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WESTERN IMAGES OF TURKEY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Western Images of Turkey in the Twentieth Century

by

Kamil AYDIN M.A.

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ABSTRACT

While the general idea is to demonstrate how non-Western culture has been represented by a Western one, the particular aim of the thesis is to offer an analysis of twentieth century images of Turkey in the West mainly through the texts of thrillers and travel accounts. Since Turkey has generally been treated as a Middle Eastern country in terms of geography, culture and religion in those texts I have randomly selected, the negative images of Turkey and the Turks have been examined from a non-European point of view taking into account Michel Foucault's analysis interpreted by Edward Said. In order to provide a better understanding of the texts studied in the thesis, there is a brief presentation of the history and development of travel writing and popular fiction as distinct literary genres in the Introduction. Moreover, as the thesis demonstrates that there are a great number of direct or indirect references to historical representations of the Turks identified with the Ottomans, a chronological account of early images is made in the first chapter. These images can be summed up under such general headings as 'Lustful' and 'Terrible' Turks or a combination of both. The analysis of contemporary images of Turkey has been undertaken separately in ensuing chapters. While the images of violence are discussed in the second chapter, the images of the exotic which appear in the third, and the fourth chapter deals with first impressions of Turkey and the Turks. The thesis, which concludes with a discussion of the evolving process of Turkish stereotypes from verbal to visual towards the end of the twentieth century, suggesting that there are also other discourses in the media, particularly in the cinema worth examining as they also construct and perpetuate the negative image discerned in the selection of the texts.

INTRODUCTION

A great deal of research aimed at examining textual representations of Turks and Turkey has concentrated upon the image of the Turk in centuries prior to the present one¹. In the Renaissance, for example, the Turkish lands became a focus of curiosity for Europeans with respect to the inhabitants' exotic costumes, beliefs and manners, and accounts stressed the Turks' wickedness, malice and violence which impressed and appealed to the western public. Playwrights such as Marlowe, Kyd and Shakespeare introduced Turkish figures in their works, using Turkish history as a source of material².

As far as the twentieth century is concerned, a century which may be perceived as a new era in Turkish history and politics following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire (1918) and the emergence of modern Turkey as a republic (1923), there is a lack of any critical comment stressing the possible revision of perceptions of the country in the light of such changes. Having looked at a series of texts that appear to represent Turkey in a negative light, from a non-European perspective, and which span several centuries, I have focused in this thesis on twentieth century images of Turkey in the West in popular fiction and travel writing, seeking to explore the continuity of earlier patterns of imagery.

With the emergence of a non-European perception expressed by non-European readers, the canon of great European literary masters and discourses has been called into

question, just as feminist criticism challenges a male orientation of cultural history, and post-modernist theorists such as Jacques Derrida³ dispute the role of the reader. This thesis seeks to explore from a non-European perspective how a Western culture represents a non-Western culture in its own writings, since there seems to be a correlation between discourse and politics, more broadly between discourse and culture, which is manifest in any attempt by one culture to talk about another.

In discussing the representation of a particular geography, culture or people various discourses appear in association with more familiar concepts such as power and knowledge. In several disciplines, ranging from sociology and anthropology to comparative literature, cultural and translation studies, these concepts have been disputed in various ways. Andre Lefevere and Susan Bassnett in *Translation, Culture and History* (1990) consider translation as the rewriting⁴ of an original text. They also point out that rewriting has to do with power and manipulation as it reflects a given ideology and a poetics undergoing a process of transfer. While emphasising practical dimensions of cultural transference such as the introduction of new concepts, genres and devices in the evolution of a literature they also see rewriting as the shaping power of one culture upon another⁵.

Bassnett takes a similar stance in her argument about translation, power and manipulation within the context of comparative literature, identity, gender and thematics in her *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction* (1993)⁶. In reference to a recent map of Europe⁷ which appears to contradict previous ones by including Turkik or ex-Soviet republics within Europe, she criticises the changes of image-making and of geographies:

The map-maker, the translator and the travel writer are not innocent producers of text. The works they create are part of a process of

manipulation that shapes and conditions our attitudes to other cultures while purporting to be something else (*Comparative Literature*, 99).

Mahasweta Sengupta treats translation as mimicry of the dominant discourse (or the discourse of the coloniser) in reference to the translations of Rabindranath Tagore whose fame in Europe was limited by the way he could be made to function within the structure of imperial power during the colonial period of India. When Sengupta demonstrates that Tagore, translating his poetry from Bengali into English, made some deliberate changes mainly by altering tone, imagery and diction in order to suit the poetics of the target system without carrying the lyrical qualities of the originals into the English translation, she also emphasises that 'his understanding of English language and literature was largely influenced by the aesthetic ideology of the Romantic and Victorian periods, the time when imperialism reached its high-water mark in the expansion of the British Empire'⁸. In other words, while he seems to be independent and free of the trappings of an alien culture and vocabulary by writing in the colloquial diction of the actual spoken word of his source language, he enters another context in his translation, a context in which his colonial self finds expression as 'he fits perfectly into the stereotypical role that was familiar to the coloniser, a voice that not only spoke of the peace and tranquillity of a distant world, but also offered an escape from the materialism of the contemporary western world' (*Translation, Colonialism and Poetics*, 58). As a result, he was praised and awarded the Nobel Prize (1913) and hailed as a great poet until the time when he began to lecture against nationalism during World War I, and his star began to wane in England and its dominions (*Translation, History and Culture*, 7). Translation Studies offers a useful way of considering the construction of cultures across geographical, historical, linguistic and cultural boundaries.

Throughout Western versions of the history of the Turks within the Oriental context, Turks have never been detached from other Islamic nations of the Middle East,

although they have completely different origins geographically, with a different cultural, traditional, and above all, linguistic identity. They came to Anatolia from Central Asia nine hundred years ago with their Ural-Altai language as distinct from the Indo-European or Semitic language groups. In her study of the Turks in the twentieth century, Eleanor Bisbee stresses their uniqueness:

The Turks'eye view of the world at any time is unique. They are an ancient people outside of the familiar Occidental classifications of Anglo-Saxons, Slavs, Goths or Latins; they came from the east but are not in the familiar Oriental classifications of Chinese or Mongols. They claim origin in an Asiatic region, between the Caspian Sea and the Mongolian desert, which is called 'Turan', and where evidences of civilisations, believed by some historians to be older than those of the Mesopotamian Valley, have been discovered. Turks are well seasoned in the ways of both the Orient and the Occident, because they formerly governed and partly inhabited all of eastern Europe south of Poland, the whole of Asia Minor and the Arab Middle East, and about half of North Africa. The most accessible stretch of boundary between Europe and Asia still runs through the land of the Turks, namely the famous Dardanelles-Bosphorus Straits. Turkey is a natural proving ground for a livable merger of Oriental and Occidental cultures⁹.

A great many Western historical descriptions of the Turks have referred to the Ottoman Empire, though it has often been assumed that within such an empire there was a single national identity. As Andrina Stiles suggests:

In most western historical writings "Turkish" and "Ottoman" are used increasingly, as if they had the same meaning. But there is an important difference, since most Turks were not Ottomans (and most Ottomans were not Turks)¹⁰.

A similar attitude can clearly be perceived in the texts I have selected, where Turkey has largely been depicted, particularly with regard to the Ottoman Empire, as an Oriental or Middle Eastern country in cultural, religious and geographical terms although its European quarter, Thrace, is much larger than some EC countries such as Luxembourg, Belgium and Holland.

The notion of 'representations' of the East applies to the ideas developed within contemporary literary and sociological theory. Its theoretical base stems essentially from the work of Michel Foucault, who has taken discourse analysis as a starting point for understanding the mechanism of the transfer of ideas and the relationship between ideology and other forms of power. When Foucault questions the growth of bureaucratic control over populations after the eighteenth century as something that requires more systematic forms of knowledge, he concludes that power and knowledge directly imply one another - that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge: 'What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourses'¹¹.

