



Representations of the Turks in Twentieth Century British Travel Writing on Asia Minor

Yirminci Yüzyılda Anadolu'ya Dair Yazılan İngiliz Seyahat Edebiyatında Türk Temsilleri

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ABSTRACT

This study examines selected British travelogues published in the twentieth century. Starting with some imperialist representations of early travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it aims to demonstrate the change in perceptions of British travellers regarding Turkey and the Turks. The study analyses representations of British travellers to many parts of Turkey within the framework of post-colonial theories including orientalism and imperialism debates. In these analyses, the main focus is sometimes on Britons' preoccupation with antiquity and ancient relics during their visits to southwest Turkey. However, the study primarily seeks to reveal how the change in the image and stereotype of the Turks is reflected by eminent British travellers in the second half of the twentieth century.

Keywords: British travel writing, the Turks, antiquity, Turkish image and stereotype

ÖZ

Bu çalışma temel olarak farklı zaman dilimlerinde yayımlanmış İngiliz seyahatnamelerini incelemektedir. On sekiz ve on dokuzuncu yüzyıllarda Türkiye'ye gelmiş ilk seyahatçıların emperyalist yaklaşımlarından başlamak kaydıyla, çalışmada İngiliz seyahatçıların Türkiye ve Türk imajına dair algılarındaki değişiklikler kronolojik olarak yansıtılmaya çalışılmıştır. Çalışma, oryantalizm ve emperyalizm tartışmalarını da içerecek şekilde koloncilik sonrası ortaya atılan kuramlar çerçevesinde özellikle Türkiye'nin farklı bölgelerine seyahat etmiş n İngiliz seyahatçıların temsillerini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu analizlerde, bazen odak noktası, İngilizlerin ülkenin güneybatı sahillerinde bulunan antik eserlere yoğun ilgisine kaymıştır. Ancak, çalışma ana olarak özellikle yirminci yüzyılın ikinci yarısında ülkeye gelen önemli İngiliz seyahatçıların eserlerinde yansıttıkları Türk imajı ve stereotipinde meydana gelen değişiklikleri ortaya çıkarmayı hedef almaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: İngiliz seyahat edebiyatı, Türkler, eski yapıtlar, Türk imajı ve stereotipi



Introduction

In *The Norton Book of Travel* (1987), Paul Fussell argues that, after the great Renaissance age of colonial exploration and expansion, a systematic empiricism made travelling through the earth and seeing new and different things ‘something like an obligation for the person conscientious about developing the mind and accumulating knowledge’¹. Therefore, a new notion of travelling through Europe for educational purposes, which is called the Grand Tour, emerged in Europe in the late seventeenth century and became popular among young men of the ruling classes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to Thomas Nugent, the entire purpose of the Grand Tour was ‘to form the complete gentleman’². In the essay ‘The Grand Tour and After (1660–1840)’, James Buzard argues that, in these Tours, the desirable or even quasi-obligatory destinations, where the appropriate kind of experience was to be acquired, were Paris and Italy.³

Turkey has also attracted many Western travellers for centuries. While some travellers have been fascinated by its unique natural lands involving sublime and picturesque beauties, others have been interested in antiquity, Christianity and the Biblical past in the south eastern part of the country, generally referred to as ‘Asia Minor’. Particularly in the eighteenth century, antiquarian travellers and wealthy tourists journeyed to Italy and Greece, some coming as far as Turkey, to start their Classical education by visiting famous places portrayed in literary texts, including Rome, Athens, and Istanbul. However, by the nineteenth century, the dilettante traveller had been largely joined by official parties, sent abroad specifically to study Classical sites and obtain sculptures for their collections. The major aim of these travels was to discover ancient relics and take them back home in order to preserve them for future generations because it was believed that the indifference of the Turks to these ancient sites and their lack of knowledge would result in the decomposition and eventually annihilation of great artefacts which represented antiquity, Christianity and Biblical history⁴. Thus, many carved friezes, capitals and statues found their way into European museums during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Along with the Grand Tour, another significant factor that resulted in a growing interest of Western Europeans in the Turks was the movement of *Turquerie*, an Orientalist fashion for mimicking Turkish art and culture. In *Turquerie: An Eighteenth-Century European Fantasy*,

1 Paul Fussell, *The Norton Book of Travel*, Norton, New York 1987. p. 129.

2 Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour: A Journey through the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and France*, Birt, London 1749, p. ix.

3 James Buzard, ‘The Grand Tour and After (1660-1840),’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, eds., Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2002, 37-53, p. 41.

4 Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor, or an Account of a Tour Made at the Expense of the Society of Dilettanti*, Clarendon, Oxford 1776. p. 219, and Charles Fellows, *A Journal Written During An Excursion in Asia Minor*, Murray, London 1838, p. 45.

Haydn Williams defines *Turquerie* as a means of entertainment and pleasure which has a figurative role that stresses social status and magnificence in Western Europe.⁵ Becoming more popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this fashionable phenomenon affected many aspects of Western culture, including women's fashionable clothing, weddings, floor decorations (carpets), gardening (tulips), and drinking (coffee). Therefore, focusing on certain categories such as fashion, art, architecture, sculpture and theatre, *Turquerie* reflected an interesting echo of a weird European phantasm. As a result of this movement, Western dealings with Turkey and the Turks, which began with fear and curiosity, were replaced by admiration and emulation.

On the other hand, during the first half of the twentieth century, when the new Republic of Turkey launched a significant social and cultural transformation process with a radical programme of secularization and modernization reforms, a different approach towards representing the Turks and Turkey was adopted. Some early British travellers to modern Turkey, like those in former centuries, felt superiority and dominancy in old Ottoman lands. Similar to many dilettante travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they mostly had a political agenda which focused on imperial aims such as restoring ancient sites back to their medieval (or former) glory.

During the second half of the twentieth century, however, Turkey's process of becoming a member of NATO⁶ and the EU⁷, and opening up to modern tourism put the country on the ordinary holiday-maker's itinerary, as well. As a result, British travellers' attitudes towards Turkey and the Turks shifted in the 1950s. This change is clearly visible in many of the travel accounts written during the second half of the twentieth century. Unlike former travellers who mostly wrote about the ancient qualities of Turkey's southwest region while ignoring its present conditions, many travellers started to record the daily customs, habits and mannerisms of the Turkish people they encountered. Since these travellers mostly met with ordinary people and lacked any imperial or acquisitive agenda, they represent Turkey and the Turks without referring to its Biblical, medieval or Christian past. Moreover, in their travelogues, ancient sites in southwest Turkey are represented in a different manner from the nineteenth-century travellers. Contrary to orientalist and imperialist narratives of former travellers which justified carrying friezes, capitals and statues from their sites into European museums, such travellers often criticised this European archaeological malpractice.

In these contexts, this study aims to examine the changing attitudes and perceptions of British travellers towards Turkey in the second half of the twentieth century and to analyse how this shift has been represented in selected travel narratives. The study sets out to provide a

5 Haydn Williams, *Turquerie: An Eighteenth-Century European Fantasy*, Thames and Hudson, London 2014, p. 5.

6 Turkey has been a full member of NATO since 18th February, 1952.

7 Turkey applied to accede as a full member to the EU on the 14th April, 1987.

comprehensive literary analysis of representations of modern Turkey and the Turks by assessing different travel books and travellers. While doing so, the study pays special attention to the ‘orientalism’ debates, and its engagements with the critique of imperialism and colonialism, and to the ways stereotyping and imaging operate within the historical realism of twentieth-century travel literature. Therefore, the theoretical framework is mainly built upon examining how relevant Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) proves in this particular juncture when, for the first time ever, British officials are actually in a position of direct authority over areas formerly ruled by the Ottoman Sultan and therefore British authority have been instrumental in re-shaping the political landscape following the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire at Lausanne.⁸

There are only a few studies of travellers’ representations of modern Turkey: they include Kamil Aydin’s *Images of Turkey in Western Literature* (1999), and a collection of essays edited by Gerald MacLean in *Writing Turkey: Explorations in Turkish History, Politics and Cultural Identity* (2006). There are also some useful essays in the special issue of *Studies in Travel Writing* (December 2012) edited by Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean.⁹ An article by Tabish Shah published in *Nationalities Papers* (April 2010) analyses some eminent post-1989 travel writers to Turkey.¹⁰

