.g. autobiographies, satire) emerging during the late 19th century: The few available examples resemble rare and precious pearls among a broad sea of male literary expression. Some female-authored works of different genres may be lost, some destroyed, while other unidentified manuscripts may still be waiting for discovery in dusty archives. So if we wish to study women's travel accounts or use comparative methods, some very basic work needs to be done. The first and very obvious step would be a thorough search for manuscripts in libraries and private collections in Iran and elsewhere. Given the presumably small number of women who travelled *and* wrote about it – just as not every travelling man took down notes – such intricate research will require plenty of patience, funding and travel to different locations. However, the recent publications of female travelogues mentioned earlier indicate that such an effort may provide most satisfactory results and will undoubtedly add to our knowledge of Qajar society and women's lives within it.

In the meantime, I suggest looking for alternative available documentation of travel accounts by women recorded in other ways than through the classic travelogue genre[24]: one common site for the expression of female voices throughout the early 20th century was the press as well as personal letters. In examining these sources we might be able to get an idea of how gender affected female travelling, thus opening up the stage for a whole range of different questions that may be applied to the texts. At this point, Sara Mills' call for contextualizing a travelling

among the *Kānūn-e Bānovān* ("The Ladies' Center", est. 1935) (Bámdád 1977: 110f., Qavīmī 1973: 207).

22 This is expressed in two early examples of female Persian prose: Bībī Ḫānum Astarābādī's satirical work *Vices of Men* (1894/95) and the memoirs of the Qajar princess Tāǧ as-Salṭana composed around 1914 (Tâdsch os-Saltane 2010 and Javadi – Floor 2010). For the edited Persian version of Bībī Ḫānum's piece see Astarābādī (1993). Additionally, with the emergence of the women's press in Iran (*Dāneš* 1909–10 and *Šekūfe* 1912–16 being the first two publications) a new medium of female expression was established, where views and news on European culture were presented and discussed (Salṭane – Kaḥḥāl 1999).

23 Unlike prose literature, female poets and poetry have a long tradition in Iran (Kalbasi 2008 and Ḥeǧāzī, 2003).

24 The discussion of prevalent challenges and difficulties that occur with postulating specific parameters of the genre of (female) travel writing goes beyond the scope of this paper. For more insight on genre debates and definitions see: Scheitler (1999), Campbell (2002), Hanaway (2002) and Sohrabi (2012).

woman's identity and her text weighs in remarkably as we do not only deal with the complex specifics of a life path and its social, cultural and economic determinants, but also with different types of genre and therefore distinct audiences (Mills 1991: 36–39). In an analysis of Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's travel experience this becomes a crucial point as she shared her views and impressions partly in newspaper articles and speeches and partly in private letters and official correspondence.[25] Hence, before turning to the details of her travel account, it is necessary to set the historical context of her trip to Europe by briefly shedding light on the traveller herself, who was a key figure of Iranian (women's) history.

Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī: Bending boundaries, breaking taboos

Feminist activist, educator, and publisher Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī (1882–1961) is considered a pioneer of the Iranian women's movement in the 20th century.[26] Born into a prominent religious intellectual family in Isfahan, she benefited from private schooling and a broadly liberal upbringing. Her father, Mīrzā Hādī Doulatābādī (1832–1908), was a respected local authority holding the rank of a *moǧtahed* (scholar of Islamic law) and known to be the leader of the local Azalī-Bābī[27] community, which was regarded heretic by the dominant religious discourse. Along with constant power struggles among leading Isfahani politicians and clerics, his Azalī-Bābī affiliation was one reason for many troubling years for his family members. Experiencing persecution and constant conflict, the family finally settled in Tehran in 1889/90. Here, Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī became actively involved in the nationalist fight for a constitution and a parliamentary system of power in Iran around the turn of the century and thereafter. Much of her engagement took place within the networks of several Tehrani women's societies which were preoccupied with female education, charity work and patriotic nationalist campaigns.[28] Two of

[25] The writings of Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī have been compiled and edited in three volumes by her niece Mahdoḫt Ṣanʿatī and historian Afsāne Naǧmābādī (Harvard University) (Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī 1998). Much of its original material can be accessed at the Amsterdam *International Institute for Social History* and in the digital archive http://www.qajarwomen.org.

[26] For references and sources on the following biographical outline see my own work on Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's life and work (Khosravie 2012).

[27] The Bābī are followers of the religious leader ʿAlī Moḥammad Šīrāzī (1819–50), referred to as the *Bāb* ("gate"). The teachings of this messianic religious community are influenced by the *Šayḫī*-school of the late 18th and early 19th century, which propagated new interpretations of certain theological and legal aspects within a new cycle of Islam. In the late 1860s, the community divided into the Bahāʾī and the smaller group of Azalī-Bābī. While the Azalī-Bābīs believed in the designation of Mīrzā Yaḥyā Nūrī Ṣobḥ-e Azal (1830–1912) as the *Bāb's* successor, the majority of Bābīs followed the teachings of his half-brother Mīrzā Ḥoseyn ʿAlī Nūrī Bahāʾollāh (1817–92) and became known as Bahāʾī. On the historical development and teachings of both groups see Amanat (1989), Bayat (1982: 87–113) and Cole (1998).

[28] The multifaceted relationship of women's movements and nationalist projects during the 19th and 20th century has been discussed at length. See for example: Yuval-Davis – Anthias (1989), Blom – Hall (2000), Mayer (ed.) (2000) and Najmabadi (2005).

Doulatābādī's brothers, Yaḥyā (d. 1939) and ʿAlī Moḥammad (d. 1923) were well-known reformist-minded figures who were deeply inspired by the constitutionalist movement and served as members of the parliament during different legislative periods. After moving back to Isfahan around 1914, Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī established two girls' schools with limited success, as they faced harsh local opposition. By contrast, her founding of a women's business cooperative in the textile industry in 1917 proved more promising. The project Doulatābādī became particularly famous for was her publication of a controversial newspaper named *Zabān-e Zanān* ("Women's Voice"[29]) from 1919 until 1922 (and subsequently 1942–45).[30] This newspaper featured several characteristics: it was the first women's newspaper to be published outside of the Iranian capital; it made use of the word *zanān* "women" in its title; it openly announced it would only accept female authored contributions; and it addressed sensitive social, cultural and political issues. *Zabān-e Zanān* faced severe opposition by local authorities for challenging unfavourable policies regarding education, women's rights and national sovereignty. Although Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī suffered personal assaults, countless threats, and nightly attacks on her home, which at times functioned as the newspaper's office, she did not surrender to the pressure and only stopped writing when her newspaper was banned in early 1921 for repeated interference in political matters. After this she decided to return to Tehran, where she managed to re-publish *Zabān-e Zanān* as a women's magazine dealing with motherhood, marriage, morality, and housekeeping. Nevertheless, the tough-minded patriot and feminist Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī continued to be engaged in the various activities of a prominent women's society in the early 1920s.

The unstable political circumstances in Iran and the process of nation building, re-shaping Iranian political and cultural identity during the first two decades of the 20th century influenced Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's work and thoughts in many ways and inspired her to pursue different projects as a publisher, educator and activist. The ideals and achievements of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution (1906–11) stood on shaky ground due to political corruption, the negative effects of World War I and imperialistic attempts by the two competing powers of Russia and Great Britain to undermine Iran's sovereignty. Modernist discourse therefore was keen to create social and political notions of stability by mapping out a distinctive national identity, thereby delineating the Self from the hege-

29 Literally, *zabān* means "tongue, speech, language". In the case of this newspaper title, I opted for a translation as "voice" since Doulatābādī explicitly excluded any male contributions from her publication in order to make women's voices be heard. In doing so, I follow Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī herself who apparently translated the title as *The voice of the women/La voix des femmes*. See: Invitation to Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's lecture *Les relations Franco-Persanes et la vie de la femme en Perse*, "The blossoming of a Persian feminist", *Equal Rights* 36/13, 23th October 1926, both in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 42, 623).

30 For details on the story of *Zabān-e Zanān* see: Ḫosroupanāh (1381 [2002]: 236–243) and Khosravie (2012).

monic Other (i.e. Europeans). Here, Iranian womanhood became a contested symbolic terrain of debates on modernity and tradition, thus reflecting the various discursive attitudes towards Iranian cultural identity.[31] Ever since Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī entered the stage of public activism and journalism she continuously pointed out social and political shortcomings, criticized those in charge, and participated in debates on women issues regardless of personal danger or breaking taboos. Her notion of modern Iranian womanhood in those years focused on the ideal of an educated mother and wife with certain duties (such as the responsibility of educating the next patriotic generation) as well as rights (suffrage, participation in social and economic life). In her view, men were to blame for women's ignorance, low morality and lack of education, which she identified as the crucial burdens hindering Iranian society's progress. This perspective reveals binary stereotypes of a traditional vs. a modern Iranian womanhood, which functioned as common symbols loaded with distinct ideas of Iranian national identity. Interestingly, Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī herself did not fit either of these images and represented quite a different kind of woman: She was divorced after a childless and unhappy marriage and was involved with all sorts of professional activities not belonging to the realm of home and family. Yet she took over a mother role in fostering her two much younger half-sisters, Faḫr-e Tāğ (1906–83/84) and Qamar-e Tāğ (1908–92) after their father's death in 1908.

During her years of intense activity Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's health, which had been weak since her childhood, regularly forced her to take recovery breaks. In early 1923 her condition worsened noticeably and she was advised to travel to Europe to find a cure for her disease, making her trip one of medical necessity. After her return from Europe in fall 1927 Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī did not return to journalism but accepted the long-offered post in the Ministry of Education as an inspector (*mofatteše*) for girl's schools in Iran in 1928. During her absence, significant political changes had taken place and she found herself working under new conditions dictated by the modernist agenda of the autocratic ruler Reżā Šāh Pahlavī (r. 1925–41).[32] A year later, she was promoted to head inspector of girl's schools and she continued to play an influential role among the increasingly state-controlled women's movement. The state's desire to control any independent political, social

[31] A binary attribution of the attitudes regarding different aspects of Iranian cultural identity as "reform-oriented modernist" and "traditional-minded Islamist" would obscure the heterogeneous multitude of discourses and their various intersections and common viewpoints. Nevertheless, it is necessary to refer to certain contrasting poles of discourse just as the antagonists themselves used certain terms to signify each other. Thus, I make use of terms such as "modernist" or "traditionalist" in the full awareness of the rich intellectual diversity of political and cultural debates during this constitutive period of Iranian history.

[32] The beginning of Reżā Pahlavī's reign is usually set with the British-backed *coup d'état* of February 1921. He initially held the office of the Minister of War in 1921–23, became prime minister from 1923–25, and was finally crowned Šāh in 1925. In 1941 he was forced to abdicate in the face of the allied invasion of Iran. For compact insights to the rule of Reżā Šāh see Atabaki – Zürcher (2004) and Cronin (2003).

or cultural activity culminated in the founding of an institution called *Kānūn-e Bānovān* (The Ladies' Club)[33] in 1935, which henceforth propagated the modernist state feminism. From 1936 on, Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī functioned as the director of *Kānūn-e Bānovān,* promoting all the aspects in accordance with Reżā Šāh's *Nehżat-e Bānovān* project (Women's Awakening Project),[34] including female education, patriotic motherhood, unveiling and heterosocial public life. Unlike the time before her departure to Europe, this phase of her life gave her the opportunity to work towards achieving long-fought-for goals in a position of authority.[35] In this context, it is important to understand the state-promoted feminist policies of the Pahlavi era as a continuation of the ideas and debates that activists had been preoccupied with since the 19th century.[36] After the Šāh's abdication in 1941 she kept up *Kānūn-e Bānovān* and even published a new version of her magazine *Zabān-e Zanān* (1942–45) as the club's mouth-piece. Although *Kānūn-e Bānovān* and its promoted views increasingly lost importance among the resurgent feminist and political organizations and their publications, Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī remains to this day an honoured icon of the Iranian women's movement.[37]

En route: Shifting relations between Self and Other

When retrospectively looking at Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's stay in Europe, which she prolonged for about four long years, one is tempted to suggest that the prescribed curing of her malady was – to say the least – helping to fulfil her long-cherished dream of going to Europe for further education.[38] So a medical trip turned out to

33 On *Kānūn-e Bānovān* see Fatḥī (1383 [2005]).

34 I follow Camron M. Amin's translation of the term as it reflects the underlying stereotypes of the project (modern women/awake vs. traditional women/asleep). See his work for more insight on the scope of the project's agenda (Amin 2002: chapter 4).

35 On the activities of *Kānūn-e Bānovān* under Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī and her specific role among the women's movement as well as her relation to the Pahlavī regime see Khosravie (2012: chapter 3.3).

36 This point fits into the larger critique by Cyrus Schayegh regarding state-centered Pahlavi historiography (Schayegh 2010).

37 A women's library in Tehran was named after her and the 'Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī Book Award' has been granted annually since 2005 to significant books related to feminist issues. The celebratory ceremony is always held on the International Women's Day (8th March). As an act of protest against censorship in Iran, the 'Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī Book Award' jury did not grant the book prize to any book in 2009. http://www.campaignforequality.info/spip.php?article3806.

38 In 1908, at the age of 26, Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī had already plans for going to Europe for higher education. Her idea was strongly supported by her sick father, whom she wished to take along, but who died during the same year. The next time she made plans to go to Europe was around 1917. Here, she was discouraged from following up by her family as they thought Ṣadīqe's half-sisters to be too young to accompany her. Doulatābādī's alleged motive then was the same as in 1923 (medical therapy) but regarding her constant concern of her sisters' education and the course of her actual stay in Europe later on it seems le-

become the eventful journey of a middle-aged Iranian woman in her forties travelling to several cities in the neighbouring Arab countries and to Switzerland, Germany and France. She finally settled down in Paris to study education sciences at Sorbonne University in order to gain a teacher's diploma. Metaphorically speaking, Europe not only offered her a cure for her physical ailments but also of a cure for her mind by acquiring a university degree she would not have been able to get back home.[39] Her degree opened up a career in the Ministry of Education later on, allowing her to improve her social status back home.[40]

Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī was not the first Iranian woman to travel to Europe, but what makes her exceptional is her undertaking of the journey without the company of any male relative. Nonetheless she could tap into a social network in Europe that was linked to her brother Yaḥyā, who had travelled there in 1911 and 1914, as well as to the existing diaspora communities of Iranians. Additionally there was Dr. Roland, her French physician and friend of the family, who accompanied her on the road from Iran to Europe,[41] and Ẕakāʾ ad-Doule Ġaffārī, the wife of the Iranian representative in Switzerland with whom she stayed for a while, as well as the British Orientalist Edward Granville Brown (1862–1926), with whom she exchanged letters. She was also in contact with various other Iranians in Berlin and Paris.[42]

In March 1923 Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī set off for Europe via Baghdad, Aleppo and Beirut, from which she took the sea route heading to the port of Marseille. She continued her journey to Switzerland by train until she reached her destination,

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gitimate to suggest that she might have had some other intentions for herself and the children. *Letter to Faḫr and Ǫamar 28th December 1923*, in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 75).

39 Although there had been an institution to educate (primary) schoolteachers (*Dār al-Moʿallemāt*) since 1921, it was only in the late 1920s and 1930s that educational professionals were systematically trained in Iran (Yaǧmāʾī 1997). In many cases of female travelling one reason for the journey was that it was only far from home that women could strive for further education and self-fulfillment (Holländer 1999: 204).

40 In 1924 the Iranian government approached Yaḥyā Doulatābādī suggesting that his sister should proceed with her education abroad in order to serve educational reforms in Iran upon her return. Apparently, the government partly sponsored her last two years of studies in Paris. (*Letter to Faḫr und Ǫamar 14th February 1924*, in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī 1998: 84).

41 Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī travelled in a small convoy of Europeans up to the Iranian border. Dr. Roland provided medical treatment when necessary during the journey. (Kalām, *Bānuvān-e nāmī-ye Islām va-Īrān*, in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī 1998, 610–618: 616).

42 *Letter to Faḫr and Ǫamar 31st May 1923; Letter from Edward Brown 14th October 1924*; Notes from a trip to Europe, *Zabān-e Zanān* 1/25, Farvardīn 1321š [March 1945], 13–15, all in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998, 43–45: 43; 39; 405–407: 407). For her newspaper articles in *Īrānšahr* (Berlin, publ. 1922–1927) see Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 241–255). While in Berlin she delivered a speech on the event of the *Īrānšahr* publishing house opening ceremony and in Paris she lectured on different occasions. See: editor's introduction to Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's article "The significance of health care for women", *Īrānšahr* 1/2, 18th September 1923, 18–19; invitation to Ṣadīqe Doulatābādīs lecture *Les relations Franco-Persanes et la vie de la femme en Perse*; the speech of Ms. Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī at the Women's Society, *Īrānšahr* 10/4, 23rd December 1926, 606–610, all in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 241, 42, 253–255).

Bern, after about fifty days on the road. As borders crossings often go along with crossing boundaries defined by cultural, social and political structures, Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's unescorted[43] trip appears to have tackled a whole array of such boundaries. Throughout her trip, gender dynamics shaped her interaction with her surroundings and her own perception of them. The first "gender hurdle" Doulatābādī had to face was in leaving her homeland at all. Without any male relative and instead in the company of a French physician, she was detained from travelling once in Karand and again at the Iraqi border in Qaṣr-e Šīrīn by several Iranian army servicemen, who became suspicious and denied her passage even though she held an official travel permit.[44] She was harassed, arrested, and separated from her doctor despite her visibly bad condition. In an outraged report[45] to military and government authorities Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī gave vent to her anger about this treatment, which she clearly saw as harassment and gender discrimination by ignorant and rude military servants, some not even literate and therefore unable to read her travel permit. Doulatābādī's description of her arrest in Karand provides a glimpse of her situation:

> "I slept in my room under the blanket when Major ʿAlī Akbar Ḫān opened the door with great haste, entered my room and left me utterly surprised with his behaviour. Given the fact that an hour before a deputy had made his appearance, asked for my name and personal details, had seen my travel permit and went away, I did not expect that any further disturbances would be necessary. I asked him: What is the reason for your sudden appearance and who are you? He replied: My name is ʿAlī Akbar Aḥmadī and who are you? I said: I am Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī [*felān kas*] and I have presented all the documents, my travel permit [*tazkere*], the decree [*ḥokm*] of the Foreign Minister and the letter of the doctors to your deputy. I am a sick person and I travel because of the need for medical treatment. He began to mock me and said: Your talk is not acceptable. Give me your travel permit so I can see it. I assumed the man was literate and gave him the travel permit and the documents. But he gave them to another person to read. Thereupon he said: These [documents] have nothing to do with me at all. If you have a letter from the Minister of War, then show it. I said: I don't have it since my travel permit is valid and I have the decree of the Foreign Minister, therefore, I didn't obtain a decree from the Minister of War. He said: I don't accept these [documents] and I will confis-

43 That is without any male family members accompanying her.

44 Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī had obtained a travel permit (*tazkere*) which fulfilled the function of a passport issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It also included a statement on the purpose of her trip and the necessity of Dr. Roland accompanying her. *Letter to the military authorities of Qaṣr(-e Šīrīn) 14th April 1923*, in Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 28). Elsewhere she notes that according to Iranian law single women in those days were not allowed to travel unless they were over thirty years old or suffered from a sickness that needed medical attention abroad. Kalām, *Bānovān-e nāmī-ye Eslām va-Īrān*, in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 615). Although she was 41 years old at the time of her departure, in this quoted source from the 1950s (Kalām), Ṣadīqe claims to have been only 26 but still managed to follow up with her plans. Hereby, she constructs yet another "hurdle" to her narrative of travel which adds to the exceptionality of her trip. Ibid.: 616.

45 *Letter to the military authorities of Qaṣr(-e Šīrīn) 14th April 1923*, in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 28).

> cate them. With great surprise, I said: How is it that you can do that? He said: I'll just do it, you'll see. I said: Well, then give me a letter that my travel permit and my decree are with you and take them. He said: I won't give you such a letter, and besides, you are arrested. We will also take the car and the doctor into custody. The army major walked away with my travel permit and my decree. (...) I spent the night in the room under the supervision of two soldiers. In the morning when I needed to relieve myself I stepped in and out of the room in the company of an officer."[46]

In Qaṣr-e Šīrīn, Dr. Roland was arrested once again and Doulatābādī was forced to appear at the local barracks, bypassing a group of men shouting nasty things.[47] Later, she wrote that at both checkpoints she was confronted with the same question: "How could an Iranian woman all by herself go to Europe in the company of foreign men?"[48] While she was apparently aware of the fact that some officers acted this way expecting that they would be offered a bribe, she still knew her treatment was very different. Travelling alone was one thing; to take off with a foreigner was quite a different one. This touched the boundaries of patriarchal, religious and nationalist concepts of Iranian womanhood and male guardianship. To frame it in the context of gender relations: In the notion of women as keepers of cultural identity and re-producers of new generations, female sexuality became a crucial matter of male protection with the implicit objective of preserving ethnic purity (nationalistic discourse) and female honour (patriarchal concept legitimized by religion). Male regulation of female mobility, latitude and appearance has been an important way of controlling and subduing women's lives in patriarchal societies. Leaving one's homeland and one's nation without an appropriate male guardian then becomes a subversive venture requiring powerful intercession. Female travelling appears thus to be much more about the company kept by the woman than about the traveller herself. In Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's case, her brother and parliament deputy ʿAlī Moḥammad Doulatābādī intervened through a telegraph exchange with the border forces. Still, it took a total of three days before she was allowed to resume her journey.

As Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī moved on to Iraq, Syria and then Lebanon, she had to have her travel permit stamped by the local Iranian consulates. Here again, she experienced some unpleasant encounters with her fellow countrymen and heard about the bad reputation of particular consuls. This travel episode was published in a Tehrani newspaper as a letter to the editor titled "From Iran to Switzerland" (Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī 1998: 526–531). Besides exploring the foreign destinations along her route, she seems to have been particularly interested in observing the Iranian representatives' performances:

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46 *Letter to the military authorities of Qaṣr(-e Šīrīn) 14th April 1923*, in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 28–30). All quotations in this paper are originally in Persian language and were translated by me.

47 *Letter to the military authorities of Qaṣr(-e Šīrīn) 14th April 1923*, in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 32).

48 Kalām, *Bānovān-e nāmī-ye Eslām va-Īrān*, in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 616).

> "While on the road, I made sure to get informed about the behaviour of government officials both inside and outside Iran and whether they behaved in accordance with the constitutional laws and whether they preserved the dignity of the country or not."[49]

In her account, the official representatives of Iran are depicted as politically ignorant, corrupt and dishonourable – much the same as the Iranian checkpoint officers and their behaviour earlier. Her judgment of the consul general in Iraq shows her disapproval:

> "Muʾtaman as-Salṭane is a sick old man who has old-fashioned and selfish views [*dārā-ye ʿaqāyed-e kohne va-ḫodparastī*]. He is a money-loving man of aristocratic rank without any clue about politics. Why does the state appoint such a person as consul general in an important place like Baghdad?"[50]

She then goes on to recount a detailed report given to her by local Arabs on the Iranian representative in Damascus, who seemed to resemble the profile of his colleague in Baghdad. In Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's narration these men represent every aspect of the 'old' system of Iran and of the traditions the nationalist movement tried to overcome. Her perception of fellow Iranians while on the road is marked by conceptualizing them as the Other, thereby locating them in the past as defenders and representatives of an outmoded system. To draw the line sharply, she contrasts them with the deposed Iranian consul in Beirut, a young, honourable medical student with a decent behaviour, thus standing for the normative Self and the promoted modern, enlightened Iranian nation that Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī herself related to. The 'other' consuls, representing the impotence of governing institutions back home, appear to be mere objects for the projection for the new envisioned Iranian Self. Doulatābādī did not mark the Arab populations as the Other but was mainly preoccupied with 'othering' fellow Iranians abroad as this was the intended focus of her narrative. The Self always defines itself in relation to the Other, while the identification of who the Other is may vary based on the specific context. The depiction of the Other then becomes a telling blueprint of the Self.

Although not relevant at first sight, gender does play a distinctive role in the above-cited letter to the editor, as it tells Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's story of travelling to Europe while remaining silent on the author's gender. It is only signed "traveller" (*mosāfer*), and certain elements of the narrative (e.g. taking an evening walk with a random Arab soldier, [Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī 1998: 529]) suggest that the audience was supposed to believe in a male narrator or, more precisely, male authorship.

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49 "From Iran to Switzerland", *Mīhan-e Youmiyye* 30/5, 13.12.1341q [28th June 1923], in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 527). Apparently, a previous newspaper article in *Čehrenamā* gave the impulse of going public with her experience of encounters with Iranian representatives. Contrary to her own impressions, *Čehrenamā* praised the consul in Syria, whom she considered incapable, whereas the deposed consul in Beirut, whom she favoured, received harsh criticism. (Ibid.: 531).

50 "From Iran to Switzerland", *Mīhan-e Youmiyye* 30/5, 13.12.1341q [28th June 1923], in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 528).

The moments of interaction with men also do not hint to the author's female identity in any way. Thus, her experience with the border forces is told in a gender-neutral way and much less detailed than in her letter of complaint to the authorities. She described the inacceptable arbitrary nature of the military's behaviour, leaving aside the gender-related harassment she had experienced (Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī 1998: 527–528). This fulfilled two functions. First, it was a tool to add to the authority of the text; and second, taking into account that a lone female Iranian on the road was a novelty, this could have sparked criticism which would have distracted the reader from the underlying message of the story: the distinction of her modern Iranian Self from the traditionalist and ignorant Iranian Other and the importance of "clearing" state service positions of ineligible individuals.

By looking at two different kinds of sources, a complaint report to authorities and a letter to the editor, this section has shed light on the ways in which gender affected Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's journey to Europe both in regard to travelling itself and in reporting about her trip. Furthermore, it revealed how Iranian authorities became objects of othering in her writings.

Positioning the new Iranian woman

In this section, the focus of attention will be on how notions of modern Iranian womanhood and gender in relation to the Self and the Other are reflected in Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's encounter with Europe.

Envisioning modern Iranian identity also involved new notions of gender. Here, the emerging nationalism played a key role in the construction of gender and likewise in discourses of alterity. These reciprocal processes had a significant impact on power dynamics and offered women a certain scope of action for negotiating their own status within the nation. However, although the nation was conceptualized as a feminized entity, it remained a male-dominated concept based on prevalent patriarchal structures (Mayer 2000). The nationalist ideal of an educated mother and housewife as a patriotic comrade to her reformist husband was contrasted with images of a traditional womanhood, marked by ignorance, superstition and immorality.[51] With such a view of ideal womanhood, female education using new curricula in modern schools was among the main objectives promoted both by Iranian reformists and the women's movement. In this regard the image of the European woman played an important but ambivalent role. While being depicted as a role model in terms of a civilized and disciplined upbringing, she also served as a deterrent example of immoral and promiscuous behaviour. The European woman thus represented both the desired outcome of modern reforms and the feared and con-

[51] For insight into these concepts of Iranian womanhood, their dynamics and roots see the works of Camron M. Amin (2002) and Afsaneh Najmabadi (2005: chapter 7).

demned effects of new female freedom. Defining the modern Iranian woman therefore remained a delicate act of balance weighing multifaceted positions, concerns and anxieties. Here, the dialectic nature of the concepts of identity and alterity reveals itself as an ever changing, debatable frame based on the cultural, social and political narratives of identity and the determination of its boundaries. For Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī, as an advocate of modern education and scientific motherhood, the perception of Iranian womanhood implied rather clearly defined characteristics nourished by the nationalist discourse. Her views on Europe and Europeans in general were deeply influenced both by personal encounters with European residents in Iran and her collaboration with them, and by the imperialistic politics she protested against. As a fervent patriot she held a strong basic claim for the national sovereignty of Iran free from any foreign powers' interference, but she nevertheless favoured alliances and cooperation for the sake of progress in Iran, particularly in the fields of education and economy.[52] In her encounter with Europe this ambivalent relationship in many ways defined her perception of the surroundings and the dynamics of representing identity (and thus alterity). Thereby, Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's concept of the Self was challenged on two levels: first by the biased, often colonial attitudes towards (female) life in Iran brought forward by the Other (Europeans), and secondly by the struggle to position Iranian womanhood inside and outside Iran, for which she sought coalitions. In the following section, I will show the underlying dynamics of identity building and narrative while residing abroad by looking closely at the reports of two occasions during Doulatābādī's stay in Paris where notions of identity, gender and womanhood played a significant role.

Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī entered the public European stage making sure everybody acknowledged her as a well-known Iranian publisher and women's rights activist.[53] In that way, she remained the person she was and did not – as it was the case with many other female travellers – try to become someone who she hadn't been back home or to take on a different role (Bassnett 2002: 233–235). On the event of the

[52] Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī repeatedly advocated the idea of sending Iranian students and teachers-to-be to European universities for education. She also strongly supported an economic cooperation in different areas between France and Iran. *Letter to ʿAbdolḥoseyn Ṣanʿatīzāde 9th February 1924*; "The honorable executive board of the Society of Patriotic Ladies", *Nesvān-e Vaṭanḫᵛāh-e Īrān* 7/8, 1st yr., 1303 [1924]: 41–43; "France and Iran", *Mīhan Youmiyye* 33/6, 6th November 1342q [10th June 1924]: 2; as well as the French version: "Perse et France", *L'Asie Française* 224, July/August 1924: 286–288. All documents in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 82–83, 535–537, 531–535, 236–240).