Foucault's discourse-analysis provides the basis for Said's study of Orientalism as a discourse of difference in which the neutral Occident/Orient dichotomy finds an expression in power relationships. With the increased involvement with Eastern countries the term "Orient" has acquired an ambiguous status. Not only did it take on a mystic dimension as the East became the object of literary fantasy, but also it appeared to be a concrete reality through which the West accumulated knowledge about the region. It is the problematic nature of that knowledge and its relation to western cultural and political ideology that have led to the current debate about Orientalism. Said examines Orientalism as a discourse which represents the exotic, erotic, strange Orient as a comprehensible, intelligible phenomenon within a network of categories, tables and concepts by which the Orient is simultaneously defined and controlled. He also argues that the Orientalist discourse is a persistent framework of analysis, expressed through theology, literature, philosophy and sociology, and that it not only expressed an imperial relationship but actually constituted a field of political power. It also creates a typology of characters, organised around the contrast between the West (Self) and the East

(Other) in which the exotic Orient is represented in a systematic table of accessible information, and is thus, a typical cultural product of Western dominance.

When Said expresses the opinion that there can be neither canonical and scientific nor unchangeable validity in the terms referring to geographical entities in the world, he goes back to the origin of the issue, and discusses the terms 'Orient' and 'Oriental' as the West's fictional construct which evokes negative connotations and mysteries with exotic fantasies, and above all, the Other¹². As opposed to the idealisation of Orientalism as a scholarly or scientific form of thinking about the Orient in the nineteenth century, he criticises Orientalism as a western phenomenon which can function in western literature as a mode of thought for defining, classifying, and expressing the presumed cultural inferiority of the Islamic Orient. In other words, it is a part of the vast control mechanism of colonialism, designed to justify and perpetuate European dominance.

Although writing about the East has focused on self-investigation or the search for knowledge, discovering new truths about human nature, formulating a new humanism, or a new religious faith embracing all religions and all peoples, there is a way in which it can be read as a socio-economic process of geographical expansion. The nineteenth century aesthetic, philosophical and religious objectives were diverted by social (colonialist) ideology which could only be fulfilled by the political subjugation of the East. When Richard Burton examines the socio-economic and cultural structure of Egypt he cannot disguise his colonialist ideology and aspiration:

Hating and despising Europeans, they still long for European rule. This people admire an iron-handed despotism; they hate a timid and a grinding tyranny. Of all foreigners, they would prefer the French yoke- a circumstance which I attribute to the diplomatic skill and national dignity of our neighbours across the Channel¹³.

With the same colonial mentality Eliot Warburton travelled to Turkey in 1843 and recorded his impressions as follows:

Shall we replace the ignorant and fanatical followers of the Crescent in the Province which became a kingdom through their imbecility; and allow them to interrupt our commerce here as they have been permitted to arrest the building of our church at Jerusalem. Heaven forbid! When the old man who has bravely won this fertile province ceases to exist, let his selfish power perish with him. Let England not prostitute her influence to restore emancipated Egypt to the imbecile tyranny of the Porte¹⁴.

Moreover, Alphonse Marie Louise de Lamartine built a different relationship between the East and the West in which the West became the bearer of the light of truth while the East was waiting to be saved from the dark abyss of ignorance and superstitions. His political involvement especially after 1840, led him to formulate a scheme which was presented under the guise of a 'Protectorate System' that justified colonialism¹⁵. By the same token, Warburton defended the righteousness of colonialism in the Middle East from an English perspective:

English capital and industry would make Egypt a garden; English rule would make the fellah a freeman; English principles would teach him honesty and truth; and as to comparative advantages of Turkish or English politics to the people they are to influence, let the world be the judge between Asia minor and North America, between the influences of the Crescent and the Cross (*The Crescent and Cross*, 268).

As far as religion is concerned it seems to be a commonplace of many Orientalists of different occupations to be highly critical of Islam and Muslims in order to substantiate the colonial ideology of the West and its applications in the Orient.
David

Roberts, the painter of idealised landscapes of classical ruins, expresses his frustration as dislike of Arabs:

Splendid cities, one teeming with a busy population and embellished with temples and worlds, now deserted and lonely, or reduced by mismanagement and the barbarism of the Muslim creed to a state as savage as the wild animals by which they are surrounded. Often have I gazed on them till my heart actually sickened within me¹⁶.

When some Orientalists such as Norman Daniel and Charles Doughty seem explicitly to justify the identification of Europe (the Self) with Christianity they also represent Islam as the only religion of Asiatic barbarians (the Other)¹⁷. Furthermore, Islam, associated with some weaknesses such as discouraging freewill and development, is designated as a cultural artefact against western norms and resistance to reform ignoring the fact that Islam, for Muslims, is primarily an ongoing concern to live in submission to the will of God. It is also pointed out that Christianity, being capable of invention and dynamic change, is superior. Besides Doughty's comments on the religious superiority of Christianity¹⁸, Daniel makes a similar comparison with the political justification that 'the conviction of superiority arose from technologies and techniques of government, but it took the form of a belief in Christian superiority'¹⁹. In his analysis of Orientalists such as Muir and Tisdall, whose main concern in their writings has been the comparative evaluation of Islam, Clinton Bennett remarks that they identify themselves with the tradition of complete confidence in Christianity's provable superiority over Islam²⁰.

In some cases such as Duncan Black Macdonald the pejorative depiction of Islam reaches to the extent that its prophet is characterised as a mad poet, the best of his Arabian kind, muddled in his recollections of the Jewish and the Christian faiths²¹. A similar negative attitude concerning the prophet is implicitly reflected in H.A.R. Gibb's version of Islam as he tends to define Islam as Mohammedanism²². Discussing such critical representation of the prophet of Islam, Said states: 'Since Christ is the basis of Christian faith, it was assumed...that Mohammed was to Islam as Christ was to

Christianity. Hence the polemic name 'Mohammedanism' given to Islam, and the automatic epithet 'imposter' applied to Mohammed'²³.

It seems apparent that on the basis of the negative representation of Islam in the works of some Orientalists there is a tangible impact of previous images tracing back to the medieval sense of Islam associated with tyranny:

The Prophet of Islam was regarded in Medieval Europe as the Devil's son, the Devil incarnate, a false prophet and a charlatan. Islam, viewed as a politico-religious unit, which was how Europe, as Christendom, saw itself, was thus identified as the spiritual and political enemy against which Christian should fight (*Victorian Images*, 6-7).

Thomas Moore appears to be a typical example as he reveals a traditional western hostility to Islam in *Lalla Rookh* (1817) through the recreation of medieval motifs of Mohammed as imposter, magician and sensualist²⁴.

The similarities of attitude among early Orientalists were also manifested in paintings, as discussed by D.A. Rosenthal. He suggests that:

The flowering of Orientalist painting, then, was closely associated with the apogee of European colonist expansionism in the nineteenth century. Many of the French Orientalist painters undoubtedly agreed with the ideals of colonial officials, soldiers and adventurers in the Near East²⁵.

The increase of nineteenth century European (and later twentieth century American) interest in the Orient can be linked to the huge expansion of colonialism and other forms of domination over Asia and Africa taking place at that time. Not only was a systematic cataloguing of non-European peoples and their spoken languages needed as a means of control, but some knowledge of their civilisations was also necessary. By seeking to define and categorise other cultures, the colonisers ensured that the natives

themselves would learn about their own civilisations through the centre of European scholarship.

A-The Role of Chivalry and Manliness in the Formulation of Western Perceptions of the Orient

One crucial feature of this negative attitude to the Orient seems to have been the re-invention of cultural incentives such as chivalry and manliness which were effectively employed in the service of imperial expansion during the nineteenth century. When Jeffrey Richards designates imperialism as a 'cluster of ideas which included, in various proportions, patriotism, militarism, racialism, Christianity, hero-worship and manliness'²⁶, he tends to emphasise the conspicuous interrelation between chivalry or manliness and imperialism as the dominant ideology. Moreover, in compliance with John MacKenzie's definition of imperialism as a cluster of synonymous concepts such as empire, crown, race, armed forces, and nation²⁷, Richards also notes that: 'Linked to this was a definition of masculinity, which combined sportsmanship, chivalry and patriotism' (*Juvenile Literature*, 2).