Although he mainly seeks to explore twentieth-century images of Turkey in the West in popular fiction and travel writing, Kamil Aydin also focusses on the continuity of earlier patterns of imagery, which represent Turkey in a negative way. He suggests that as a result of a cluster of ideas that include chivalry, manliness, patriotism, racism and imperialism, a great many of early travellers to the Orient adopted a negative attitude towards the East. For example, as Aydin clearly illustrates, most nineteenth century travellers to Turkey, such as Eliot Warburton and Charles Doughty, emphasize the superiority of Christianity over Islam and portray the Turks as ignorant, fanatical, tyrannical and imbecilic.¹¹ Similarly, Aydin argues that many accounts regarding twentieth-century images of Turkey are ‘embedded in some historical facts chronologically going back to the Middle Ages, and even to the Crusades’.¹² For instance, he demonstrates that ‘Philip Glazebrook sets off to Turkey to revere the experiences of the previous travellers by following Marco Polo’s route to Jerusalem with the expectation of seeing a typical Oriental state with similar unusual elements represented in the previous accounts’.¹³

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

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

10 Tabish Shah, ‘Securitized Identities and Less Secure Western Multi-Ethnic States: A Critical Geopolitics of the East-West Discourse - Turkey and Beyond.’ *Nationalities Papers*, 38.3 (2010): 393-412.

11 Aydin, Kamil. *Images of Turkey in Western Literature*, Eothen, Huntington, 1999, p. 18.

12 Aydin, Ibid, p.53.

13 Aydin, Ibid, p.54.

In addition, Aydin's book has also some analytical chapters on representations of the modern image of the Turks in travel writing. Referring to Rose Macaulay's *The Towers of Trebizond* (1956), Paul Theroux's *The Great Railway Bazaar* (1975), Philip Glazebrook's *Journey to Kars* (1984), and Christina Dodwell's *A Traveller on Horseback* (1987), Aydin discovers hostile images of the Turks and Turkey, containing violence, barbarism, sexual abuses and political harassment. On the other hand, Aydin's other main concern is with detective stories, thrillers and spy novels set in Turkey. Through some typical examples of the genre, Aydin demonstrates that

via intriguing stories of murder embellished with historical peculiarities, exotic locales such as the historic sites of Istanbul, the eccentric figures with bizarre reputations such as the eunuch of the harem, ... and some cold war trappings such as espionage, counter espionage and uncovering of political assassinations, similar historical, cultural and religious misconceptions and stereotypes are revealed in attribution to the Turks.¹⁴

He further suggests that 'certain patterns and consistencies can also be traced in these texts under diverse headings such as drug and antique smuggling, robberies, hashish growing and producing, coup attempts and above all, various acts of brutality and masochism occasionally leading to perversion'.¹⁵ As a result, Aydin concludes that, in many cases, a negative attitude towards the Turks is introduced 'through imaginary characters of unusual traits who are usually described as villains, or this unfavourable manner is implicitly or explicitly conveyed through the personal interpretation of the narrator'.¹⁶

Throughout all its literary analyses, this study will mainly seek to examine how differentiated images and stereotypes created by selected British travel narratives contribute to the understanding of modern Turkish image. To do so, travel accounts are intentionally chosen since they are believed to demonstrate a more accurate codification regarding the image of the Turks than Aydin's study of imaginative literature. Consequently, rather than fictional representations found in novels, plays and films, more objective portrayals by travellers presented in their eye-witness reports form the basis of this study.

The study of travel writing has been regarded as a discipline and received critical attention since the 1980s.¹⁷ Since it involves challenging political, social, cultural and generic conventions and bases on identity, ethnicity, gender, sexuality and other characteristics, an important heterogeneity is generally found in travel literature. However, the present study follows the general, though not universally agreed-upon principle that 'travel writing consists

14 Aydin, *Ibid*, p.42.

15 Aydin, *Ibid*, p.42.

16 Aydin, *Ibid*, p.43.

17 Pettinger, Alasdair, and Tim Youngs, eds., 'Introduction,' *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing*, Routledge, London 2020, p. 1.

of the narrative of an actual journey told by the person or persons who undertook it'¹⁸. In their *Research Companion*, Pettinger and Youngs frame the act of travel into various categories, including scientific travellers, nature writing, migrant narratives, the expatriate life memoirs, pair travelling, footsteps, and vertical travel. In this study, accounts of those travellers who engage with former travel writers and attempt to duplicate their itineraries by following their footsteps in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are mainly included to show the fixity and persistence of the imperial language and to examine how the accounts of these 'second journeys' frequently figure the motifs of nostalgia, authenticity and oversaturation.

Here, I will argue that perceptions of British travellers regarding the image and stereotype of the Turks change in the second half of the twentieth century because of Turkey's westernization and modernization efforts. As a result, while determining analytical categories, the study becomes selective in travelogues written on modern Turkey. In order to demonstrate clearly the shifting attitudes of British travellers towards the Turks, travelogues that reflect favourable representations of the Turks in the spheres of religion, education, culture, economy, clothing, and the status of women are included in the present study. The writers in question are shown to be more influential than others in forming the British travellers' changing attitude to the Turks in the second half of the twentieth century.

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

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

In the early eighteenth century, Britain began to obtain imperial power. As Gerald MacLean suggests, 'by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht signed in 1713, Britain acquired extensive territories in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Acadia from the French and took over the slave trade into Spanish America, as well as Gibraltar and Minorca, from the Spanish'.¹⁹ Having control over these two western harbours, the British Naval Forces began to command the commerce of the Mediterranean, and thus, Britain became Europe's superior naval and imperial power.²⁰ By mid-eighteenth century, Britain's rich merchants began

18 Pettinger and Youngs, *Ibid*, p. 4.

19 Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire Before 1800*, Palgrave MacMillan, London, 2007, p. 197.

20 MacLean, *Ibid*, p. 297.

arriving in the Mediterranean with benign plans of establishing a neo-colonial presence for the sake of enhancing trade. MacLean argues that, according to the geographer John Green, ‘strategically, alliances with the Ottomans who governed such vast territories served British trading and imperial interests’.²¹ The Ottoman Empire gained a political importance that was centred upon British imperial interests beyond the Mediterranean and which actually targeted the Indian subcontinent. MacLean further suggests that ‘due to these commercial and diplomatic alliances with the Ottoman court, the British were first able to set up a significant commercial presence in the Mediterranean and directly entered the Eastern trade through factories in Izmir, Aleppo and other Ottoman ports’.²²

On the other hand, although the Ottomans, who sometimes posed a threat, became a benevolent partner of the Britons in commerce, they increasingly lost power in both political and military spheres in early eighteenth century. MacLean argues that, particularly, ‘the withdrawal of Ottoman armies from Vienna in 1683 established the final borders of the Ottoman presence in Europe, and the Treaty of Karlowitz signed in 1699, was widely regarded to be a sign of a long-anticipated decline in Ottoman power’.²³ Consequently, according to MacLean, ‘seventeenth and eighteenth-century Britons, cheerful at their own growing status as imperial power, mostly considered themselves as equal, and often superior, to the Ottomans’.²⁴ As a result, MacLean concludes that ‘once imperial pride began to replace imperial envy, a process that continued throughout the eighteenth century, a new form of familiarity and even condescension towards the Ottomans began appearing in works by the new generation of travel writers such as Alexander Drummond (d. 1769), Elizabeth Lady Craven (1750-1828), and Sir Charles Eliot (1832-1931)’.²⁵

Similarly, Reinhold Schiffer asserts in *Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey* (1999) that, in the late Ottoman period, British travellers to Turkey often held some formulaic assumptions that regarded supremacy.²⁶ In their representations, many travellers highlighted Britain’s superiority over Turkey in not only political but also cultural, religious, institutional, ethical and aesthetical spheres. In these respects, they portrayed clichéd stereotypes that suggested the inferiority of the Turks, including backwardness, danger, hardships, primitivism, savagery and ignorance. In these travelogues, travel to Turkey was made to be a misadventure that threatened the traveller’s physical and mental wellbeing.²⁷