[53] She signed certain articles with the additional information that she was the publisher of the magazine *Zabān-e Zanān* and a delegate of an Iranian women's rights society. In other cases, newspaper editors added a foreword to her articles where she was introduced in the same way. See for example: Editor's introduction to Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's article "The significance of health care for women", *Īrānšahr* 1/2, 18th September 1923, 18–19; "Perse et France", *L'Asie Française* 224, July/August 1924: 286–288, both in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 241, 236–240: 240).

10th Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance[54] in Paris in 1926 she officially represented Iran as a delegate of the Patriotic Women's League (*Ǧamʿiyat-e Nesvān-e Vaṭanẖvāh*).[55] After the event she wrote a letter to her sister Qamar back home, expressing a mixture of joyful pride and anger.[56] Whereas the Congress Board members had been extremely pleased to welcome an Iranian representative for the first time ever, Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī was taken aback by the blunt ignorance displayed by the European feminist community of Iran and Iranian women. In the letter, she refers to an incident at the reception lunch where the international delegates were introduced to each other. When Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī entered the room holding the Iranian flag, her national identity was not recognized by the others. Instead, she was taken for an Italian! Even after clarifying this misconception, the women still assumed that Doulatābādī must be European and was only representing Iranian women at the congress. This is when she awoke to the fact that these women had utterly different ideas about how an Iranian woman could possibly dress (they were expecting a veiled woman), speak and behave. So she explained to them that Iran had quite a lot of educated and capable women.[57] Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's frustration increased when after she had finished, an English delegate ridiculed her report by suggesting that Iranian men would never approve of this development of Iranian women and thereby questioning the reliability of Doulatābādī's words:

> "In the end, an ignoble Englishwoman said: What country are you from? We know the Iranians quite well and their men are still not familiar with such things, are you sure you have married an Iranian?"[58]

As a reply to this sarcastic comment an indignant Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī elaborated in full on Iranian women's progress, modern schools, and other reforms which had a positive impact on the conditions of female life in Iran. During the next

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54 The *International Woman Suffrage Alliance* arose from the *International Council of Women (ICW)* in 1902 and was formally established in 1904 in Berlin. The *IWSA* perceived itself as a representative of an international forum of women's movement activists for exchange, cooperation and coordination with a liberal feminist agenda. At the Paris congress in 1926, which was chaired by the Englishwoman Margery Corbett Ashby (1882–1981), the organization decided to rename itself into *International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship* (IAW 1926: 122).

55 *Representation mandate letter issued by the Ǧamʿiyat-e Nesvān-e Vaṭanẖvāh 29th December 1923*, in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 34). The *Ǧamʿiyat-e Nesvān-e Vaṭanẖvāh(-e Irān)* was a powerful Tehrani women's society founded in 1922, which was well-known for its large-scale activities and controversial events. Most board members and many followers were teachers and school headmistresses. Some of the most prominent members of the society were married to socialist intellectuals and politicians. On the *Ǧamʿiyat-e Nesvān-e Vaṭanẖvāh* see Ḫosroupanāh (1381 [2002]: 184–194).

56 *Letter to Qamar 9th June 1926*, in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 110–113).

57 She does not refer to the exact content of these details. *Letter to Qamar 9th June 1926*, in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 111).

58 *Letter to Qamar 9th June 1926*, in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 111).

couple of days attending the congress, she was busy 'setting the record straight' and informing the international feminist audience on Iranian women's advancements. Her official speech at the congress highlights Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's narrative of Iranian identity, which she strongly linked to the age of pre-Islamic Iran when women were strong ruling members of Iranian society:

> "The history of Iran shows that women are capable and powerful. As you know, ancient Iran had energetic and enlightened [*monavvar al-fekr*] women, such as the daughters of Ḫosrou Parvīz [gov. 590–628], Šahrbānū, the daughter of Yazdegerd [gov. 632–651] and many more, some of whom ruled the country and did commendable work for the country in their time. After certain events had happened a few centuries ago, the women lost their place in political and social affairs and men took the seats in the front row."[59]

By contrasting ancient Iran with the era of Islam as a time of continuous deterioration of women's status, Doulatābādī also distinguished Iranian identity from other Middle Eastern (Arab Muslim) 'sisters'. She did not directly refer to 'Islam' or religion as such at any point in her speech, thus neglecting (or even rejecting) religious affiliation as an identity marker, which otherwise was a significant frame of analysis for Europeans viewing and judging Iranian society. While acknowledging general issues such as being excluded from suffrage and male domination of political life, Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's account for the European public draws an overall positive picture of increasing female power in Iranian society while elsewhere she expressed great alarm to fellow Iranian feminists about the poor social condition of Iranian women in comparison with other countries and "even countries like Egypt or Algeria".[60] Here, the dominant paradigm of colonial discourse, which saw the only solution to Muslim women's misery in European intervention to civilize (and/or to evangelize) the subordinate Other, was rejected by Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī, while still trying to find a rightful place among the transnational network of female solidarity. However, representations of independent and educated women like herself threatened European attitudes, as they questioned the legacy of foreign presence in the Middle East, which was often directly connected to the liberation of women.[61] Hence, the idea of *global sisterhood* was deeply intertwined with dynamics of inequality and subordination: there were 'sisters' who knew, and those who needed instruction. In Paris, Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī became well aware of 'Who was Who' in this game. The same dynamics also apply to the relationship between the 'modern Iranian woman' (like Doulatābādī herself) and the 'traditional Iranian woman', with the former being

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59 "The speech of Miss Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī at the Women's Society", *Īrānšahr* 10/4, 23rd December 1926: 606–610, in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 254). This article is the Persian version of Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's official speech at the congress, which was most likely held in French.

60 "The honourable executive board of the Society of Patriotic Ladies", in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 536).

61 For a critical examination of the complex relationship of Western feminists and Iranian women see Naghibi (2007) and Weber (2001).

called to guide and discipline the latter.[62] Whereas here, social class is an important marker of identity, this did certainly not apply to the relationship between Western and Eastern feminists in the same way. In fact, Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī had probably much more in common with the German, French or Argentinean delegates than with a fellow working-class Iranian woman in terms of socioeconomic status, family background, education and professional life. Yet, in the close encounter with European feminists Doulatābādī experienced being 'othered' and struggled to narrate Iranian identity in terms that would contradict these conceptions and thereby blur the boundaries between a European Self and the Iranian Other. At the same time, she must have been well aware of the fact that European attitudes towards Iranian women were quite in line with Iranian nationalist discourse and its stigmatizing of traditional womanhood, in which she herself engaged as well.

An earlier occasion where Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī took a stand regarding issues of identity and gender took place in 1924 when the Iranian diaspora newspaper *Īrānšahr* (publ. 1922–27, Berlin) asked whether mixed marriages between Iranian men and European women were legitimate and in what ways Europeans were preferable to Iranian women. Doulatābādī's contribution to the passionately unfolding debate revealed her rather low opinion of male Iranian residents in Europe and also displayed an interesting view of European women and the relationship between class and morality.[63] She condemned marriage between her fellow Iranian residents, who were mostly well educated and of noble family backgrounds, and European women for two reasons: First, a European mother represents a threat to Iranian cultural integrity as her children would never become real patriots, and second, those European women Iranian men were usually falling for were ordinary, uneducated and lower-class individuals. Hence, instead of going for a 'classy', educated and decent Tehrani girl, Iranian men would rather wander off with 'pleasure-seeking' European girls.[64]

> "The European girl, who has lived chest to chest with young men from diverse backgrounds since the age of twelve, who has been enjoying herself from early age on and who has had all kinds of pleasures available to her, will, after she dances and celebrates every night till break of dawn until the age of about twenty to thirty years, grow tired of pleasure-seeking and think of marriage. Of course it is more fun to sleep with her and lay one's head upon her chest than with an innocent Iranian girl, who was barred from an early age even from regular games and who is married off to a stranger at the age of fifteen or twenty."[65]

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62 Meyda Yeğenoğlu has pointed towards the significant role of indigenous elites within the dynamics of orientalism and colonialism (Yeğenoğlu 1998: 122).

63 "The opinion of Miss Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī", *Īrānšahr* 11/12, 2nd yr., 19th August 1924: 702–708, in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 247–250).

64 "The opinion of Miss Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī", in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 247, 249).

65 "The opinion of Miss Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī", in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 247).

She then continues her complaint:

> "Oh, how tyrannical the Iranian men are! There are two thousand girls with a higher education diploma and no husband in Tehran, but our young men in Europe can't restrain themselves from marrying maids, laundresses, ironers and coffeehouse waitresses."[66]

Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī had nothing positive to say about Iranian men in Europe, whom she described as short-sighted, unpatriotic and focused on (sexual) joys, nor does she have anything nice to say about the majority of European women, whom she depicted as promiscuous and utterly immoral. The few educated European women who had 'class' were not the ones who would take up with an Iranian man, she stated (Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī 1998: 249). However, Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī approved of marriages between Iranian women and European men and, moreover, regarded ethnic mixing as valuable for the Iranian gene pool as long as the mother is Iranian and thus preserves the cultural integrity of her children (Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī 1998: 250). The complex issues of her statements brought forward in this letter-to-the-editor deserve detailed attention. It is a telling piece on the entanglement of identity, gender, class and nation. Her disapproval of Iranian men's marriages with European women centres on the loss of Iranian cultural integrity, thus making such marriages an unpatriotic act on the part of her fellow Iranian "brothers" who ought to do their patriotic duty and marry an Iranian girl. Doulatābādī displayed an ambivalent notion of Iranian manhood shaped by its relation to European culture and women. As seen before, she portrays her fellow Iranian men on the road as Others by denying them affiliation with modern Iran since here they were betraying the national concept of the new Iranian woman and modern gender relations. However, unlike before, the Iranian men she refers to here have all the assets of being patriotic reformers whose ambition should be to work for the benefit of the nation. Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's disappointment with and anger over her fellow Iranians' behaviour in Europe finds explicit expression in her lines. Whereas back home she had promoted higher education abroad for the progress of the nation, she now witnessed the disconcerting outcome of the encounter between two different sets of moral standards and the mixing of classes.

This brings us to the significance of class, gender and its relationship with the Other. Doulatābādī's depiction of European women is strongly connected to their specific social status: those with low morals resemble lower-class girls and those who are educated and respectable belong to higher social classes. In her view, it was absolutely unacceptable to 'lose' noble Iranian men to lower-class non-Iranian women. Anxieties about European women as rivals of the modern Iranian women are unveiled here. Furthermore, she sexualizes the Other just as orientalist representations of the sensual, voluptuous Oriental woman do.[67] In

[66] "The opinion of Miss Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī", in: Ṣanʿatī – Naǧmābādī (1998: 249).

[67] On orientalism and its representations of the female see: Lewis (2004) and Yeğenoğlu (1998).

Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's concept of the modern Self, religion seemed to be no remarkable signifier of identity. Again, there is hardly any reference to religion in her argument other than briefly mentioning (faithless) European men converting to Islam just for the purpose of taking an Iranian wife. Rather, her frame of reference for defining identity is centred on Iranian nationalism and patriotism. Given that, it is remarkable – and probably meant to provoke the audience further – how Doulatābādī openly endorses marriages of Iranian women with 'other', non-Iranian men despite nationalist-masculine and religious (in case of non-Muslim men) concepts of honour which would generally disapprove of such relationships (Najmabadi 2005: chapter 8).

Final remarks

Reading Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's travel account through her letters, speeches and publications reveals a highly multifaceted picture of an eventful journey and residence in Europe. The fact that she wrote for diverse audiences with distinct intentions and for different purposes makes her travel experience all the more intriguing. In contrast to a formally composed travelogue or diary, this heterogeneous source material includes discursive dimensions otherwise likely to disappear. As a female traveller Doulatābādī does not quite fit into the topoi, mentioned earlier, of a woman on the road. Her trip cannot be simply labelled as a flight from home, nor did she, when abroad, try to be someone substantially different from who she had been back home. She remained the same confident activist and publisher and her feminist consciousness marks her travel account. However, life in Europe undoubtedly opened up new opportunities for her, such as admittance to university and enjoying heterosocial public life.

During her stay in Europe Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's notions of cultural identity, womanhood and gender relations shaped her perception of encounters with non-Iranians and Iranians alike. At the same time, they were challenged on many occasions and levels. By interacting and moving within a foreign space she was confronted with the dynamic relations of Self and Other, which led to differentiated approaches to and representations of certain aspects of identity. Ṣadīqe Doulatābādī's travel experience can be viewed as a kind of search for a new place for the modern Iranian woman among fellow Iranians and Europeans within contested sites of contemporary discourses on cultural identity, concepts of gender and transnational feminism. It was a constant act of balance and of negotiating shifting boundaries that defined the Self and the Other.

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III
Drawing Lines –
Borders and crossings in genre

Taḥṣīl rehberi as a source for both the traveller and the historian

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"Come here, go to Europe"[1] was the appeal of the Ottoman student organization Türk Yūrdu in Geneva in the work *Cenevrede taḥṣīl. Cenevrede Türk Yūrdunuñ Türk genclerīne hediyyeciğīdir (Studying in Geneva: A Small Present to Turkish Youth from Türk Yūrdu Geneva*) published in 1328r (1912/13)[2] in Istanbul. At the beginning of the 20th century, two Ottoman intellectuals and *Türk Yūrdu* published guides (*rehber*) for studying in Paris and Geneva to convince Ottomans of studying abroad in order to "save" the Empire.

From the late 18th century onwards the Ottoman interest in Europe took on a new dimension. The main endeavour was now to discover the "secret wisdom of the West,"[3] which was regarded as responsible for the strength and superiority of Europe and from which the Ottomans also wanted to benefit. In the course of this new interest a transfer of ideas and material goods from Europe was undertaken. As a result the Ottoman Empire's military and state apparatus, the educational system and many other private and public domains were re- and trans-formed in orientation towards the European model. The transfer of things European did not always take place in a planned and systematic way. There was neither consensus nor clarity on its advantages and disadvantages to the Empire. The 19th and early 20th century was dominated by a discussion of the benefits and dangers of adopting things European. In this debate Türk Yūrdu as well as the authors of two other study guides tried to take up a stance. The other two guides are: Necmeddīn ʿĀrif's, *Pārisde taḥṣīl. Pārisiñ mekātib-i ʿāliyyesinden ve proġrāmlarından uṣūl-i taḥṣīl ve maʿīşetinden bāḥiṣ rehberdir* (*Studying in Paris. A Guide to the Higher Educational Institutions of Paris and Their Curricula, Their Teaching Methods and Living Expenses*), published in Cairo in 1322h (1904/05),[4] and Ṭūnalı Ḥilmī's, *Āvrūpāda taḥṣīl I (resimli), Cenevrā, şehri – mektebleri, mühimm bir ẕeyl* (*Studying in Europe, I (illustrated), Geneva, the City – the Schools, an Important Appendix*), published in Geneva in 1320h[5] (1903).[6]

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* I am indebted to Erling v. Mende, Jens Heibach, Tilman Böcker, Sebile Güneysel and Caspar Hillebrand for their critical remarks.

1 Türk Yūrdu (1912/13: 8). All foreign-language quotations were translated by the author.

2 The publishing date on the cover is 1238 [sic], yet it has to be 1328 *rūmī* (1912/1913 AD).

3 By "secret wisdom of the West" Fortna primarily refers to education. But this term is applicable to the whole (Fortna 2002: 43).

4 1322 *hicrī* (1904/05AD) fits into ʿĀrif's biography (Kreiser 1996: 388).

5 The study guide for Geneva was conceived as the first in a series. But other study guides are not known. Ḥilmī concludes his work with the date "1320/9 February 1903". As a result the date is 1320h.

As will be explained, the Ottoman guides were not only guides for studying and living abroad. In their historical context they were also political writings, and in many ways they functioned also as travelogues, describing their authors' experiences and perceptions of Europe. In these functions the study guides could be a source for the young Ottoman who wanted to study in a European city, for the traveller who wanted to visit Europe, and now for the historian. On the other hand, the study guides, especially in their function as travelogues, were a source for the people who were not able to travel – a source of information on foreign countries they were not able to visit and a source for their imagination.

Based on the three works mentioned, this article aims at answering the following questions: To which genres do these guides belong, and in which ways can they be used as historical sources?[7] In the following section I specify the characteristics of the texts in comparison with other genres. The authors themselves call their works *rehber* and *ḳılāvūz* (guide), respectively.[8] Due to the limited number of study guides this contribution may seem to be unable to provide a comprehensive definition of a genre of *taḥṣīl rehberi* (study guides). But by providing insight into these works one can show how the sources may be used for historical analysis. After introducing the authors and their works I will discuss three functions of the *rehbers* at hand: (1) as a guide for the student; (2) as a travel account and guide for the traveller and (3) as political writings. Based on these functions, the importance of *rehbers* as a source for the historian will be elaborated, under the assumption that the guides are not sources for the cities described but rather acting as mirrors for the Ottoman perception of Europe and their own society. The conclusion stresses the possibility of including *rehbers* into the research on Ottoman travel writing on Europe and the Ottomans' view of Europe in general.

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6 The guides are written in Ottoman Turkish and contain French terms and names. ʿĀrif's 141 pages strong guide does not include a table of contents, pictures or illustrations. Ḥilmī's work is with 272 pages Ottoman text, a French part, a list of recommended literature, a table of contents, a list of abbreviations and corrections the most extensive guide. Many illustrations and photographs complement it. Türk Yūrdu's work consists of 79 pages and several photographs. We cannot say anything substantial about the reception of the study guides, but the fact that Ḥilmī's study guide was republished (1320 and 1321) seems to prove its importance. Servantie points to a further reprint called *Cenevre'de Taḥsil Rehberi* in 1328/1912. I could not find that version; it may therefore be the case that he mistakes it for Türk Yūrdu's guide (Servantie 2007: xlviii, n. 102).

7 The works haven't received much attention in research. For ʿĀrif's work, its structure and aim, see Kreiser 1996: 388. For his guide as an example of anti-imperialism as an aspect of Young Turk ideology, see Hanioğlu (2001: 303). For Ḥilmī and Türk Yūrdu's guides as examples of Turkish nationalism, see Kieser (2005). The guides appear in the context of the Ottoman education system and its orientation towards the French model, e.g. Ergün (1990).

8 In Necmeddīn ʿĀrif's guide the term *rehber* can be found already in the title (ʿĀrif 1904/05). Ḥilmī uses the term *ḳılāvūz* in his introduction (Ḥilmī 1903: 7). Türk Yūrdu call their guide *küçük rehber* (small guide) (Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 3).

Introducing the authors

The author of the first study guide for Paris, Necmeddīn ʿĀrif, was born in 1871, in Istanbul.[9] He studied at the higher military school of medicine (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiyye-i ʿAskeriyye*) and after graduation worked in a hospital. After 1897 his name is mentioned in connection with opposition movements against ʿAbdülḥamīd II.[10]

By 1899 ʿĀrif had gone to Paris and specialized in the field of urology and venereal diseases. It is not known whether he left Istanbul because of political reasons, but official documents suggest that he had to flee. They also indicate, however, that he was given an exemption from military service despite his escape and got the permission to pursue his studies in Paris. Additionally, he received a stipend from the Ottoman state until 1901.[11] At the end of the 19th century Paris was one of the centres of Young Turk exiles, so ʿĀrif's time abroad was spent in a politicized environment. He had contacts to leading Young Turks and seems to have been involved in conflicts between different branches of the Young Turks. In 1900 ʿĀrif went to Cairo, partly to act as a mediator between the Young Turks of Geneva and Cairo. There, he probably met Ṭūnalı Ḥilmī.[12]

After 1902 Cairo became a centre for Young Turk publications.[13] ʿĀrif was co-publisher of the journal *Türk*, which propagated a Turkish-nationalist and anti-imperialist position.[14] Despite his activities, ʿĀrif again was awarded a stipend from the Ottoman state,[15] and remaining in Cairo he wrote and published his study guide for Paris. After the Young Turk revolution, ʿĀrif returned to Istanbul and until his death in 1926 he worked as a doctor and was a member of the local administration of Istanbul.

Ṭūnalı Ḥilmī,[16] author of the first study guide for Geneva, was born in 1871 in Eskicuma (today Bulgaria). His family fled to Istanbul in 1877. Like ʿĀrif he attended the military medicine school and was active in opposition organiza-

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9 A short biographical note can be found in Erden (1948: 296f.), Hanioğlu (1995), and Hanioğlu (2001) contain further information.

10 Several students including ʿĀrif were arrested. He was the only one who was set free (Kuran 1945: 36). Many Young Turks studied at the higher military school of medicine – many of them fled to Europe and Egypt (Ramsaur 1957: 21).

11 BOA, DH.MKT. 21 Za 1316h. (1899), 2184/80; BOA, DH.MKT., 15 Za 1316h. (1899), 2182/79; BOA, DH.MKT., 02 B 1319h. (1901), 2544/99; BOA, DH.MKT., 01 Ş 1319h. (1901), 2555/65. I have not been able to see the original files yet; I just used the summaries from the Başbakanlık Arşivi website, http://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/katalog.

12 ʿĀrif wrote to Sükūti in June 1901 about Ḥilmī's stay in Cairo (Hanioğlu 1995: 333, n. 296).

13 In 1903 he is supposed to have helped publishing the Journal *ʿOṯmānlı* in Cairo, an opposition publication.

14 Hanioğlu (2001: 64–66, 73). For *Türk* see also Vámbéry (1906: 359f.).

15 BOA, DH.MKT., 25 S 1323h. (1905), 951/41. According to that document ʿĀrif went to Egypt for educational reasons.

16 Tunalı Ḥilmī's biography is well known, see e.g. Hanioğlu (2001) and Hanioğlu (1995), as well as Turkish encyclopedias (e.g. Önder 1982: 492f.). Lately a monograph on his life and works has been published (Ateş 2009).

tions. In 1895 he fled to Geneva, where he continued his political activities[17] while studying law and pedagogy.[18]

In 1897 the Hamidian government bestowed upon Ḥilmī a permanent salary on the condition that he did not publish opposition writings. However, he ignored this and was deprived of the salary, although according to an official document only one year later he was once more the recipient of a monthly stipend from the state.[19] This seems to be part of a silent agreement between the state and its opposition to avoid open confrontation, a usual practice during the Hamidian period (1876–1908).[20]

As secretary to Mīzāncı Murād, the leader of the Geneva branch of the Committee of Union and Progress, Ḥilmī co-published the journal *ʿOṯmānlı*. In 1898 he went to Cairo and established a branch of the Young Turks there. In the course of further arrangements with ʿAbdülḥamīd II, Ḥilmī worked at the Ottoman embassy in Madrid in 1900. Again, because Ḥilmī never stopped pursuing his opposition activities, in 1901 he was forced to give up his position in the embassy for good.

After changes of leadership within the Young Turk movement, many members, including Ḥilmī, searched for other possibilities of political activity. To this end, he published several of his works in French and revived the publication of *Ezān* in Geneva. During this time he also published his study guide and travelled to Egypt several times.

Ḥilmī returned to Istanbul in 1909, where he entered civil service as a district administrator and continued publishing. As a member of the Ottoman and later Republican parliament he was active in public life until his death in 1928. Ḥilmī was a quite ambiguous person who propagated Ottomanism, Turkish nationalism and Islamism.[21]

The authors of the second guide for Geneva were members of the student organization Türk Yūrdu.[22] From the late 19th century onwards Geneva had been a popular destination for Ottomans interested in studying abroad, and the number of Ottoman students there grew after the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. Türk Yūrdu was founded there in 1911.[23] At a congress of several chapters of Türk

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17 He published in Young Turk journals, founded the *ʿOṯmānlı Iḫtilāl Fırḳası* (Ottoman revolutionary party) and was the publisher of its journal *Ezān*.

18 Önder (1982: 492f.), on the contrary, claims that he had studied sociology and pedagogics.

19 BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK., 02 R 1316h. (1898), 57/35.

20 Hanioğlu (1981: 35). See also Georgeon (2003: 340) and Findley (1989: 227). For Ḥilmī in particular see Imhoff (1913: 173).

21 Hanioğlu (2001: 51f.); Karaman (1997). For a bibliography of Ḥilmī's works see Ateş (2009: 251f.); Hanioğlu (1995: 374) and Hanioğlu (2001: 513) as well as Mardin (2001: 317f.).

22 This organization is described in detail by Kieser (2005). Several works on Turkish nationalism also mention them; see e.g. Sarınay (1994); Arai (1992) and Tunaya (1984).

23 Other Türk Yūrdus were founded in Lausanne, Neuchâtel, Paris, Berlin, Gent and Montpellier.

Yūrdu in Europe, the following aims of the organization were formulated: to lay the foundation for a social revolution in the Turkish world and to awaken a national consciousness, calling on Turkish students in Europe to serve their nation. These goals are also mentioned in Türk Yūrdu Geneva's short manifesto (Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 76–79) in which they stress their proximity to other Turkish-nationalist organizations inside the Empire.[24] Until its demise in 1923, Türk Yūrdu organized conferences and lectures and published several writings in Ottoman and French.[25]

Introducing the guides[26]

The Ottoman state began to send students to Europe in the early nineteenth century. It was a short-term strategy to produce well-educated men at short notice until the reforms of the Ottoman educational system bore fruit. The students expected to have a greater advantage of gaining high positions in the state apparatus on their return, to have a deeper insight into the sciences and thus be able to serve their country. Around the 1870s, the state began to doubt the usefulness of sending students to Europe (Şişman 2004: 4f.; 79), doubts which only increased during the Hamidian period, when the state made efforts to control the educational system and to curb European influence therein. The notion of generating loyal subjects seemed at odds with studying in Europe (Deringil 1998: 96). At that time, individual decisions by Ottomans to study in Europe became more urgent and we can see the boundaries between going to Europe voluntarily to study and being forced to go in the sense of exile become blurred as a result of activities opposing the Hamidian system (Kieser 2005: 38). Following the Young Turk revolution in 1908, the practice of sending students to Europe was revived.

The three study guides were composed and produced in this context. Each of them served to convince their readership of the merits of studying in Europe and to act as a technical and informative tool for those who were actually going. As a result they consist of a mixture of objective information and subjective judgments. The works were written by individuals who themselves studied in Europe, and so it is only natural that personal experiences and perceptions influenced the contents.

Each guide focuses on the description of a certain European city as a place of study and as a place of residence, providing recommendations regarding local lifestyle and how to get by. The third motive is the city as the destination of a

[24] Mentioned are the movements *Yeñi Lisān* and *Yeñi Ḥayāt* as well as the organization *Türk Ocāğı*. For *Yeñi Lisān* see Öksüz (1995), and for *Yeñi Ḥayāt* see Hepkon (2005). For *Türk Ocāğı* see e.g. Tunaya (1984: 432–438), and Arai (1992: 71–81).

[25] For a bibliography of their publications see e.g. Kieser (2005: 186).

[26] I used hard copies of the three study guides, which I received from the Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul. For that I am indebted to Ramazan Bey.

journey, and to that end advice regarding how to travel to the city as well as a description of the city and its sights are provided. The whole content is framed by the authors' individual perceptions of Europe in general and in comparison with the home country.

Yet there are, of course, differences between the guides. ʿĀrif's and Türk Yūrdu's guides follow a clear structure. Both begin with an introductory chapter in which the authors stress the importance of studying in Europe, its dangers and benefits, and their individual perceptions of Europe in general (ʿĀrif 1904/05: 12–13; Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 2–13), followed by a religious legitimation of studying in Europe (ʿĀrif 1904/05: 14f.; Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 7). The language is clear and prosaic, with a clear focus on providing information in an understandable and well-arranged way.

In contrast to the guides by ʿĀrif and Türk Yūrdu, Ḥilmī raises literary claims in his study guide. He wants to convince his readership to go abroad not only through content and practical information but also through detailed descriptions of the beauty of Geneva and its surroundings. Information is continuously mixed with the author's impressions. Instead of an introductory chapter Ḥilmī starts by describing the process of writing his study guide and its usefulness for the reader as well as with his claim to provide all the important information *sine ira et studio* (Ḥilmī 1903: 12). Although stressing that the work includes his personal views, Ḥilmī expresses the hope that those "will not be opposed to neutrality" (Ḥilmī 1903: 13).

Rehber *as a guide for the Ottoman student*

The notion 'study guide' or '*taḥṣīl rehberi*' is consequential for two reasons: on the one hand the authors themselves call the works *rehber* and *ḳılāvūz* (Ḥilmī 1903: 7; ʿĀrif 1904/05: title; Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 3), and on the other hand their contents are just that. Guidebooks are characterized by a focus on the functional aspect, they impart knowledge and skills and provide practical advice (Klingenböck 2005: 2, n. 1). So do the study guides: they primarily consist of the description of the higher educational institutions of Paris and Geneva, from requirements for entry, study guidelines, curricula, to fees and further study-relevant information.