The term, 'chivalry' chronologically goes back to the Middle Ages where it was used as the code of conduct evolved for knights, or for an elite and increasingly hereditary class of warriors. Based on an amalgamation of Christianity²⁸ with the pre-Christian tradition of the warriors of Northern Europe²⁹, it gradually became an element of the accepted code of conduct for gentlemen. Much later, in the early nineteenth century, it was one of the great achievements of writers such as Sir Walter Scott to reconsider chivalry, and popularise a type of character that could reasonably be called the chivalrous gentleman as a model to emulate (*The Return to Camelot*, 34). Fuelling a new romantic explosion in literature through idealising the Middle Ages, Scott contributed to 'the reformulation of the gentleman as an idealised medieval knight, the

embodiment of the virtues of bravery, loyalty, courtesy, generosity, modesty, purity and compassion' (*Juvenile Literature*, 6).

Introducing the 'English gentleman' as the Victorian model of medieval chivalry or knighthood, Jeffrey Richards criticises the phrase for its negative connotations concerning class, race and gender as he argues:

The phrase 'English gentleman' contains three crucial elements - the Englishness, the gentlemanliness and the manliness, focusing attention on class, race and gender...Manliness is equated with gentlemanliness. Gentlemanliness is what distinguishes the Anglo-Saxon race from the other races. But among Anglo-Saxons it is not given to all, only to the elite. Native races can be brave and their bravery acknowledged, but they are not gentlemen (*Juvenile Literature*, 76).

Furthermore, setting out from the conviction that 'Gentlemen were to run the country because they were morally superior' (*The Return to Camelot*, 261), many individuals throughout the nineteenth and even the twentieth centuries were proud to call themselves gentlemen with chivalrous enthusiasm and aspirations³⁰.

Along with the revival of chivalry in the early decades of the nineteenth century various works appeared concerning the history and nature of chivalry such as *The History of the Crusades* (1820) and *The History of Chivalry* (1825) by Charles Mills. Later in the 1850s these images of chivalry were absorbed into the pattern of everyday life, and 'chivalric metaphors came naturally to the lips of any educated man or woman' (*The Return to Camelot*, 146). Eventually the Victorian sense of the term came to represent 'a name for that general spirit or state of mind which disposes men to heroic and generous actions and keeps them conservant with all that is beautiful and sublime in the intellectual and moral world' (*The Return to Camelot*, 62). Throughout the colonial period of the British Empire Victorian ideals of chivalry developed through public school education and an increasing number of juvenile publications.

Students at public schools were trained to respond to the heroic ethos and imperial rhetoric and knightly ideals, for 'the public schools in particular were seen as the schools for producing the new knights' (*Juvenile Literature*, 7). When J.H. Skrine, warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, described public school life he also declared that: 'Yes it is the knightly life once more, with its virtues and its perversions...But with all its glory and its faults, chivalry it is again (*The Return to Camelot*, 170).

In the nineteenth century a new industry emerged with the publication of juvenile literature; individual publishers such as James Nisbet and Thomas Nelson published for children, trying to instil obedience, duty, piety and hard-work. The main objective of these books was both to entertain and to instruct, to inculcate an approved value system, to spread useful knowledge, to provide acceptable role models³¹. For instance, W.H.G. Kingston (1814-80) wrote more than 170 books, and R.M. Ballantyne (1825-94) produced more than 100 so as to channel the energies of boys into approved directions mainly based on Christian teachings and Anglo-saxonism³². In addition, the number of boys' magazines and authors also increased and various writers such as Ballantyne and Kingston started writing regularly for this market.

In *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (1980) Martin Green examines the robust, and masculine literary tradition of adventure. In contrast to F.R. Leavis's great tradition³³, Green chooses Daniel Defoe, Walter Scott, Charles Dickens and Rudyard Kipling and for different reasons Joseph Conrad. Moreover, he remarks that this great tradition is concerned with action which is usually empire-oriented, rather than specifically English-based feelings, because 'it exalts the warrior-explorer-engineer-administrator-imperial paladin, at the expense of the writing provincial spinster' (*Juvenile Literature*, 2).

In order to reflect statistically the popularity of such authors it is useful to refer to survey results in the late nineteenth century; a survey (1888) of 790 boys in different schools indicated their favourite authors as follows; Charles Dickens (228), W.H.G. Kingston (176), Walter Scott (128), Jules Verne (114), Captain Marryat (102), R.M. Ballantyne (67) and Harrison Ainsworth (61), with the favourite individual titles of *Robinson Crusoe* (43), *Swiss Family Robinson* (24), *The Pickwick Papers* (22) and *Ivanhoe* (20)³⁴.

The new interest in chivalry linked to the publication of juvenile literature and public school education in the nineteenth century may have affected domestic and imperial policies and the administration of Great Britain. Richards suggests that 'by the middle of the 19th century chivalry was promoted by key figures of the age in order to produce a ruling elite both for the nation and expanding empire' (*Juvenile Literature*, 6). On the domestic level, the revival of chivalry was enthusiastically embraced by political movements such as 'Christian Socialism' and 'Young England' endorsed by youth organisations, public and private schools (*The Return to Camelot*).

The idea of chivalry or manliness in the colonisation period seems to have also been employed in the shaping and survival of British imperialism in different parts of the world. Setting out from the chivalrous conviction that 'gentlemen dominated diplomacy, the colonial service, the Treasury, the Church of England, the Army and navy, Oxford and Cambridge' (*The Return to Camelot*, 262), Victorian England tended to make use of chivalry in establishing and strengthening its imperial ideology in the colonies. For example, while Ballantyne and his successor in popular affection, G.A. Henty, as Tories, shared a commitment to empire, their heroes are usually chosen from public school boys at a time when the public schools were consciously turning out boys to be officers and administrators of the empire (*The Return to Camelot*, 78). I now

propose to survey the origins of popular fiction and travelogues, both of which have an important bearing upon the development of the twentieth century views on Turkey.

B-The Origins of the Nineteenth Century Popular Fiction Genre

It is clear that in twentieth century relations between East and West the discourse to which Foucault refers remains a function of power with reference to politics and economics, and that continuing myths about the Orient still form an important element in this. In addition we should note that the gradual disappearance of some historical images does not necessarily preclude the emergence of other more recent myths about Eastern societies and their cultures³⁵ Following Foucault as interpreted by Said, this thesis proposes to argue that negative aspects of western views of Turkish culture were in such circulation that by the twentieth century they could be adapted in a different way in mass popular fiction.

When Walter Montagu Gattie carried out a library investigation on reading habits in the 1880s, he noted that 'there is an enormous demand for works of fiction to the comparative neglect of other forms of literature'³⁶, and added that 'there is a decided preference for books of a highly sensational character most of which are altogether destitute of literary merit' ("What English People Read", 320). Basing his investigation on provincial lending libraries, he discusses the fact that fiction seemed to be more popular than non-fiction and divided fictional texts into categories such as the 'light' and 'sensational' ("What English People Read", 307-21), referring to one of the librarians' statements in order to emphasise the popularity of such types of texts: 'The society novel and the sensational novel were much more popular and very much more read than the classical fiction of Dickens, Thackeray, Swift, Sterne, Smollet, and Richardson' ("What English People Read", 318).