21 MacLean, *Ibid*, p. 216.

22 MacLean, *Ibid*, p. 299.

23 MacLean, *Ibid*, p. 301.

24 MacLean, *Ibid*, p. 299.

25 MacLean, *Ibid*, p. 305.

26 Reinhold Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey*; Rodopi, Amsterdam, 1999, p. 2.

27 Schiffer, *Ibid*, p. 33.

One of the most significant figures in this period was Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.²⁸ In ‘Some English Travellers in the East’, Bernard Lewis argues that she ‘was between myths – the old one of the Muslim as barbarous infidel, the new ones of the oriental as the embodiment of mystery and romance, and, later, as the paragon of virtue, wisdom and wronged innocence’.²⁹ Lady Mary claims that ‘Turkey was a country and the Turks were people, to be respected, studied, and as far as possible understood, through the medium of their own language and culture, and in reference to their own standards and values’.³⁰ Lady Mary’s representations of the Turks in her letters, sent to her immediate family members and close friends at home, mostly included self-confidence, privilege and pride. However, she also sought to reform former hostile portrayals. For example, in her last letter from Istanbul, Lady Mary suggested that ‘Thus you see, Sir, these people are not so unpolish’d as we represent them. ‘Tis true their magnificence is of a different taste from ours, and perhaps of a better. I am allmost of opinion they have a right notion of Life’.³¹

On the other hand, in 1754, Alexander Drummond published his *Travels Through Different Cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and Several Parts of Asia, As Far As the Banks of the Euphrates*, which described various observations in a precise and witty style. However, Drummond’s portrayals of the Turks often include the imperial pride and supremacy that were accompanied by his self-assumption of privileged class and nation. For instance, in one of his poetical representations, he argues that:

For ages past, a savage race
O’erspread these Asian plains,
All nature wore a gloomy face,
And pensive mov’d the swains.
But now Britannia’s gen’rous sons
A glorious lodge have rais’d,
Near the fam’d banks where Meles runs,
And Homer’s cattle graz’d;
The bri’ry wilds to groves are chang’d,
With orange trees around,
And fragrant lemons fairly rang’d,
O’erspread the blissful ground.
Approving Phoebus shines more bright,

28 Lady Mary followed her husband to Istanbul, where he was ambassador, in February 1717, stayed there until July 1718, and recorded her impressions in a number of letters.

29 Bernard Lewis, ‘Some English Travellers in the East,’ *Middle Eastern Studies*, 4.3 (April 1968): 296-315, p. 301.

30 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, Virago, London, 1994 (1763), p. 105.

31 Montagu, *Ibid*, p. 68.

The flow'rs appear more gay,
 New objects rise to please the sight
 With each revolving day.³²

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

In the same spirit, regarding backwardness and inferiority of the Ottoman Turks, similar representations were recorded in the nineteenth century. For instance, in his famous poem *The Giaour; A Fragment of a Turkish Tale* (1813), Lord Byron reflects his impressions of the Turkish culture. Byron made a Grand Tour of Albania, Greece and Turkey in 1810-11. During these journeys, he made many observations regarding the Turks. In Byron’s representations of the Turks in the poem, one can find oriental narratives of fear, murder, misery, secrecy and pain. Similarly, in his *Turkey in Europe* (1908), Sir Charles Eliot laid great emphasis over the long-established ‘nomadism’ of the Turks. According to him, the Ottomans were still strangers in Europe. Eliot described them ‘as pastoral marauders who had used the country but contributed nothing to it, and who had never really adapted themselves to urban or sedentary living’.³³

However, in some other accounts, the Ottoman Empire was appreciated as a primarily aesthetic landscape and so celebrated for its picturesque and sublime beauty. The grandeur in architectural beauties and classical ruins, and the melancholy that stemmed from both the traveller’s psychological disposition and the picturesque qualities of the place dominated the narratives of eminent travellers in that period. For instance, Sir Adolphus Slade, a British naval officer who arrived in the Ottoman Empire in 1829 and became known as Mushavir Pasha, travelled extensively in the Ottoman Empire during the 1830s, and published two books. He joined the Ottoman Navy in 1849, and stayed there as advisor,³⁴ writing a book on the Crimean War in 1867. However, his narratives included profoundly interesting comments

32 Alexander Drummond, *Travels Through Different Cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and Several Parts of Asia, As Far As the Banks of the Euphrates*, Strahan, London, 1754, p. 97.

33 Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, Edward Arnold, London, 1908, p.12.

34 Lewis, *Ibid*, p. 303.

and analyses – political, social, and cultural. In these comments and analyses, Slade’s approach, however, was unusually dissimilar to that of many European observers of the era.

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

After the War of Independence, fought against west-allied Greek powers, the Turks established a new Republican state in 1923. In a just a couple of years, the new government launched a significant social and cultural transformation process with a radical programme of secularization and modernization reforms. In *Turkey: A Modern History* (1993), Eric Zürcher argues that ‘the fact that a non-Western and Muslim country chose to discard its past and sought to join the West made a huge impression in the West, where the idea of springing up an entirely new, modern and different Turkey was generally accepted’.³⁵ However, Britain was among the victorious great powers of the West. So, in this political context, early British travellers to Turkey felt superior and dominant in former Ottoman lands. They had their own political agenda which focused on imperial aims such as safeguarding Christian minorities’ rights in Turkey, studying the situation created between the Great Britain and Turkey by the Mosul dispute, and restoring ancient ruins from their ramshackle situation back into their medieval glory. As a result, as will be seen below, many British travellers were indifferent to the westernization efforts of this emerging modern country in the aftermath of the Republican Revolution.

In many travelogues, British travellers have taken up a figurative discourse that introduces and denominates the Turkish image in an obvious inferior manner. In such travel narratives, portrayals of the Turks often bear similarities to those of the Ottomans: stereotyped images from earlier centuries continued to dominate British perceptions of the Republic of Turkey. In some portrayals, the travellers represent a particular political, cultural, or military interest in modern Turkey as well. Particularly in re-enactment travels that portray medieval qualities of ancient history, knowledge of past represents ideological imagery, political authority portrays colonialist dominance and historical studies reflect a certain hegemony. As a consequence, in these portrayals, it can be clearly seen that, dominance and hegemony remain main themes while illustrating British travel narratives of Oriental images in Turkey.

When compared to later periods, in the first half of the century, there are not many works on Turkey that can be regarded as travel literature. Travelogues are mostly concerned with representations of antiquity and classical ruins in southwest Turkey. However, some travelogues can help us better understand changing British perceptions of Turks and Turkey in this period. For instance, in *The Changing East* (1926), John Alfred Spender (1862-1942), a British journalist and author, represents his reactions to the modern image of Turkey and the Turks. Spender’s travelogue was the product of a journey to Turkey, Egypt and India

35 Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 1993, I.B.Tauris, London 2004, p. 193.

undertaken for the London newspaper, *The Westminster Gazette* during the winter and spring of 1925-6.³⁶ Spender's journey to Turkey included only Istanbul and Ankara. As a journalist, his main object was to study the states of opinion and politics in Turkey, and to discover how it fared with British policy regarding the Mosul dispute at the time when the decision of the League of Nations was promulgated.³⁷

However, Spender's accounts also include his observations regarding the change in the image of the Turks that stemmed from the reforms carried out by Mustapha Kemal Atatürk and his companions. Arriving in Istanbul, the first thing that engages Spender's attention is men's hats. He sees bowlers and cloth caps all around Istanbul. But he does not like this new appearance. He argues that 'the Western eye considered the fez picturesque and amusing which stung the pride of the Turk'.³⁸ Similarly, Spender represents as change the abundance of Turkish names in shops and restaurants. He claims that 'all foreign shops are compelled by law to announce themselves in Turkish'.³⁹ Spender suggests that the focus on the Turkish inscription reeks of the government policy that he calls Turkification.⁴⁰ However, he claims that the desire to be all-Turkish is hard to reconcile with the desire to be completely modern.⁴¹ As a result, he is not pleased with the overemphasis on the Turkish script since he believes that it leads some foreigners to talk of xenophobia.⁴² Nevertheless, Spender discloses that, contrary to his Greek and English friends' prejudiced advice not to go to Ankara, he receives 'nothing but civility and courtesy' during his stay there.⁴³ Similarly, regarding the people in Istanbul, Spender finds a general change in the manners, customs and traditions of the Turks. In contrast to former representations of ignorance and self-concealment, Spender portrays a vivacious Turkish image. He recounts that

... young men, and still more, young women, are giving themselves all the airs of the emancipated West in that internationalized or denationalized city. Cinemas and theatres are crowded, jazz bands fill the air, and unveiled ladies with short skirts dance with Parisianized young Turks into the small hours of the morning.⁴⁴

On the other hand, as to the place, Spender's portrayals are different. Although he considers Istanbul to be 'beautiful, historical, and romantic',⁴⁵ he finds its current condition to be 'lamentable'.⁴⁶ Spender recounts that 'the roads were terrible; the blackened ruins of

36 John Alfred Spender, *The Changing East*. Cassell, London 1926, p. 7.

37 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 8.