Likewise, the main body of ʿĀrif's study guide for Paris describes the different educational institutions of the city. It seems that the enumeration is comprehensive. It also includes descriptions of institutions which foreign students cannot attend, e.g. the *École coloniale*.[27] The near-completeness of his guide can be further illustrated by comparing it to a French study guide for foreign students by Georges Duflot from around the same time (Duflot: 1911). It is remarkable that

[27] ʿĀrif (1904/05: 55–135). For the *École coloniale*, see (ibid.: 114).

ʿĀrif does not mention the *École des langues orientales*; despite being for French students only, one would think that he would at least mention its existence. Apart from this oversight, the descriptive part of ʿĀrif's guide is very similar to the corresponding part in Duflot's book. So similar, in fact, that it is possible he had access to an earlier version of it.

He adds, however, sporadic judgments regarding whether an institution is very good or suitable for Ottoman students. The recommendations are very similar to the subjects the Ottoman state itself favoured, e.g. natural sciences, engineering, medicine and law.[28] In general, however, the author confines himself to enumerating the subjects without further commentary.

Türk Yūrdu's guide for Geneva is similarly structured: The main part again consists of mostly neutral information describing the educational institutions in Geneva (Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 18–69). Of all institutions, only two are highly recommended: the faculty of medicine and the *Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau*, an institute for educational studies.[29] Here we can find parallels to Ḥilmī, whose guide was probably known to Türk Yūrdu.

Ḥilmī, too, describes in detail the educational institutions of Geneva in his study guide. But in contrast to the other two guides he constantly comments on the information and adds to it his personal views and assessments, thereby showing his readership the shortcomings of the Ottoman educational system in contrast to that of the Swiss. Ḥilmī's personal views and recommendations are mirrored most clearly in the 30-page appendix "A profession in 8.5 months", in which he pleads the case for studying pedagogics in Geneva. To his mind, this is the science which can "save" the Empire (Ḥilmī 1903: 230–261).

Besides practical information on the way of life in a particular European city, like accommodation, food, living expenses and non-university activities, the guides also give rather general information on possible modes of living in Europe. Due to the choice of Europe as the place to study the guides had to take into account reservations of their readership. Thus, Europe was not just some place to study; it was a foreign culture and civilization, a foreign lifestyle and religion. Despite the so-called processes of modernization which the Ottoman Empire sought to learn from Europe, and despite the growing knowledge of Europe available to the Ottomans, Europe still was defined as the Other in contrast to the Self (see e.g. Berkes 1964: 352–356). As a result the study guides felt the need to give their readership an understanding of this Other and to demonstrate a way to facilitate contact with it.

All authors are aware of the "otherness" of Europe, but they do not regard it as dangerous. They understand the fears of parents and students regarding the re-

[28] E.g. for the faculty of medicine: ʿĀrif (1904/05: 72–90); for the faculty of law: (ibid.: 55–64).
[29] Faculty of medicine: Türk Yūrdu (1912/13: 33–37); *Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau*: (ibid.: 55–59).

ligious and moral otherness of Europe, but in their view the danger does not emanate from Europe per se, but from the way students cope with their European environment. Hence, as long as students sent abroad are morally and religiously stable, there are no dangers posed by the new environment; it is possible to be a good Muslim even inside Europe.[30] Türk Yūrdu and Ḥilmī even regard Geneva as one of the most secure and suitable places for Muslims (Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 18; Ḥilmī 1903: 30; 121f.; 124f.; 253).

The danger of losing one's national identity, and as a result undergoing a negative "Europeanization," is only mentioned by ʿĀrif, although he uses the same argument: as long as students are filled with love for the fatherland and Islam there is no danger of adopting Europeanness (*firenklik*) (ʿĀrif 1904/05: 43f.). ʿĀrif appeals to the student's strength of character as well as to the parents who should raise their children to be strong in their beliefs. His recommendation regarding a certain way of living is clear: Adaptation to the European way of life is undesired. He writes "The relation we have to Europeans should be like our relation to fire. Let us benefit from their light and warmth, but let us not get too close so that we burn" (ʿĀrif 1904/05: 13).

Taking into account all the other activities, e.g. lectures and conferences, Türk Yūrdu organized for Ottoman Turkish students in Geneva, it becomes clear that they wanted to ideologically influence the students. In their study guide they recommend that students bring their Turkish wives in order to avoid marriage with "foreign" and "harmful" women (Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 11). Furthermore, they take a pragmatic approach regarding how to live in Europe. Although they acknowledge the differences in lifestyle, they stress that it is possible to live in Europe as they do in the Ottoman Empire (Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 16). If the Ottoman student knew which lifestyle he had to follow and why he came to Europe, not "for decoration", not "to follow the fashion of 'having seen Europe'", not even "for the label of 'having studied in Europe'," but in order to study properly, there would be no dangers (Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 8). For further aid in orientation Türk Yūrdu suggests students visit their organization, which can provide assistance for the students wishing to live and behave properly.[31] ʿĀrif as well as the members of Türk Yūrdu implicitly regard themselves as the best examples of how to study and live in Europe without losing one's own identity, religion, or culture.

In contrast, Ḥilmī is not afraid of losing anything at all. He holds a positive view of Europe and, consequently, of living and studying there; in a "special part" he gives recommendations on living in Geneva (Ḥilmī 1903: 187–229). He especially stresses non-educational activities the students should attend, e.g.

30 Ḥilmī (1903: 252f.); Türk Yūrdu (1912/13: 13). ʿĀrif does not elaborate on the question whether it is possible to practice Islamic belief in Europe, but he does not state the opposite either.

31 Türk Yūrdu (1912/13: 18). ʿĀrif on the contrary pleads for the founding of an institution which should supervise the Ottoman students in Europe (ʿĀrif 1904/05: 41).

dance courses or the theatre – activities which were often criticized as dangerous distractions from studying. Ḥilmī does not deny the foreignness of Europe, but instead of warning against it he believes that students should embrace it. For him, studying does not only mean studying at educational institutions but learning from the experience of living in Geneva.

In spite of their differences, the common aim to serve the Ottoman student as an aid to living and studying in Europe is clearly visible in all three study guides. They do not give any information on financial or organizational aid by the state in regard to studying in Europe, implying perhaps that they address primarily Ottoman students (and their parents) who were willing to study on their own initiative and had the own financial means to do so. One can also assume that the audience of the study guides was made up of individuals already interested in studying in Europe but who had not taken the practical steps yet for any number of reasons and reservations. Even if none of the three guides states clearly what kind of "Ottoman students" – and in many ways also "Ottoman parents" – they address, it becomes clear through their argumentation. ʿĀrif mostly focuses on *Muslim* Ottomans, a conclusion supported by the fact that he starts with the *Basmala* and focuses on an Islamic religious argumentation and justification of studying in Europe much more than the other two guides. It is obvious that ʿĀrif writes from a Muslim point of view and addresses a Muslim readership.[32] Due to their involvement with the Turkish nationalist movement, Ḥilmī and Türk Yūrdu instead mostly refer to *Turkish* Muslims as their addressees. In the case of Türk Yūrdu's guide this becomes evident in the subtitle called "A Small Present to Turkish Youth." Ḥilmī dedicates his guide to "our youth" and closes his introduction by claiming that Geneva is the best place to study for "a Turk, a person from the East" (Ḥilmī 1903: cover and 15).

Rehber *as travel guide and travel account*

It was not only Europe's 'foreignness' that the study guides focused on – they also treated it as the destination of a journey, providing practical advice on and descriptions of the journey's various stations. Thus, ʿĀrif's work includes a detailed section providing the necessary information about departure from Istanbul, as well as travel to and arrival in Paris. It also has a chart of times and places of departure of steam ships and their ticket prices. Similar information can be found in Türk Yūrdu's guide.[33] Ḥilmī as well as Türk Yūrdu give information on the city and its environment, sights and places which should be visited. Ḥilmī describes Geneva and its surroundings, provides information on the political system of Switzerland,

[32] ʿĀrif (1904/05: 3–13) (introduction/*muḳaddime*), 14f. (Noble hadiths/*Aḥādīṯ-i şerīfe*).

[33] Description of the journey and stations of the journey: ʿĀrif (1904/05: 16–31) (*Departure and Arrival*); Türk Yūrdu (1912/13: 73–76) (*Journey*).

its population and history as well as on everyday life and cultural activities.[34] Only ʿĀrif limits himself to referring the readers to the Baedeker when visiting Paris.[35]

The focus of all three books, however, also lies on the places of arrival themselves – independent from their function as places of study. Those practical pieces of advice regarding travelling to Europe and staying there for a certain period of time bear elements of travel guides – "devices fixed in a written form, which do not directly report on travelling but pragmatically accompany it" (Brenner 1992: 281). As a result they were not only a source for the student but also for any Ottoman traveller who wanted to visit Paris or Geneva. Also the information on how to behave and live in Europe was useful for any traveller.

However, the parts related to travelling to Europe and the description of the places of arrival also hold characteristics of travel accounts. Especially Ḥilmī's study guide acquires the character of a travelogue. On the basis of his individual perception as well as information gained from other sources the places are described in a detailed manner. Travelling to foreign places and discussing them are leading motives of travel literature.[36] Similar to many travelogues, parts of the guides are "written presentations of authentic travels" (Brenner 1992: 9). All three authors did undertake the described travels to Europe and lived for a certain time in the European cities Paris and Geneva. Much information is gained through personal experience.

Travels to different regions of the world were a result of manifold motives: political exile, studying, journalistic travels just to name a few. In the 19th century, travel literature in its fictional and nonfictional forms was widespread. In travelogues (*seyāhatnāme)*, Ottoman intellectuals' experiences and perceptions of Europe and other regions all over the world were described. The parallels to the study guides are obvious. The *seyāhatnāme*s of the 19th century were directed at a wider audience, at the newly emerging middle-class intellectuals, and wanted to impart knowledge – especially on Europe and rules of conduct for the contact with the indigenous population and the life style abroad.[37] Similar to Ḥilmī's approach in his study guide for Geneva *seyāhatnāme*s often shared the belief that travelling itself and seeing other countries could educate the traveller. By writing *seyāhatnāme*s and sharing experiences the authors facilitated the reader's possible future travels to those places. That seems to be a more or less general characteris-

34 Especially Ottoman art in the Genevan museums as well as Ottoman–Arabic books and manuscripts in the libraries of Geneva are mentioned (Ḥilmī 1903: 46; 49).

35 Description of the cities: ʿĀrif takes no more than a page for the description of Paris and its sights (ʿĀrif 1904/05: 27). Ḥilmī describes Geneva and its environment in a detailed manner (Ḥilmī 1903: 16–58). Türk Yürdu describes Geneva and its sights in a short chapter (Türk Yürdu 1912/13: 13–16).

36 For a typology of different forms of travel literature see Link (1963: 7–11), for a critique of this typology see Neuber (1989: 51f.).

37 Sagaster (1997: 30). For more detailed information on Ottoman *seyāhatnāme*s on Europe see the contributions of Bâki Asiltürk and Caspar Hillebrand in this volume.

tic of travel accounts. Indian travel writing to England at around the same time or European travel accounts contain similar characteristics.[38] Consequently, it is not only the study guides that include characteristics of travelogues, but travelogues also contain elements of guidebooks: In his famous travelogue *Avrūpāda bir Cevelān* Aḥmed Midḥat provides information on major tourist sites as well as a short history of the cities he visited.[39] Another very important example is the Egyptian scholar al-Ṭahṭāwī who clearly states the purpose of writing his travelogue on Paris as the following:

> "When (…) I decided to go, some relatives and friends, especially our shaykh al-ʿAttâr (…) told me to observe with great detail everything that would take place on this trip, everything I saw and encountered that was strange and wondrous, and to write it down so that it could serve to discover the face of this region, of which it is said that it is as beautiful as a fiancée, and in order for it to remain a guide for travellers wishing to go there."[40]

Al-Ṭahṭāwī is also a good example that illustrates how the study guides do not only stand in a broader tradition of travel writing inside the Ottoman Empire but also in a broader Muslim tradition. They justify travelling to and studying in Europe – the land of infidels – religiously as part of *riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*, the religious obligation of travelling in search of knowledge which was a common trope in other "Muslim" travelogues of that time. Al-Ṭahṭāwī justifies his journey by the Hadith on seeking knowledge as far as China – the same Hadith the authors of the three Ottoman study guides use constantly.[41] The parallels are not very surprising taking the fact that al-Ṭahṭāwī's travelogue was translated into Ottoman-Turkish shortly after its publication in Arabic and had a wide circulation (Newman 2002: 16).

Another parallel between the study guides and travelogues which should be mentioned here is that both provide information for those people who are not able to travel by lending them their eyes while reading the travelogues or study guides:

> "I was approximately 16 years old. One day I got hold of a small book by Tunalı Hilmi – *Studying in Geneva*.[42] I cannot remember exactly what was written in it, but I know that while reading it I was moved by a fierce and deep desire for Geneva and its cultural institutions. To live and to study in Geneva was my youth's main goal. Months, maybe years after, I still thought about that. I looked at postcards of Geneva, read encyclopaedic articles on the city and my desire grew from day to day".[43]

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38 For Indians see Burton (1996: 129; 133). In a European context see for example Peckham who mentions Farrer's "Tour of Greece" (1882) which contains an appendix titled "useful information to intending travellers" (Peckham 1999: 176).

39 Findley (1998: 23). For the original see Midḥat (1889).

40 Al-Tahtâwî ([n.d.]: 6), as cited in Newman (2002: 15f.).

41 Newman (2002: 18). For the Hadith in the study guides see ʿĀrif (1904/05: 12; 14); Ḥilmī (1903: cover and 14); Türk Yūrdu (1912/13: 12).

42 Karaosmanoğlu names Ḥilmi's work *Studying in Geneva*, but he most probably means *Āvrūpāda taḥṣīl*.

43 Karaosmanoğlu (1967: 223f.). For the reference to Karaosmanoğlu see Kieser (2005: 38).

This quotation is from the memoirs of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889–1974), a Turkish writer and diplomat. He shows what kind of effect a study guide could have on its readers. To use the words of Aḥmed Midḥat Efendī: "Reading travelogues became a surrogate for travelling" (Herzog – Motika 2000: 151).

Rehber *as political writing*

Last but not least the study guides are political writings. The 19th century Ottoman Empire felt a strong need to reform the state in order to ensure its existence. Many state and opposition circles chose Europe as their point of orientation. Reforms of the educational system were at the core of state efforts. Also non-state actors and opposition groups propagated the use of education in order to transform and "save" the empire (see e.g. Deringil 1998: 93–111). As in the whole process of reforms, the question of what to take from Europe and what to preserve of the Ottoman Empire was dominant in the discussion on education. In this debate the authors of the study guides positioned themselves. The decision for education as a tool to save the country was not only a proposal for a solution in the sense of educational policy. By choosing Europe as the place of study and the Turkish-Muslim Ottomans as the addressees the study guides gained a political-ideological and partly oppositional connotation.

Mostly in the introductory parts of their works the authors state their views on their own state in comparison to Europe. The latter is often seen in terms of religious difference or unbelief, as a place of civilization and as one of knowledge. The description of Europe is one of the most subjective issues in the study guides. Individual experiences coupled with political, religious, ethnic or national positioning of the authors play a crucial role.

While ʿĀrif and Türk Yūrdu – besides their admiration for Europe as a place of knowledge and education – take an anti-European standpoint, often in the sense of anti-imperialist critique and nationalist arguments, Ḥilmī tends to laud Europe in order to criticize political and social deficits of the Ottoman state. But the authors have two things in common: Firstly, with regard to education and knowledge, Europe was an ideal model but at the same time a competitor who has to be outdistanced (Ḥilmī 1903: 258). Secondly, while dealing with Europe, the authors implicitly try to concretize how they identify themselves and whom they want to address: Turkish-Muslim Ottomans. Hence, they are an example of how travels, especially in the 19th and early 20th centuries, contributed to the development of a sense of difference between Self and Other. "The travellers were in many ways catalysers of identity formation and of a more politicized self-perception in the Ottoman Empire" (Fattah 1998: 51).

Thus, we can say that the three works are more than study guides: First of all they are a *vade mecum* for travelling to and studying and living in Europe. In addition they are travelogues by which the authors inform on their own experi-

ences in Europe. These parts are a plea for studying in Europe, and in the historical context they acquire the character of political writings.

Rehber *as a historical source*

The importance of the study guides as historical sources is evident. Harbsmeier explicitly makes the case for the use of travelogues as sources for the author's individual way of thinking and indirectly for the mentality of his home country and not as sources for the described countries, understanding travel descriptions as forms of unintended cultural self-portrayal (Harbsmeier 1982: 1f.). Nevertheless, it is not possible to take the guides as travelogues entirely, nor do I want to claim to read the authors' mentality or a collective mentality between the lines in these sources. Yet Harbsmeier shows how it is possible to use the study guides as historical sources, not as a source for a European city or its educational system but rather as an evidence of how a certain group of Ottomans perceived Europe and its usefulness for their home country. Consequently the works allow for an insight into the multifaceted and contradictory relationship of the Ottoman Empire with Europe, leaving us with the main question of "how the individually experienced reality was perceived by the travellers, how it was pictured and handled, and not in how far the travellers' description corresponds to the reality of that time" (Calikbasi 2004: 10).

If we want to read the study guides as historical sources in order to find out how the authors perceived the benefits of Europe for the Ottoman Empire and with which arguments they wanted to convince their readership of these benefits, it is fruitful to apply certain methods of discourse analysis.[44] According to Landwehr, in historical discourse analysis, discourse is understood as "the sum of statements which are organised systematically regarding a certain subject" (Landwehr 2001: 97f.). He looks at discourse itself, as well as at its constituting statements, as social products which follow certain rules. Consequently, discourse describes "the regularity/orderliness of clusters of statements which regulate what can be thought, said and done"[45] and is characterized by "which statements appear at what time and what place" (Landwehr 2001: 97f.).

As a criterion for conducting a historical discourse analysis Landwehr names a sufficient quantity of texts which are characterized by "diachronic sequences and synchronic frequency of connected statements" (Landwehr 2001: 106). The study guides do not fulfil this criterion. Their statements, rather, are part of the Ottoman discourse of how to save the empire, which was dominant in the 19th and early 20th century. Thus, the text analysis is not conceived as a discourse analysis in any

[44] In his introduction to historical discourse analysis Landwehr tries to develop a method for historical discourse analysis by resorting to discourse theory – mostly Foucault and Bourdieu (see Landwehr 2001).

[45] Landwehr (2001: 98), cited after Stäheli (2000: 73, n. 3). Stäheli uses Foucault in his definition of discourse.

strict sense, but as a preliminary stage of it. It is only possible to explore one aspect of the wider discourse, and with this limitation in mind, this article focuses on Europe's usefulness in search for possibilities to save and strengthen the Ottoman Empire. This aspect has to be further modified because it is not the discourse on what role Europe could play in this process which is presented, but rather the individual opinions of a limited number of persons. However, the statements of the study guides can be understood as part of a wider discourse. Consequently, it is possible to revert to methods of historical discourse analysis, since it is not the aim to analyze the study guides regarding their internal characteristics but rather as the "product of a concrete intellectual-linguistic attempt to come to terms with reality and as a fragment of comprehensive discourses." By putting the texts in their historical context, it is possible to make their "intentional effects more transparent and [their] transported ideology more visible" (Jäger 1993: 6).

As a consequence, the concrete analysis of the study guides has a double focus: the context in which the texts were written and in which they took effect, and the contents of the three study guides in regard to a catalogue of questions, e.g. how is Europe perceived and how is the Ottoman Empire perceived; how are the cities described; what fields are regarded as useful; how is this legitimized and so on. That these questions are asked serves to explore the portrayal of Europe's benefits for the Ottoman Empire within one text. At the same time these questions reveal parallels and differences in argumentation and emphasis in the three study guides.

Conclusion – putting rehber *in a broader context*

In this contribution, I have shown the possibility of using *rehber*s as historical sources in order to answer the central question of how the authors perceived Europe and its benefits for the Ottoman state – and how they perceived themselves in contrast to Europe. By highlighting the parallels to Ottoman/Arab travel accounts of that time I argue for integrating the study guides into the canon of travel literature on Europe in its fictional and nonfictional forms. Several of the contributions of this volume address questions to their sources which can also be posed to the study guides: For example, analyzing the factors which determine the categories of Self and Other[46] as well as the forms of justification of travelling to Europe.[47]

But despite their obvious similarities, the differences should not be forgotten. The strong focus on functional aspects distinguishes these study guides from the travel writing of that time. On the one hand this limits the possibilities of inter-

[46] See for example Bekim Agai's contribution.

[47] See for example Mehdi Sajid's analysis of Rašīd Riḍā's justification for his travel to Europe.

preting and analyzing the sources in the context of Ottoman or non-European perceptions of Europe in general; on the other hand it opens up the possibility of exploring other approaches.

As mentioned before, travelogues also contain, to a lesser degree, elements of guide books, which are directed to different audiences and address different issues, according both to the author's motivation for travelling and writing a travelogue and to the places to which the author travelled. It could be worth comparing the more pragmatic approaches to travelling found in both Ottoman and European travel accounts to those found in the study guide in order to find out in which areas the authors thought their readership needed guidance – an aspect which says a lot about the authors' perceptions of their reading audience and society in general. Another point of reference in this context could be *taʿlīmātnāmes*: e.g. the *Frānsaya seyāḥat taʿlīmātnāmesi* for an organized tour to France, which includes *inter alia* dress codes.[48]

Furthermore, a comparison between the study guides and Ottoman and European travel guides would be fruitful. An especially interesting example is a travel guide for Budapest which was published by the administration of the Austrian-Hungarian railway in Ottoman Turkish for Ottoman travellers, the number of which rose steadily after 1908.[49] Many Ottoman travellers to Europe also used the Baedeker[50] for their own travels and benefited from European travel guides as sources of information for their travelogues. Those guides could be interesting for the analysis of the study guides in two ways: beyond the choice of aspects in which the readers are believed to need guidance, the selection of recommended places and sights is meaningful, in the study guides as well as in any other travel guide. The comparison to e.g. Baedeker guides opens up for an intertextual approach which goes beyond the borders of Ottoman writings on Europe. In the case of ʿĀrif, who recommends the Baedeker and who we can assume also used the guide, its influence on his perception of Europe should be taken into account.[51]

The comparison with other "study guides" may be self-evident, but considering disciplinary and linguistic limitations it is also a demanding task. Looking back into the Europe of the 16th to 18th centuries one can find several handbooks for students or young aristocrats which served to guide them on their "Grand Tour" and helped them to profit from their educational stay abroad in order to serve their country of origin afterwards.[52] At around the same time that the Ottoman

48 N. N. 1910, 8+6 pages (in Ottoman Turkish and French). Another *taʿlīmātnāme* is *Romānya seyāḥati*, 1912 (Heyet-i Maḥsūsa tarafından, resimli seyāhat proġram ve taʿlīmātnāmesi).

49 *Budapeşte Macaristan payitahtı*, see Kuneralp (1995).

50 E.g. ʿĀrif (1904/05: 27); Aḥmed İḥsan used the Baedeker e.g. for his description of London, see Servantie (2007: xxxii).

51 Servantie claims that Aḥmed İḥsan saw Europe through the lens of Baedeker (Servantie 2007: xl).

52 See e.g. Kutter (1980) and Warneke (1995: 1–14). James Buzard states that "the Grand Tour had aimed at producing better statesmen and masters of estates" (Buzard 1993: 102).

study guides were written, several European study guides were composed, too, which addressed students who wanted to study in another country within Europe. They mostly contain information on the educational institutions but also many practical pieces of advice for living in a foreign environment (see e.g. Roßmann 1907). But the most interesting comparison would be one with contemporary Russian,[53] Bulgarian (Paskaleva 1987: 60) and Indian study guides (Burton 1996: 127f.), which were written out of a similar position, with aims and underlying reservations similar to those of the Ottoman guides. It is clear from all this that the wish to learn from Europe was by no means unique.

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[53] Ivanov (2001: 37f.). Ščapov mentions seven Russian study guides published between 1898 and 1911, which included information on West European Universities, requirements for entry, curricula, and further practical advice (Ščapov 1983: 396f.).

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Rashīd Riḍā in Europe

A monomythic reading of his travel narrative

Mehdi Sajid, Bonn

The present article deals with the travel narrative of the famous Muslim reformist thinker Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā's only visit to Europe in 1921. The text was published in seven parts under the title *al-Riḥla al-ʾŪrubiyya* ('The European Journey') between February and October 1922 in the journal *al-Manār* ('The Lighthouse'). The following paper is an attempt to show how the pattern coined as the "hero's journey"[1] or the "monomyth" may apply to Riḍā's seven-part account.[2] Thus, shedding light on the numerous monomythical elements in Riḍā's *European Journey* and showing their counterparts in the classical pattern of the hero's journey will constitute the main part of this paper. A monomythic reading may not only explain the lack of a coherent chronological structure in this travelogue but can also offer a deeper understanding of both the function of the text in its initial context and the interaction between the author and his readership. Before embarking on such a monomythical reading, I will briefly introduce the *European Journey* and try to point to some reasons for why travels beyond the cultural boundaries, as an adventure to an unknown world, could be seen as closely linked to a certain conception of heroism.

Rashīd Riḍā's European Journey, *a brief sketch of a text and its context*

The Syro-Egyptian journalist Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865–1935) is considered to be one of the most significant figures of modern Islamic thought. Through his high profile journal *al-Manār,* Riḍā was both able to spread the ideas of the Muslim reformist movement in different parts of the Muslim world and to establish himself as a leading Muslim intellectual in the first three decades of the twentieth century.[3] Along with many other reformists of his time, Rashīd Riḍā was

1 The term was coined by James Joyce and scientifically popularized by Joseph Campbell. See Campbell (2004 [first published in 1949]).

2 In the German-language research, Ralf Elger offers an example of a reading of travelogues as a hero's journey in his book *Glaube, Skepsis, Poesie. Arabische Istanbul-Reisende im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. See Elger (2011: 64–69ff.).

3 For more about Rashīd Riḍā and the Muslim reformist movement, see for instance: Adams (2002); Hourani (1983); Kerr (1966); Ryad (2009).

deeply involved in the reflection about the future of Muslim societies. In his writings he engaged with various Western ideas that, from the beginning of the colonial encounter, had posed a serious challenge to the self-concept of the Islamic worldview. However, even if he was able to obtain a lot of second-hand information on the West, Riḍā's lack of European language skills always represented a great barrier between him and a first-hand understanding of the Western civilization.[4]

Unlike his forerunners al-Afghānī (1838–1897) and ʿAbduh (1849–1905),[5] who visited different European countries and even lived in Paris for a while, Rashīd Riḍā travelled to Europe only once, at the advanced age of 56 in the year 1921, as a member of a Syrian political delegation to Geneva.[6] The main goal of the journey was to participate in a Syro-Palestinian congress there in order to advocate the independence of Syria and Palestine at the second assembly of the League of Nations (1920–1946). After his political mission Rashīd Riḍā toured through Switzerland and Germany with his friend Shakīb Arslān (1869–1946),[7] and had the opportunity to meet different important Western and Middle Eastern personalities.[8] In the following year, Riḍā published the account of his political journey in his journal *al-Manār*, under the title *al-riḥla al-ʾūrubiyya* ('the European Journey') in seven instalments in the issues between February and November 1922.[9] The timing of Riḍā's first and last trip to Europe coincides with when he started to demonstrate a very intransigent attitude toward European imperialism.[10] This

4 Around the turn of the century many political, economic and social circumstances were favourable to introduce Western ideas to broad parts of the Middle Eastern population. The massive translation of European works into Arabic played an important role in the transmission of these ideas to a larger Arab readership. For more information on the Arab cultural and literary revival that occurred in the 19th and early 20th century (the so-called *nahḍa*), see for instance Sharabi (1970). Concerning Riḍā's image of the west, see Shahin (1989), Shahin (1993), and also Ryad (2010). For Riḍā's sources of knowledge of the West, see Ryad (2009: 23–66).

5 More about al-Afghānī and ʿAbduh, see Kedourie (1997); Keddie (1972); Adams (2002); Hourani (1983).

6 For more information on the Syrian delegation in Geneva, see Hoffmann (2007); Mouton (1979).

7 More about Shakīb Arslān, see Cleveland (1985).

8 Riḍā for example met Max von Oppenheim (1860–1946), the founder of the former German Intelligence Bureau for the East (Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient), which was responsible for the pro-German propaganda in the Middle East during WWI. Cf. Hoffmann (2007: 109f.). During his visit to Berlin, Riḍā also met a former Syro-Ottoman officer, Zakī Ḥishmat Kirām (1886–1946), who had settled down in Berlin. The latter became Riḍā's student and served many years as a very important source on Europe. About Zakī Kirām, see Ryad (2009: 49–53).

9 Yūsuf ʾĪbish has edited all the travelogues of Riḍā, including the *European Journey*, in one volume, see ʾĪbish (1979: 311–384).