Taking a similar approach examining the reasons for the rise and popularity of this particular genre in the twentieth century, W.T. Tyler (1984) argues that popular fiction does not count as serious literary work, and that it can be grossly labelled as 'pulp literature' or 'light literature', and essentially written for entertainment and read as a form of escapism, while more people read such books than ever read any classics by Shakespeare or Flaubert. When Tyler is asked for his opinion of the genre he states in reference to thrillers³⁷ that:

I think of the spy novel as a vehicle for entertainment rather than a forum for public education or getting my own views across (although the one doesn't exclude the other). To the extent that everything is sacrificed to entertainment as in most spy novels on the best seller list, few can be taken seriously³⁸.

As demand for popular writing grew, various types of popular fiction emerged, which can be classified as thrillers, spy, detective, espionage, or crime fiction utilising similar material. Besides entertainment value, Richards argues that 'popular fiction is one of the ways by which society instructs its members in its prevailing ideas and mores, its dominant role models and legitimate aspirations' (*Juvenile Literature, 1*).

An early example of popular fiction which first came out in Beeton's *Christmas Annual* in 1887 is Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories. Following a first appearance in the cinema (1908) Holmes became the super sleuth of the screen and has come to be accepted as the most popular screen detective of all time³⁹. Conan Doyle produced the works in which 'Holmes knows all the possible causes of every single event... Holmes cannot go wrong, because he possesses the stable code at the root of every mysterious message'⁴⁰.

Another example is *Kim*, which appeared in 1901, twelve years after Kipling had left India. Although it tends, in the first place, to be a study of adolescence of the

progress from boyhood to youth, and from youth to manhood, *Kim* is considered by critics such as Edmund Wilson and Edward W. Said as an imperial book with adventurous spy narrative⁴¹.

Kim, the Asian boy with an Irish background, is left an orphan at an early age and brought up in the town of Lahore. After his father's death, he is sent to school by his father's old regiment, under the protection of Colonel Creighton and the chaplains of the regiment. Besides his education at St. Francis Xavier at Lucknow, he also starts to accumulate some useful information, for he is already destined to contribute to the Great Game, the Secret Service of the Government in India⁴², and his mission for the British Secret Service leads him towards Tibet in order to help destroy the Russian menace in Central Asia.

While E. Wilson points out earlier the imperialistic strain in the novel by referring to the ending in which Kim returns to the British Secret Service as, in effect, an enforcement officer for the British against the Indians among whom he has lived and worked⁴³ Said criticises the book later as 'a master work of imperialism'⁴⁴. Emphasising the departure of Kim, who has already been taught some Asian virtues in India such as purity, humility and compassion by the Lama, for England where he will be trained in western intelligence methods needed in the Great Game, Wilson shows how the book establishes:

the contrast between the East, with its mysticism and sensuality, its extremes of saintliness and roguery, and the English, with their superior organisation, their confidence in modern method, their instinct to brush away like cobwebs the native myths and beliefs⁴⁵.

One of the common points between *Kim* and the Sherlock Holmes stories is the chivalrous combination of power and knowledge represented through the key figures - Doctor Watson of *A Study in Scarlet* (1887)⁴⁶ and Colonel Creighton of *Kim*. While

Holmes's faithful scribe, Watson, is a veteran of the North-West frontier, whose approach to life includes a healthy respect for, and protection of, the law, allied with a superior, specialised intellect, Colonel Creighton, an ethnographer-soldier, 'is a point of reference for the action, a discreet director of events, a man whose power is eminently worthy of respect' (*Introduction and Notes*, 32), and he sees the world from a systematic viewpoint embedded in his particular interest in India for the cause of colonial rule. Moreover, the interchange between ethnography and colonial work in Colonel Creighton is successful; he can study the talented boy both as a future spy and as an anthropological curiosity (*Introduction and Notes*, 33).

Another typical representative of the tradition is Erskine Childers's *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903), a tale of a British patriot who uncovers a conspiracy by Germans preparing to invade England by means of troop-carrying barges. Reeva Simon argues that Childers wrote the book as a plea for the establishment of a British North Sea fleet⁴⁷ after the Germans passed a Fleet Law in 1900 supplying money for the construction of a battle fleet (*The Middle East*, 18).

Buchan, who served in different British colonies militarily, notes his chivalrous ideas of the empire which can be interpreted today as racially prejudiced, in such works as *Prester John* (1910):

I knew then the meaning of the white man's duty. He has to take all the risks...That is the difference between white and black, the gift of responsibility, the power of being in a little way a king, and so long as we know and then practise it, we will rule not in Africa alone but wherever there are dark men who live for their bellies⁴⁸.

When he applied to the War Office to join the Army, and was officially recommended to stay in bed due to his deteriorating health, he started to write *The Thirty-Nine Steps* to overcome boredom. Writing the book, the story of Richard Hannay dashing up to

Galloway in search of the Black Stone gang, he made use of his reading experience of thrillers. In the following year, he wrote *Greenmantle* based on the Russian capture of Erzurum from the Turks early in 1916 while he was working as an Intelligence officer.

It should also be noted that in the early examples of thrillers, the villains are usually chosen from either French and Germans or Russians while the protagonists are generally British, and settings vary in accordance with colonial competition and diplomatic manoeuvring. Since the literature of exotic lands satirises a wide range of such people in order to present its own heroes in a stronger light⁴⁹, Kim is represented as a hero of the British Secret Service in India, while his main opponents, or villains in the adventurous Great Game, are Russian and French spies, and 'they are pictured as bad men for they offer violence to a very good man, the Lama'⁵⁰.

As a consequence of the general idea that 'the heroes of popular fiction, like Quatermain, are gentlemen; the highest rank that a man can reach on this earth' (*The Savage*, 19), 'Buchan's hero in South Africa places himself specifically in the role of a knight when he meets Laputa, the powerful inciter of Savage hordes, and Henrique, the seedy trickster, in combat' (*The Savage*, 22).

The 1920s and 1930s reflect the significant influence of the classic detective story, developed in the course of the previous century by Edgar Allen Poe (1809-49) in America and by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1854-1930) in England; and extended later by writers such as Agatha Christie (1891-1976), Dorothy L. Sayers (1843-1957) or H.C. McNeil (1888-1937), the creator of 'Bulldog Drummond', who was widely read, and was also considered by critics such as Noel Behn as the grandfather of James Bond as the heroic type⁵¹. The interrelation between Bulldog Drummond and James Bond has also been emphasised by Andy East: 'Most surprisingly, Bond's principal predecessor has been universally accepted as "Sapper's" Bulldog Drummond'⁵². Subsequent to the

first appearance of Bulldog Drummond (under McNeil's pseudonym "Sapper"), the Drummond saga included sixteen sequels the last of which was written in 1954 by McNeil's friend and biographer Gerard Fairlie. While radio and television in both England and America presented weekly serialisations, film producers made approximately twenty movies between 1922 and 1971 in which Bulldog was played by different actors such as Ronald Coleman, Ralph Richardson and Jack Buchanan ("Britannia's Bull Dog", 363).

Thrillers also began to appear in popular American magazines like *The Black Mask* and *Dime Detective* during World War I, and became popular in the following decade (*The Middle East*, 25). The stories usually focus on corruption, and the hero/detective became a hardened professional, a cynic, and a loner operating against foreigners and the dregs of society, avenging wrong done against the average person (*The Middle East*, 25). These early magazine tales were simple ones of good against evil, cowboys against Indians in the American tradition (*The Middle East*, 25).

In the second half of the twentieth century, crime fiction still appeared to dominate the market as demonstrated by Lars Ole Sauerberg in his statistical investigation, *Literature in Figures: An Essay on the Popularity of Thrillers* (1983): The thriller in general, both in Britain and in the USA, came to enjoy a popularity distinct from any other kind of fiction⁵³

As espionage became the most popular theme in the suspense field during the 1950s and 1960s, there was a paperback publishing explosion, so that by 1977 'spy stories and thrillers were widely read one in four of all new books published in the USA at the moment is a thriller of some sort'⁵⁴. Novelists such as Ian Fleming or Robert Ludlum became best sellers as soon as their books were introduced; while paperback

editions and movies made from James Bond stories made 007 the most highly publicised spy-detective ever:

The paperback proliferation and the introduction to America of Ian Fleming's superspy James Bond via film in the 1960s shot spy novels and thrillers to hitherto unforeseen commercial heights and has accounted for the resurgence in popularity of the genre in America not only with the 'lower' classes but the middle class and college educated as well (*The Middle East*, p.v).