38 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 29.

39 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 35.

40 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 35.

41 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 9.

42 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 36.

43 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 44.

44 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 9.

45 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 32.

46 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 34.

buildings destroyed by fire two or three years before still cumbered the ground on some of the most famous sites; the palaces were falling into decay, the sanitary services were below a decent minimum'.⁴⁷ He concludes that 'Athens is rapidly becoming a great and populous modern city, while Constantinople is stagnant and declining'.⁴⁸ During his train journey to Ankara, Spender reports that 'hour by hour it is the same featureless landscape; the grass is yellow and sodden, and perpetually fades away into mud and swamp'.⁴⁹

However, Ankara strikes Spender's eye with a pleasant relief after this monotony. He describes the new capital to be 'quite imposing' and reports that it 'still contains interesting Roman remains, especially the fine and well-preserved Temple of Augustus'.⁵⁰ Spender claims that, to understand completely the true moral of Turkish achievement, one has to realize what Ankara is, reporting that many foreigners who have known the Turks for thirty years and more say they have never seen such energy and industry as the Turks are displaying at Ankara.⁵¹ Spender also hears innumerable plans regarding Ankara's transformation into an urban capital – plans for new railways, new roads, schools, primary and secondary, in all the towns and villages. However, Spender suggests that, since Turkey is then a poor country with sadly disordered finances and lacks capital, according to Western notions, progress is still slow.⁵²

The last thing that Spender includes in his account of Ankara is the regrettable consequences of the modernizing reforms. Spender argues that although he sees character and determination in one part of the reformist movements, ruthlessness and overweening conceit dominate the other.⁵³ For instance, he reports that he reads in a newspaper that in Angora six 'reactionaries' are sentenced to the 'extreme penalty' on the previous day.⁵⁴ In addition, Spender claims that '... a still greater number among the peasants of Anatolia was in a state of smothered rebellion against the defection from Islam of the new regime'.⁵⁵ However, despite these unfavourable outcomes, Spender finds many of the new regime's religious reforms to be 'undoubtedly salutary'.⁵⁶ Similarly, he also reports that though there has been lively criticism in England of the rigid attitude taken up by the Republican Government, the British people profess much sympathy with the new regime in Turkey and the efforts it is making to institute reforms designed to bring the country into line with modern standards.⁵⁷

47 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 34.

48 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 41.

49 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 45.

50 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 45.

51 Spender, *Ibid*, pp. 48-49.

52 Spender, *Ibid*, pp. 49-50.

53 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 39.

54 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 50.

55 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 39.

56 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 31.

57 Spender, *Ibid*, p. 56-57.

Another journalist who travelled to Turkey in the 1930s was Bosworth Goldman, a reporter who had been on the staff of the *Evening Standard* during the 1914-18 war and who was interested in the politics of Near Asia.⁵⁸ In *Red Road Through Asia* (1934), Goldman portrays the bolshevization of Russian Asia. In a small section about Turkey at the end of his book, Goldman offers his impressions about modern Turks. As seen in the map attached on the endpapers of his travelogue, Goldman got off the ship and stepped on new Turkish lands through the Black Sea region after a long, unusual and difficult journey through the Soviet Union, carried out with tenacity and resource. Following brief tours of Trebizond and Giresun, Goldman came to Istanbul, the old capital of the Ottoman Empire.

Similar to former orientalist representations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Goldman portrays the Turks to be 'obedient', 'greedy', 'idle' and 'deceitful' in post-1923 period.⁵⁹ He suggests that the Turks still have simple tastes and little contact with the civilization of the West in spite of changes.⁶⁰ Instances of despotism, oppression, human trafficking, brutality and counterfeit pervade Goldman's representations in modern Turkey. He does not celebrate any modern outlook of the country. Instead, he emphasizes old, imperial charms of the Turks stereotyped with oriental characteristics. Goldman's descriptive accounts implicitly claim that modernity is in direct contrast to traditional Turkish society. According to him, the Turks are primitive and backward, and consequently an absolute contrast to Western societies.⁶¹

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

As I passed the British Embassy an immaculate monocled figure stepped serenely from a high Daimler. On either side of him, heels clicked, hands flew to the salute. At once I felt equally impressive and grand: I too was English; that man had been my representative, and the palace in which he lived was in part supported by my payment of the income tax ... For those days, I felt important.⁶²

Goldman's feelings of superiority and victory over the Turks are perhaps not surprising when Britain's political position in the post-Sevres period is taken into consideration. Britain's dominating power over former Ottoman/Turkish territories clearly had a profound effect on Goldman's attitudes. Goldman's feeling that he was grand and important in Turkey bears many similarities to early travellers' authoritarian style while commenting on the Turkish stereotype.

58 Andrew Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia: A Political History of Republican Sinkiang 1911-1949*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1986, p. 302.

59 Bosworth Goldman, *Red Road Through Asia*, Methuen, London 1934, p. 113.

60 Goldman, *Ibid.*, p. 256.

61 Goldman, *Ibid.*, p. 258.

62 Goldman, *Ibid.*, p. 268.

Goldman's orientalist representations about the Turks are not limited to primitiveness, underdevelopment and inferiority. Many of his detailed reports about Turkey feature fraudulence and deception. Goldman claims that 'I was trapped by the wily trader into paying what they were worth for two bronze imitations' and that 'I have been happier here, for they are pleasant people, tough ever ready to take advantage of you, partly from avarice and partly because they feel it their duty to punish fallibility of others'.⁶³ According to him, the Turks are also involved in dirty works. After telling a brutal story in which all money of a doctor in foreign currency is stolen by OGPU forces in the Soviet Union,⁶⁴ he claims 'I never discovered what they were spent on, but one man told me the demand was considerable on account of the Persians and Turks who were ready 'to run' people across the frontier for satisfactory amounts in foreign currency'.⁶⁵ Human trafficking joins brutality and barbarism among the common traits of the Turks in Goldman's many orientalist portrayals.

In Goldman's view, the Turks were submissive and obedient in the presence of authoritarian governments. He claims that they preserve their 'sedate character and aloofness from outside affairs'.⁶⁶ As far as Goldman is concerned, although Turkish society has become a Western-style democracy after the Independence War, the Turks themselves are still pursuing the same placid and docile life as they were under the Sultans. To Goldman, the Turks appeared idle and clumsy. He describes how 'busy tea-carriers hustled from their stalls to lubricate our bargaining and to soothe other heads still seething with arrack from the night before'.⁶⁷ Apart from this drunkenness, the Turks are represented to be awkward by Goldman. While narrating a discussion among the ship's crew, he claims 'the valve had assuredly been open; 'perhaps a Turkish devil closed it,' he [one of the crew] executed his own forgetfulness'.⁶⁸ Goldman also reports that 'the unshaven Turkish policeman at the customs station at the entrance of Bosphorus grunted disconsolately at our early arrival'.⁶⁹ According to Goldman, submissiveness, filthiness, awkwardness, laziness and idleness were all intrinsic qualities of the Turks living in the post-Sevres period.

On the other hand, modern images of the country also appear in Goldman's narrative. But instead of celebrating this modern outlook of the country, he becomes fascinated with sundry old beauties of Istanbul.