10 Shahin (1989: 124–129). According to Shahin, "Riḍā recognized the failure of the conciliatory policy toward Britain and was disappointed in the British refusal to grant the Arabs an independent state." He states furthermore that "Riḍā appeared to rediscover the righteousness of Afghānī's policy toward Western Imperialism" (ibid.: 127).

very stage in Riḍā's intellectual life began after WWI and lasted till the end of his life. It was marked by both a certain distance from ʿAbduh's willingness to compromise with the European presence in the Middle East and the reintegration of the more radical anti-colonial thought of al-Afghānī (cf. Shahin 1989: 127ff.). Therefore, as the only text fully dedicated to Riḍā's first-hand impressions of Europe, it turns out to be a very interesting source of information about his personality as well as his ambiguous attitude towards Europe, showing how the author processed his first encounter with the European civilization upon the European soil. In this sense Riḍā's *European Journey* can be seen as the attempt of a Muslim anti-colonial thinker to leave a trace of his visit to Europe, in a period where European imperialism reached its climax.

At first glance, the seven parts of Riḍā's *European Journey* don't seem to feature a "consistent" narrative structure. The *European Journey* is not only restricted to the description of the travel itself, i.e. the different stages of the course of the journey; it contains, amongst other things, different excursuses, anecdotes, diplomatic reports of the activities of the delegation, and numerous reflections on European colonial domination and the situation in the Middle East. The seven parts seem to be hardly connected to one another. Furthermore, the account of the journey itself neither follows a consistent chronological line, nor does it contain a description of the return journey (cf. ʾĪbish 1979: 311–384). However, the hybrid literary character of this text (if we can consider it as such) allows different possible readings on several levels of this source: as a diplomatic report of a member of the Syrian delegation in Geneva, a collection of essays on Europe, a travel account (travelogue) of one of the most influential figures of reform Islam, a slice of Rashīd Riḍā's autobiography, etc. But it is indeed much richer than even these possible readings would suggest. For example, despite the hybrid character of this travel account and its seemingly inconsistent narrative structure, the *European Journey* contains, as I will show below, all the different stages of Campbell's "hero's journey", with Riḍā himself as the hero. This narrative structure gives consistency to the text and allows us to derive a message from it. Thus, regardless of the factual claim of the author in his text, considering the *European Journey* from such a literary point of view can shed a new light on this hybrid text and could furthermore open up a new dimension in reading and dealing with travel literature. In order to do this, one of the premises of this paper will be to consider the seven parts of the *European Journey* as one single piece.

The traveller as a hero

With his book *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (first published in 1949), the American mythologist Joseph Campbell exposed the pattern that lies behind a lot of stories. The concept he coined the "hero's journey", or the "monomyth",

can indeed be found in a great number of "good stories".[11] As developed by Campbell, the pattern of the hero's journey has a cross-cultural claim: Even if it can occur in different ways, its basic form remains constant (Vogler 2007: 4). According to Christopher Vogler, a Hollywood development executive who was inspired by Joseph Campbell's work, the hero's journey is "not an invention, but an observation", which "govern[s] the conduct of life and the world of storytelling the way physics and chemistry govern the physical world" (Vogler 2007: xiii). Hence, the monomythical structure, or rather many elements of it, can be recognized in a variety of narratives of both "Western" and "non-Western" societies, and this regardless of their cultural or historical context. However, each culture has its own specificities and ways of thinking, which can indeed challenge or even severely shake the concept of the "hero's journey".[12]

Adventure is intrinsically linked to the act of travelling; this becomes more obvious especially in those cases where the travel destination lies beyond one's own cultural threshold. Every traveller who decides to cross the borders of his own culture could be seen as some sort of a hero, to the extent that it is a mark of courage and sacrifice to leave the comfortable home society in order to discover new places and unknown cultures. The encounter with the customs and culture of other societies, i.e. the Other, has always played a decisive role in shaping the identity of individuals and societies.[13] While travels beyond the cultural boundaries are nowadays seen as an important part of the education of postmodern individuals, this has not always been the case in history. The philosopher Plato, for instance, was very sceptical about the necessity of such journeys and even considered them to be a possible threat to one's own identity.[14] For this very reason many travel-

11 George Lucas' movie *Star Wars* is maybe the most prominent example of the hero's journey. The screenwriter has been indeed influenced by Joseph Campbell's works. See, for instance, Rensma (2009: viii).

12 Vogler (2007: xvi). Campbell's theory has been discussed and criticized by different scholars. Danièle M. Klapproth, for instance, criticizes the westocentric aspect of Campbell's hero's journey and convincingly shows its limits (cf. Klapproth 2004: esp. 375ff.). Regarding the critical debate on Campbell's theory, see for instance Segal (1999); Philips (1975). My aim in this article is not to re-open the discussion about the universality of Campbell's theory, but rather to emphasize the fact that travel accounts are narrative constructions whose function is to enable the re-integration of the traveller in his home context. It was Bekim Agai who first made me aware of the concept of the hero's journey as a framework which could also appear in travel literature. While reading Campbell's work and especially Christopher Vogler's, I immediately recognized many elements of the pattern of the hero in the text of Rashīd Riḍā. My assumption was backed by the literary perspective or trend in the studies of travel literature, which considers travelogues as a "self-staging" of their authors, and this despite their factual claim. See, for instance, Harbsmeier (1995); Agai (2010). For an example of a reading of travelogues as a hero's journey, see Elger (2011: 64–69ff.).

13 On the effect of travel literature on the extra-literary reality, see for instance Harbsmeier (1994); Nünning (2008).

14 Plato considered travel to foreign countries to be a dangerous threat to the Greek society. He recommended that only the "most trustworthy of men from fifty to sixty years of age should be allowed to go abroad to learn foreign rules and customs". On returning these

ogues were not written "for fun" or in order to entertain a curious readership, but rather to fulfil the task of helping the traveller, who just came back from a culturally different world (sometimes after years of absence), to reintegrate into his home society. Therefore, the travel account, oral or written, is supposed to deliver the ultimate "proof" that the returning traveller has not been "corrupted" by the customs and culture of other nations, and could be considered as the "re-entrance card" to the home society. Through his travel narrative the author expects to gain respect and esteem from his readership in his society of origin. According to the devotees of Campbell's theory, the motif of the narrated hero's journey represents the ego's search for identity and wholeness, a search with which the readership can also identify. Every person, in experiencing the process of becoming complete, during which he has to face his internal guardians, fight his own monsters, find his own masters and overcome his demons, is a sort of hero (cf. Vogler 2007: 30). One of the main purposes of heroes' stories is to give the audience, or the readership, a window into the search for identity and wholeness. Each person hearing a tale, reading a story, or watching a play or movie is invited to identify with the hero (Vogler 2007: 30). This principle applies also to travelogues: through the narrative and the universal qualities the author has given to his main character, the reader is invited to share the thrill of the traveller and to identify with him through the story.

Before shedding light on the monomythic structure in the narrative of Riḍā's *European Journey*, it is first of all necessary to summarize the archetypal hero's journey. The pathway of the hero features a tripartite structure, namely Separation–Initiation–Return (Campbell 2004: 28). According to Campbell:

> "The hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder; fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won; the hero comes back from his mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man" (ibid.).

Interesting in this regard is the fact that the chronological narrative frame of a great number of travelogues shows a very similar tripartite main structure, which can be labelled as "Departure–Sojourn–Return" and corresponds, more or less, to the main structure of the monomyth.[15] In the standard chronological structure of a travelogue, the author describes first the preparation of his journey, during which the reader is informed about the reasons for the author's decision to travel. Then he secondly gives an account of what he experienced after he left his "ordinary world." Finally, the traveller recounts his return trip. Each of the three main stages is further divided into different recognizable steps or substages, which can vary

travellers should immediately give a formal report of their experiences before the Council of the Republic. The latter should both examine whether these travellers were "corrupted" by the customs and culture of other people and if their reintegration could represent a possible threat to their home society (cf. Harbsmeier 1995: 23).

15 This is considered as a formal cross-cultural feature of many texts of travel literature (cf. Agai 2010: 23).

from one travelogue to another. In comparison, the archetypal hero's journey – based on Christopher Vogler's revisited and relabelled version of the story structure suggested by Campbell – is comprised of twelve stages (as distinguished from Campbell's seventeen stages): 1. *ordinary world*, 2. *call to adventure*, 3. *refusal of the call*, 4. *meeting the mentor*, 5. *crossing the first threshold*, 6. *tests, allies, enemies*, 7. *approach to the inmost cave*, 8. *the ordeal*, 9. *reward*, 10. *the road back*, 11. *the resurrection*, 12. *return with the elixir*.[16] In the following I will show how these different stages of the hero's journey occur in Rashīd Riḍā's *European Journey*.

The monomythic structure of the European Journey

Ordinary world

Riḍā's *European Journey* begins with an introduction, a sort of prologue containing a harsh critique of European colonization in its different forms: political, economic and cultural. The very first sentence reads as follows: "Europe has nearly succeeded in dominating the whole world and enslaving all human nations".[17] Thus, from the very beginning the reader gets the impression that there is an "evil" power or a "villain", who wants to dominate and enslave the world. This anti-colonial tone precedes the body of the travel account and determines the setting of Riḍā's travel to Europe. At this opening moment one can easily recognize the kind of travel or diplomatic mission this is going to be; the construction of Europe as an imminent threat enforces the identification of the implied reader of *al-Manār* (in the colonial context) with the central character, who is none other than Rashīd Riḍā himself. Moreover, by marking what the Muslims are not, namely "unjust", "evil" and "colonizing", the author accentuates the otherness of Europe and consequently strengthens the cultural identity of the Muslim readership in relation to Europe. The unmasking of the "evil plan" of the European colonial powers within the story evokes the urgency that something has to be done in order to rescue the Muslim World. Even before the appearance of the central figure in the text, one already expects a hero who will shoulder this difficult mission, since we know from the title that this is the introduction of a travel narrative (*riḥla*) to Europe.

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16 Cf. Vogler (2007: 81–228). In the following analysis, all the monomythical concepts in the main body and footnotes are in *italics*. – Joseph Campbell's framework contains different subsections. The first stage, that of the separation or departure, is subdivided in five subsections: *1.1 the call to adventure, 1.2 refusal of the call, 1.3 supernatural aid, 1.4 the crossing of the first threshold, 1.5. belly of the whale*. The second stage, which he calls the initiation, is that of the trials and victories and contains six subsections*: 2.1 the road of trials, 2.2 the meeting with the goddess, 2.3 woman as the temptress, 2.4 atonement with the father, 2.5 apotheosis, 2.6 the ultimate boon*. The last stage, that of return, includes the following six subsections: *3.1 refusal of the return, 3.2 the magic flight, 3.3 the rescue from without, 3.4 the crossing of the return threshold, 3.5 master of the two worlds, 3.6 freedom to live*. See Campbell (2004: 33–35).

17 ʾĪbish (1979: 311) – all English translations from this source are my own.

The introduction goes on to explain that the author was on a (diplomatic) mission to Europe and did not travel for his personal pleasure. This idea represents the main motif of Riḍā's travel account. According to Campbell, the *call to adventure* signifies that "destiny has summoned the hero and transferred his spiritual centre of gravity from within the pale of his society to a zone unknown" (Campbell 2004: 53). This is exactly the case in Riḍā's account, in which one can notice that the centre of gravity has been transferred from within the pale of the Muslim world to the unknown realm of the colonial powers. This place is described by Campbell as full of "strangely fluid and polymorphous beings, unimaginable torments, superhuman deeds, and impossible delight" (ibid.), which corresponds to Riḍā's description of the European civilization: colonizing, enslaving all the non-European nations, militarily and technically superior etc. The text in fact contains no concrete description of the *ordinary world* of the author, as would be ideal for the monomyth, but the reason for this, one can only suppose, may lie in the fact that by publishing his travelogue in his own journal Rashīd Riḍā believed he had a sort of home field advantage. The readers of *al-Manār* at that time knew exactly who he was, and most of them were even part of his *ordinary world*.

The call to adventure

After criticizing the European powers the author moves on to enumerate the various reasons for which people generally travel to Europe, emphasizing the following: study purposes, medical treatment, pleasure etc. (cf. ʾĪbish 1979: 311–312). Riḍā criticizes all those who travel to Europe in order to satisfy their "worse instincts and desires" (ʾĪbish 1979: 312). Then the author concludes as follows: "Very few travellers [to Europe] have indeed the intention to broaden their minds and gain more experience and wisdom through what they see and hear. And I hope that I belong to this minority" (ʾĪbish 1979: 312). Apart from the title, this is the first explicit moment in the text where it becomes obvious that we are dealing with a travel narrative. This is followed by the explanation that the Party of Syrian Unity (*Ḥizb al-ʾIttiḥād al-Sūrī*),[18] the vice-president of which is none other than the author himself, decided to organize a congress in Geneva, where the former League of Nations was based, in order to advocate for the independence of Syria and Palestine. As proof of his "real" travel intentions, and in order to emphasize the diplomatic aspect of his trip, Riḍā incorporated the wording of the invitation, with its original title, as issued by the Party of Syrian Unity. At this point one may

[18] Also known as the Syrian Union Party (SUP) (cf. Choueiri 2000: 149). The party was formed by Syrians living in Egypt at the end of World War I. Its executive committee included different Syrian personalities like e.g. Mīshīl Luṭf ʾAllāh, Rashīd Ridā, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shahbandar (cf. Gelvin 1998: 57).

ask why the author felt obliged to incorporate the invitation verbatim in his travel account. Which additional value or information would it add to his narrative, beyond accentuating his travel intentions? Seen from a monomythical perspective, the text of the invitation plays a major role in the story: The narrative flow is indeed temporarily interrupted by the incorporation of the invitation. This should firstly mark the transition to another important moment in the story, and secondly, it should take the reader to the next episode of the hero's journey, namely the *call to adventure*. The latter is the real beginning of every hero's journey and announces in most cases both a departure from the common world and a separation from community and entourage to travel to the *special world* (cf. Campbell 2004: 45–54; Vogler 2007: 99–104). In this sense, the invitation in Riḍā's text has the function of the spontaneous appearance of the *herald* archetype or the announcer of the adventure, which is the sign that the hero is now ripe for transformation.[19] The main stage of initiation can now begin! The appearance of the *herald* bringing news of change breaks the status quo and motivates the hero to action, calling him to the adventure and marking, as mentioned above, a new stage, a new episode in his biography. In our case the latter corresponds to the imminent first-hand encounter with the European civilization on its own soil, which is indeed something very new in the biography of Riḍā, who although having challenged the domination of the European civilization for many years, in contrast to other Muslim reformists, had never travelled to Europe. Rashīd Riḍā in his narrative seems to attach great importance to being seen as someone who is ready (and potentially strong enough) to face the European colonial powers in their own arena. The staging of the author as a hero begins very clearly at this point.

The refusal of the call

After informing the reader of his travel destination and the importance of organizing a congress in Geneva for the future of Syria and Palestine, Riḍā encounters a situation in his family which makes his travel to Europe more than uncertain. After the delegation has appointed a date to leave for Geneva, some extraordinary circumstances begin to appear in the story:

> "After this invitation was published all my children fell ill one by one. Shortly afterwards, I lost my youngest son, who died as a consequence of his illness. (...) And then we were informed that the second assembly of the League of Nations would be held about the end of August. The delegation decided that we would leave [for Europe] on

[19] Cf. Campbell (2004: 50). There are many more character archetypes, but the most common ones are: the *mentor*, the *threshold guardian*, the *shapeshifter*, the *shadow*, the *ally* and the *trickster*, see Vogler (2007: 23–26). The *herald* – as well as the other characters – doesn't necessarily have to be represented by a person (see ibid.).

> the 12th of August. But on the first of August my son Muḥammad Shafīᶜ had a contagious fever, whose therapy demanded precision and knowledge. This is the reason why I nursed and fed him personally. His mother couldn't have done this, because she wasn't able at that time to recover after a birth and had childbed fever. For all these reasons I wasn't sure about travelling with the delegation. So I decided to wait until my son would recover" (ʾĪbish 1979: 314).

At this stage the reader probably wonders how the author is going to overcome all these obstacles. It seems that Riḍā will not make it and could therefore be obliged to stay in Cairo because of all of the handicaps in his family. This is also a situation where the reader, who identifies himself with the author, may ask himself: What would I have done if I were in his shoes? It is certainly not that easy to leave for Europe in a moment in which your family needs special attention. But expressing doubts about the mission and facing ethical dilemmas is actually an important component of every hero's journey. After receiving the call, the hero often ignores it or even refuses to embark on the journey (cf. Vogler 2007: 107ff.). He begins to think of turning back (Vogler 2007: 11, 108). In our case, Riḍā has to choose between his family and his country, which needs him to advocate its independence in Geneva. This is the moment in the story in which something extraordinary should happen in order to help the hero overcome this difficult situation (Vogler 2007: 42). It is the moment in which a key character makes its appearance to help the hero surmount this difficulty.

Meeting with the mentor

Having expressed his doubts and fears related to his familial situation, which could prevent his mission in Europe, Riḍā now has to take a final decision. The text reads as follows:

> "The deadline was approaching closer and closer, and I finally decided that the interests of the home country are more important than all the own family. And so I decided to travel with the delegation. And I fully relied on God" (ʾĪbish 1979: 314).

The expression of his dedication for his home country and readiness to make sacrifices serves to emphasize the fact that the author is a noble person who does not hesitate to encounter dangers and even makes great sacrifices in order to serve his country and his fellow citizens. Furthermore this passage should remind the reader again that Rashīd Riḍā was obliged to travel to Europe because of his importance for the delegation and the decisive role he might play in the success of its diplomatic mission in Geneva. Entrusting his destiny to the hands of God is not surprising for a Muslim religious scholar, who is expected to serve as a teacher, as an example to follow for his fellow Muslims. Therefore, in his function as a spiritual leader, Riḍā reminds his readership that for a believer God is the only true source of strength and assurance in difficult moments. Only God can show him the right decision to make and give him the assurance that he is the "one" for this mis-

sion.[20] In this specific story, the character of the *mentor* is symbolized by the spirituality of the author. It is indeed his reliance on God at this moment of the story which prepares him to accept the challenge and face the unknown. Like the *herald*, the *mentor* does not necessarily have to be a person. The character can appear in different forms to perform a special function as a conscience for the hero, providing or reminding him of an important moral code. But regardless of the form in which the *mentor* appears in the story, his main function remains the same: getting the adventure going (cf. Vogler 2007: 42). In the *European Journey* the mentor takes an internal form, which represents a higher self, a sort of nobler, more godlike part of us (Vogler 2007: 40). He stands for the hero's highest aspirations – the mentor is "what the hero may become if (…) [he] persists on the road of heroes" (ibid.).

Crossing the first threshold

After surmounting his doubts, Riḍā finally embarks on the journey. In the travel account we are informed that he proceeded from Cairo to Alexandria by train along with "three other friends, who are very well-known and intelligent Muslim jurists" (ʿĪbish 1979: 314), with whom he had a discussion about the future of Muslim societies. Here again one can see that the author is focusing on the character of his travel: The train trip turns out to be in preparation for his mission beyond the cultural borders. His three friends could indeed be seen as a sort of second *mentor* in the story. Their main function could be to boost Riḍā's self-confidence on his way to face his first challenge.

In Alexandria our hero meets other members of the Syrian delegation. After crossing the passport control they embark on an Italian ship to Trieste (Italy) and thus officially leave the *ordinary world* behind. The real journey can now begin. Riḍā's description of the crossing of the Mediterranean Sea proves to be very interesting: Firstly, Riḍā begins to realize the difficulty of his journey. He understands, for instance, that his lack of foreign language skills is a big drawback for him onboard the ship, making him strongly dependent on his fellow travellers, even in the restaurant to decode the menu (ʿĪbish 1979: 316). Secondly, this passage gives the impression that the author is crossing more than just a geographical border: He speaks for instance about the bad weather and his loss of appetite as a physical reaction to the new circumstances. Furthermore, he informs us that it is very easy to recognize the *qibla*, the direction of Mecca, onboard the ship (ʾĪbish 1979: 317). This could be seen either as a reminder for other Muslim travellers to Europe to stick to their prayer, or the presence of his *mentor* – God in

[20] There are cases in which the hero doesn't initially refuse the call. But even in those instances we have the appearance of a protective figure (an old wise man) who gives the adventurer advice, guidance and provides him with supernatural equipment (such as for example amulets), which he will need in his battles against the dark forces (cf. Campbell 2004: 63; Vogler 2007: 12).

this case –protecting him during his journey. The Mediterranean Sea as a natural border between the Muslim World and Europe, or in monomythical terms the *ordinary world* and the *special world*, is a sort of in-between place in which the approach of the *special world* is being predicted.[21] The delegation's arrival in Trieste is the beginning of the initiation, but Riḍā first has to complete a final task before being allowed to enter Europe. At this moment of the story another typical character of the hero's journey appears, namely the *threshold guardians*. The latter are often lieutenants of the villain and their main function is to test whether the hero is worthy of crossing the threshold and entering the *special world* (Vogler 2007: 49). The Italian customs officers in Trieste represent the *threshold guardians* in Riḍā's account. The text passage in question reads as follows:

> "The customs officers picked out a couple of bags and opened them. Concerning mine, they opened two out of five [bags], but they didn't check them thoroughly. These officers have a sharp eye [*firāsa*]: they are able to see through people and their bags" (ʾĪbish 1979: 317).

One can see that the customs officers are accredited with "super powers," which are described with the Islamic term *firāsa*, a gift given to Muslim saints, with which they can see through people (cf. Radtke – O'Kane 1996: 121f.). The Syrian delegation is stopped at the border for many hours because some of the members are transporting a significant quantity of cigarettes, which leads to problems with the Italian customs. The same problem will recur at the Swiss-Italian boarder, where the delegation will be stopped again by the Swiss customs because of the cigarettes they are transporting. [22] The first of the seven parts of the *European Journey* closes with both a short description of the arrival to Trieste and an excursus about the importance of foreign languages.

Tests, allies, enemies

The second part is completely dedicated to the description of the trip from Trieste to Geneva. The train trip through Italy is the occasion for Riḍā to acclimatize to his new context. The acclimatization continues in the third part of the travelogue, in which the author, among other things, describes his impressions of the Swiss people and the city of Geneva. This stage of the story is important to both the traveller (the hero) and the readership: It gives both of them the oppor-

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21 The Mediterranean region has been considered by many travellers as a cross-over region, a sort of in-between region (cf. Agai 2010: 24). In Trieste, Riḍā recognizes similarities with Jounieh, a Mediterranean coastal city in Lebanon.

22 See ʾĪbish (1979: 317). In the *European Journey* Riḍā condemns smoking very harshly. In the subsequent issue of *al-Manār* he published a Fatwa in which he argued that Muslims should avoid smoking because of the dangers of nicotine (see Riḍā 1922). We don't know exactly if he recounted this episode with the Italian customs officers to have an excuse, a framework to condemn smoking. But even if this had been the case, the archetype of the *threshold guardian* is clearly recognizable.

tunity to understand the rules of the new world.[23] Through different tests the hero will acquire enough experience and self-confidence to face greater ordeals at a later point in time (cf. Vogler 2007: 136ff.).

Interesting in both the third and fourth part is the appearance of *allies* and the attempt to gain new ones, even from the opposite camp. Trying to forge a team with special skills or qualities to help the hero confront his destiny in the *special world* is one of the most important challenges for the hero in this stage of the story (Vogler 2007: 137). The character of the *ally* already appeared in the first part,[24] but its decisive role becomes much clearer as the story unfolds. The embodiment of the *ally*, or rather *allies*, is the members of the Syrian delegation who are travelling with Riḍā. From the beginning of the journey they proved to be very helpful for Riḍā: They had already assisted him in Alexandria in having his travel formalities taken care of, and once embarked on the ship, they translated for him and organized the travel formalities in Europe (train tickets, hotels, restaurants etc.) (ʾĪbish 1979: 314f., 318ff.). Mīshīl Luṭf ʾAllāh (1880–1961),[25] the president of the Party of Syrian Unity, proved to be the most trustworthy ally. In comparison to other members of the delegation, Luṭf ʾAllāh is presented as someone who is "much more experienced and [who] has travelled in many countries" (ʾĪbish 1979: 328). In Geneva he calls Riḍā's attention to the higher prices for foreign tourists on the menu. He is also the one who cancelled a reservation in a conventional hotel in order to change to a first-class hotel. The reason for this rebooking, according to the author, was to ensure that the delegation stays in the same hotel as the political VIPs, who can have an influence on the decisions of the assembly of the League of Nations, in order to meet them every day at the hotel and remind them of the Syrian nationalists' expectations (ʾĪbish 1979: 327). Another example of the *ally*, or rather the attempt to gain one, is the meeting in Geneva between Riḍā and a Syrian gentleman named Aḥmad ʿIzzat Bāshā al-ʿĀbid,[26] described as "one of the most important notables and richest men of Syria" (ʾĪbish 1979: 337), who came from Paris. Riḍā tried to win his support for Syria's struggle for independence and invited him to take part in the Syrian congress, but al-ʿĀbid apologized, giving the

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23 This applies to the audience of a movie, but could similarly be applied to a readership (cf. Vogler 2007: 139).

24 For instance, Riḍā writes that Mīshīl Luṭf ʾAllāh and Jūrj Afandi Yūsuf Sālim were waiting for him in Alexandria and that they sent someone to look after him and help him handle the travel formalities at the port, e.g. customs, passport control, medical check etc. Furthermore we are informed that Yūsuf Sālim was his cabin mate during the ship trip to Trieste. This was very advantageous for him: "Sharing my cabin is better for me, even if I would have preferred to be alone if I spoke the language of the ship crew. But my companion [Sālim] speaks both French and English" (ʾĪbish 1979: 315ff.).

25 Mīshīl Luṭf ʾAllāh was a wealthy Christian Syrian émigré who lived in Cairo. He was the president of the Party of Syrian Unity, see Cleveland (1985: 50).

26 Aḥmad ʿIzzat Bāshā al-ʿĀbid (1849–1924) was a Syrian politician and adviser of the Ottoman sultan ʿAbd ul- Ḥamīd (Turk. Abdülhamid) II. He is the father of Muḥammad ʿAlī al-ʿĀbid, the first president of the Syrian Republic (1932–1936) (cf. Moubayed 2006: 95–97).

excuse that he had to leave for Paris. Riḍā responded: "I know that you fear the French if you support our cause and take part in our congress. But you can avoid this [the revenge of the French] by telling them that you were trying to mediate between them and us" (ʾĪbish 1979: 338). The gentleman met Riḍā a second time before returning to Paris and the latter tried once again to convince him to join the Syrian delegation. Al-ʿĀbid promised to come back to Geneva and gave them his word that he would support the cause financially (ʾĪbish 1979: 338).

Even more interesting here is the fact that Riḍā tried to win allies even within the opposite camp. In this context he met a certain Mr. Rappard, "one of Switzerland's richest and most prominent scholars, a fair-minded gentleman" (ʾĪbish 1979: 338), who was the director of the Mandates Section of the League of Nations.[27] Riḍā's goal was to try to share with him the point of view of a Middle Easterner facing the reality of colonization and the consequences of the policies of the League of Nations. Thus he hoped to gain Mr. Rappard's sympathy and make him supportive of the decision of the Second Assembly of the League of Nations in favour of Syria and Palestine (ʾĪbish 1979: 329f.).

These examples of the *ally* show the beginning of a transformation of the hero's personality, which is necessary to succeed in his mission. The different *allies* in our text play different roles. However, they all help the hero Rashīd Riḍā adapt to his new environment, enabling him to solve the coming challenges. The quicker he learns the new rules, the better he will master his challenges.

Approach of the inmost cave

After arriving in Geneva, we are informed that Rashīd Riḍā and his team began to prepare for the *great battle* right away: "After we arrived in Geneva, we immediately started looking for a place where we can organize our congress" (ʾĪbish 1979: 330). This stage of the hero's journey, referred to as the *approach of the inmost cave,* is indeed the part in which the final preparations for the *great battle* are made. The hero and his team make plans, do reconnaissance on the enemy, and reorganize or thin out the group (Vogler 2007: 144). In this sense, the main purpose of the congress was to prepare the defence of the Syrian position, which sought to make the League of Nations put an end to the French and British mandates in Syria and Palestine. It was also the last chance for the Syrians and Palestinians to work out a common defence. As we are informed in the text that other Syrian and Palestinian political groups were on the way to Geneva to join forces with their fellows there, the preparation for the *great battle* becomes indeed very obvious.[28] The concrete re-

[27] William E. Rappard (1883–1958) was an influential scholar and diplomat of Swiss origin. For a detailed biography of Rappard, see Monnier (1995).

[28] They received, for example, a telegram from Trieste from Riyāḍ as-Ṣulḥ – who later became prime minister after the independence of Lebanon (1943–1945) – informing them

sult of this meeting was an open letter to the president of the second assembly of the League of Nations, Herman Adriaan van Karnebeek,[29] in which the Syrian and Palestinian delegations tried to convince the League to grant Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine their independence in the name of justice and on the basis of the right of self-determination (see ʾĪbish 1979: 346–357).