In her survey of the last eighty years of best-sellers covering the period between 1895 and 1975, Alice Payne Hackett remarks that:

Crime suspense, detection, mystery, espionage compose by far the largest special subject group among best sellers. Many of these multiple million sellers are close to the tops of both the paperback and overall combined lists⁵⁵.

In her long list of this special subject group among best sellers of the previous 80 years, and their sales figures, mostly in paperback, some names appear chronologically such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Mary Roberts Rinehart, Agatha Christie, Dashiell Hammet, Raymond Chandler, Eric Ambler, Graham Greene, Mickey Spillane, Ian Fleming and John Le Carré (*80 Years of Best Sellers*, 49). In order to show the overall popularity of thrillers, she also gives an example with some figures:

In 1965 *The Spy [Who Came In From The Cold]* sold more than two million in paperback. Not only the leader, but two other suspense stories were best sellers, illustrating the great appeal of espionage and romantic mystery in the 1960's (*70 Years of Best Sellers*, 225).

While Tony Bennett discusses this popular genre in relation to technology, ideology, production and reading in his *Popular Fiction (1990)*, he points out that 'The study of popular fiction has expanded remarkably over the past twenty to thirty years' (*Popular Fiction*, LX), as he believes; 'In the many and varied forms in which they are

produced and circulated - by the cinema, broadcasting institutions and publishing industry - popular fictions saturate the rhythms of everyday life' (*Popular Fiction, IX*).

As the cold war has appeared as a theme in thrillers, more recently the post-war context shifted the fictional hero in moral terms which could be explained by Andy East's 'ranging from the hedonistic (Bond) to the cynical (Len Deighton's shadowy anti-hero) to the irrevocably weary (Le Carre's George Smiley and Alex Leamas)' ("The Spy in the Dark", 24).

Thrillers after World War II frequently have Cold War settings, reflecting post war realities such as the suspect power triangle of the USA, USSR, and Red China, particularly during the period from the end of the Korean war (1950-1953) to the intensification of the Vietnam conflict (1961-1970). Also significant is the potential atomic threat stemming from Hiroshima as well as the first atomic test near Alamogordo, New Mexico in July 1945 ("Literature in Figures", 24).

Many thrillers are based on the personal experiences and diaries of people who happened to stay in the area on different occasions; often written by veteran agents, journalists, military or official personnel⁵⁶. Reeve Simon discusses this issue and remarks:

By and large the most prolific non-professional spy novelists, some of whom have turned to writing full time, come from the ranks of the foreign service and journalism. Hands-on political experience and intensive coverage of many areas of the world provide ready-made plot material (*The Middle East, 32*).

Among the names of western thriller writers of this tradition from different countries are Efrem Sigel, Richard Rohmer, E.Howard Hunt, F. van Wyck Mason, Geoffrey Household, Stewart Jackman, William Haggard, Clive Egleton, Simon Harvester and Alec Waugh; for example, Alec Waugh wrote his thriller *The Mule on the Minaret*

(1966) basing the story on his personal experiences when he worked in counter espionage during World War II in Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq (*The Middle East*, 32). Eric Pace of *The New York Times* wrote, *Nightingale* (1979), which is about the theft of the Iranian crown jewels and a chase through the ruins of Persepolis, and *Any War Will Do* (1973), on international gun-running, beginning with a scene in Baghdad and using his own experiences of these places (*The Middle East*, 32).

Reeva Simon examines the function of the Middle East in thrillers and points out the rising popularity of the region in this genre in the post war period:

By 1985 more than six hundred thrillers and spy novels using the Middle East as a backdrop for action or for characterisation or plot material had appeared in the United States as British imports or as American originals (*The Middle East*, VII).

One of the well-known spy novelists, Eric Ambler explains in an interview the reason why he frequently chooses the Middle East as his favourite setting, confessing that 'I've always liked the baroque. I've a taste for it. It is like a Turkish delight-stickily sweet and jelly-like and you can't stop eating it'⁵⁷. He tends to emphasise the eccentric combination of shoddiness and beauty of the region that he claims provides a suitable atmosphere for the exotic and dubious stories of his thrillers (*The Middle East*, 6).

Most twentieth century thrillers, set in the Middle East seem to have stereotypical characters and plots. Tyler suggests that 'the characters are generally stereotypes, the action absurdly melodramatic, and the writing usually bad' ("Letter"). The previous image of the Arabs which, in the hands of nineteenth century travel writers, characterised them as camel-riding tribesmen and savages, transforms then in the works of thriller writers of the 1960s and 1970s, into oilmen and entrepreneurial owners of disposable cadillacs.

Pre-1960s villains of this genre are mainly straightforward military men, interchangeable with Eastern Europeans or Banana Republicans, or Communist agents trying to subvert the area and wrest it from British control. But in the wake of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, sensational hijacking plots, assassinations, bombings, kidnappings have provided scenarios for thrillers, so that terrorism, which can be defined as political exposition through violence, has become increasingly common subject matter.

Another popular related theme is the Islamic threat, which has been a motif since John Buchan's *Greenmantle* (1916). This theme is employed in Simon Harvester's *Assassins' Road* (1965) which concerns the pursuit of an elusive master terrorist, 'the Prophet', whose activities in the Middle East threaten to trigger Jihad or Holy war. Furthermore, as 'the spy novel is very much a recitative of popular cliché' ("Letter"), the truly outrageous villains, caricaturised as ugly, oily, deformed, sweaty, sadistic, etc. still appear. These are modern stereotypes that mirror early characterisations of Islam and the Prophet as the western conception of Middle Easterners and Muslims.

I have chosen a selection of texts taken fairly randomly, in some cases best sellers, but in other cases texts that are in my view typical of the genre, and the ways in which those writers seek to depict Turkey and the Turks will also be investigated. Having begun with the random selection of the texts, what emerges is consensus in terms of representation of Turkey and its people. While some usually choose intriguing stories of murder embellished with historical peculiarities, exotic locales such as the historic sites of Istanbul, and the eccentric figures with bizarre reputations such as the eunuch of the harem, others prefer some cold war trappings such as espionage, counter espionage and uncovering of political assassinations.

In the course of this investigation I will also argue that there appear certain patterns and consistencies which can be traced in the 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. They reveal similar historical, cultural and religious misconceptions and stereotypes attributed to the Turks. While the people are generally represented with negative characteristics with particular emphasis on their physical distortions and cultural peculiarities, some texts tend to present religious and historical motifs as the main excuses in their negative depiction of the country.

In some cases, a negative attitude is implicitly or explicitly conveyed through the personal interpretation of the narrator (hero) by referring to western sources about the region, whereas it is introduced in some others through imaginary characters of unusual traits who are usually described as villains. In addition, these patterns and consistencies are going to be discussed in detail with reference to some particular texts such as *The Eunuch of Stamboul* (1935), *Diamonds Bid* (1967) and *Trip Trap* (1972), chosen as typical examples of the genre.

C-The Origins of the Travelogue and its Role in Establishing the Twentieth Century Picture of Turkey

As far as the representation of Turkey, its people and culture is concerned, another literary genre to be dealt with in this investigation is travel-writing since 'an examination of the varied texts produced by travellers shows how prejudices, stereotypes and negative perceptions of other cultures can be handed down through generations' (*Comparative Literature*, 99). In association with the idea of representing one particular culture, travel writing is considered by various scholars such as Sara Mills, Mary Louise Pratt and Susan Bassnett, to be a part of the process of manipulation which affects and conditions people's attitudes to other cultures in which 'travel writers constantly position themselves in relation to their point of origin in a culture and the

context they are describing⁵⁸. Discussing the significance of travel accounts Bernard Lewis has made a similar conclusion in his "Some English Travellers in the East" where he states, despite some exceptions, that 'all travellers' tales have a not unimportant place in history, at least in that part of it which is concerned with the formation and projection of images⁵⁹.