We slid slowly down the winding beauty of the Bosphorus, which man has ornamented so lavishly where God had already given full measure. I revisited the sights with a brilliant

63 Goldman, *Ibid.*, p. 255.

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

65 Goldman, *Ibid.*, p. 265.

66 Goldman, *Ibid.*, p. 257.

67 Goldman, *Ibid.*, p. 257.

68 Goldman, *Ibid.*, p. 261.

69 Goldman, *Ibid.*, p. 267.

and distinguished Orientalist; it was intoxicating to be back in a country where beauty and culture received the attention they deserved. The museum contained wealth of the past, carefully tended tombs, and acres of exquisite carvings instead of busts of the monotonous heroes of the Revolution. The mosque of Achmed the First confirmed the opulence of the Moslem in the seventeenth century, and symbolized the taste of the leisured potentates of that era. Such a faith provided a simple holiday from the elaborate pleasures of the harem and the table, or the grim reality of a hard-fought battle.⁷⁰

Here, Goldman wishes to emphasize some of the old, imperial charms of the Turks. Rather than ‘busts of monotonous heroes’ or ‘trams and rushing motors’ which he claimed destroyed the picturesque outlook of the country, the ‘wealth of the past’ in museums and ‘enchantment of past civilization’ are favoured. Opulence of mosques, pleasures of the harem and glories of fiercely-fought wars are what enthuses Goldman. He seeks to reflect the orientalist idea of re-enactment. However, according to Said, his interpretation ‘is a form of Romantic restructuring of the Orient, a re-vision of it, which restores it redemptively to the present.’⁷¹

By way of contrast, a journalist who visited Turkey in the first half of the twentieth century and approved of what he saw was Henry Vollam Canova Morton (1892-1972). Morton wrote for *Empire Magazine*, *The Evening Standard*, *The Daily Mail*, and the *Daily Express*. During his professional career, he was regarded as Britain’s foremost travel writer during the period between the wars. He arrived in Adana by train from Damascus in the 1930s and travelled through Tarsus, Konya, Ankara, and İzmir to Istanbul. Following his travels in Turkey as well as journeys through Egypt, Palestine, Iraq and Greece, Morton published a travelogue titled *Middle East* (1941).

In his travelogue, which includes a small section on Turkey, Morton reflects on his reactions to the change that Atatürk’s reforms were bringing about. Morton defines these reforms to be ‘astonishing’ and further suggests that ‘the more I see of Turkey the greater is my admiration for the achievements of the Ghazi and his band of staff officers at Ankara.’ He foretells that ‘given ten years of peace, the world will see a new and remarkable Turkey.’⁷² In Morton’s portrayals, one wide new street, a brief outline of Turkey’s economic regeneration, and even a room in which everything is self-consciously Western expresses the European urge of the Republic.

Morton emphasizes the Turks’ wearing hats instead of the fez and unveiling of women as the most sweeping changes that strike at the root of social and religious custom.⁷³ Even in Konya, he was confident that anyone who knew Turkey in the old days would be astonished

70 Goldman, *Ibid*, p. 268.

71 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 1978, Penguin, London 2003, p. 158.

72 Henry Canova Vollam Morton, *Middle East: A Record of Travel in the Countries of Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, Turkey and Greece*, Methuen, London 1941, pp. 194, 209.

73 Morton, *Ibid*, p. 194.

by the city's modern outlook. He reports how 'women who used to be veiled from head to foot now wear western clothes, and even stop in the street to talk to their men acquaintances. They read fashion papers and do their best to copy the modes of Paris'.⁷⁴ He describes his hostess in Konya as 'typical of the modern emancipated Turkish woman' since 'she spoke adequate English, learned at the American College in Tarsus'.⁷⁵

In accordance with his descriptions, Morton concludes that Atatürk 'is even rewriting the history of the Turk in order to give his people a European outlook,' adding that among all the new achievements, the new system of education is the most interesting:⁷⁶

The head master told me that all classes are mixed. The teachers are men and women. The old Arabic alphabet is taboo. Every word written or spoken in the school is the new Turkish language, written in Latin characters. Religion is not allowed to be taught.⁷⁷

As a result, in every classroom that he visited, Morton was impressed by both 'the solemn intelligence of the children' and 'the fact that girls and boys worked together in perfect equality'.⁷⁸ Morton's representations of change and modernity are mostly favourable and therefore dissent from generalizing trope of the orientalism seen in Spender and Goldman. However, during his travels in Anatolia, Morton's main interest lies on ancient splendour rather than change and modernity.

Unlike Spender and Goldman, Morton shows an interest in antiquity and the ancient past of Asia Minor rather than just focussing on the appearance of a country emerging into modernity. On his many journeys in Anatolia, Morton sought to follow the steps of St. Paul,⁷⁹ suggesting that in these journeys he 'looked for something that might have lingered from the time of its pride'.⁸⁰ He often longed for all kinds of strange customs and superstitions dating from Greek and Roman times.⁸¹ But, he found nothing. He laments that 'invasion, war, and centuries of inertia have obliterated every vestige of the past'.⁸² The contrast between the fair Hellenistic city mentioned by St. Paul and modern Tarsus was so great that he felt 'a sense of shock' on discovering that the capitals of columns in Tarsus were now buried in the earth, while the ice-clear Cydnus, the pride of ancient Tarsus, no longer flowed through the centre of the town.⁸³ Similarly, arriving at the site of the Great Temple of Artemis, whom Morton calls Diana of the Ephesians, he discloses that 'nothing in all my wanderings filled me with a

74 Morton, *Ibid.*, p. 208.

75 Morton, *Ibid.*, p. 214.

76 Morton, *Ibid.*, p. 209.

77 Morton, *Ibid.*, p. 210.

78 Morton, *Ibid.*, p. 211.

79 Morton, *Ibid.*, p. 189.

80 Morton, *Ibid.*, p. 196.

81 Morton, *Ibid.*, p. 218.

82 Morton, *Ibid.*, p. 196.

83 Morton, *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 196.

deeper sense of the pathos of decay than this water-logged ruin at Ephesus,' while the Temple of Diana was no more than 'a stagnant pond.'⁸⁴

When in Istanbul, Morton found the Old Seraglio – as described in travel books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – to be 'more interesting' than the modern city.⁸⁵ He found it strange that 'the territory of the Byzantines, whose cult was splendour, should have shrunk to a dark room in Istanbul'.⁸⁶ As a result, regarding the Patriarch of Phanar in Istanbul, Morton – in an imperialist manner – can well imagine

How, startled maybe by a realization that the ghost of the old imperial court still haunted his capital, he awakened from an evil dream, in which he had seen all the minarets fall down and had heard the church bells ringing out once again over the City of God.⁸⁷

Morton's accounts regarding antiquity and the ancient Anatolian past bear many similarities to those of earlier travel writers of the imperial age, such as Richard Chandler (1738-1810)⁸⁸ and Charles Fellows (1799-1860).⁸⁹ In his portrayals, with an attempt to deny present and ignore topicality, Morton seeks to revive the past and emphasize the splendours and glamour of antiquity. Rather than describing modern Turkey thirteen years after its founding as a sovereign state, Morton highlights Greek and Roman history. Morton's descriptions of places throughout Asia Minor emphasize monotony, poverty, bleakness, and unfriendliness.

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

Because of political and economic changes of the 1950s,⁹⁰ British travellers to the Republic of Turkey became especially attentive to the social, economic, religious and cultural developments that were taking place. In *Turkey: The Quest for Identity* (2003), Feroz Ahmad argues that although soldiers captured political power in Turkey during the military coups of 1960 and 1980, it was intellectuals who turned these military movements between the sixties

84 Morton, *Ibid.*, p. 224.

85 Morton, *Ibid.*, p. 234.

86 Morton, *Ibid.*, p. 249.

87 Morton, *Ibid.*, p. 251.

88 A British antiquarian who had profound expertise in classical history and literature, Richard Chandler was assigned by the Society of Dilettanti to collect data regarding history of ancient civilizations and make observations about the status of classical ruins in Asia Minor in 1764. When he returned home in November 1766, he published two travelogues, one being about his travels and excursions in southwest Turkey, *Travels in Asia Minor, or an Account of a Tour Made at the Expense of the Society of Dilettanti*, Clarendon, Oxford 1775.

89 Fellows was an antiquarian who turned his steps to Anatolia to research early history and existent relics of past ages in the nineteenth century. Regarding his visits to Asia Minor, Fellows published several travelogues including: *A Journal Written During an Excursion in Asia Minor*, Murray, London 1839, and *The Xanthian Marbles: Their Acquisition and Transition to England*, London 1843, and *Travel and Researches in Asia Minor, more particularly in the Province of Lycia*, London 1852.