The ordeal

The delegation members tried to make the best of their presence in Geneva. Thus, the fifth part of the travel narrative is dedicated to the description of the meetings with diplomats of different countries in order to convince them to support the cessation of European mandates in Syria and Palestine. By doing so, the Syrian delegation hoped to bring the countries in question to re-think their position concerning the colonial policy in the Arab region (see ʾĪbish 1979: 359f.). Among the diplomats who agreed to meet the delegation were the president of the council of the League, the Chinese delegate, the president of the Assembly, the Iranian delegate Arfaʿ al-Dawla[30], the British delegate of South Africa Lord Robert Cecil,[31] the British delegate Herbert A. L. Fisher,[32] as well as the delegates of Italy, Spain, Brazil, and Argentina.[33] We are informed that the French diplomats refused to meet the delegation, because in their eyes it did not have the authority to represent the Syrians. In the text we are given an account of only five meetings, namely those with Lord Cecil, Mr. Fisher, the Chinese and Iranian delegates, and finally the president of the Assembly himself.

These meetings, especially those with the European diplomats, are the most important regarding the success of the delegation's political mission. This part of the travelogue represents indeed the most crucial test for the author and his team: If

that he was on his way to Geneva and that he was carrying with him many letters of attorney from other Syrian parties (Cf. ʾ Ībish 1979: 330).

29 Herman A. van Karnebeek (1874–1942) was a Dutch politician and diplomat. From 1921 until 1922 he was president of the League of Nations. About Van Karnebeek's role in Dutch politics of the twentieth century, see Wielenga (2008) and Hellema (2006).

30 Prince Mīrzā Arfaʿ al-Dawla (1846–1937) was the representative of Persia to the League of Nations. He is the father of Hasan Arfaʿ, general and ambassador of the Pahlavi dynasty. See Arfa (1964).

31 Edgar Algernon Robert Gascoyne-Cecil (1864–1958), known as Lord Robert Cecil, was a British politician, diplomat, and one of the architects of the League of Nations. He represented the Dominion of South Africa in the League Assembly. More about Cecil, see Bachofen (1959).

32 Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher (1865–1940) was an English professor and British delegate to the League of Nations. More about Fisher, see Hazlehurst – Whitehead – Woodland (1996: 139f.). For his autobiography, see Fisher (1940).

33 Fisher (1940: 360). For an exhaustive list of all the delegates who attended the second assembly of the League of Nations under the presidency of Van Karnebeek, see http://indiana.edu/~league/2ndassemb.htm.

they succeed in convincing the diplomats to reconsider their positions on the mandates in Syria and Palestine, the political outcome at the end of the second assembly could be very positive for all Syrians and Palestinians. As this is the biggest challenge of Riḍā's journey, this part of the travelogue corresponds to the stage labelled as the *ordeal* in the hero's journey, which constitutes the crucial test in which the hero faces his most fearsome opponents (cf. Vogler 2007: 155). According to Christopher Vogler, "the simple secret of the Ordeal is this: Heroes must die so that they can be reborn" (ibid.). This stage is full of dangers which threaten the hero's life and the success of his mission abroad. It will also shape the future personality of the hero, who experiences a great transformation here; the *ordeal* is the centre point of the journey, in which the hero encounters someone with an incredible power (cf. Campbell 2004: 119–121). In this sense, Rashīd Riḍā, armed with his best anti-colonial arguments and supported by his most trustworthy friends, met all the personalities who agreed to meet the Syrian delegation and tried to affect their opinion on the mandate policy in Syria and Palestine. In his account, he enumerates the arguments of his opponents and his own counterarguments from a very subjective point of view. The whole part gives the impression that the author surmounted his inability to communicate in the relevant foreign languages; there is no mention whatsoever of a translator facilitating communication between Riḍā and the European diplomats. One of the most interesting aspects of this part is the obvious shaping of an "Oriental" identity in contrast to the Western/European one. Thus, in comparison to the Europeans, the Chinese, and the Iranians, regardless of their religious affiliation, are presented as members of a unified Oriental family: Like the Arabs, they are all struggling against the European colonial powers to obtain their independence (cf. ʾĪbish 1979: 364–366).

The reward

In the sixth part of the *European Journey* the author recounts two discussions he had with Europeans of the kind he referred to in many other articles as *al-ʾaḥrār* ('the intellectually independent, the fair-minded') (ʾĪbish 1979: 369). After having challenged the colonial powers and faced their ambassadors, it is time to celebrate. At this stage of the hero's journey, the hero enjoys glory and recognition for his achievements (cf. Vogler 2007: 175f.). The celebration is often a party, barbecue, or campfire during which the hero and his companions review the recent events (Vogler 2007: 177). In this sense it is striking that in our story, too, both celebratory discussions took place in a restaurant: The atmosphere is described as very positive and as is said above, the Europeans present around the table were all "fair-minded". All these elements suggest that it was more of a celebration than an encounter between the hero and yet another "villain". The reader doesn't get the impression that the hero is still exposed to danger or that

he is still struggling to counter the colonial arguments of the Europeans. The dialogue partners in question are presented as allies, pro-Islamic and anti-colonial. They are described as follows:

> "These 'fair-minded' Europeans know the corruptness of their politicians very well. They are very afraid of the consequences of their policies and don't believe the lies they are spreading concerning Orientals, especially Muslims" (ʾĪbish 1979: 370).

The reported discussions are protrayed in many ways as a monologue rather than a dialogue and are characterized by the intellectual capitulation of the dialogue partners in the light of Riḍā's arguments. This strongly enforces the impression that the hero savours his success in the *special world* and that from now on he feels he is able to beat any challenger. The first dialogue partner is "Mūsyū Shūlr" (Monsieur Scholler),[34] the private secretary of the president of the League of Nations. He is described as a neutral and just young man, who knows the bitter truth of the European policy in the East (ʾĪbish 1979: 370). The most striking aspect of the dialogue between the author and Scholler is a long quotation in which the latter tells the story of an Armenian girl who was living in joy and happiness in the house of a Turkish Pasha until members of an American delegation decided to separate her against her will from her Turkish family (ʾĪbish 1979: 370f.). By doing so, the Americans wanted to free her from "Muslim injustice". Before the girl left Istanbul, the wives of the Pasha insisted on giving her jewellery and clothes, which were kept for the day of her wedding. Scholler expresses his consternation toward this injustice as follows:

> "So this should be an example of the injustice and the oppression of the Turkish Pashas and their wives toward the Armenian girls? The Armenians were definitely fooled by the British and the Russians. They raised their weapons against their own country and together with its enemies they took part in a conspiracy against it. This is why I think that the Turks will never forgive them" (ʾĪbish 1979: 371).

It is very interesting that the author quotes the private secretary of the president of the League to express his own opinion on the Armenian question. In this sense all accusations against the Ottoman Empire during WWI concerning the Armenian massacres are invalidated by the quote of one political authority, who supposedly knows the deep truth about the colonial policy in the Middle East.[89]

The second European dialogue partner is a journalist of *La tribune de Genève*, "Monsieur Matile" (ʾĪbish 1979: 371). In the text, Riḍā discusses with Matile the – in Matile's own words – "materialistic" and "corrupted" nature of the European

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[34] Person unknown. It is very difficult to determine the right transcription of "Shūlr". It could be Scholler, but also Schöler, Schöller, Schuler, Schüler, Schouler or Schäler etc. (ʾĪbish 1979: 370).

[89] In the same year Shakīb ʾArslān, who at that time was living in Berlin, published a book in German language about the Armenian question, in which he shared the same opinion as Riḍā. See Arslan (1921).

civilization. The author first lists his anti-colonial arguments and expresses a vehement critique of European imperialism. Monsieur Matile answers surprisingly and without any hesitation:

> "Your civilization is truly based on virtues and noble character traits. So conserve it, because it is better for you than the corrupted materialistic civilization of the West. The latter is, as you can see, hypocritical and can only stimulate the craving for pleasure" (ʾĪbish 1979: 372).

The capitulation of Mr. Matile at the beginning of the debate gives the impression that he recognizes the arguments against his own culture, which is also a sort of recognition of his passive guilt, as a member of a "wicked" nation. The most important aspect of dialogues in general, which is the exchange of different ideas between two parties, has already disappeared in the beginning of the debate, which quickly turns into an echo-dialogue[35] in which the critique of the West is confirmed by a European himself on the European soil. Thus, the first expression of the *reward* in this part is the fact that even the intellectual "elite" of Europe cannot refute Riḍā's arguments.

In a second step Riḍā quotes, in direct speech, a discussion between his master Muḥammad ʿAbduh and the English philosopher Herbert Spencer,[36] whom Riḍā refers to as the most important philosopher in Europe (ʾĪbish 1979: 373ff.). According to Vogler, "[a] campfire scene may also be a chance for a reminiscence or nostalgia (…) A loner hero might recall the events or people who influenced him" (Vogler 2007: 177). This is exactly what is happening here, as the author talks about ʿAbduh, the man who shaped his personality and made a hero out of him. The narrative of the encounter between ʿAbduh and Spencer enforces the staging of the author as someone who has a notion of European philosophy. This is another recurrent element in the hero's journey: "Heroes may find that surviving death grants new powers or better perceptions" (Vogler 2007: 180). Rashīd Riḍā, who earlier admitted his helplessness without a translator and recognized that his ignorance of European languages was a significant obstacle between him and the European civilization, seems in this part to have forgotten what he wrote six months earlier.[37] Rather, he seems to behave on the European scene as an equal, sometimes superior actor. The hero has matured.

Riḍā next asks his dialogue partner if cooperation between the "fair-minded" Europeans and the Muslims could stop the injustice of Europe in the Middle East. His dialogue partner gives him the following advice:

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35 The term "echo-dialogue" is used to describe a dialogue situation in which we hear two voices, but when we listen carefully to what the dialogue partners are saying to each other, we realize that they are in fact expressing the same point of view. See Fishelov (2010: 8f.).

36 Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) was an English philosopher, biologist, and sociologist. For an intellectual biography of Spencer, see for instance Francis (2007). For Spencer's thinking see also Taylor (2007).

37 See his short excursus on the importance of foreign language skills: ʾĪbish (1979: 318).

> "You [Orientals] have to stay united. Stick to your religion and noble virtues. Try to benefit from the coming war. Because if your people are ready to listen and follow such wise leaders as you, they will be able to benefit from the next war and get all the things you have lost back. And if they don't show this readiness, allow me to tell you that you [Orientals] deserve neither freedom nor independence. You will need a long education" (ʾĪbish 1979: 375).

It is very interesting that the author is staging himself as the only alternative to European tutelage, the European partner even recognizes him as a leader who is able to achieve the aims of his society. This is typical for this stage, in which the hero is supposed to take possession of a "treasure" or whatever was being sought in the *special world*.[38] Thus, Riḍā tries to convince the reader to have faith in him and his reform project. The characters of the "fair-minded" Europeans in the *European Journey* correspond to what the German Middle East scholar Rotraud Wielandt termed the "European certifier in charge".[39] She noticed the repeated presence of this character in many works of Arabic fiction of the 19th and first half of the 20th century, including travel literature. The authors brought into play the character of a European, often an orientalist, who is fascinated by the Islamic civilization and whose main function in the story is to restore the cultural self-confidence of the Muslims by praising the genius of Islam and Muslims and bringing their historical contribution to European civilization into the foreground (Wielandt 1980: 57ff.). Not only in the *European Journey* but also in many other articles Riḍā makes use of this figure to enforce his argumentation. The principle is very simple: If Europeans themselves have certified his critique of Europe or his praise of Islam, his argumentation becomes more credible, because it is a member of the rival civilization itself who is certifying his reflection for him.[40]

The road back

The seventh and last part of the travelogue is an article Riḍā originally intended to publish in a Swiss journal, written to inform the European public about the "real" situation in the Orient from the perspective of an Oriental who is experiencing the consequences and the injustices of European imperialism in his daily life. The article in question, which was instead published in *al-Manār*, is divided into four parts: 1. "Appeal from the East to the fair-minded Europeans", 2. "What the Orient learned

38 Campbell's term for it is "the ultimate boon" (2004: 161).

39 In German: „der europäische Bestätiger vom Dienst" (Wielandt 1980: 57).

40 One of the most striking examples of the role of the character of the "European certifier in charge" is a discussion between Riḍā and the British diplomat and economist Alfred Mitchel-Innes (1864–1950) about the greatness of the Arabic language, in which the British poet Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (1840–1922), who was a friend of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, certifies that "the Arabs were speaking wisdom in a time where the British people were living like animals, naked in the jungle" (Riḍā 1911: 911). For Blunt's biography, see Longford (2007).

from war and peace", 3. "The League of Nations' ignorance of the allies' craftiness", 4. "The fundaments of peace between East and West".[41] Although Riḍā's travelogue does not contain an explicit description of the return journey, one can interpret this section as a sort of *road back*, the beginning of the end of every hero's journey. After celebrating their victory, heroes often begin their journey back to the *ordinary world*. According to Vogler, "often heroes are motivated to hit the Road Back when the forces they have defied in the Ordeal now rally and strike back at them" (2007: 189). The reason the article couldn't be published in a European journal is given in the text by a quote of one of Riḍā's friends, who was supposed to translate the article into French. After reading it, he told Riḍā that he would "never find a newspaper in Geneva which will agree to publish it because of the harsh criticism of Great Britain and France" (ʾĪbish 1979: 377). Here we find the image that will be discussed in more detail below, namely the enemy trying to recover from his defeat in order to fight the hero one last time. The fact that Riḍā, who "defeated" the Europeans intellectually on their own soil (in Geneva) and with their own weapons (quotations of European philosophers), quotes the translator can indeed be seen as the re-appearance of another type of *herald* announcing that there will be a final battle between "good" and "evil". The censorship of the European media concerning any critical position against the European colonial policy can be seen as a sign that the dark forces were not fully defeated in the *ordeal*, and that they are preparing for the last battle. Furthermore the quotation reinforces the image of Europe as a "villain". This image has already been constructed in the first part of the travelogue, when Riḍā justified his travel to Europe as an effort to expose the "evil" plan of the European colonial powers. At this stage of the journey, after the traveller has gained first-hand information about Europe, he closes the circle of the adventure by reaffirming the supposition he expressed at the very beginning (European imperialism as the "villain"). But the difference this time is that the reader has travelled with him through the different stages of his journey, and thus has seen that the author has grown and become a more mature intellectual, able to save the Muslim world from the domination of Europe. At this stage the hero faces the decision to return home to implement the various lessons he has learned in the *special world* (Vogler 2007: 188). For Riḍā, the return home represents first and foremost the return to his journalistic activities, namely writing articles to "illuminate" the Muslims concerning the threat of European imperialism in order to stop the domination of Europe. In this sense, the incorporation of such an article in the last part of the *European Journey* is a sort of return of the author, or rather the decision to return to the *ordinary world*.[42]

41 The Arabic subtitles are as follows: "Nidāʾ al-sharq li ʾaḥrār al-gharb", "Mā taʿallamahu al-Sharq min al-ḥarb wa al-ṣulh", "Jahlu jamʿiyyat al-ʾumam bi makr al-ḥulafāʾ bihā", "Qawāʿidu al-silm bayna al-sharq wa al-gharb" (ʾĪbish 1979: 377–384).

42 Although the article seems to be separated from the travel narrative at first glance, it was published as the seventh part of the *European Journey*. The author herewith stresses that this article is a part of his travel account.

The resurrection

The seventh part of the *European Journey* – the article mentioned above – is rhetorically constructed as an appeal to the European conscience, symbolized by the "fair-minded" Europeans, whom the author addresses directly. However, one may wonder why the author published an article directed at a European public in his journal – read by an Arabic-speaking readership mostly in the Muslim world – where its first addressees will likely never read it. In this sense we can suppose that addressing the "fair-minded" Europeans in this article is just one of many rhetorical methods of reaching the Muslim readership and reinforcing its cultural self-esteem. Thus, addressing the Europeans and showing them the way out of the political crisis in the world is in reality addressing the Muslims, especially the Arabic-speaking communities in the Middle East. It is a staging of the author as someone who has the solution for the problem. In the article, he first gives a detailed analysis of the political situation in the East from his point of view as an "Easterner" ("Appeal from the East to the fair-minded Europeans", "What the Orient learned from war and peace", "The League of Nations' ignorance of the allies' craftiness") and secondly suggests a concrete five-step solution for the problems related to European imperialism ("The fundaments of peace between East and West") (ʾĪbish 1979: 383f.). This serves as the ultimate proof that the author was able to transform the knowledge gained in Europe into practical advice for the future and a potential intellectual weapon.

From a monomythical perspective, the seventh part contains many elements of the *resurrection*, which is the penultimate stage in the hero's journey. The main function of this stage is to determine whether the hero retained the lesson of the *ordeal*, or in other words: whether he is able to bring the knowledge back as applied wisdom (Vogler 2007: 199). After his European experience Riḍā, through his article, tried to convince his readership that he was now more than capable of giving practical advice on the matters of Europe and colonialism. In this sense, the author provides through his writing evidence that he experienced a transformation before re-entering the *ordinary world*. This final transformation should reflect the best parts of his old self and the lessons learned along the way (Vogler 2007: 198).

Return with the elixir or the significance of the "European Journey" for Rashīd Riḍā

Having surmounted all the difficulties and survived all the *ordeals* of the adventure, the hero returns to his starting point. If he is a "true" hero, he returns with the *elixir*, i.e. "something with the power to heal a wounded land" (Vogler 2007: 215) and shares it with his fellows. The *return* is always a new start, or rather a new chapter in the life of the hero, who experienced deep transformations through his journey. This applies in the same way to the traveller, who has endured the experience of foreignness and is finally back home.

Dealing with Europe, its ideas and political decisions, was a major part of the intellectual work of different reformist thinkers in the Middle East in the colonial context of the 20th century. As mentioned above, in contrast to his mentors al-Afghānī and ʿAbduh (and also to other, more secular intellectuals), Rashīd Riḍā was in Europe for the first and only time at an advanced age (56 years). For any reformist and anti-colonial thinker, it was incredibly important to possess first-hand experience of and knowledge about Europe. In the case of Riḍā, who challenged Europe and its ideas from the beginning of his journalistic career in 1898 on, a lack of knowledge of European languages was certainly a significant drawback for his reception of European thought. Fortunately, he was able to benefit from the wave of translations of European works into the Arabic language. But nevertheless, neither the translated works nor his various contacts with Muslims living in Europe could replace a first-hand experience of Europe. The beginning of the twentieth century in the Middle East was characterized by rivalry between different ideologies and ideas seeking to shape the future, all claiming to hold the only solution to help the so-called "Muslim World" surmount its backwardness and enable it to challenge the European civilization in every domain.[43] In this context, possessing first-hand knowledge of Europe conferred credibility and authority to the person challenging or praising these approaches. In this sense, the *elixir* Riḍā brought back from his journey was his European experience and the authority of the traveller. In a society where the vast majority never travelled to Europe, he had obtained exclusive knowledge first-hand and gained authority regarding questions related to Europe. One of the *return*'s many functions is "restoring the balance of the world (…). Villains should earn their ultimate fate by their evil deeds and they should not get off too easily" (Vogler 2007: 220). The "punishment" for Europe in the *European Journey* is the unmasking of its "evil" colonial ambitions and plans to enslave the world – especially the Middle East. This very element, which is one of the constitutive elements of the *call to adventure*, is now reaffirmed by the article. Through reaffirmation, it has gained much more credibility than the statement made before embarking on the journey. As one of very few Middle Easterners who were able to travel to Europe in the early twenties, Riḍā was indeed very successful in staging himself as a hero in his travel narrative. Through his newly gained "authority" he provided himself a basis for a new "chapter" in his intellectual and political life as someone who had gained practical knowledge, i.e. deep insight in all matters related to Europe and its colonial policies in the Middle East.

[43] More about the political climate in the Arab World at the beginning of the twentieth century, see, for instance, Hourani (1983); Kayali (1997); Cleveland (2004).

Conclusion

At first glance, the seven parts of the *riḥla* published after Riḍā's return in his journal *al-Manār* in 1922, do not seem to feature a coherent chronological structure, or even a consistent text. But from a monomythical perspective, these different parts nevertheless form one consistent narration serving a particular purpose: staging the author as a hero who had the courage to face his worst "enemy" (European imperialism) in a totally unknown geographical and cultural context. This article has tried to show how the different stages of the hero's journey appear – even in their chronological sequence – in Riḍā's travel narrative. The narrative power of the monomyth as a literary technique can be indeed very helpful in understanding how travel writers stage themselves as heroes in their respective texts. Furthermore, it can give insight into the functions of this literary genre.

In the case of Rashīd Riḍā, the practice of the archetypal plot structure of the monomyth in his seven-part *European Journey* was very useful in reinforcing his vehement anti-colonial attitude and in presenting himself and the Muslim reformist movement directly and indirectly as the best alternative to stop the European domination in the Arabic Middle East. That he did this by offering all the characteristics of a good story to the reader may have made his arguments even more attractive and convincing. As any other hero's story, his travel narrative can be seen as an invitation to the Muslim reader to identify with him and to take part in all the transformations he underwent during his journey in Europe. At the end, the reader should also have gotten the impression that he – like the hero or the traveller – has grown and changed and his restored self-confidence empowers him to face the imperialist powers at home.

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Imaginary travel(s) as a discursive strategy

The case of Ahmet Mithat and Ottoman constructions of Europe

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The Ottoman-Turkish author Ahmet Mithat (1844–1912) wrote a great deal of travel novels in which the protagonists travel through the whole world, and many novels and stories that are set in Europe, even before he ever went there himself. While writing these novels he concentrates on different kinds of travel and discusses them either in the prefaces, declaring his arguments as the author Ahmet Mithat, or lets the characters in those novels discuss the issue among themselves. What I mean by 'different kinds of travel' is those mental travels done while thinking or reading as well as the real, physical ones done by the author himself. These discussions about different kinds of travel could be perceived within a new perspective after one reads Ahmet Mithat's *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan* ('A Stroll through Europe' Mithat 1889/90), the travelogue he wrote after his own trip to Europe. It is possible to analyze how Ahmet Mithat, while referring to his previous fictional travels in *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan*, uses them as a discursive strategy to present himself as *the* expert on Europe and travel.

What I try to analyze in this article is how Ahmet Mithat constructs an authoritative discourse on Europe by mentioning the textual information gathered through reading, his imaginary world, which prepared him for his real-life trip, and the experiences and observations he made during this voyage. The main goal of the article is first to classify and define these different kinds of travel, namely mental travel, which includes imaginary and literary voyages, and the real journey. Having established this classification, by using the author's own definitions from his books, I aim to show the formation of the above-mentioned authoritative discourse, with which I argue that Ahmet Mithat's overconfident discourse on Europe is a product of the dialogue between these three kinds of travel. The author, I argue, intentionally uses this constant dialogue to construct a textual support for his imagined privileged position. Textuality is the key concept of this article in analyzing the mutual relationship of the aforementioned travels. They are textual in a double sense. First of all, the only access the reader has to those travels is through the texts that Ahmet Mithat wrote, and often those travels – be they mental or real – are linked to other texts rather than some sort of concrete and experienced reality.

In this sense, the article is not interested in the travels themselves but the representations of them and the universe which is constructed by the author through his novels, the prologues to his novels and his travelogue, each of which

take up different kinds of travel experience. In order to explore Ahmet Mithat's mental and real travels to Europe I use two main texts: the first one is Ahmet Mithat's novel *Paris'te Bir Türk* ('A Turk in Paris', Mithat 1876), which he wrote before he ever went to Europe, and the second is *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan*[1] (Mithat 1889/90), in which he describes his first 'real' travel to Europe in 1889. These two texts are in dialogue with each other, or more precisely *Cevelan*, the later work, often engages in a dialogue with *A Turk in Paris*. I read these two texts as examples of the above-mentioned dialogue, which allows the author to be an authority on Europe, but I also show how sometimes this system does not work and the travels, imaginary and real, do not overlap.

Terms, definitions and travel types

Using Ahmet Mithat's term 'mental travel', which covers both what I call imaginary travel and literary travel, allows us to make a distinction between what happens in the mind and what happens in the physical world. Ahmet Mithat uses two different terms denoting the same kind of travel: Travels that happen in the mind are called *seyahat-i fikriyye* and *seyahat-i zihniyye*. I have translated both as 'mental travel' because he also uses them interchangeably. In *Cevelan*, he prefers the term *seyahat-i fikriyye*, which stresses the conceptual feature of mental travel, but in the preface to his novel *Rikalda* he also uses the term *seyahat-i zihniyye*,[2] which highlights the location of the travel – the mind:

> "That I took my readers everywhere in the old world but did not take them for a voyage to America – the new world – is shameful for a devoted servant like me, who is a guide of *mental* travels."[3]

He uses the terms again on more than one occasion in the same preface: "Since I started writing novels I have taken my dear readers with me on so many *mental* travels!"; "Our *mental* travels were not restricted by the borders of the capital city"; "… a *mental* travel guide like myself…"[4]

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1 I will refer to this work as *Cevelan* through the rest of the article.

2 *Zihin*: mind, *fikir*: thought.

3 "Böyle karilerime cihan-ı atîkin her tarafını gezdirdiğim halde cihân-ı cedîde olan Amerika kıtasına doğru henüz lâyıklıca bir sefer açmamış bulunmaklığım benim gibi *seyahat-i zihniyye* delili bir hizmetkâr-ı sadık için nakîsa addedilmez mi?" (Mithat 2003a: 6). All the quotations from the novel are from the transcribed print of the Türk Dil Kurumu (Mithat 2003a). The emphasis in this and all other quotations as well as their English translations was added by me unless otherwise mentioned.

4 "Roman yazmaya ibtidâ-yı sülûkumdan beri sevgili karilerimi ne kadar *seyahat-i fikriyye*de refakatime aldım! (...)" "*Seyahat-i fikriyye*miz payitahta da münhasır kalmadı." "(...) benim gibi *seyahat-i zihniyye* delili bir hizmetkâr-ı sâdık için(...)", Mithat (2003a: 621 [5]). The transliteration of *Rikalda* is printed together with three other books of Ahmet Mithat in Mithat 2003a: *Haydut Montari*, *Diplomalı Kız*, and *Gürcü kızı yahut intikam.* The book has a system with two kinds of page numbers, one for the whole volume and one for the individual books themselves. The page numbers after the quotes are given accordingly.

The categorization that I use for Ahmet Mithat's travels can be broken down as follows:

I. *Mental travels:* Fictitious travels that happen in the mind through thoughts. The concept of mental travel covers the following two sub-types of travels:
   a. Imaginary travels: travels done through dreaming or imagining.
   b. Literary travels: travels done through the reading of literary texts.
II. *Real travel(s):* actual trips made by the author in person. I use the term 'real' to refer to the travel itself as opposed to its written representation. At the moment this real travel is written down it also becomes fiction like the above ones. When the reader reads the accounts of those travels, he is taken on another mental journey.

This distinction is represented in the following table (figure 1) in Ahmet Mithat's own words and the equivalent of those terms and phrases in my own terms of categorization. In the paragraphs following figure 1, I discuss the travel types and their relationships with one another.

My classification used in this article	mental travel		imaginary travel	literary travel	real travel
Ahmet Mithat's terms	*seyahat-i fikriyye*	*seyahat-i zihniyye*	*hayalî seyahat*		*hakikî seyahat*

Figure 1: Terms & definitions: Ahmet Mithat's use and my classification

Mental travels

With the travel type 'mental travel' I mean those travels that are fictitious, i.e. not physically realized but made in the mind. I further divide mental travels into two sub-categories: trips taken through dreams (imaginary travels) and trips taken through texts (literary travels). Mental travelling done through texts include Ahmet Mithat's thoughts and fantasies during his 'reading adventure' (i.e. when he reads other texts) and his thoughts and imagining during his 'writing adventure' (i.e. when he produces texts himself).

Mental travelling done through dreams: imaginary travels

This sub-category is constituted of Ahmet Mithat's dreams. These are travels Ahmet Mithat embarks on at night, as he thematizes it himself (as will be shown below), or maybe during the day, and which most of the time are nourished by texts. In *Paris'te Bir Türk* (Mithat 2000a) the Ottoman protagonist Nasuh, who quite resembles Ahmet Mithat himself, also talks about his dreams of Europe. While telling his life story to a travel companion, Nasuh says: "Consequently, in my heart a European wind had begun to blow. All through the day I read books

giving information about the famous cities of Europe. And all through the night I travelled to Europe in my *fantasies* and *dreams*."[5] So Nasuh not only imagines Europe but also dreams of it in his sleep. These dreams and fantasies are motivated by all the books that he reads.