The literature of travel has evolved through the centuries. Early examples of travel writing usually appeared in the form of guidebooks and itineraries such as that of Pausanias, who travelled the Mediterranean countries as well as the Nile and the Dead Sea, as far back as the second century AD⁶⁰. In the course of the popular rise of Christianity, demand for guidebooks and itineraries about the holy places arose, particularly about Jerusalem and its environs since it attracted many Christians as the place of pilgrimage in the wake of its legalisation by Constantine in AD 326.

The religious tradition in travel writing continued through the Middle Ages and early Renaissance. The Abbot of Iona prepared a textbook out of the personal accounts of the French bishop, Adaman, who travelled the Holy land in the time of the Venerable Bede⁶¹, Sir John Mandeville set out four routes to Jerusalem, and Petrarch produced an itinerary for people visiting the Holy Land. With the publication of Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1577), *The Traveiler of Jerome Turler* (1575) translated from Hieronymus Turlerus (1574) and the Jesuit de Varanne's *Le Voyage de France* (1639), the long tradition of guidebooks and itineraries brought about the popularity of travel accounts. But it was not until the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that a substantial body of travel accounts began to appear as Percy G. Adams remarks: 'The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, are still thought of, and with reason, as the age of the Grand Tour⁶². There was a significant increase in the number of travellers who were looking for adventure in the eighteenth century; hence the title of Age of the Great

Adventurers⁶³ given by such writers as Peter Wilding. Wilding cites John Smith in New England, as one of the early examples of an adventurer-traveller.

Travel may be undertaken for a great variety of reasons ranging from religious to economic, from political to military and from the scientific to the cultural. European travellers in the sixteenth century set out to unknown lands for the purposes of study, trade, diplomatic service as well as to teach Christianity and go on pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Following the discovery of the Americas by Europe, many Europeans sailed to its untouched territories to seek gold, to settle on the land, to preach Christianity to the natives. When Percy Adams discusses the main aims of travellers, with particular reference to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he distinguishes travellers in accordance with their occupations:

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sent out traders, missionaries, explorers, colonisers, and warriors but also an amazing number of ambassadors, not just within Europe but from European countries to Russia, Asia, Asia Minor and Abyssinia....Most of these embassies were of course designed to promote trade or Christianity, perhaps to help one country to compete with another (*Travel Literature*, 62).

A similar view is expressed by Bernard Lewis, referring to those who travelled from Europe to the East:

There has been a long series of travellers from Europe to the East; pilgrims and Crusaders in the Middle Ages, followed, with the growing sophistication of Christendom, by diplomats and spies, tourists and traders, renegades and missionaries, soldiers and politicians, artists, scholars several or even all of these functions ("English Travellers", 296).

From the sixteenth century onwards, European traders such as Anthonie Jenkinson who was the chief representative of the Muscovy Company as well as merchant groups from different parts of Europe travelled to distant lands and wrote their

own accounts about those places they had already visited⁶⁴. Moreover, various religious missions were organised by different churches in order to convert the heathen, and most of the travelling priests such as Alexander Whitaker, John Archdok, George Fox, and John Wesley⁶⁵, wrote of their travels and described the places, peoples and natural history and culture they observed as well as their missionary methods, and the intrigues and obstacles they encountered. With the establishment of the Society of Jesus (1540) in particular, a great number of letters, journals, biographies, and summaries of travels were collected and published by the Society until it was dissolved in 1773. Within the religious context, another group of travellers were pilgrims, like the Catholic priest Pietro Della Valle, who started from Venice in 1614, wandered all over Asia for ten years, and had his journal published in 1652, after his death⁶⁶. For centuries, the travels of missionaries and their travel writings, especially those of Jesuits, were the best regular source of information for Europeans about the East, Latin America, and North America:

The number of Jesuit teacher-missionaries of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is perhaps so great as to be incalculable, and even more incalculable is the influence on European ideas of their widely read travel biographies, letters, journals and memoirs (*Travel Literature*, 61).

As has been pointed out by historians such as Edward Heawood (1912), another important reason for travelling was exploration itself. In his analysis of the explorers to unknown continents and oceans, Heawood works out that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries 125 different travel books including *Some Old Puritan Love-Letters: John and Margaret Winthrop, 1618-1638*, *An Account of Two Voyages to New England (1674)*, *New England's Rarities Discovered (1672)* and *An Essay on the Natural History of Guiana in South America (1769)* were written by explorers themselves, though this is a small percentage of the total amount⁶⁷.

Apart from numerous travel books by medical doctors, geologists, surveyors, astronomers, botanists, a significant number of ambassadors from Europe to Russia, Asia Minor and the Middle East were also recording their journeys, and impressions about other countries, and peoples with their social, economic and cultural features. As Adams says; 'Travel writers between 1600-1800 worked for their religious order, their trading company, or their nation, but they also represented almost every occupation imaginable' (*Travel Literature*, 64).

In the nineteenth century there was an increase in travel writing. This was the period that saw the rise of literary movements such as Romanticism in reaction to the rationalist scepticism of the preceding century, and accounts of travels to exotic and unknown places became a Romantic passion: 'The search for the exotic generates a rich tradition... which achieves its most luxuriant growth in the nineteenth century'⁶⁸. Travel writers had already been fascinated by previous images of the Orient as a place of difference, and were seeking exoticism, mystery and the unusual due to their tendency initially to create an image of the Orient as a dream world or 'escapist lieu' in Kabbani's term (*Europe's Myths of the Orient*, 32). When Kabbani examines various travellers' tales to find out why some travellers were particularly led eastwards she suggests that they set out on their journeys to escape from the boredom of home or restrictions of bourgeois Europe:

The journey Eastward (and the desert journey in particular) provided an alternative self for the English traveller to inhabit, one that he could put aside once it had provided him with the necessary distraction. A haven from the bourgeois parlour, it was a place where inhibitions and social obligation could be shed (*Europe's Myths of the Orient*, 93).

Later in the Victorian era travelling turned into a pragmatic desire for the accumulation of knowledge about other parts of the world, probably linked to colonial aspirations of control. Besides the former objectives and occupations of travellers, a new

motivation from the imperial interest in foreign lands and societies - a motivation which has been interpreted by Kabbani as the imperial formula of 'devise and rule'. When Edward Said discusses the nineteenth century as the age of imperialism mainly associated with Britain and France in *Culture and Imperialism (1993)* he also points out the significance of the travellers' place as they often contributed to the formation of a colonial existence and authority (*Culture and Imperialism, 8*). Considering the tales of nineteenth century travellers as an ideological apparatus of empire he remarks that the Orient for them was an extension of the imperial will to possess and control other lands: 'To write about Egypt, Syria or Turkey, as much as travelling in them, was a matter of touring the realms of political will, political management, political definition' (*Orientalism, 169*).

Although the Ottoman Empire was dissolved into the Turkish Republic with its manifestly different characteristics in the wake of the defeat in World War I, a great many travel writers, in fact the majority, have chosen to write about Turkey because of associations they already had from their own cultural background about the country. Owing to these associations, which seem to have been embedded in some historical facts chronologically going back to the Middle Ages, and even to the Crusades when the West met the Turks for the first time, it is rather difficult to analyse a cluster of twentieth century images of Turkey as distinct phenomenon totally independent from the past, as many accounts implicitly or explicitly refer to these associations. Therefore, an understanding of twentieth century Western perceptions of Turkey requires an examination of these associations with their historical connotations that determined western travellers' interest in Turkey.