90 The major changes include (i) the Marshall Plan (officially the European Recovery Program, ERP) – an American initiative deployed between 1948-1951 for foreign aid to Western Europe, including Turkey, and (ii) Turkey's NATO membership in 1952.

and eighties into a revolution – ‘a revolution of intellectuals.’⁹¹ According to Ahmad, these intellectuals ‘often spoke of creating a ‘new culture’ and a populist political system’ in line with Western norms and practices.⁹² As a result of the Marshall Plan, the Turkish economy was also favourable for such an attempt. Ahmad claims that ‘industry led to urbanization as Anatolian peasants settled in shanty towns in and around the major cities in the 1950s’.⁹³ The bourgeoisie also grew, both in volume and in self-esteem, during the 1960s. The advent of radio in the 1950s, and television in the 1960s, drastically changed communal and political lifestyles. According to Ahmad, ‘the country no longer felt isolated and became aware of what was happening in the world around, especially as students were then free to read left-wing Marxist literature, which started to become widely available in 1970s and 80s, even in small towns’.⁹⁴ Consequently, as *The Guardian’s* Brussels correspondent suggested in April 1979 on the eve of the 1980 military coup, ‘Not surprisingly Turkey ... is now seen as a zone of crucial strategic significance not only for the southern flank [of NATO] but for the West as a whole’.⁹⁵

In these contexts, it becomes more important to examine how such changes were portrayed by British travellers in a period when the country began to be widely recognized as a strategic partner of the West. In contrast to the period discussed above, there are a great number of travelogues that include representations of the new Turkish image and stereotype, published in Great Britain and other English-speaking countries in the second half of the twentieth century. Among these publications, some stand out as significant cornerstones that reflect the shift in the attitudes that British travellers adopt towards former hostile images of Turkey.

Despite the advent of mass tourism, the picturesque and sublime in virgin areas of Turkey continued to fascinate British travellers particularly after 1960s. In some travelogues, a great deal of enthusiasm is often expressed for the savageness of the nature and the culture in these unspoiled provincial societies. As a result, rather than representations of barrenness, void, and the aridity of Anatolian soil, the maiden beauty of the natural landscape is emphasized by many travellers. In contrast to former representations, in which no natural beauty in the Lycian coast was noticed and instead the Turks’ ignorance of classical sites was emphasized, Michael Pereira (b. 1928)⁹⁶ clearly observes transformation that comes with the tourism boom within the country.

Michael Pereira’s *Mountains and A Shore: A Journey Through Southern Turkey* (1966) gives an account of his travels to the Mediterranean coast, which is a region of quite

91 Feroz Ahmad, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*, One-World, London 2003, p. 120.

92 Ahmad, *Ibid.*, p. 126.

93 Ahmad, *Ibid.*, p. 126.

94 Ahmad, *Ibid.*, p. 130.

95 Ahmad, *Ibid.*, p. 145.

96 Pereira was author of many novels and travel books, including *Istanbul: Aspects of a City*, Bles, London 1968, *East of Trebizond*, Bles, London 1971, and *Across the Caucasus*, Bles, London 1973.

exceptional beauty that is also rich in historical relics. In the spring and summer of 1965, Pereira set off to explore this area, before the officials carried out their plans to develop the area for tourists.⁹⁷ Setting out from Antalya, Pereira travelled along the coast from Marmaris to Mersin and came back via the Taurus Mountains to Konya, the old Seljuk capital. He travelled by local transport vehicles such as bus, lorry, *dolmuş* (shared taxi) and even donkey. *Mountains and a Shore* is Pereira's narratives of these journeys.

The style of Pereira's travel book is set at the very beginning of the text. In contrast to the numerous narratives of Freya Stark (1893-1993)⁹⁸ and Patrick Kinross (1904-1976),⁹⁹ which abound in history, Pereira's work makes no attempt to throw light on any particular period of the past. He argues that, since he is neither a historian nor an archaeologist, his book is 'essentially about the present; about the land as it is today, and the people who live in it'.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, *Mountains and a Shore* presents a record of the daily customs, habits and mannerisms of the Turkish people. In his portraits of the people he meets, Pereira describes the Turks to be generous, proud, and resilient. Pereira also observes progress and development in modern Turkey under the Republican regime. Considering the developments in transportation, the increase in air traffic and the fact that most major towns have their own airports, he finds the government's achievements not 'inconsiderable'.¹⁰¹ At the same time, Pereira observes many other changes in south-western Turkey, too: he finds that many towns such as Antalya, Alanya, Fethiye, Marmaris, Manavgat and Mersin are already full of British, German and American tourists who enjoy excellent restaurants, healthy food, and clean hotels.¹⁰² In his portrayals, Fethiye is 'big and modern, with a comfortable hotel, and street-lamps, and taxis, and buses'.¹⁰³ Marmaris is 'a thriving centre of tourism compared to its poor relation down the coast'.¹⁰⁴ Mersin is also 'a modern city'.¹⁰⁵ In Alanya, 'the market and surrounding streets ... were all comparatively modern'.¹⁰⁶ Pereira further claims that 'much will have changed.

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

98 Dame Freya Madeline Stark was a British explorer and travel writer. In the beginning of 1950s, tracing ancient Persian and Greek merchants, Freya Stark set off by boat to discover the Lycian shore in Turkey. As a result of her travels along this coast, Stark produced *The Lycian Shore: A Turkish Odyssey*, Murray, London 1956.

99 A Scottish-born historian and writer, Patrick Kinross is best known in Turkey for his descriptive biography of the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Less popular than his highly readable biography or its follow-up *Ottoman Centuries: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire*, Cape, London 1977, is *Europa Minor: Journeys in Coastal Turkey*, Murray, London 1956, an engaging travel book in which the clear-eyed observant Kinross makes a series of journeys, spread from the eastern Mediterranean seaboard to the mouth of the Dardanelles.

100 Michael Pereira, *Mountains and A Shore - A Journey through Southern Turkey*, Bles, London 1966, p. 11.

101 Pereira, *Ibid*, p. 30.

102 Pereira, *Ibid*, p. 51

103 Pereira, *Ibid*, p. 94.

104 Pereira, *Ibid*, p. 115.

105 Pereira, *Ibid*, p. 153.

106 Pereira, *Ibid*, p.210.

Kaş might have become a flourishing resort, and Marmaris be rivalling Cannes as the gayest spot on the Mediterranean... A great deal can happen in twenty years'.¹⁰⁷ In fact, Pereira's projections were confirmed when Turkey was ranked as the sixth most popular tourist destination in the world in 2012.¹⁰⁸

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

It wasn't a ruin at all. For as I looked around me, momentarily bewildered, I saw not tiers of cold and empty seats but an audience of several thousand chattering and expectant people. Movement was everywhere, and colour, and from somewhere close behind me came the sound of a violin. Children whispered and laughed excitedly, peasant women dressed in their best and brightest flowered blouses, many with their babies strapped in tight little cocoons to their backs, sat demurely in rows while their husbands smoked and gossiped, and a man came out on to the open stage and began to arrange a row of chairs. Zeno, I thought, would have felt perfectly at home.¹⁰⁹

Unlike offending comments of earlier travellers on the Turks' lack of aesthetic values, Pereira portrays a vivid atmosphere in one of the best-known ancient sites in modern Turkey. Instead of ruin, cold and empty seats, Pereira pictures thousands of 'expectant people'. He finds a 'lively, colourful and excited' crowd rather than a dull and silent ruin. Even the women, who normally sit in silence with their veiled clothes on, have bright dresses in Pereira's portrait. As a result, according to Pereira, Zeno, the architect of Aspendos, would feel proud and happy that his grand structure still serves its purpose even in modern times. Pereira's descriptions regarding historical sites in Turkey challenge traditional perceptions regarding the Turks' ignorance of antiquity, while also recognizing that the Turks were making progress in becoming a modern country. While earlier Western and Christian travellers focussed on the Greek and Roman past when writing about Turkey, in the second half of the twentieth century travellers such as Pereira regarded the Turks' efforts to restore ancient sites, which began with the aim of boosting tourism in the 1960s, to be very important.