This causal relationship between reading and dreaming indicates that the border between what I call imaginary travel and literary travel is not rigid but often transitional: As readers, we never have direct access to this imaginary realm that is the dreams and fantasies of Ahmet Mithat. The only way to be informed about the content of those dreams and fantasies is the books that he writes, and the moment we are dealing with texts we are at the doors of the literary realm, i.e. of literary travel. Nonetheless however, a distinction has to be made between the two: It is Ahmet Mithat himself who describes to the reader a kind of travel that he calls *hayâli* ('imaginary'). Both in his novels and in his travelogue *Cevelan* he describes how he fantasized about Europe at night for many years. Although he does not share with the reader the content of those dreams and fantasies he defines this kind of travelling as fictitious. The fact that he considered himself a long-time Parisian – enough to even refer to himself as a child of Paris – without ever having visited this city before 1889, may be chalked up to those imaginary days and nights in Paris.[6] The reader's access to this implicit context can only be through the novels

[5] "Binaenaleyh gönlümde Avrupa havaları esmeye başladı. Bütün gün Avrupa bilâd-ı meşhûresi ahvalini mübeyyin kitaplar okurdum. Bütün gece dahi *hülyamda, rüyamda* Avrupa'yı seyahat ederdim" (Mithat 2000a: 109). All the qouotations from the novel are from the transcribed print of the Türk Dil Kurumu (Mithat 2000a).

[6] In *Cevelan*, after he arrives in Paris for the second time by train during his journey, the following dialogue occurs between him and a middleman: "The guy laughed and said: –You know your Paris well. [I responded:] –Although I am a foreigner I lived long enough in Paris to be counted as a child of Paris." ("Herif kahkahalarla güldü. Dedi ki: –Parisinizi iyi tanıyorsunuz galiba. –Ecnebi isem de hemen Paris evladı addolunabilecek kadar Paris'de yaşamışım.") Then, after making more explanations for the reader, he continues: "In order to know such details of the French language one should also be informed about the conditions of them. When the middleman told us that the name of the hotel that he was taking us to was *Chevalier*, I asked him if that *chevalier* was a *chevalier de l'industrie*. And this shows that I know the situation of Paris adequately. Besides, when they want to show how good they or others know Paris they will say: 'I know my Paris' or 'You know your Paris.' Consequently if a guy does not use this style and instead says 'I know the city of Paris,' everybody will decide he has no clue about Paris as he did not use the idiom 'I know my Paris.' And also among them when the term 'a child of Paris' is used it does not mean the person should have been born and raised there but it means that this person lived there long enough to know every secret of the city. And these couple of words that we exchanged with the middleman showed him that I was not inexperienced in Paris." ("Komisyonere bizi götüreceği otelin şövalye hoteli namını haiz olmasından bilintikal o şövalyenin bir şövalye del endüstri olup olmadığını sormaklığım dahi Paris ahvalini layıkı vechile bildiğimi gösterir. Bir de bunların kendilerinin veyahud başkalarının Paris'i iyi tanıdıklarını anlatmak istedikleri zaman 'Ben Parisimi tanırım' veyahud 'Parisinizi tanıyorsunuz' derler. Binaenaleyh bunlara bir adam şu şivenin gayri bir şive ile mesela 'Ben Paris şehrini tanırım' diyecek olsa bu sözü 'Parisimi tanırım' suretinde söylemediği için hiç de Paris'i tanımadığına hüküm verilir. Bir de bunlar meyanında 'Paris çocuğu' denildiği zaman mutlaka Pariste doğup büyümüş olma-

the author wrote before he went to Europe because one of the main inspirations for these novels is his fantasy. Thus the reader never has complete access to the dreams of the author, as there is always the process of narration standing between them. As long as the author just dreams for himself, he is totally free; he can dream whatever he wants within the borders of his imagination. But when it is time to write down those fantasies as texts to be consumed by others,[7] he constructs the text depending on the profile of the readership or the image that he wishes to convey. These fantasies are influenced, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously, by the author's reading adventure, but they have their own existence outside the reading adventure even if they are a result of it. Not to forget the possibility of dreams without any reading: One might just hear the name of a place and dream about it without having any information on it.

Nasuh, the protagonist of *Paris'te Bir Türk*,[8] not only talks about his dreams of Europe but makes a clear distinction between physical and imaginary journeys. The following dialogue is between Nasuh and a lady he has met on the ship while travelling to Europe for the first time:

> "Catherine: Is this journey your first, Nasuh Efendi? Have you travelled elsewhere?
> Nasuh: Physically, I've had no other travel worth mentioning, Mademoiselle.
> Catherine: Strange! Is there such a thing as physical or spiritual travel?
> Nasuh: And why shouldn't there be, Mademoiselle? If the term 'spiritual' is inappropriate, wouldn't it be appropriate at least to say *'imaginary'*? I have been just as satisfied with my *imaginary* travels as this physical journey of mine."[9]

Here Ahmet Mithat prefers the term 'imaginary' (*hayalî*), which is why I decided to include it as a category in the classification. There is further evidence in other places of Ahmet Mithat's works, where he talks about mental travels (*fikrî / zihnî*) but also mentions imaginary travels. In the literary world that he fictionalizes, the author through his protagonists describes the type of travel I refer to as imaginary. Suphi Bey, the protagonist of another Ahmet Mithat novel, *Acâyib-i Âlem*[10] (Mithat 2000b), also embarks on a similar imaginary journey:

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sı anlaşılmayıp belki orada çok zaman yaşayıp her haline her sırrına vakıf olmuş manasına gelir. İşte komisyoner ile teati eylediğimiz çend kelime Paris'in acemisi olmadığımızı derhal kendisine anlatmış idi.") (Mithat 1889/90: 474b).

7 Here, the others are the readers of Ahmet Mithat for whom he feels responsible and to whom he has a lot to teach.

8 For a detailed analysis of *Paris'te Bir Türk*, see: Akyıldız (2003); Akyıldız (2006).

9 "Catherine: Bu seyahat ilk seyahatiniz midir Nasuh Efendi? Başka seyahatleriniz var mıdır?
Nasuh: Maddî olarak zikre şayan başka bir seyahatim yokdur Mademoiselle.
Catherine: 'Acayib! Seyahatin maddîsi manevîsi olur mu?
Nasuh: Niçin olmasın efendim? Manevî ta'biri yakışık almaz ise *'hayalî'* ta'biri yakışık alır ya? *Hayalî* seyahatlerimden tıpkı şu maddî seyahatim kadar mütelezziz olmuşumdur" (Mithat 2000a: 47f.).

10 For more information about the novel *Acâyib-i Âlem* and the travels of Suphi and Hicabi see Çamkara (2008) and Kefeli (2006).

> "After everybody went to bed, Suphi Bey took a map of Europe and said he would at least go on an *imaginary* trip: 'Look! I have the map in my hand. I will go wherever I want to go.'"[11]

In both of the above-mentioned examples we do not have any evidence that those imaginary travels are directly related to texts. Suphi for instance has only a map in his hand and plans to dream of other places. Ahmet Mithat explains elsewhere (see the prefaces of *Rikalda* and *Cevelan*) the relationship between reading and going on a mental journey, but what he underlines in the quotes above is the role of imagination, and it is obvious that he, as an author, finds those kinds of imaginary travels very interesting. That is why, despite the fact that the difference between literary travels and imaginary travels is sometimes not clear, I decided to use it as a subcategory.

Mental travels done through texts: literary travels

What Ahmet Mithat read on Europe are mostly literary texts, but he also read some non-fiction like history or geography books or travel guides. That is why I hesitated between using the more general term 'textual' or the term 'literary'. I decided to use the term 'literary' because it is more convenient for the kind of travel I am mentioning here for two reasons. First of all, Ahmet Mithat often tells his reader how much he learned about Europe through novels and stresses the informative function of novels constantly. Second, the texts he himself has written on Europe are also literary. I am analyzing his novels and his travelogue, which is also a literary genre. What is still to be stressed is the fact that for the readers, access to Mithat's travels (be they imaginary or real) can only ever be textual. Although a real travel is actually made, we as the readers can only access its representation through texts (travel guide, travelogue, a novel based on the real journey etc.).

By 'literary travel' I mean the travels that are done through texts, where the literary realm includes the texts that are read and written by Ahmet Mithat. The former are the literature which nurtures his imagination and imaginary travels. The latter are his own literary output, inspired by the author's imaginary travels and in turn instigating the reader's imagination. In other words: Mithat's literary travels include both the sources and the products of his imaginary travels.

Mithat himself does not use the terms 'textual' or 'literary' directly, but he keeps informing the reader of his reading process. As discussed above he uses

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11 "Yataklara girildikten sonra Suphi Bey eline bir Avrupa haritası alarak ben şimdi hiç olmazsa *hayalen* olsun seyahate çıkacağım dedi. İşte harita elimde degil mi? İstediğim yerlere gidip gezeceğim." Mithat 2000b: 237 [21]). The transliteration of *Acâyib-i Âlem* is printed together with two other books of Ahmet Mithat in Mithat (2000b: *Henüz 17 Yaşında*, and *Dürdane Hanım*). The book has a system with two kinds of page numbers, one for the whole volume and one for the individual books themselves. The page numbers after the quotes are given accordingly.

another term, *seyahat-i fikriyye* ('mental journey'), which in a way includes both literary and imaginary travels:

> "My modest guidance in helping my readers to embark on *mental* voyages in my novels like *Hasan Mellah, Hüseyin Fellah, Paris'te Bir Türk* and *Acâyib-i Âlem* was itself likewise a *mental travel* based on my studies on detailed and extended geography books, travel guides and travelogues."[12]

Here, he explains what he means by the term and refers to the connection between his own mental journeys and those of his readership. The latter depends on the former, which makes the reader's journey 'twice mental'. Even though in the quote above the emphasis is on non-fiction texts, in *Cevelan*, when Ahmet Mithat is recounting what he knows of the unhappy family life in Paris to his travel companion Madame Gülnar and her mother, the Countess, he says: "I can't claim to have seen the Paris domestic life in any place save for the works of realist novelists who depict domestic life." The Countess responds: "Well, anyway, no examination of Parisian domestic life can be more perfect than those we see in these novels. Even Parisians themselves can't perceive their domestic life as well as the novelists"[13] – or at least this is the response Ahmet Mithat finds appropriate. This conversation also attributes a quality of authenticity to the picture created in our author's mind through the novels he reads. In *Cevelan*, the account of Ahmet Mithat's actual journey to Europe, the author often makes reference to his own novels, thereby creating an association between his observations from his real travel and his literary world.

One further example of what Ahmet Mithat writes on reading and travelling through reading can be found in *Acâyib-i Âlem*. The extract below, a discussion between the novel's protagonists, Hicabi and Suphi, shows how texts can be a source for an imaginary travel but also emphasizes the authenticity of a real trip.

> "Hicabi said: –You were longing to travel just a moment ago with your words 'Oh travel!'. Isn't it preferable to go around the whole world in your room instead of choosing the difficulties of travelling? For in our time publication is so developed that they can collect the whole universe in books. They can portray it with various pictures. For example, if a person has Dr. Schwei[n]furth's[14] Africa travelogue in his hand could he then say that he never went to Africa?

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12 "Bahusus ki *Hasan Mellah, Hüseyin Fellah, Paris'de bir Türk, Acâyib-i Alem* gibi bir çok romanlarda karilerime *seyahat-i fikriyye* icrası konusunda vuku' bulan delalet-i acizanem kezalik bir *seyahat-i fikriyye* demek olarak coğrafya-yı mutavvel kitablarıyla delail-i seyyahiye ve seyahatnamelerin tetebbu'undan husula gelmiş bir şey olduğu halde (...)" (Mithat 1889/90: 2b).

13 "Realist namıyla ahval-i hakikiye-yi beytiyeyi tasvir eyleyen romancıların asarından başka Paris ahval-i beytiyesini bir yerde görmüş olduğumu iddia edemem." "Zaten Paris ahval-i beytiyesini bu romanlarda görmek kadar mükemmelen tetebbu' hiçbir suretde mümkün olamaz. Parisliler bile kendi ahval-i beytiyelerini romancılar kadar bilemezler" (Mithat 1889/90: 767).

14 Georg August Schweinfurth (December 29, 1836 – September 19, 1925) was a Baltic German botanist, ethnologist and traveller in East Central Africa. In the transliterated

> [Suphi responds:] –You are right. If a person knows one of the European languages, then he could see all of the studies of the masters of observation in books. However, do you know what this is like? That I take a kiss from the most beautiful cheek or the most lovely lip and leave you to be delighted with the smacking [sound] of it. That's what it is like! I wonder if the readers of his book would be as pleased as Dr. Schweinfurth himself, who within the daily lives of the African savages observes and studies the fauna and the plants that he sees for the first time. I have to be delighted in the way that I want. I have to hug my charming, beloved nature in my embrace. And this is possible only through travelling. Oh travel! I would repeat it a thousand times, and I do repeat it a thousand times and will repeat it another thousand times and say: oh travel!"[15]

The real travel(s)

What I refer to here are those factual travels Mithat physically realized and, in the scope of this article, specifically the three-month journey through Europe Ahmet Mithat embarked on in 1889. This time the author departs from book pages, from the colourful world of his mind – at least theoretically – and travels physically. Yet obviously this is not a true separation; he has taken with him his dreams, his reading experience and his knowledge. However, according to the author, this is a privilege, because as the result of years of dreaming, thinking, reading and writing on Europe, travelling through and around places like Lyon, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Cologne, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm, he tells us that he has almost never needed guidance and has had no guide other than a city plan and compass in his hand for seeing the locations that already existed in his mind. He assures his readers of this. He brags about not needing a travel guide or book. After all, he has studied and learned about Europe for years. Europe is a place that can be learned through books according to Mithat, or more precisely *he* has succeeded in doing so. To give proof of this, however, is only possible in

version of *Acâyib-i Âlem* that I quote, the name Schweinfurth is written in different versions. I have added the correct letters each time in square brackets.

15 "Hicabi dedi ki: –Demincek 'Ah seyahat' diye bir tahassürde bulunuyordunuz. Külfet-i seyâhati ihtiyardan ise odanız içinde bütün âlemi gezmiş olsanız müreccah değil midir? Zira bugünkü günde matbuat ol kadar ileriye gitmiştir ki bütün âlem-i tabîatı ciltler içinde cem edebiliyor. Türlü türlü resimler ile tasvir dahi ediyorlar. Meselâ Dr. Schw[ei]nfurt[h]'un Afrika seyahatnamesi elde dururken insan artık Afrika'ya gitmedim, görmedim diyebilir mi?
–Doğru söylüyorsunuz. Bugün insan bir Avrupa lisanına vâkif olursa vakıa bütün erbâb-ı tedkîkin tedkîkatı-ı vâkıasını kitaplarda görebilir. Lâkin bu neye benzer bilir misiniz? En güzel bir yanaktan yahut en lâtif bir dudaktan buseyi ben alırım da siz dahi yalnız şapırtısı ile mütelezziz olmayı teklif ederim. İşte ona benzer! Acaba Dr. Schwei[n]furth'un Afrika'da vahşilerin maîşet-i tabiiyyeleri içinde o zamana kadar emsalini görmediği nebat ve hayvanâtı tetkik eylediği sırada aldığı lezzeti onun kitabını okuyanlar alabilirler mi? Binaenaleyh o lezzeti ben dahi istediğim gibi almalıyım. Maşukam bulunan dilber-i tabîatı istediğim gibi derâguş ederek sarmalıyım. Bu ise ancak seyahat ile olur. Ah seyahat! Bin defa tekrar ederim, bin defa tekrar ediyorum, bin defa daha tekrar edeceğim, diyeceğim ki ah seyahat!" (Mithat 2000b: 229f. [13f.]).

his universe created by the interplay between the realms of imaginary, literary and real travel.

As readers, our relationship with the concrete reality that Ahmet Mithat experienced, as stated before, can only be through the texts (reading). The reality mentioned here is the reality Mithat created and the reader only reads about the journey to the extent that the writer shares it with the reader.

After this explanation of the different kinds of travel in Ahmet Mithat's works, the following three figures (see pp. 212–214), which will be explained below, are an attempt to visualize and systematize these travels.

The attempt to systematize and visualize the travels of Ahmet Mithat

Figure 2 is a chronological list of Ahmet Mithat's books on distant geographies. The ones that he wrote before he travelled, the ones that he wrote after he travelled, and his actual trip are labelled on this time line. In figure 3, I drew another time line and tried to locate the different roles performed by Ahmet Mithat at different time periods and analyzed the kinds of travels that he pursues. The different travel categories have already been listed and defined in the introduction of this article. At this point I compare the different periods, travels and texts, and in figure 4, all of these are systematically brought together.

In figure 3, I located the different personas of Ahmet Mithat and their relationship to each other. It is sometimes not that easy to differentiate between different phases, and some periods might overlap with each other, but still I find it useful to make such a chart to see the different "Ahmet Mithats" in dialogue with each other. It starts with Ahmet Mithat the dreamer or the Ahmet Mithat who imagines. Then comes Ahmet Mithat the reader, who reads French novels, travelogues etc. The dreamer is also at work during the reading process. Then comes Ahmet Mithat the dreamer again, but this time he has read things and his dreams (imagination) are fed by this reading process so Ahmet Mithat the dreamer is affected by Ahmet Mithat the reader. If he had been just a reader, we would just stop there, but he also writes, and there we have Ahmet Mithat the writer, who writes novels, some of which are about Europe or other countries. Ahmet Mithat the writer is of course affected by Ahmet Mithat the dreamer and Ahmet Mithat the reader. The readership's only access to those processes is through the texts that the author writes.

Before he went to Europe, Ahmet Mithat had already written some novels set there, and his sources of information were texts as well as his imagination as a writer. This obviously is valid for all authors, but Ahmet Mithat continues to explain those processes in the prefaces of his novels and his travelogue. It is he who tells us that he dreamt of Europe at night. And then, after having written his novels on trips to and in Europe, there comes a day when he really travels to

Figure 2: Time Line: Books (the chronological order of Ahmet Mithat's novels and stories that are set in foreign countries)

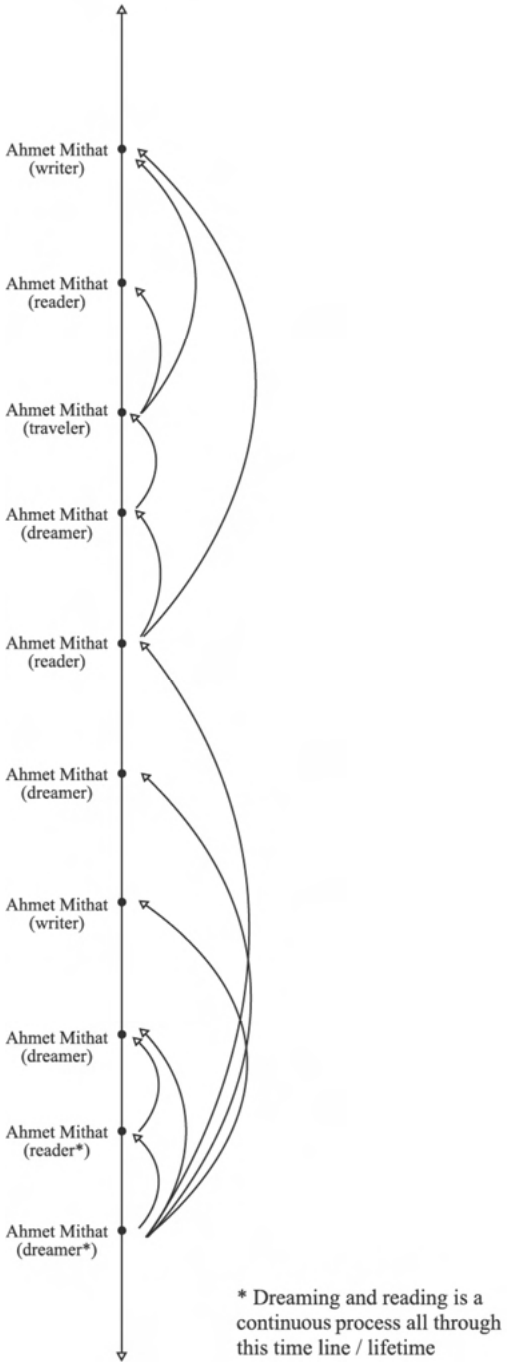

Figure 3: Time Line: Personas (the mutual impact of different personas and stages in Ahmet Mithat's textual universe)

Texts (read by AM)		Geography books, travel guides, travelogues, French novels			Geography books, travel guides, travelogues, French novels		He insists he did not need to read anything during his journey.	
AM (his various personas)	Dreamer	Reader	Dreamer	Writer	Reader	Dreamer	Traveller	Writer
Texts (written by AM)				Some stories from *Letaif-i Rivayat* which are set in Europe: "Gönül" (1870) "Cinli Han" (1885) "Çifte İntikam" (1887) *Paris'te Bir Türk* (1876) *Acâyib-i Alem (1882)* *Cellad (1884)* *Hayret (1885)* *Rikâlda (1890)*			*Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan* (1890) *Ahmet Metin ve Şirzat* (1891) *Mesail-i Muğlaka (1898)* Some stories from *Letaif-i Rivayat* that were written after his Europe trip: "İki Hudakar"(1893) "Ana Kız" (1893) *Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşereti yahut Alafranga* (1894)	
AM's Travels	Imaginary	Literary & Imaginary	Imaginary (fed by literary)	Literary (fed by literary & imaginary)		Imaginary (fed by literary)	Real	Literary (fed by the previous literary and imaginary travels but there is a new kind of source that nurtures the writings: the real)
The Reader's Travels				Literary and imaginary travels through a literary medium which is fed by imaginary and literary travels			Literary and imaginary but this time the writer's travels are real.	

Figure 4: The relationship of the writer, the reader, the text and the travels, and their impact on each other

Europe. Ahmet Mithat writes his travelogue during his journey and this makes him a traveller and a writer at the same time, but still, he first travels and then writes. Even if it is one hour after a particular experience abroad it still is 'afterwards,' but at the same time the writer Ahmet Mithat during the travels is Ahmet Mithat the traveller, who also writes. The dreamer (imaginer) Ahmet Mithat is decisive in all of the phases, so even if I make this chronological chart, it is clear that different personas sometimes overlap with each other. However, it is important to differentiate them in order to see how Ahmet Mithat uses them to his advantage. Ahmet Mithat the writer emphasizes that Ahmet Mithat the traveller never needed to read guides when he was in Europe, especially when he was going around the capital cities of Europe. He presents himself as a traveller (not a reader) in Europe, who can rely on what he has read before.

Textual attitude and Ahmet Mithat's critique of 'Orientalism'

The relationship between Ahmet Mithat's actual trip and his mental ones can be considered in relation to the concept Edward Said has coined "textual attitude," in which people assume the ambiguous, problem-ridden turmoil they experience can be understood through what is written in books.[16] When the individual encounters something new he or she refers to what he or she has read on the subject, which when verified causes the individual to grow more confident of the text's authority. A similar mechanism is at work in Ahmet Mithat's travelogue of his actual trip to Europe: He travels to a Europe he already knew through textual sources and had written about before. Now he sees it with his own eyes, verifying his textual sources and writing about the experience as an eyewitness. Consequently both the authenticity (accuracy) of his novels is fortified and the authority of the travel text is guaranteed.

Said states that it is difficult to disregard texts that are deemed to reflect expertise and contain accurate information on something real, and that these created realities can become a tradition or discourse in time. This process combined with "textual attitude" allows him to argue that the Westerners who travel to the 'East' could never lift the veil created by the texts they have read, which constitute an Orientalist tradition. If a traveller is disappointed with the East, this results from the fact that his or her 'East' is different from the texts he or she has read about it. In *A Turk in Paris,* Cartrisse, a French lady who is astounded by the *"asar-ı terakki"* (signs of progress) she sees in Istanbul, is a good example of this. She explains her astonishment: "I had thought I'd still see men with turbans like grind-

16 "[...] to assume that the swarming, unpredictable, and problematic mess in which human beings live can be understood on the basis of what books –texts– say [...]"; "It seems a common human failing to prefer the schematic authority of a text to the disorientations of direct encounter with the human" (Said 1995: 93).

stones, with swords and pistols around their waists."[17] Another traveller named Gardiyanski immediately asks how she got her first impressions of Istanbul and the conversation continues along these lines:

> "Cartrisse: –Yes, the information I got is from an illustrated Istanbul travel book. There was even an illustration of a place called 'Parmakkapı' with about twenty men hanging from the trees and shop eaves.
> Gardiyanski (with a slight smile): –And you immediately believed this, is that it?
> Cartrisse: –How can one not believe a book presented to the entire public?"[18]

Cartrisse's last statement is indicative of the absolute 'obedience' and belief in the authority of texts. Nasuh, the protagonist of Ahmet Mithat's *Paris'te Bir Türk*, whom we met earlier, does not miss this opportunity to criticize the travel writing that, in order to create peculiarity and eccentricity, simply fabricates an exotic fantasy for the reader. The author has included among the ship's passengers an Englishman who paints pictures of Istanbul which bear no resemblance whatsoever to 'reality' and a Frenchman who is writing an equally misleading travelogue, so that the reader can see for herself how such peculiar and unsubstantiated travel texts evolve. Nasuh supports his argument by reading out pages from the Frenchman's book and showing examples of the Englishman's pictures that are actually painted on the ship though the artist claims to have painted them in Istanbul. According to Nasuh if such exoticism-invoking works are being produced before their very eyes, the discrepancies in older texts should come as no surprise. His critique is directed at Cartrisse and other listeners present, and actually addresses the Ottoman reader. The fact that European readers will never read his book is probably obvious to Ahmet Mithat. He is actually addressing and reassuring the Ottoman readership. And yet, how is it possible that Ahmet Mithat, who discusses the question of 'created/fabricated reality' in depth and also makes a severe critique of 'Orientalism' elsewhere,[19] has such an unshakable trust in the texts he himself reads and writes? How does he justify the special status of his own literary travels?

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17 "Ben zannederdim ki İstanbul'da hâlâ değirmen taşı kadar sarıklı ve belleri yatağanlı ve piştovlu adamlar göreceğim" (Mithat 2000a: 25).

18 "Cartrisse – Evet aldığım malumat musavver (resimli) bir İstanbul seyahatnamesinden alınmıştır. Hatta 'Parmakkapı' diye bir yerin resmini yapıp orada ağaçlara ve dükkan saçaklarına yirmi kadar da adam asmıştı.
Gardiyanski – (Hafif bir tebessümle) Siz de buna hemen inandınız öyle mi?
Cartrisse – Enzâr-ı umuma arz olunan bir esere nasıl inanılmaz?" (Mithat 2000a: 26).

19 Carter Findley while analysing in detail Ahmet Mithat's criticism of Europe's erotic orientalist images of the East argues that Ahmet Mithat finds the European writers and artists responsible for these misinterpreted images, not the European academics (Findley 1999: 50–52).

Ahmet Mithat's mechanism(s) of legitimization

The passage below, taken from the preface of *Cevelan*, summarizes how Ahmet Mithat figures the relationship between the three kinds of travel:

> "Because the *mental* travels I have taken my exalted readers on in my novels are also the products of travels I've realized in my *mind*, they were each a journey built upon *imagination* on both sides. As for this *Cevelan*: because my side of the wandering is not *imaginary* but *real*, it will free this side – the crucial side – from *imagination*, and this situation will salvage the reader's *mental* journey from being purely *imaginative* and elevate it to a level that can be called a mirror of reality."[20]

What Ahmet Mithat means by "the travels I've realized in my mind" is both his readings and the life they took on in his imagination. As the author in his earlier novels, he used to mentally conceive of a journey, then write this down and take his readers on a similar mental journey. This time – that is, when his readers take up *Cevelan* – they will again embark on some sort of mental journey, but because the author's situation has changed, the readers' mental journey will more closely resemble reality. So, according to Mithat, the shift in the author's position will bring the reader a step closer to 'reality'. Furthermore, if the author's novels, which rest solely on the imagination, are such a close reflection of reality – a claim he repeats on numerous occasions – then just imagine what an important source the actual travelogue could be.

Mithat, who frequently validates his novels in *Cevelan*, repeats the incident below in three different books:

> "When our novel *A Turk in Paris* was assigned in the School of Eastern Languages, the instructor said: 'The Ottoman who wrote this knows Paris well.'
> The owner of the famous newspapers *Diyojen* and *Hayal*, Teodor Kasab Efendi, who was present at the lecture, declared that the author had never been out of Ottoman territories, but he could convince neither the instructor nor the students, and the matter went as far as the Ottoman embassy in Paris and the French embassy in Istanbul."[21]

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20 "Romanlarımda şimdiye kadar karilerim efendilerim hazerâtına icra ettirmiş olduğum *seyahat-ı fikriyye* kendimin de *fikren* vuku' bulan seyahatlarımın semere-i hasılası olduğu için iki ciheti de *hayal* üzerine mübteni birer seyahat dimek idiler. İşbu Cevelan'a gelince: Onun bana aid olan ciheti *hayâlî* olmayıp *hakiki* olması işin bir cihetini hem de cihet-i esâsiyesini hayalden kurtarmış olacağından bu hal karinin *seyahat-ı fikriyye*lerini de hayal-ı mahz olmakdan kurtarıb şibh-i hakiki denebilecek bir mertebeye îsâl eyler" (Mithat 1889/90: 2b–3a).