In this respect, apart from a brief examination of historical associations pointed out in some typical texts of previous centuries, a detailed analysis will focus on the

nineteenth century as it seems to impinge upon various twentieth century travellers with a great number of accounts about the region. Because overseas expansion during the age of European imperialism brought new opportunities and challenges for travel writers, it became easier to travel to Ottoman lands for both personal curiosity and colonial aspirations and these also brought about the increase of the number of western publications about the region with different perceptions.

As has been emphasised by various critics such as Percy Adams these associations have been conveyed for centuries through travel accounts because of their writers' awareness of the earlier travellers and their tales. Hence in some accounts these associations are repeated with few nuances whereas in others they are reinterpreted with personal embellishments or fantasies⁶⁹. Within this general framework, some writers try to re-trace the steps of earlier writers, others venture into Turkey because they see it as a country on the edges of Europe, somewhere that is a gateway into the Orient, and the representation through travel accounts is therefore coloured by their sense of venturing outside the boundaries of Europe.

In other words, while 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, Rose Macaulay journeys throughout the country for religious and cultural reasons. Another group of travellers such as John Dos Passos, who travelled throughout Turkey as a journalist, are appointed to travel for official duties, and sometimes for secret ones such as spying, as 'the idea of travel as a means of gathering and recording information is commonly found in societies that exercise a high degree of political power' (*Europe's Myths of the Orient, 1*).

Above all, as can be observed from various travel accounts such as *Orient Express* (1922), *The Great Railway Bazaar* (1975), *A Traveller on Horseback* (1987), and *In Xanadu: A Quest* (1989) travellers usually continue their journeys into the Middle East and further via Turkey⁷⁰. Another apparent reason for travelling to Turkey seems to be the crucial situation of the country as it bridges Europe and Asia not only in terms of geography, but also culture, civilisation and religion. Therefore, those travellers who tend to journey to the Orient usually go to Turkey with the notion of venturing outside the European boundaries.

In the course of the analysis of travel accounts from different decades of the twentieth century, there will also be an examination of the processes, procedures and constraints which impinge upon the production and consumption of Turkish reflections in Western texts with particular references to *The Towers of Trebizond* (1956) and *Journey to Kars* (1984).

NOTES

1-Numerous Western writings about Turkey usually discuss Western perceptions through the works of preceding centuries. A common motif in these works is a version of Turkish history, which is mainly characterised by various stories of wickedness and barbarity of the Ottoman Empire displayed in its wars against Europe throughout the centuries, as well as the traditional and religious life, manners and customs in royal palaces and the seraglio which, in many cases, have been coloured with eccentricities and bizarre fantasies. For further information, see: Berna Moran, *A Bibliography of English Publications About the Turks from the 15th Century to the 18th Century* (Istanbul: Istanbul Univ. Press., 1964); Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718 to 1918* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986); George K. Rismawi, *Oriental Elements in English Romantic Poetry: Shelley and Byron*, Unpub. Diss. (Buffalo: State University of New York, 1983); Irene L. Szyliowicz, *Pierre Loti and the Oriental Woman* (London: Macmillan, 1988); Jale Parla, *The Eastern Question and the Fortunes of the Turkish Myth in England and France*, Unpub. Diss. (Massachusetts: Harvard Univ. Press, 1978); Paul James deGategno, *The Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy and the Motif of the Foreign Observer*, Unpub. Diss. (Pennsylvania: State Univ., 1975); Raphaela Lewis, *Everyday Life in Ottoman Turkey* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1971); Yildiz Aksoy, *The Turks in Eighteenth Century English Theatre* Unpub. Diss. (Erzurum: Ataturk University, 1970).

2-See: Ahmed Alam El-Deen, *A Critical Edition of Thomas Goffe's The Raging Tyrke, or, Baiazet the Second (1631)*, Unpub. Diss. (West Virginia: West Virginia Univ., 1984); Louis Wann, "The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama" in *Modern Philology XII* (January, 1915), pp. 163-187 and "The Oriental in Restoration Drama" in *The University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature 2* (Madison, 1918), pp. 163-186; Orhan Burian, "Interest of the English in Turkey as Reflected in English Literature of the Renaissance" in *Oriens 5* (1952), pp. 209-229; Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of the Orient* (London: Macmillan, 1986); Simon Shepherd, *Marlowe and the Politics of Elizabethan Theatre* (London: the Harvester Press, 1986); Suheyla Artemel, *The Idea of Turkey in the Elizabethan Period and in the Early 17th Century with Special Reference to Drama*, Unpub. Diss. (Durham: Durham University, 1966).

3-See: Anna Coote and Polly Pattullo, *Power and Prejudice: Women and Politics* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1990); Elaine Showalter, "Towards a Feminist

Poetics” in *Modern Literary Theory* ed. Philip Rice and Patricia Waugh (London: Edward Arnold, 1989), pp. 92-102; H. Eisenstein, *Contemporary Feminist Thought* (London: Unwin, 1984); Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference* trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); Julia Kristeva, “A Question of Subjectivity: An Interview” in *Women’s Review*, no.12, pp. 19-21; M. Humm, *Feminist Criticism: Women as Contemporary Critics* (Sussex: Harvester, 1986); R. Brunt and C. Rowan, *Feminism, Culture and Politics* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1982).

4-Literary criticism as interpretation, historiography, the prefatory introduction or the book review are other modes of rewriting that operate within constraints, such as those of patronage, poetics, the universe of discourse and the natural language in which they are written and, in the case of translation, especially, the original work itself. See: Andre Lefevere, “Why Waste Our Time on Rewrites? The Trouble with Interpretation and the Role of Rewriting in an ‘Alternative Paradigm’” in *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation* ed. Theo Hermans (London: Croom Helm, 1985).

5-Susan Bassnett and Andre Lefevere, ed. *Translation, History and Culture* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1990), p.IX. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Translation, History and Culture*'.

6-Susan Bassnett, *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Comparative Literature*'.

7-It is a commercial map, but it may be evidence of thought patterns which are themselves the product of factors that have little to do with the geographical purpose of the maps. As Susan Bassnett observes “The *Independent* map offers a new enlarged version of Europe. This Europe does not stop at the Black Sea, the point generally regarded as the most easterly boundary in the twentieth century. Previous boundaries had been many and varied, depending on political as well as on linguistic criteria. The new Europe stretches out round the edges of the Black Sea, northwards through Georgia, southwards through Turkey, round and across to the Turkic republic of Azerbaijan, right over to the Caspian Sea. Suddenly Europe has stretched, changed direction, moved thousands of miles into what was once Asia. What are we meant to read into this revision of geographical, ethnic, religious and political boundaries? Are we to assume that because the former Soviet union was classified as a European state, now that it has ceased to exist its component parts are de facto part of Europe too? (though not all the component parts, by any means). Do the map-makers see the conferral of European status as a positive attribute? Are EEC states looking hungrily towards the natural resources said to lie beneath the soil of what were once termed Central Asian states?

Besides, the *Independent* map-maker was so concerned with looking out to the Caspian Sea that Iceland has been cut off altogether. The small, Scandinavian island up in the North Atlantic has suddenly, like Atlantis, vanished without trace. Could such an

omission have anything to do with the end of the Cold War, we may ask, and with the abrupt demise of Iceland's importance as a strategic base for the monitoring of Soviet military action? The omission was not remedied in the enlarged version of the map which followed the first one. One stroke of the pen added Azerbaijan and subtracted Iceland from what is now a Europe that stretches across a continent and a half. Only the southern parts of Norway, Sweden and Finland appear. The whole bias of the map is away from Northern Europe towards those areas that were once part of the Roman Empire: Bithynia and Pontus, Cappadocia, Armenia, Colchis and Caucasus. The rise and fall of the Ottoman Empire is wiped away with this cartographical manipulation'. See: Susan Bassnett, *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 100-1.

8-Mahasweta Sengupta, "Translation, Colonialism and Poetics: Rabindranath Tagore in Two Worlds" in *Translation, History and Culture*, ed. Susan Bassnett and Andre Lefevere (London: Pinter Publishers, 1990), p. 57. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by its shortened title, 'Translation, Colonialism and Poetics'.