The change in British perceptions of modern Turkey and the Turks was not limited to descriptions of Istanbul or other big cities of southwest Turkey. It is also revealed through various accounts of some exotic journeys in eastern Turkey, too. In the summer of 1965, Monica Jackson (1920-2020) and her mountaineering team of six people travelled to Van

107 Pereira, *Ibid*, p. 219.

108 According to the UNWTO Report titled '2012 Tourism Highlights', June 2012.

109 Pereira, *Ibid*, p. 57.

and Hakkari in eastern Turkey.¹¹⁰ In *The Turkish Time Machine* (1966), Jackson reports this off-beat journey of exploration in an enjoyable manner. In the beginning of the text, Jackson argues that she went to Turkey in search of the presence of the past in the present.¹¹¹ She claims that, both in Van and Hakkari, ‘it is the agricultural and pastoral folk of Neolithic times who seem to jostle the present.’¹¹² Jackson concludes that ‘in the course of a journey in search of mountains and an island we found ourselves a time machine’.¹¹³ However, like Stark and Kinross, Jackson finds that little remains out of this Neolithic history. She reports that the church and monastery, which were built by the Armenians on the island of Aghtamar in Lake Van in the seventh century and which remained the seat of an Armenian patriarch till early nineteenth century, were ‘now deserted except by the birds and the bats’.¹¹⁴ Of the city of Van, Jackson argues that ‘the ancient city is no more. Only its citadel, perched on a rock, remains’.¹¹⁵ Similarly, she describes Lake Van to be a ‘watery desert’.¹¹⁶

On the other hand, unlike Stark and Kinross, Jackson offers some favourable accounts of the modern outlook of Turkey and the Turks. Although she defines Hakkari as ‘the most primitive corner of Turkey’,¹¹⁷ she also describes its inhabitants to be ‘much better off than the people we had seen while passing through Yugoslavia and Bulgaria’.¹¹⁸ Similarly, in contrast to portrayals of dirt and filth which are extensively seen in former travel accounts, Jackson finds Van ‘infinitely clean’.¹¹⁹ She further suggests that, in Van, ‘children and adults looked well-fed and clothed, and everybody seemed to be literate. We saw no beggars ... The men wore Western dress, including the ubiquitous peaked cloth cap, and heavy moulded rubber shoes’.¹²⁰ At the same time, contrary to the despotic and tyrannical governors and agas that former travellers such as Fellows, Chandler, Stark, and Kinross describe encountering, Jackson met with civilized and friendly governors in Van and Hakkari. She recounts that, in Yüksekova – a district of Hakkari –, ‘he [the Governor] made us a polite speech, inviting us to go where we liked and assuring us that he would give us whatever help lay within his

110 Jackson was a Scottish columnist who wrote freelance advertising copies and travel articles for two Indian weeklies, and a popular climber widely known in mountaineering circles as one of the most enterprising and engaging woman climbers in the UK. Her party included Sidney Nowill, who was born in Turkey, lived there until he was 72, worked at his family’s firm, and then for Shell, and helped run the English High School for Girls in Istanbul. He wrote two autobiographies: *Constantinople and Istanbul: 72 years of Life in Turkey*, Matador, London 2011, and *From the Bosphorus to Bradnich*, Bradnich, Exeter 2013. The team also included Henry Robin Fedden, (1908–1977), an English writer, diplomat and mountaineer.

111 Monica Jackson, *The Turkish Time Machine*, Hodder & Stoughton, London 1966, pp. 13, 16.

112 Jackson, *Ibid.*, p. 13.

113 Jackson, *Ibid.*, p. 21.

114 Jackson, *Ibid.*, p. 16.

115 Jackson, *Ibid.*, p. 25.

116 Jackson, *Ibid.*, p. 26.

117 Jackson, *Ibid.*, p. 17.

118 Jackson, *Ibid.*, p. 36.

119 Jackson, *Ibid.*, p. 26.

120 Jackson, *Ibid.*, p. 26.

power'.¹²¹ Jackson suggests that they 'were treated throughout with the greatest politeness, hospitality and tolerance',¹²² and concludes that 'we began to feel very well-disposed indeed towards the Turkish nation as a whole and the province of Hakkari in particular'.¹²³ Throughout her account, Jackson describes a new Turkey unlike the Oriental image stereotyped in former portrayals of many British travellers. Representing politeness, hospitality, modernity, prosperity and tolerance, she also demonstrates the shift in the perceptions of British travellers on Turkey in the second half of the twentieth century.

Daniel Farson (1927-1997),¹²⁴ a writer and television broadcaster, may also be counted among British travellers who represented the changes that were transforming modern Turkey. Farson's journeys, which took place between 1982 and 1985, included many different parts of Turkey, such as Istanbul, Trabzon, Diyarbakir, Urfa, and Van. During these journeys, Farson watched the sacrificial slaughter of a sheep, danced with the groom on his wedding night in a mountain village, and attended a circumcision party. He recounts his impressions on these cultural elements and many other Turkish customs and manners in *A Traveller in Turkey* (1985). Throughout, Farson finds Turkey to be 'marvellous' in contrast to his neighbour's assumption that it was a primitive and dangerous country. He defines the Turks as 'the nicest people in the world,' even arguing that 'most of the British assumptions about Turkey are the opposite of the truth'. According to him, 'the Turks are the most generous and trustworthy of people'. Therefore, he mostly discloses his satisfaction that Atatürk has replaced an ancient oppression with a modern state.¹²⁵

Throughout Farson's travelogue, there are many occasions in which he reports either a favourable characteristic of the Turks or a beautiful feature of a place in Turkey. In Istanbul, Farson is amazed at the splendours of St Sophia, the Topkapi, and the Blue Mosque.¹²⁶ He describes 'Trebizond' (Trabzon) to be a 'romance'. After wandering through the old city, he falls in love with it and names it 'the most sympathetic of all the Black Sea towns' he has been to.¹²⁷ Farson finds Diyarbakir 'immediately sympathetic' and reports the atmosphere there to be 'vigorous'.¹²⁸ He also gains much satisfaction from Biblical names in Mesopotamia – Urfa in particular.¹²⁹ He regularly celebrates the Turkish honesty both in Diyarbakir and Urfa. Moreover, for Farson, the Lycian coast from Antalya to Marmaris is 'the most rewarding in the world'. Unlike Stark and Kinross, he portrays the coast to be 'friendly, uncorrupted and

121 Jackson, *Ibid*, p. 37.

122 Jackson, *Ibid*, p. 28.

123 Jackson, *Ibid*, p. 37.

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

125 Daniel Farson, *A Traveller in Turkey*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1985, pp. 1, 3, 43.

126 Farson, *Ibid*, p. 18.

127 Farson, *Ibid*, pp. 43, 44.

128 Farson, *Ibid*, p. 83.

129 Farson, *Ibid*, p. 88.

inexpensive'. Farson claims that 'these are the places which thrill me most in Turkey, with visual echoes from the past'.¹³⁰ Therefore, he concludes that they are ideal for a traveller with a sense of history. Such accounts illustrate Farson celebrating the changes in Turkey that stem from westernization and modernization efforts. His portrayals of the Turks are mostly in contrast to the hostile representations of former centuries. *A Traveller in Turkey* clearly demonstrates the change in British assumptions about Turkey.

Another traveller that visited Turkey in the late 1980s was Anne Vardy, who recalled her favourable impressions in her enjoyable travel book *Twelve Wheels from Turkey* (1988). On 21st March 1987, Vardy, along with her husband and five children, flew out of Heathrow and headed for Turkey.¹³¹ As seen in the map accompanying the book, Vardy travelled through Istanbul, İznik, Bergama, İzmir, Ephesus, and Bodrum as part of a 3,000-mile bike journey from Istanbul to Canterbury in England. In recording these travels, Vardy represents her impressions of Turkey and the Turks. Vardy argues that, despite the predictions of disaster such as child-eating dogs and some other terrible things that could happen to her as a woman, their initial reception in Turkey is 'so friendly'.¹³² Particularly, regarding Istanbul, which she calls as one of the three great cities of Christianity,¹³³ Vardy reports many favourable incidents. She describes Istanbul to be 'true romance' – a city that she and her family will recall for many months to come.¹³⁴ She describes it as 'the most exciting' city that they have ever visited.¹³⁵ Unlike earlier representations by Spender, Armstrong and Goldman, in Vardy's portrayals, Istanbul is 'clean', and she is overawed by the splendour of historical sites such as the Blue Mosque and Hagia Sophia.¹³⁶

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

On the streets, modern Mercedes-Benz jostle with donkey carts, while scooters and bicycles zig-zag in and out of the traffic. Black-clad Muslim women talk and walk side by side with young women wearing tight jeans and short skirts. Video shops advertising Western soft porn films attract customers who will be equally interested in the exquisite hand-made Turkish carpets next door.¹³⁷