21 "*Paris'te Bir Türk* romanımız [...] Elsine-i Şarkiyye Mektebinde tedris olunduğu zaman muallim:
–Bunu yazan Osmanlı, Paris'i iyi görmüş, tanımış, demişti de o derste hazır bulunan meşhur Diyojen ve Hayal gazeteleri sahibi Teodor Kasab Efendi muharririn Memalik-i Osmaniye'den harice çıkmamış olduğunu dermeyan ettiği (bildirdiği) zaman ne muallimi ne şakirdleri inandıramayıp iş Paris'de Osmanlı ve İstanbul'da Fransa sefaretlerine kadar intikal eylemişti" (Mithat 1995: 174f.). The story was first told by the author in *Cevelan* (Mithat 1889/90, 71a–71b).

These contexts, discourses, and voyages which are in constant dialogue with one another, which feed and sometimes reproduce one another, are of course all textual. The readers have access to these travels only through the texts and often these travels are linked to texts rather than some sort of 'concrete reality'.

In *Cevelan*, the author recounts in depth his travels through Europe between 15 August and 25 October 1889. Ahmet Mithat, who was close to Sultan Abdülhamit II, was elected as the Ottoman representative to the 8th Orientalists' Congress in 1889. In the scope of this trip, not only does Mithat participate in the Orientalists' Congress, make a presentation, and chair a session, he also gets the opportunity to stay in Europe for 71 days. The travelogue's prologue includes Ahmet Mithat's views on travel, or more precisely on *his* particular journey. The point he insists upon is the transformation of imagination to reality and the significance of his writing. What renders his writing so significant is once again the inter-contextual relationship I alluded to earlier. His writing is not ordinary because he has mentally prepared himself for this journey for many years through texts:

> "What renders my modest travels something beyond an ordinary journey is not the issue that it is such a long journey, of six or seven thousand kilometres. Even since I wrote *Hasan Mellah* and *Kırk Anbar*, that is for the last fifteen years, I've never stopped researching and investigating the capitals and major cities of Europe. Therefore, my travelling to these places can in no way be compared to those people who suddenly find themselves in a country they know nothing about and who don't know where to consult, what to see. […] Rather than being a trip where I have seen places I've never known about or seen before, I can say with strong conviction that for me this journey has been realized in a manner to verify which of the information, opinions and feelings regarding these places I've already seen and studied, are accurate and which are wrong."[22]

It is interesting that he never questions his perception and accepts himself as immune to the failures and mistakes he sees in the European travellers' depictions of the Orient. For him writing is about confirming not reviewing. This is his discursive strategy.

Carter Findley also draws attention to these statements, suggesting that:

> "[a]lthough it is ironic that the route from his imagined Europe to the 'real' one led to such alteritist representations as the orientalist congress and world exhibition, Ahmed

[22] "Zira seyahat-i âcizâneme seyahat-ı âdîyeden daha başka bir ehemmiyet verdiren şey yalnız böyle altı yedi bin kilometrelik seyahat-ı medîde olması kazıyyesi de değildir. Belki daha *Hasan Mellah*'ı ve *Kırk Anbar*'ı yazdığım zamandan yani on beş seneden beri Avrupa pây-i tahtlarıyla büyük şehirlerini tedkik ve tetebbu'dan hemen hiç bir zaman hali kalmamış olduğumdan bu defa o mahallere gidişim kendisini hiç bilmediği bir memlekette birdenbire buluveren ve nereye başvuracağını ve neleri temaşa edeceğini bilemeyen adamların seyahatlerine katiyen makîs olamaz" (Mithat 1889/90: 3b).
"Kemal-i derece-i kalb[î] kuvvetle derim ki bu seyahatim hiç bilmediğim görmediğim yerleri ilk defa olarak görmekde bulunmuş olmakdan ziyade zaten görmüş ve bellemiş olduğum yerler hakkındaki malumât ve hissiyâtımın hakâik-i maddiyeye bittatbik hangi cihetleri doğru ve hangileri hata olduğunu tedkik ve tashih suretiyle vuku' bulmuştur" (Mithat 1889/90: 4a).

> Midhat in effect parried the irony by approaching Europe with the same expectations Europeans had of finding their prior representations borne out when they traveled to the 'real Orient'."[23]

Classifying and defining *Cevelan* is a complex matter, as is the case with many travel texts. On the other hand, the work, which also encompasses Mithat's entire intellectual accumulation, his dreams, disappointments, his view of the world, and even insinuates his flirtations, also bears autobiographical qualities. The author, in conveying concrete information on each city he visits based on travel guides (something he claimed he would never do), thus also creates a travel guide for Ottomans who will travel to Europe, including 'tips' on social life such as how to behave where and how to dress for different occasions. In addition to this, because he also shares with the reader the interesting events of the journey with a silver tongue, especially the section depicting the part of the journey during which Madam Gülnar accompanies him reads like an enjoyable memoir. And precisely because of these qualities, *Cevelan* is a very fruitful text in terms of exploring the quandaries of a confused Ottoman intellectual in the face of the West, his judgments and attitudes. Again these exact qualities, with the help of the author's masterful rhetoric, turn into, in Carter Findley's terms, a literary "technology"[24] that render him an apt Occidentalist.

The central purpose of the travel was to take part in an Orientalist Congress. The author had a chance to meet the European Orientalists and observe how they perceive the Orient. Mithat criticizes the prejudices of Orientalists and Europeans at great length, but to the extent that he refrains from questioning himself, he fortifies his authority over the reader. And yet in the preface of his novel *Mesâil-i Muğlaka*, having said that it is not forbidden for an author to choose his subject matter from outside his own country, he proceeds to state that the only condition for this is that the author be sufficiently informed on the physical and spiritual conditions of the place he depicts. It is in this context that he criticizes certain Western authors, giving examples of things they write about Eastern countries which they have not seen. The answer to why he does not question his own knowledge during his travels to Europe is provided in this prologue:

> "This humble author [Ahmet Mithat] has set and narrated many of his novels such as *Hasan Mellah*, *Paris'te Bir Türk*, *Demir Bey* and *Acâyib-i Âlem* in European countries. I don't even feel the need to assure the reader that in all of them the settings are depicted

[23] Findley (1998: 22). Findley's book from 1999, which was mentioned in footnote 19, is an extended Turkish version/translation of this article.

[24] Findley uses the term 'technology' with reference to Irvin C. Schick's use of Foucault's term 'technology': "If Ottoman novelists, as recent critics have argued, used the novel as a literary 'technology' with which to regulate cultural change, Ahmed Midhat used the travel narrative analogously as a means of Occidentalist empowerment" (Findley 1998: 24).

> completely in line with reality. Because even though my works have been criticized on many other aspects, no one has been able to say that they are not truthful. It is very difficult, almost impossible, to claim this, that is why."[25]

As illustrated, while Mithat criticizes orientalist depictions of the East that the local population will hardly recognize, it does not occur to him to ask whether for instance a Parisian would be surprised or criticize his work set in France.[26] The author now has the chance to validate what he has written. Mithat, who constantly makes reference to himself, tries to ground his authority on both ends: first of all, he is travelling to places he has pondered over, read and even written about, and for this reason his is an exceptional journey; that is, the texts he has written and read before his travels award him a certain privilege of authority, and furthermore gives his previous work further credibility. This is a mechanism that works both ways, which is why neither he questions his own perceptions nor allows anybody else to question them. But still there are some parts of the text where it is impossible not to see the author's disappointments, specifically the parts that disturb the harmonious textual universe that he creates for himself and his readers. I will analyze one of those instances as a case of reality check.

Reality check

I have continuously mentioned the similarities between Ahmet Mithat and his protagonist Nasuh, especially with regard to their thoughts on travel. But Ahmet Mithat himself and Nasuh also have different experiences of travel. The fictitious travels of Nasuh are constructed by Ahmet Mithat within the rules of his ideal Europe built up by his readings and his imaginations. But he himself has to cope with a real world which does not always fit his expectations. Although Ahmet Mithat constantly assures his reader that his mental picture of Europe is accurate, his experiences sometimes do not overlap with his fictitious ideal world. Mithat sometimes manages to soften such experiences, but with regard to the

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25 "Muharrir-i âciz [Ahmet Mithat] şimdiye kadar 'Hasan Mellah' gibi 'Paris'te Bir Türk' gibi 'Demir Bey' gibi 'Acâyib-i Âlem' gibi bir hayli romanlarını Avrupa memâlik-i muhtelifesinde isnat ve talik eylemiştir. Bunların kâffesinde ait oldukları mahallerin hâlleri hakikate tamamıyla muvafık olarak tasvir edildiği temine hacet görülemez. Zira aklâm-ı intikad bilcümle asar[ını] temyiz etmiş olduğu ve her mıntıkada bunların bir çok cihetlerine birçok diyecek şeyler bulduğu hâlde hakikate muvafakatları aleyhine kimse bir şey diyememiştir. Pek müşkül âdeta muhal derecesinde müşküldür de onun için!" (Mithat 2003b: 303 [5]). (The quotes from *Mesâil-i Muğlaka* are given here in the same way as explained above in footnotes 4 and 11 for *Rikalda* and *Acâyib-i Âlem*.)

26 Ahmet Mithat claims to have read quite a lot of European literature and maybe that is why he does not question his knowledge on Europe. From his point of view his information on Europe is accredited by these Western sources whereas those Westerners who wrote about the East did not read anything from the Eastern literatures and that is why their texts are not that much reliable.

issue of clothing, we see how the harmony of his mental universe collapses and he is forced to confess his disappointment with European civilization.

The literary traveller Nasuh in *Paris'te Bir Türk* wears modern Western clothes, but instead of a hat, he always wears a fez as a national symbol of the Ottoman Empire. Nasuh does not care for the hat. This symbol – the fez – is important to Ahmet Mithat: While in Cologne, someone asks him if he is French, and he responds by underlining the ever-present symbol of Ottomanness: "No! Here, I have my national headpiece on my head, I am an Ottoman."[27] The issue of clothing is complicated and Ahmet Mithat is occupied with this issue both in his novels and his travelogue. A person obviously does not change by wearing new or different clothes. Ahmet Mithat knows this, and makes Nasuh say it:

> "Nasuh – Now, I have only this left to say: Speaking of the advancements in Istanbul, you have mentioned that there are many people dressed in European attire. Is this the only example you see of Istanbul's progress, Madam?
> Cartrisse – Is this progress trivial? Is there anything more difficult than getting a nation to abandon its old form of attire?
> Nasuh – If you ask me, nothing could be easier. There can be a man like Peter the Great and he can order a change of attire overnight. Or it is possible for even an ignorant whim to lead an entire people this way. But let me ask you this, if now we clothe the Parisian population in wadmals, jodhpurs, jupes or what not and place a large fez or turban on each one's head, will Parisians become barbarians?
> Cartrisse – No!
> Nasuh – Then admit that in progress, backwardness, civilization, nomadism, clothing and attire has no place. If you have any other proof of Istanbul's progress, let's see that."[28]

Ahmet Mithat writes on the issue of attire also in his factual travelogue, which often echoes the themes of his earlier novels. That clothing is so important in forming people's preconceptions and prejudices astonishes him. He believes that the Europeans think they are the most tolerant and open-minded people, but sees that when it is about clothing they are quite conservative.

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27 "Hayır! İşte milli serpuşum başımda, Osmanlıyım" (Mithat 1889/90: 82a).

28 "Nasuh – Şimdi söyleyecek şu sözüm kaldı: Siz İstanbul'un âsâr-ı terakkisinden olmak üzere Avrupakâri giyinmiş birçok adamlar bulunduğunu beyan eylediniz. İstanbul'un terakkiyatına dair gördüğünüz misal yalnız bundan ibaret midir Madame?
Cartrisse – Bu terakki az terakki midir? Bir millete eski kıyafetini terk ettirmekten güç şey mi olur?
Nasuh – Bendenize kalır ise ondan daha kolay hiçbir şey olamaz. Büyük Petro gibi bir adam olur da bir günde tebdil-i kıyafeti emr ve emrini icra ettirebilir. Yahut bu yolda bir heves-i cahilanenin koca bir halka delâlet etmesi dahi mümkündür. Fakat size şunu sorarım ki şimdi Paris halkına bir aba, potur cepken filan giydirsek, başlarına dahi kocaman birer fes veyahut sarık koysak Parisliler barbar olurlar mı?
Cartrisse – Yok!
Nasuh – Öyle ise teslim ediniz ki terakkide, tedennide, medeniyette, bedeviyette elbise ve kıyafetin hiçbir dahli yoktur. İstanbul'un terakkiyatına dair başka deliliniz var ise onu görelim" (Mithat 2000a: 28f.).

The author, who occasionally describes and discusses certain issues that occupy him under the title of *Bazı Dakayık* ('Points to Consider') in his travelogue, also discusses the issue of attire under this heading. Ahmet Mithat states that, except for his fez, his new Ottoman clothing is not different from that of a European. For this reason, he himself and his travel companions, the Egyptian Fikri Pasha and his son, who also dress like him, do not draw any attention in the streets and boulevards. On another occasion, he describes how the delegates who go around in complete Eastern attire arouse plenty of interest, and even large crowds gather around them. Ahmet Mithat himself refers to these people's clothes as bizarre:

> "Among these, the clothes of the Egyptian Sheikhs are similar to our clergy's clothes, while the attire of the Algerians with their combination of robes and white woollen headscarves created a more curious sight, and the effect of these bizarre clothes in drawing this crowd of people can't be denied [...]."[29]

The crowd, which sees nothing weird about him and Fikri Pasha as they are dressed in 'Western/modern attire' (apart from the fez), regards the rest of the group in awe.[30] For example, even though they all smoke, they point to those in Eastern clothing and yell in astonishment: "and they are smoking, and they are smoking." What Ahmet Mithat tries to highlight here is discrimination solely based on looks and clothes.[31] Even though this sometimes turns into positive discrimination where flaws are overlooked, it is a practice of 'exoticizing' and 'othering' that he believed did not exist in Europe before he travelled.

Mithat depicts how even if they don't speak a European language those in modern/European clothes are accepted as Europeans in society while those in old-fashioned/oriental clothing are perceived as exotic objects even if they speak a couple of European languages. This latter group of individuals othered solely on the basis of their clothing thus does not have to be concerned with conforming to European etiquette, while the first group – of which Mithat is a part – is severely criticized on issues such as attire or table manners from time to time. This critique deeply disturbs him and he warns his readers to comply with the

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29 "Bunlardan Mısırlı şeyhlerin kıyafetleri bizim ulemaya mahsus kıyafetlerin aynı demek olduğu gibi Cezayirlilerin kıyafetleri bornos ve beyaz yünden ibaret başörtülerinin de inzimamıyla eğerçe biraz daha garabet peyda eyledğininden halkın bu izdihamına şu kıyafet-i garîbenin büyük dahli inkar olunamaz ise de [...]" (Mithat 1889/90: 227a).

30 It was Börte Sagaster's article *Beobachtungen eines "Okzidentalisten"* which drew my attention to Ahmet Mithat's discussion of this theme of clothing and how Europeans perceive the Orientals related with their clothes, see Sagaster (1997).

31 "Resmî gayr-i resmî gûna-gûn adamlar ile vuku bulan mülâkat ve mübâsehâtımdan anladığıma göre Avrupalılar biz Osmanlıları ve Mısrîleri ve bir de İranîleri kısmen mütemeddin addediyorlar. Bu temeddünümüzü kısmen diye kayda sebep kisve-i cedîde-i milliyemizi lâbis olanlarla bir de kisve-i kadîme-i milliyemizi lâbis bulunanları yekdiğerinden âdetâ başka başka bir kısım addetmelerinden nâşidir" (Mithat 1889/90: 227a). Findley also quotes this part while mentioning the difficulties that Ahmet Mithat himself has related with European etiquette. As a visitor clothed in the Western style he was expected to know the rules (Findley 1998: 47).

etiquette should they travel to Europe. He does underline the necessity of remaining true to one's own tradition, and yet just as Nasuh attempted earlier to argue that clothing is irrelevant to civilization, Mithat tries to explain to other delegates, particularly those who have been to Eastern countries, that one should not directly link attire to civilization, but the majority disagree.

After his return to Istanbul Ahmet Mithat wrote a book on the rules of good manners in Europe (*Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşereti yahut Alafranga*, Mithat 1894), where he explains in detail what to wear for different occasions, most probably because of his experience with the difficulty of knowing how to dress. He also created some characters in his novels who thought to be westernized through changing their clothes and mocked those characters. Those dandies of the Tanzimat novels who want to become 'westernized' and 'European' with their 'wannabe clothes', without knowing much about Europe, can't become like Europeans but become a mere caricature of the situation. Tanzimat authors all shared a similar attitude against those dandies and believed that the outfit was not enough to be westernized. In *Paris'te Bir Türk* we encounter both examples. Mr. Zeka, with all his ignorance and pretense, goes around in hats and fancy clothes, but is not accepted to Paris society no matter what. Meanwhile Nasuh is not obsessed with his looks or flamboyance, except for his fez, and dresses in accordance with what is expected in Parisian drawing rooms. But what actually renders him acceptable is his perfect French that enables him to pass for a Frenchman and his knowledge of European social life and culture. This is how Ahmet Mithat has *imagined* it in his novel. This is actually the ideal world of an Ottoman intellectual/writer. When the same writer travels to Europe himself, he encounters a completely different picture: it *is* actually possible for an Easterner to be regarded as a Westerner just because of his clothes. He has once again encountered another face of the ideal West constructed by the Ottoman intellectual and is confused by this. As for our context, this time the dialogue between the different kinds of travel does not work and the flaw of the Europeans has punched a hole in the author's universe. The mental does not overlap with the real.

Another opportunity for reality check is the rarely mentioned moments where Ahmet Mithat faces some difficulties during his journey. The experiences of Nasuh, the fictional traveller, and Ahmet Mithat, the real traveller, don't always overlap. Ahmet Mithat, who encounters the 'real Europe', is not always as flawless and comfortable as the protagonist of his literary world Nasuh, but he doesn't care to admit it. His narration of his experience at the Cologne train station is a good example of how Ahmet Mithat turns the situation to his favour when he writes about it, even if he sometimes has difficulties. Unlike Nasuh, who has no difficulty expressing himself in any given situation, at the Cologne Station Mithat misses his train because he can't communicate with the station attendants – in fact the reason for this is that the station attendants do not really speak any French! They think he is Algerian because he is wearing a fez and speaks French and direct him to the

southbound train. However, Mithat is to travel north to Hamburg and to Stockholm from there. He is really upset by the situation, but can't do anything about it. But instead of elaborating on this misunderstanding, swiftly using someone who wanted to talk to him as a pretext, he proceeds to describe how Ottomans and Russians are the nations with the best command of the French language. He even adds a subsection where he describes this phonologically and philologically at length; listing for instance the sounds Germans are not able to produce when they speak French (Mithat 1889/90: 73–74). He thus indirectly takes revenge from Cologne Germans with whom he is totally upset.

The difficulties mentioned above are not reflected as being very important issues by the author. It is the close reading that enables us to realize those moments of confusion which give us some clue on how his perfect construction does not always work. The author, who does not want to harm his credibility, never questions his position and the disharmony between the Europe of his imaginations and the real one. What actually disappoints him deeply is the Europeans' opinions of Eastern nations, rather than his own perception or 'failures'.

Conclusion

At the end of his travelogue Ahmet Mithat repeats that his travel is not just a simple, personal and touristic travel. Ahmet Mithat, who never quits his role as a teacher and mentor, carrying those responsibilities also during his travels, aims to inform his reader in a correct and credible way. At least that is the manifest purpose of the travelogue that he declares. This privileged author never identifies himself with the reader and also does not allow the reader to feel himself close to the writer. On the contrary he insistently constructs a distance and tries to keep that distance between himself and the readers. He stresses that as a pioneer traveller and author he is special and different from 'them': the readers. And to me, when he mentions the readers he actually implies the other authors of his period. This makes him privileged when it is about Europe and travel. The author in some way looks down on the others and says: "I went, I saw and that was not just an accidental journey. I was very well prepared for it and my travel was quite a professional one. And now I share it with you – the ordinary reader."

Even though Ahmet Mithat has never lost faith in his knowledge of Europe, especially Paris, and confidence in his understanding of European culture, there are significant differences between the Europe – particularly Paris – he conceived/imagined and the 'real' one. On the one hand he easily locates the finest details, such as a relief on the buildings or bridges he has previously memorized, on the other hand, being at the mercy of the art of painting, he is astonished to see how much smaller many of the places he has imagined or embellished in his mind actually are. Ahmet Mithat elaborates on how deceptive painting and photography is, but does not mention the deceptiveness of the text. As soon as he emphasizes

the deceptiveness of writing, or even believes it momentarily, the world of imagination and reality he has constructed will be shattered, his privilege of having a say on Europe will be challenged. The author, who can't relinquish the image of Paris he has constructed, declares to have 'learned Paris by heart' through reading on it for years. Yet he never revokes his authority in face of the reader. Ahmet Mithat is disappointed, but his confidence in the text and himself is not shattered. More significantly, the interactions, references, and relations between the imaginary, literary and real realms which were analyzed in this article provide a privilege to the Ottoman occidentalist Ahmet Mithat, who authors *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan*. Constantly substantiating himself in the universe he himself has created, Mithat creates a domain of power and authority for himself. It is not up to anyone, and definitely not the ordinary reader, to challenge his knowledge on the subject.

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Appendix

A researchers' list of Ottoman travel accounts to Europe

Bibliographical part

Caspar Hillebrand

The following table contains the bibliographical information for each traveller listed in my contribution in part I of this book: first the primary sources (including translations), followed by secondary sources. The full bibliographical details can be found in the bibliography following this list.

The abbreviations used in the last column are: *M:* manuscript or facsimile print of a manuscript – *A:* Ottoman print in Arabic script (including Ottoman printed editions of manuscripts) – *F/E:* French or English original print in Latin script (or facsimile of such a text)[1] – *L:* Ottoman text in Latin script (transliteration) – *T:* translation, including Modern Turkish versions of Ottoman texts (*sadeleştirme*),[2] with language specification in brackets (tr: Modern Turkish, ge: German, en: English, fr: French, ru: Russian, it: Italian) – *S:* secondary literature.

Thus, for example, a book that contains an English translation of an Ottoman *sefâretnâme* and a facsimile print of the original manuscript is marked 'T(en)+M'. If it also contains an important theoretical discussion, it is marked 'S+T(en)+M'. If the manuscript was edited by an Ottoman scholar (in Arabic script), this edition would be marked 'A'. An article or book that contains a Latin-script version of an Ottoman travelogue without lexical changes (i.e. a transliteration) would be marked 'L', whereas a version of the same travelogue rendered into Modern Turkish, i.e. with lexical changes, would be marked 'T(tr)' (i.e. 'Turkish translation').

Since I was not able to access some of the sources listed, there are some cases where I assumed, but could not verify, that a particular source included for instance a Latin-script version of a travel account. There are also some cases where I knew that a source contained either a Latin-script transliteration or a modern Turkish translation but I could not verify which of the two. In all of these cases, I have added a question mark in brackets to the respective symbol, e.g. 'S+L(?)' or 'T(tr)(?)'.

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1 There are two Ottoman travelogues in this list which were originally written in French (Mahmud Raif Efendi, 1793–7) or published in English (Zeyneb Hanım, 1906–13).

2 The differentiation between what is a 'Latin script version' of a text and what is a 'Modern Turkish translation' is not always easy, as there are some texts that could be called a combination of both. For the purposes of this list I have treated every text that involves word substitutions and/or changes on the level of sentence structure as a *translation* (T), while texts in which only the script (plus spelling and/or punctuation) is changed are treated as *transliterations* (L).

First period: exceptionality

1482–95	*Cem Sultan / Anonymous*	M+L+T(fr)+S: Vatin 1997 • A: N. N. 1329/30r [1913/14] • T(tr): N. N. 1969 (ed. by Ş. Rado) • S: Eravcı 2007 • Ertaylan 1951 • Freely 2004 • Hitzel 2003b • İnalcık 2004 • Şakiroğlu – Kut 1993 • Thuasne 1892 • Vatin 1984 • Vatin 1995
1495	*Hâcı Zaganos*	M: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 250 • M+S+T(ge): Karamuk 1975 • S+L(?)+M(?): Karamuk 1992
b.1521	*Pîrî Reis*	S+M+L+T(tr, en): Pîrî Reis 1988 (ed. by E. Z. Ökte et al.) • S+M(extracts)+L+T(en): Pîrî Reis 2002 (ed. by B. Arı et al.) • S: Bostan 2007
ca. 1540	*Hidâyet Çavuş*	S: Karamuk 1975: 121f. • Unat 1992: 44
1597–99	*Maʿcuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi*	A: İz 1970 • S+L+T(tr): Maʿcuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi 1996 (ed. by C. Çiftçi) • S+T(ge): Schmucker 1970 • S: Parmaksızoğlu 1953 • Vatin 1995
1625–32	*Esîrî Hüseyin bin Mehmed*	S+L: Kut 1986
1665	*Kara Mehmed Paşa*[3]	M+S: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 250f. • T(ge, extracts): Hammer-Purgstall 2008 • S+T(ge): Kreutel 1987 • S: Altar 1981 • [Pakalın] 1917/1336h • Şirin 2009 • Unat 1992
1665	*Evliyâ Çelebi*	*On Austria:* L: Evliyâ Çelebi 2003: 52–130 • T(ge)+S: Evliyâ Çelebi 1987 (ed. by R. F. Kreutel, E. Prokosch, K. Teply) • T(en, extracts): Evliyâ Çelebi 2010 (ed. by R. Dankoff, S. Kim) • S: Köhbach 1991 • Kreutel 1948–52 • Kreutel 1957 • Livingston 1970 • Önler 2009 • Procházka-Eisl 2011 • Römer 2011 • Teply 1975 • Yerasimos 1997 • Yerasimos 1999: 66–69 •• *other regions: see* Dankoff 2011: esp. 7–9 • Tezcan – Tezcan 2011 • *see also the contributions by Bekim Agai and İpek Hüner in this volume*
ca. 1685–93	*Süleyman Ağa*	S+L: Altuniş-Gürsoy 2011 • S+T(tr, extracts): Akıncı 1973 • S: Şirin 2009
1688–92	*Zülfikār Paşa*	M: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 251 • M+L: Zülfikār Paşa 2008 (ed. by M. Güler) • S+T(ge)(?)+M(partial): Jobst 1980 • S: Çolak 2006 • Unat 1992
1688–94	*Öküzöldüren Ahmed Paşa*	S+T(ge)+L+M: Ursinus 2004
1688–1717	*Osman Ağa [autobiography]*	L+T(tr): Osman Ağa 1986 (ed. by H. Tolasa) • T(tr): Osman Ağa 1998b (ed. by E. N. Erendor) • S+T(ge): Osman Ağa 1954 (ed. by R. F. Kreutel) • T(ge): Osman Ağa 1962 (ed. by R. F. Kreutel, O. Spies) • S+T(fr): Osman Ağa 1998a (ed. by F. Hitzel) • S: Alexandru-Dersca 1971 • Hitzel 2001 • Hitzel 2003a • Hitzel 2003b • Kreutel 1967
1704	*Osman Ağa [diplomatic account]*	S+T(ge): Osman Ağa 1966 (ed. by R. F. Kreutel) • S: Hitzel 2001 • Kreutel 1967

[3] Apart from Kara Mehmed Paşa's own report and Evliyâ Çelebi's *Seyâhatnâme*, there is also an account in Italian by François de Mesgnien Meninski, who served as an interpreter to the Habsburg emperor at the time and later authored a famous dictionary. This account is entitled *Relazione di ciò che é passato circa l'ambasciata solenne turchesca nell'anno 1665 e 1666* and is preserved in the archives of Vienna (Hitzel 1995: 17, footnote 3).

Second period: institutionalization

1711	*Seyfullah Ağa*	S+L+M: Beydilli – Erünsal 2001 • S: Erünsal 2000
1719	*İbrâhim Paşa / Anonymous*	M+S: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 251 • A: İbrâhim Paşa 1332r [1916] • A+T(ge): İbrâhim Paşa 1908 (ed. by F. v. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst) • S+T(ge, extracts): Hammer-Purgstall 2008 • T(tr, extracts): Tuncer 2010 • S: Köhbach 1987 • Korkut 2007 • Unat 1992 • Yerasimos 1997
1720/1	*Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi*	M+A: Süslü 1981/82: 252f. • A+T(tr): Yirmisekiz Mehmed 1993 (ed. by B. Akyavaş) • T(tr): Yirmisekiz Mehmed 1987 (ed. by H. Tuncer)[4] • Yirmisekiz Mehmed 1977(?) (ed. by A. Uçman) • T(tr, abr.): Yirmisekiz Mehmed 2008 (ed. by Ş. Rado) • T(fr): Yirmisekiz Mehmed 2004 (transl. by J. Galland, newly ed. by G. Veinstein) • S: Akıncı 1973 • Altınay 1331r [1915] • Aubigny 1889 • Erdem 2010 • Erimtan 2007 • Göçek 1987 • Hitzel 1995 • Kefeli 2011 • Korkut 2007 • Landweber 2011 • Peker 2011 • Safi 2011 • Şirin 2009 • Unat 1992 • *see also the contributions by Bekim Agai and Bâki Asiltürk in this volume*
1722/3	*Nişli Mehmed Ağa*	S+L+M: Mertayak 2005 • S+L: Unat 1942 • S: Klein 2010 • Mertayak 2008 • Safi 2011 • Unat 1992
1730	*Mehmed Efendi*	M: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 257 and Unat 1992: 70 • S+L+M: Aktepe 1971 • S: Topaktaş 2005 • Unat 1992
1730	*Mustafa Efendi*	M: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 251 • T(ge): Sanaç 1992 • S: Korkut 2007 • Şirin 2009 • Unat 1992
1732/3	*Mehmed Said Efendi*[5]	M+A+S: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 260 • A: Mehmed Said 1327r [1911] (ed. by Y. İ. Hoçi) • S: Afyoncu 2003 • Günergun 2011 • Korkut 2007 • Landweber 2011 • Timur 2004 • Topaktaş 2005 • Unat 1992
1740/1	*Ebû Sehil Nuʿman Efendi*	L: Ebû Sehil Nuʿman 1999 (ed. by A. İ. Savaş) • S+T(ge): Ebû Sehil Nuʿman 1972 (ed. by E. Prokosch) • S: Faroqhi 2009: 88–90 • İzgi 2007 • Kreiser 2011 • Savaş 2005b
1740/1	*Ahmed Merâmî Efendi / Hattî Mustafa Efendi*	S+T(tr)+M: Savaş 1994/95
1740–2	*Mehmed Emnî Beyefendi*	M: *see* Unat 1992: 82 • S+L+M: Mehmed Emnî 1989 (ed. by M. M. Aktepe) • S: Klein 2010 • Safi 2011 • Unat 1992
1748	*Hattî Mustafa Efendi*	M+A: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 251 • S+M+L: Hattî Efendi 1999 (ed. by A. İ. Savaş) • Savaş 1989 • T(ge): Hammer-Purgstall 1823 • S: Korkut 2007 • Savaş 1997 • Savaş 2005a • Yerasimos 1997 • Yerasimos 1999: 73–75 • Unat 1992
1754/5	*Ziştoylu Ali Ağa / Anonymous*	S+M+A: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 257 and Unat 1992: 98f. • S+L(extracts?): Topaktaş 2010 • S: Korkut 2007 • Topaktaş 2005 • Unat 1992
1755	*Derviş Mehmed Efendi*	M+A(abr.): *see* Unat 1992: 101 • T(fr, abr.): Dumoret 1826 • S: Klein 2010 • Unat
1757/8	*Kapıcıbaşı Mehmed Ağa*	M+A(abr.): *see* Unat 1992: 107 • L+M: Topaktaş 2007 • S: Korkut 2007 • Topaktaş 2005 • Unat 1992

[4] According to Akyavaş's preface in Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi (1993: X), the two Modern Turkish translations by Tuncer and Uçman both contain a lot of mistakes.

[5] Mehmed Said's report from his embassy to Sweden is being prepared for publication by Erhan Afyoncu (cf. Afyoncu 2009: 112, footnote 484).

1757/8	*Şehdî Osman Efendi*	S+L+M: Polatcı 2003 • L: Şehdî Osman 1941/42 (ed. by F. R. Unat) • T(tr, extract): GÖS • S: Demir 2010 • Klein 2010 • Polatcı 2008 • Safi 2011 • Sak 2003 • Unat 1992
1757/8	*Ahmed Resmî Efendi*[6] (Viyana sefâretnâmesi)	M+A: *see* Unat 1992: 105 • T(tr): Ahmed Resmî 1980 (ed. by B. Atsız) • T(tr, extract): GÖS • T(ge): Ahmed Resmî 1809 (ed. by J. v. Hammer-Purgstall) • S: Aksan 1995 • Aksan 2006a • Güllüoğlu 2010 • Korkut 2007 • Şirin 2009 • Unat 1992
1763/4	*Ahmed Resmî Efendi* (Prusya sefâretnâmesi)	M+A+S: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 257 and Unat 1992: 115f. • T(tr): Ahmed Resmî 1980 (ed. by B. Atsız) • T(ge): Ahmed Resmî 1903 (ed. by W. B. Bolland) • Ahmed Resmî 1983 (ed. by J. v. Hammer-Purgstall) • S: Aksan 1995 • Aksan 2006a • Güllüoğlu 2010 • Korkut 2007 • Özkaya 1987 • Şirin 2009 • Unat 1992
1767/8	*Kesbî Mustafa Efendi*	M: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 259 and Lemercier-Quelquejay 1965: 267 • S+L: Mustafa Kesbî 2002 (ed. by A. Öğreten) • S: Öğreten 2002
1771–5	*Silahdar İbrâhim Paşa / Necâtî Efendi*	M+S: *see* Unat 1992: 128 • S+L: Unat 1944 • S+L(?): Afyoncu 1990 • S: Safi 2011 • Unat 1992
1775/6	*Abdülkerim Paşa / Mehmed Emin Nahîfî Efendi*	S+L(?): İlikmen 2001 • S+T(en): Abdülkerim Paşa – Repnin 1970 (ed. by N. Itzkowitz, M. Mote) • S: Unat 1992
1787/8	*Vâsıf Efendi*	M+A: *see* Unat 1992: 147 • S+L(?): Şen 1997 • T(tr): Tuncer 2010 • T(en): Menchinger 2010 • T(fr): Meynard 1862 • S: Jurado Aceituno 2001 • Korkut 2007 • Unat 1992
1790–2	*Ahmed Azmî Efendi*	M+A: *see* Unat 1992: 153f. • S+M+T(ge): Karamuk 1975 • T(tr, abr.): Tuncer 2010 • S: Findley 1995b • Korkut 2007 • Şirin 2009 • Unat 1992
1791/2	*Ebûbekir Râtib Efendi*	M: *see* Unat 1992: 162 • S+L+M+T(en, extracts): Stein 1985a • S+T(tr)(?): Arıkan 1996 • T(tr, abr.?): Ebûbekir Râtib 1999 (ed. by A. Uçman) • S: Aksan 2011 • Arıkan 1994 • Bayram 2000 • Bilim 1990 • Findley 1995a • Korkut 2007 • Peker 2011 • Şirin 2009 • Stein 1985b • Unat 1992 • Yerasimos 1999: 76–79 • Yeşil 2007 • Yeşil 2011
1793/4	*Mustafa Râsih Efendi / Seyyid Abdullah Efendi*	S+T(ge, extracts): Conermann 1999 • S+?: İyigünler 1999 • Karakaya 1996 • S: Bilim 1996 • Unat 1992
1793–7	*Mahmud Râif Efendi*	M: *see* Unat 1992: 179 • S+F: Yalçınkaya 2010 • S+T(tr)+F: Engin 1999 • S+T(en): Yalçınkaya 1994 • S: Beydilli 2003 • Korkut 2007 • Şirin 2009 • Unat 1992 • Yalçınkaya 1996a
1795–7	*Yûsuf Âgah Efendi / Anonymous*	M+A+S: *see* Unat 1992: 177f. and Süslü 1981/82: 250 • S: Korkut 2007 • Kuran 1988 • Unat 1992 • Yalçınkaya 1994 • Yalçınkaya 1996a • Yalçınkaya 2010
1797/8	*Giritli Ali Aziz Efendi*	S+M+L+T(tr): Schmiede 1990 • S: Korkut 2007 • Kuran 1988 • Kuran 1994a
1797–1802	*Moralı Seyyid Ali Efendi*	M+L+S: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 253 • A: Moralı Ali 1329 [1913] (ed. by Ahmed Refik [Altınay]) • A+L+T(tr): Altuniş-Gürsoy 2000 •

[6] Apart from his two *sefâretnâme*s, Ahmed Resmî Efendi also wrote (among other works) a chronicle of the Russian-Ottoman war of 1768–74 entitled *Hulâsatü'l-İ'tibar*, which has recently been published in transliteration and English translation by E. Menchinger (Ahmed Resmî Efendi 2011).

		S+T(fr): Moralı Ali – Abdürrahim Muhibb 1998 (ed. by S. Yerasimos) • S: [Altınay] 1329 [1913] • Beydilli 2009 • Helmschrott 2012 • Herbette 1997 • Herbette 2010 [1902] • Korkut 2007 • Kuran 1988 • Soysal 1964 • Unat 1992: 179–181 • Yerasimos 1991
1802	*Âmedî Mehmed Said Gālib Efendi*	M+L: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 253 • A: Âmedî Mehmed Said Gālib 1332 [1916/17] • S+L: Altuniş-Gürsoy 1997 • S: Köprülü 1996 • Korkut 2007 • Soysal 1964 • Unat 1992: 181–184
1802–6	*Hâlet Efendi*	S+L+M: Karal 1940 • S: Helmschrott 2012 • Kuran 1988 • Moralı Ali – Abdürrahim Muhibb 1998 (ed. by S. Yerasimos): 33–44 • Özcan 1997 • Safi 2011: 50–52 • Şirin 2009
1806/7	*Seyyid Mehmed Emin Vahid Efendi*	M+L+S: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 254f. • A: Mehmed Emin Vahid 1843 • T(tr): Ercan 1991 • T(fr): Mehmed Emin Vahid 1986 (ed. by A. Süslü) • S: Çetin 2003 • Ercan 1987 • Helmschrott 2012 • Korkut 2007 • Süslü 1979 • Süslü 1983 • Unat 1992
1806–11	*Seyyid Abdürrahim Muhibb Efendi*	M+L: s. Süslü 1981/82: 254 • S+T(tr): Abdürrahim Muhibb 2009 (ed. by B. Günay) • S+T(fr): Bareilles 2008 • Moralı Ali – Abdürrahim Muhibb 1998 (ed. by S. Yerasimos) • S: Agai 2010 • Gencer 1988 • Helmschrott 2012 • Hitzel 1995 • Kappert 1978 • Kuran 1988 • Küreli 1992 • Safi 2011 • Unat 1992 • Yerasimos 1991 • Yerasimos 1999: 80–82
1832	*Mehmed Nâmık Paşa*	M+S: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 250 • S+T(tr): Mehmed Nâmık 1987 (ed. by A. N. Sinaplı) • S: Akalın 1952 • Altundağ 1942 • Altundağ 1943–49 • Saydam 2006 • Şirin 2009: 145, footnote 203 • Unat 1992
1834/5	*Mehmed Nâmık Paşa / Anonymous / Aleko Paşa(?)*	M: *see* Şirin 2009: 244f. • L(extract): Kaplan – Enginün – Emil 1974–89, vol. I: 94–6 • S+T(tr)(?): Mehmed Nâmık 1987 (ed. by A. N. Sinaplı) • S: Buluç 1986–89 • Şirin 2009: 244–9; 145, footnote 203
1838	*Mehmed Sâdık Rif'at Paşa*	*Avrupa ahvâline dâir risâle:* S+L+T(tr): Seyitdanlıoğlu 1996 • L: Kaplan – Enginün – Emil 1974–89, vol. I: 26–34 •• *İtalya seyâhatnâmesi:* A: *see* Unat 1992: 216 and İhsanoğlu 2000: 195 • S+A+L+T(tr): Karakartal 2003 • S+L: Karakartal – Asiltürk 1995 •• *both:* S: Akyıldız 2008a • Findley 1995b • İhsanoğlu 2000: 193–5 • Karakartal 2003 • Kuran 1994b • Kurdakul 1997 • Şirin 2009 • Tanpınar 2010 (ed. by A. Uçman): 118–122 • Türköne 2000 • Unat 1992
1838	*Mustafa Sâmî Efendi*	M+A: *see* Süslü 1981/82: 255 and İhsanoğlu 2000: 192 • S+L+T(tr): Mustafa Sâmî 2002 (ed. by M. F. Andı) • T(tr): Mustafa Sâmî 1996 (ed. by R. Demir) • S: Altuniş-Gürsoy 1995 • Akyıldız 2010 • Andı 2006b • Ercilasun 1983 • Krafft 2008 • Kurdakul 1997: 40–45 • Şirin 2009 • Tanpınar 2010 (ed. by A. Uçman): 122–125 • Unat 1992
1845	*Abdürrezzak Bâhir Efendi*	S: Unat 1992[7]

[7] B.S. Baykal, who completed Unat's book after the author's death, states in a footnote that the information given there on Abdürrezzak Bâhir Efendi's report was found among Unat's documents in a note handwritten by an unknown person who also made reference to a manuscript in his or her possession; since the note unfortunately did not contain any signature, the manuscript's whereabouts remain unknown (Unat 1992: 216, footnote 1).

Third period: diversification

1846	*Anonymous* (İngiltere seyâhatnâmesi)	M: N. N. n.y. [1262 (1846)?]
1851	*Mehmed Rauf*	S: Asiltürk 2009: 933 • Şirin 2009: 252f.
1852	*Anonymous* (Seyâhatnâme-i Londra)	S+L+T(tr): N. N. 2009 (ed. by F. Turan) • T(tr): N. N. 2007 (ed. by E. Serçe) • S+T(ge, extracts): Wagner 2013 • S: Şirin 2009: 252–5 • Turan 2007
1862/3	*Ömer Lütfî*	A: Ömer Lütfî 1292h [1875] • S+T(tr): Ömer Lütfî 1994 (ed. by H. Yorulmaz) • S: Asiltürk 2009: 957ff. • İhsanoğlu 2000: 223f. • Şirin 2009
1862–4	*Hayrullah Efendi*	M: *see* Şirin 2009: 258, footnote 391 • L: Hayrullah Efendi 2002 (ed. by B. Altuniş-Gürsoy) • L(extract): Hayrullah Efendi 1939a (ed. by İ. H. Danişmend) • Hayrullah Efendi 1939b (ed. by İ. H. Danişmend) • S+T(ge, extracts): Hillebrand 2013 • S+T(ge): *in preparation by the author* • S: Akün 1998 • Kuran 1980 • Kuran 1996 • Özaydın 1993–97 • Şirin 2009 • [Ünver] 1931 • [Ünver] 1966
1867	*Ömer Fâiz Efendi*	S+T(tr, extracts): Kutay 1991 • S: Gök 2003a • Gök 2003b • Karaer 2003 • Şirin 2009 • Upton-Ward 2000
1867–70	*Nâmık Kemal*	S+L: Nâmık Kemal 1967 (ed. by F. A. Tansel) • T(tr, extract): GÖS • S: Akün 1972 • Akün 2006 • Baykal 1942 • Filizok 1988 • Mardin 1974 • Perin 1942
1871	*Basîretçi Ali Efendi*	A: Basîretçi Ali 1325r [1909] • S+L+T(tr): Basîretçi Ali 1997 (ed. by N. Sağlam) • S+T(ge, extracts): Böer – Haerkötter – Kappert 2002 • S: Ebüzziya 1989
1876–1914	*Abdülhak Hâmid [Tarhan]*	L: [Tarhan] 1994 (ed. by İ. Enginün) • [Tarhan] 1995 (ed. by İ. Enginün) • S+T(tr, extracts): Enginün 1964 • Mardin 1976 • S: Akıncı 1954 • Enginün 1988
1877	*Çaylak Mehmed Tevfik*	A: Mehmed Tevfik 1294h [1877] • S+L: Mehmed Tevfik n.y. [2009] (ed. by I. T. Saral et al.) • S: Akün 1993 • Saral – Saral 2010
1877–91	*Saʿdullah Paşa*	L: Uzunçarşılı 1951 • S+T(ge, extracts): Böer – Haerkötter – Kappert 2002 • T(tr, extract): GÖS • S: Akyıldız 2008b • Kreiser 2005b: 304
1880s	*Ebüzziyâ Tevfik*	M: Ebüzziyâ Tevfik 1315/6 [1897/8] • S: Türesay 2008
1880–6, 1901–21	*Sâmîpaşazâde Sezâî*	L: Sâmîpaşazâde Sezâî 2003 (ed. by Z. Kerman) • S+T(tr)(?): Kerman 1986 • Oğuzkan 1954 • S+T(tr, extracts): Enginün 1964 • S: Kerman 2009
b.1883–6	*Ali Cevad Bey*	M: *see* İhsanoğlu 2000: 461 • S: İhsanoğlu 2000: 460f., 598
1886	*Edhem Paşa*	M+L+S: Aydın 1989–92 • S: Beydilli 2007: 28
1887/8	*Ali Kemal* (Ömrüm)	S+L: Ali Kemal 1985 • Ali Kemal 2004 • S: Asiltürk 2000a: 79 • Gezgin 2010 • Karaveli 2009 • Kıranlar 2010 • Kuneralp 1993 • Uzun 1989
1888	*Fuad Paşa*	M+L+S: Aydın 1989–92 • S: Beydilli 2007: 28
1889	*Ahmed Midhat*	A: Ahmed Midhat 1307 • S+L(extracts): Okay 2008 • S+T(ge, extracts): Böer – Haerkötter – Kappert 2002 • T(tr, extract): GÖS • S: Akyıldız 2003 • Akyıldız 2006 • Akyıldız 2009 • Andı 2006a • Asiltürk 1995 • Asiltürk 2009: 938–41 • Bensoy 2007/08 • Bilgiç 2008: 43–65 • Findley 1998 • Herzog – Motika 2000: 141ff. • Riemann 1983 • Sagaster 1997a • *see also Olcay Akyıldız's contribution to this volume*

1890	*Hüseyin Hulkî*	A: Hüseyin Hulkî 1308h [1891] • S+T(ge, extracts): Böer – Haerkötter – Kappert 2002 • S: Asiltürk 2009: 946
1891	*Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz]* (Avrupa'da ne gördüm)	A: [Tokgöz] 1307 [1891] • S+L(extracts): Ercilasun 1996 • S+T(tr): [Tokgöz] 2007 (ed. by A. Servantie, F. Gündoğdu) • T(tr, extract): GÖS • S+T(ge, extracts): Böer – Haerkötter – Kappert 2002 • S: Asiltürk 1998: 22f. • Asiltürk 2009: 941–6 • Bensoy 2007/08 • Karahan 2009 • Riemann 1983 • Servantie 2004
1891	*Fuad Paşa*	M+L+S: Aydın 1989–92 • S: Beydilli 2007: 28
1891	*Yûsuf Sâmih (Asmaî)* (Seyâhat-i Asmaî)	A: Asmaî 1308r [1892] • S: Asiltürk 1998: 22 • Asiltürk 2000a: 391–3 • Sagaster 2001: 167
b.1892	*Hüseyin Gālib*	A: Hüseyin Gālib 1308r [1892]
1893	*Karçınzâde Süleyman Şükrü*	A: Süleyman Şükrü 1325h/1907 • S: Asiltürk 2009: 946f. • İhsanoğlu 2000: 382f.
1895	*Ali Kemal* (Paris musâhabeleri)	A: Ali Kemal 1897 • S: Asiltürk 2000a: 79 • Gezgin 2010 • Karaveli 2009 • Kıranlar 2010 • Kuneralp 1993 • Uzun 1989
1895	*Mehmed Enisî [Yalkı]*	*Alman rûhu:* A: [Yalkı] 1330 •• *Avrupa hâtırâtım:* S+L: [Yalkı] 2008
1895–8	*Tunalı Hilmî*	A: Tunalı Hilmî 1320h/1903 • *see also Leyla von Mende's contribution to this volume*
1896–1901	*Şerefeddin Mağmûmî*	*Paris'den yazdıklarım:* A: Şerefeddin Mağmûmî 1329/1911 •• *Seyâhat hâtıraları:* A: Şerefeddin Mağmûmî 1327/1909 (*vol. 1*) • Şerefeddin Mağmûmî 1326/1908 (*vol. 2*) • Şerefeddin Mağmûmî 1330/1914 (*vol. 3*) • L: Şerefeddin Mağmûmî 2008b (ed. by N. H. Polat and H. Fedai) (*vol. 2+3*) • S+T(tr): Şerefeddin Mağmûmî 2008a (ed. by C. Kayra) (*vol. 1*) • S+T(ge, extracts): Agai 2013 (*vol. 1*) •• *both:* S: Asiltürk 2009: 968f. • Polat 2002 • *see also Bekim Agai's contribution to this volume*
1898	*Mustafa Said Bey*	T(tr): Mustafa Said 2004 • S: Asiltürk 2009: 947
1899–1900	*Necmeddin Ârif*	A: Necmeddin Ârif 1322h [1904/5] • *see also Leyla von Mende's contribution to this volume*
1900	*Turhan Paşa*	M+L+S: Aydın 1989–92 • S: Beydilli 2007: 28
1902	*Turhan Paşa*	M+L+S: Aydın 1989–92 • S: Beydilli 2007: 28
1904	*Sâdık el-Müeyyed Azımzâde*	A: Sâdık el-Müeyyed 1322 [1904] • T(tr): Sâdık el-Müeyyed 1999 (ed. by M. Baydemir) • S: Bostan 2008 • Herzog – Motika 2000: 169ff. • İhsanoğlu 2000: 425–7 • Le Gall 1990
1904	*Fağfûrîzâde Hüseyin Nesîmî*	A: Fağfûrîzâde Hüseyin Nesîmî 1320 • S: Asiltürk 2009: 948
1906–13	*Zeyneb Hanım*	S+E: Zeyneb Hanoum 2004 (ed. by R. Lewis) • S: Ezer 2002 • Ezer 2004 • Ezer 2010a • Ezer 2010b • Konuk 2003
1908–10	*Selim Sırrı [Tarcan]*	A: [Tarcan] 1327r [1911] • S: Asiltürk 2009: 951–5
b.1909	*Mehmed Fazlı*	A: Mehmed Fazlı 1325 [1909] • S: Herzog – Motika 2000: 174ff. • İhsanoğlu 2000: 383f.
1909	*Balint*	A: Balint 1909
b.1910	*Anonymous* (İtalya'da bir cevelan)	S: Karakartal 2003: 123

1911	*Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz]* (Tuna'da bir hafta)	A: [Tokgöz] 1327r [1911] • L: Kut 1999 • S+L(extracts): Ercilasun 1996 • S+T(tr): [Tokgöz] 2007 (ed. by A. Servantie, F. Gündoğdu) • S: İhsanoğlu 2000: 533f. • Servantie 2004
b.1911	*[Hasan Bedreddin]*	A: Hasan Bedreddin 1329 [1911] • S: Karakartal 2003: 136f.
1912/3	*Celal Nûrî [İleri]*	*Şimal hâtıraları:* A: [İleri] 1330 • T(tr): [İleri] 1997a • T(tr, extract): GÖS •• *Kutub musâhabeleri:* A: [İleri] 1331 • T(tr): [İleri] 1997b • S+T(ge, extracts): Böer – Haerkötter – Kappert 2002 •• *both:* S: Asiltürk 1998: 23f. • Asiltürk 2009: 948f. • Duymaz 1993 • İhsanoğlu 2000: 528f.
1913	*Ferid Kam*	S+L: Kam 2000 (ed. by N. Yılmaz)
b.1914/5	*Şövalye Hasan Bahrî*	A: Hasan Bahrî 1330
1914/5	*Mehmed Âkif [Ersoy]*	A: [Ersoy] 1917 • S+T(ge, extracts): Böer – Haerkötter – Kappert 2002 • S: Asiltürk 2009: 950f. • Aytaç 1986 • Baykan 2009 • Okay – Düzdağ 2003 • Uysal 2009 • *more: see* Okay – Düzdağ 2003
1915	*Hâlid Ziyâ [Uşaklıgil]*	A: [Uşaklıgil] 1331r [1915] • [Uşaklıgil] 1331/32r [1916] • S: Hatipoğlu, 1978 • Türküm 1982
1916/7	*Ahmed Râsim*	A: Ahmed Râsim 1333r [1917] • T(tr): Ahmed Râsim 1988 (ed. by R. Yakın) • T(tr, extract): GÖS • S: Asiltürk 2009: 969
1916–8	*Mehmed Ârif [Ölçen]*	S+T(tr): [Ölçen] 1994 (ed. by A. N. Ölçen) • S+T(en): [Ölçen] 1995 (ed. by G. Leiser)
b.1917	*Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz]* (Tirol cephesinde – ateş hattında)	A: [Tokgöz] 1917 • S+L(extracts): Ercilasun 1996
1917	*Mehmed Celal*	A+T(ge): Mehmed Celal 1917
1917/8	*Cenab Şahâbeddin*	A: Cenab Şahâbeddin 1335r [1919] • L: Cenab Şahâbeddin 1997 (ed. by Z. Uluant) • S+T(ge, extracts): Böer – Haerkötter – Kappert 2002 • S: Riemann 1983 • Sagaster 2001 • Tarakçı 1993
1920/1	*Yûsuf Sâmih (Asmaî)* (Sicilya hâtırâtı)	A: Asmaî 1922 • S+T(tr, extracts)+A(extracts): Karakartal 2003 • S+T(it): Asmaî 1999 (ed. by G. E. Carretto) • S: Asiltürk 2000a: 126f.

Undated travel accounts[8]

- *Hüseyin Kâzım:* Almanya seyâhatnâmesi; Londra seyâhatnâmesi; Viyana seyâhatnâmesinin zeyli; Moskova seyâhatnâmesi[9]
- *Anonymous:* İngiltere ve Londra'nın usul ve nizâmâtı, ictimâî ve sınâî[10]
- *Fâik:* Almanya seyâhatnâmesi[11]

General reading, collections and overviews

First period: Vatin 1995

Second period: Afyoncu 2009: 108–121 • Akyıldız 2010 • Altuniş-Gürsoy 2006 • Arı 2004 • Beydilli 2007 • Bozkurt – Beydilli 2009 • Faroqhi 2009 • Güllüoğlu 2010 • Helmschrott 2012 • Hitzel 1991 • Hitzel 1995 • Karamuk 1975 • Korkut 2003 • Korkut 2007 • Kuneralp –Yerasimos 1997 • Kuran 1988 • Safi 2011 • Süslü 1981/82 • Tuncer 2010 • Turan 2004 • Unat 1992 • Yalçınkaya 1996b • Yalçınkaya 2003 • Yalçınkaya 2010 • E. Yurdusev 2004

Third period: Asiltürk 1998 • Böer – Haerkötter – Kappert 2002 • Herzog – Motika 2000 • Karakartal 2003 • Kuneralp 1995 • Yerasimos 1999

All: Asiltürk 1999 • Asiltürk 2000a • Asiltürk 2000b • Asiltürk 2009 • Coşkun 2006 • Georgeon 1995 • GÖS • İhsanoğlu 2000 • Olgun 1973 • Sagaster 2001 • Şirin 2009 • Tanpınar 2010 (hg. v. A. Uçman) • *see also Bâki Asiltürk's contribution to this volume*

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8 For these texts, I have not been able to determine the dates of either the journey, or of the text's composition or first publication.

9 Cf. Olgun (1973: 725); Asiltürk (2000b: 226). The manuscripts of these travel accounts are kept in the Istanbul University Library's department of rare books (yazma no. 5093, 5094, 5095 and 5098). I have not been able to find out if the author is identical with the writer and intellectual Hüseyin Kâzım [Kadri] (1870–1934; on him see e.g. Albayrak 1998).

10 Cf. Olgun (1973: 725); Asiltürk (2000b: 227). Olgun dates the text to the beginning of the 19th century. The manuscript is kept in the Istanbul University Library (yazma no. 5085).

11 The manuscript is kept in the Istanbul University Library's department of rare books (yazma no. 9348); the online catalogue entry (http://www.kutuphane.istanbul.edu.tr/library/default.htm, last accessed Jan 26, 2012) does not contain more information on the author (apart from the name Fâik), a year or a place. The text is also listed in Asiltürk (2000b: 224), but with the yazma no. 9347.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

abr.:	abridged	pp.:	pages
app.:	appendix	repr.:	reprinted / reprint
coll.:	collected	rev.:	revised
collab.:	collaboration	suppl.:	supplemented
comm.:	commented / commentary	TOEM:	*Târîḫ-i ʿOṣmânî Encümeni Mecmûʿası*
DİA:	*Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*	ToKat:	*Ulusal Toplu Katalog* (www.toplukatalog.gov.tr)
ed.:	edited / edition / editor		
eds.:	editors	transl.:	translated / translation
GÖS:	*Gezi Özel Sayısı. Türk Dili* (27/258) (1973)	translit.:	transliteration
		TTK:	Türk Tarih Kurumu
Inst.:	Institute	Univ./Üniv.:	University / Universität / Üniversite(si)
intr.:	introduced / introduction		
n.p.:	no place / no publisher	unpubl.:	unpublished
n.y.:	no year	v.:	von (in German names)
orig. ed.:	original edition	vol(s).:	volume(s)
orig. publ.:	originally published	WZKM:	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
OTAM:	*Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*		

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[12] All sources marked with at least one of the letters M, A, L, T, F or E in the bibliographical list above are included here under 'primary sources'. The repositories of most of the original texts can be found online in ToKat or in the *Türkiye Kütüphaneleri Veri Tabanı* on the website of the İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi (İSAM) (ktp.isam.org.tr).

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[15] In the title of the actual text, this name is incorrectly written as "Yusug".

[16] In the title of the actual text, the word "değeri" is incorrectly written as "defteri".

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