130 Farson, *Ibid*, pp. 128, 130.

131 Anne Vardy, *Twelve Wheels from Turkey*, Marshall Pickering, Basingstoke 1988, p. 4.

132 Vardy, *Ibid*, p. 11.

133 Vardy, *Ibid*, p. 3.

134 Vardy, *Ibid*, p. 13.

135 Vardy, *Ibid*, p. 17.

136 Vardy, *Ibid*, p. 18.

137 Vardy, *Ibid*, p. 17.

Turkish women were often represented as isolated figures ‘shut up in a harem all day without any access to the outer world in the 18th and 19th centuries’.¹³⁸ Especially in Victorian England, there was a fascination in travel narratives for descriptions of the harem since it was mostly regarded as something exotic and authentic by the West.¹³⁹ As a result, in these earlier travel accounts, Turkish women were portrayed as long-dead beauties whose sighs of boredom, frustration and despair are all stored-up in the walls of harem, and many of whom never reach the Sultan’s bed at all, but could neither escape, except in death in the Ottoman era. However, rather than this exotic and lascivious stereotype that allures the Orientalist traveller’s colonial desire to penetrate into the veiled harem life, Vardy represents modern Turkish women to be emancipated, unveiled and walking side by side with men. Her recollections of modern Turkish women explicitly register the shift in the image of Turkish women in western texts.

There is more British – and Australian – travel writing that provides a clear observation of modern Turkey and sets out to overcome prior prejudices formed from earlier representations which were based upon a hostile discourse.¹⁴⁰ Some travel writers such as Nancy Phelan (1913-2008), Richard Percival Lister (1914-2014), Craig Mair (b.1948), and Brian Sewell (1931-2015)¹⁴¹ set about correcting the portrayals of former travellers about Turkey often by suggesting the opposite of previous representations. In their works, contrary to the canonized orientalist discourse of former British travellers, Turkey acquires many favourable attributes as they explicitly demonstrate the *changes* in the Turkish character and landscape by disaffirming earlier reports. Phelan, Lister and Mair appreciate the Turks’ efforts to become a modern and European country. Rather than producing orientalist replicas of squalor and poverty, fraudulence, immorality, violence and vandalism, corrupt police and illegal weapons, they highlight a comforting silence, accompanied by kindness, brotherhood and hospitality which establish a ‘noble savage’ image in their portrayals. This noble savageness is combined with picturesque and sublime in these travelogues, too. They are also impressed by the charming nature of the countryside in Turkey. In their portrayals, this sense of sublimity is described in a romanticised way and an array of bright colours adds vivacity into

138 Reina Lewis and Nancy Micklewright, ‘Writing Change: Middle Eastern and Western Women in Dialogue,’ in *Writing Turkey: Explorations in Turkish History, Politics, and Cultural Identity*, ed. Gerald MacLean, Middlesex University Press, London 2006, 25-39, p. 33.

139 Lewis and Micklewright, *Ibid*, p. 35.

140 For some recent works, see, for example: Tim Kelsey, *Dervish: Travels in Modern Turkey*, Penguin, London 1996; David Burton, *Savouring the East: Feasts and Stories from Istanbul to Bali*, Faber & Faber, London 1997; Tony Wright, *Turn Right at Istanbul: A Walk on the Gallipoli Peninsula*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney 2003; Bruce Scates, *Return to Gallipoli: Walking the Battlefields of the Great War*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006; Christopher De Bellaigue, *Rebel Land: Among Turkey’s Forgotten Peoples*, Bloomsbury, London 2009.

141 See Nancy Phelan, *Welcome the Wayfarer: A Traveller in Modern Turkey*, Macmillan, London 1965; Richard Lister, *Turkey Observed*, Eyre & Spottswode, London 1967; Craig Mair, *A Time in Turkey*, Murray, London 1973; Brian Sewell, *South from Ephesus: An Escape from the Tyranny of Western Art*, Gibson, London 2002.

this strangely appealing geography. On the other hand, Sewell reflects the change in British perceptions of the Turks and Turkey in a different manner. Unlike Phelan, Lister and Mair, he focuses more on antiquity and classical ruins, but he represents these places differently from the long-standing imperial canon that represented the Turks and Turkey to be the Oriental ‘other’ of the West.

Conclusion

In the light of travel writing on Turkey between the eighteenth century and twentieth century, it can be argued that the Turks were mostly portrayed to be inferior, in contrast to the Western nations. Earlier representations of the Turks often abound in unfavourable and sometimes derogatory accounts that highlight backwardness, primitivism, ignorance and poverty. In these accounts, the image of the Turk became a stereotype identified by many to be a signifier of oriental *Other* in comparison to Western self. Many British travel books published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries engaged an orientalist discourse in which the Turks appear through negative qualities such as shabby, primitive, dirty, dully, unlearned, and extremely poor. For many British travellers, Turkey served a familiar repository of values including backwardness, inferiority and primitivism throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. British pride, which fed on ideas of hegemony and its own supremacy, can easily be recognized in the narratives of various travel books. However, it is the Turks’ ignorance of and indifference to ancient remains that were most often emphasized by the travellers in these centuries. Particularly, those British travellers who visit southwest Turkey to discover ancient sites, then unknown to many people in the West, sought to underline the Turks’ insensibility to ancient arts and relics. A main aim of these travellers is to accuse the Turks of the damages done to these remains, foregrounding unfavourable characteristics of the Turks to justify their excursions aimed at finding forgotten ancient relics and carrying them off to their home countries. In these travelogues, a common imperialist discourse that includes national pride, hegemony and supremacy is adopted to establish a ground for the cases of archaeological malpractice.

During the first half of the twentieth century, this imperialist tradition survived as the first British travellers to the modern Republic of Turkey still felt dominant following their victory over the Ottoman Empire at the end of the Great War of 1914-18. They often depict derelict and desolation in ancient sites, and stress their longings for ancient glory and grandeur, which, according to them, has faded away in these remains. However, contrary to earlier travellers, they do not undertake any imperial duties regarding moving these relics to the British Museum or some other archaeological institutions. Rather, they adopt an orientalist discourse that contains deterritorialization and ahistoricism which deviate Anatolia from their heroic past.

On the other hand, during the second half of the twentieth century, perceptions of British travellers regarding the Turks and Turkey change. Following Turkey's shifting political position from enemy to ally, and the increasing evidence of modernization efforts during the 1930s, portrayals of the Turks and Turkey start to change. In these travel accounts, hospitality, decency and honesty start to replace inferiority, backwardness or primitivism. In contrast to former portrayals that reveal the desolate and ruinous conditions in ancient sites, significant archaeological works that include restorations and refurbishments are represented. Similarly, the Turks' arduous works that aim at restoring ancient remains are mostly celebrated in these travel accounts.

British travel narratives published in the twentieth century present us with two different stereotypes of modern Turkey. In the first half of the century, the country continues to be portrayed as a primitive, rustic place especially in rural areas, making it continue to seem inferior and culturally other. In this period, many British travellers still often represent the Turks as inhuman, barbarous, masochistic, brutal, anti-democratic and primitive. Indolence, idleness, corrupt absolutism, ahistoricity, the absence of people and culture, primitiveness and ignorance remain key elements of ethnographic generalizations throughout these travel narratives. Regarding antiquity and ancient history in southwest Turkey, many travellers take up a figurative discourse that introduce and denominate the Turkish image in an obviously inferior manner. Rather than representations of the modern image of Turkey, they often portray a re-enactment of qualities of ancient history. Therefore, in many travel books, knowledge regarding the ancient past constitutes ideological superiority that serves to justify older arguments that ancient ruins needed to be protected from vandalism and removed for protection to museums in the traveller's home.

During the second half of the century, once Marshall Plan and similar projects brought Turkey financial aid, the country started to be represented as a modern, European nation-state. Regarded as an ally of the West because of its membership of NATO and the process of full membership in EU, Turkey's cultural image changed to reflect modernity and urbanization. Western representations of the Turks, which featured fear and curiosity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, admiration and emulation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Orientalist aspects of backwardness, primitivism, and insensibility in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were reformed in the portrayals of many travellers in the second half of the twentieth century. Consequently, these portrayals result in re-discovering the Turkish image and stereotype by employing a more favourable discourse and positivist language.

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