9-Eleanor Bisbee, *The New Turks: Pioneers of the Republic 1920-1950* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania press, 1951), pp. 4-5.

10-Andrina Stiles, *The Ottoman Empire 1450-1700* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989), p.9.

11-Michel Foucault: *Power/Knowledge (Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977)* by Michel Foucault ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p. 119. Also see: Asaf Hussain, Robert Olson and Jamil Qureshi, ed. *Orientalism, Islam and Islamists* (Vermont: Amana Books, 1984); David Couzens Hoy, ed. *Foucault: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1985; 1st pub. 1978), *The World, the Text and the Critic* (London: Faber, 1984), *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993) and "Foucault and the Imagination of Power" in *Foucault: A Critical Reader* ed. David Couzens Hoy (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* trans. A. M. Sheridan (New York: Pantheon, 1972); and *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* trans. A. Sheridan (New York: Pantheon, 1977).

12-Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1985). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Orientalism*'.

13-Richard Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Madina and Meccah* (London: Tylston and Edwards, 1893), pp. 17-8.

14-Eliot Warburton, *The Crescent and Cross, or Romance and Realities of Near Eastern Travel* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845), p. 268. Further reference to this

work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*The Crescent and Cross*'.

15-Alphonse Marie Lousic de Lamartine, *Vues, discours et articles sur la question d'orient* (Paris: Gasselin, 1840), pp. 31-32.

16-Cited by James Ballantine, *The Life of David Roberts*, (R.A. Compiled from his journals and other sources) (Edinburgh: A&C. Black, 1986), pp. 104-5.

17-Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of the Orient* (London: Pandora Press, 1988). p. 106. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Europe's Myths of the Orient*'.

18-Charles Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta (1888)* 2nd. ed. (London: Cape, 1921).

19-Norman Daniel, *Islam, Europe and Empire* (Edinburgh: EUP, 1966), p. 246.

20-Clinton Bennett, *Victorian Images of Islam* (London: Grey Seal Books, 1992), p. 146. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Victorian Images*'.

21-Asaf Hussain, Robert Olson and Jamil Qureshi, ed. *Orientalism, Islam and Islamists* (Vermont: Amana Books, 1984), p.3.

22-H.A.R. Gibb, *Muhammedanism* Fifth ed. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press., 1962) in *Studies on the Civilisation of Islam* eds., Stanford J. Shaw and William R. Polk (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962).

23-Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978), p. 60. Also see Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: University Press., 1960).

24-Thomas Moore, *Lalla Rookh: An Oriental Tale* (London: Hurst, 1817).

25-Donald A. Rosenthal, *Orientalism, the Near East in French Painting (1800-1880)* (New York: Rochester, 1982), Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, p. 9.

26-Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1989). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts or footnotes, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Juvenile Literature*'.

27-John MacKenzie, ed. *Propaganda and Empire* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1984), reprint. *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1986), p. 7. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Propaganda and Empire*'.

28-On the notion of 'chivalry', there seems to be a religious justification as Thomas Hughes remarks: 'The least of the muscular Christian has hold of the chivalrous and Christian belief that a man's body is given to him to be trained and brought into subjection, and then used for the protection of the weak, the advancement of all righteous causes and the subduing of the earth which God has given to the children of men'. See: Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown at Oxford* (London: 1889), p. 99; Norman Vance, *Sinews of the Spirit* (Cambridge, 1985).

Moreover, in a sermon preached before the Queen at Windsor in 1865, Charles Kingsley expressed the sentiments that 'the age of chivalry never past' and was warmly endorsed by Victoria. See: Charles Kingsley, Sermon on 'Faith' preached on December 1865, in *The Water of Life and Other Sermons* (1867).

29-Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and English Gentlemen* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1981), p. 16. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts or footnotes, by mentioning its shortened title, '*The Return to Camelot*'.

30-'Chivalry is not the same as feudalism although the two concepts are clearly related. The chivalric ideal concerned itself with one particular class, not the structure of society. It accepted fighting as a necessary and indeed glorious activity, but set out to soften its potential barbarity by putting it into the hands of men committed to high standards of behaviour.

But the blanket term of chivalry has always been applied both to the code and to its medieval trappings. In the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries one can watch the code gradually developing until it becomes one element of the accepted code of conduct for gentlemen, and the trappings gradually losing their practical function, but sometimes surviving because they were put to new uses or used for symbolic purposes...

It was easy enough for Digby, Walter Scott and others to conjure up modern knights; it was less easy to control the direction in which they charged. Throughout the nineteenth century (and indeed in the twentieth century as well) individuals or groups who were proud to call themselves gentlemen set out, with what may reasonably be described as chivalrous enthusiasm, not to support the existing order, but to make radical changes in it'. See: *The Return to Camelot*, p. 68.

31-J.S. Batton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction* (London: [n.p.], 1981).

32-'Christianity and Anglo-Saxonism went hand-in-hand in the thinking of such men, as it did in the works of writers like Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes, who although not primarily writers for boys, wrote influential and much-loved children's stories. The 1860s saw an increase in the number of boys' magazines and authors like Kingston and Ballantyne regularly wrote for this market as well as the novel market. They became the approved authors of those pundits and authorities who saw adventure as a genre which

satisfied the robust instincts of boys while at the same time teaching them. Charlotte Yonge, writing in 1887 about what books to lend or to give to children, urged the building-up of libraries of acceptable boys' stories at school and at home.

The 1870 Forster Education Act is a milestone in the history of juvenile publishing, for it convinced publishers that with the expansion of schools there would emerge a large, new and untapped source of readers. Mainstream publishers like Blackie and Macmillan therefore launched a wide range of juvenile fiction to tap the new market. School and Sunday school prizes were a particular area of growth, their content and approach carefully supervised to appeal to parents, school and church authorities'. Noted in *Juvenile Literature*, p.4. Also see: Charlotte M. Yonge, *What Books to Lend and What to Give* (London: [n.p.], 1887), p. 6. and Sheila Egoff, 'Children's Periodicals of the 19th Century' in *Library Association Pamphlet* 8, 1951 pp. 16-21.

33-Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London: [n.p.], 1980).

34-Another survey of 800 readers of *The Captain* in April 1908, asking for the twelve best boys' books ever published, elicited a list comprising *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, *Treasure Island*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Westward Ho!*, *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, *Ivanhoe*, *King Solomon's Mines*, *Coral Island*, *Fifth Form at St. Dominic's*, *Last of the Mohicans*, *Mr. Midshipman Easy*, and *J.O. Jones*. See: *The Captain*, 19, 1908, p.90.

A survey in 1940 of 304 secondary school boys aged twelve, and 211 aged thirteen revealed their most popular titles to be (for the twelve-year-olds) *Treasure Island*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *David Copperfield*, and *Tom Brown's Schooldays* and (for thirteen-year-olds) *Treasure island*, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, *Westward Ho!*, and *The Invisible Man*. See: A.J. Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?* (London, 1940), pp. 36-9.

35-In reference to power-discourse relations, Said discusses the continuity of popular images and social science representations of the East, noticeably after each of the Arab-Israeli wars as the Arab Muslim became a figure in American popular culture. There has been a major change in the international configuration of forces in which France and Britain no longer occupy centre stage in world politics whereas American imperialism has replaced them. See: Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Culture and Imperialism*'

A similar conclusion has been made by John Dixon when he states that 'The West's continuing ideological domination of the Middle East in the twentieth century is rooted in economic power, a fact which has not prevented the development of a critical response'. See: John Spencer Dixon, *Representations of the East in English and French Travel Writing 1798-1882 with Particular Reference to Egypt*, Unpub. Diss. (Warwick: University of Warwick, 1991), p.4.

36-W. M. Gattie, "What English People Read" in *Fortnightly Review*, LII (1889), p. 320. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, 'What English People Read'.

37-Owing to the fact that the texts that will be discussed in this particular chapter have been classified or named by various authors, publishers and critics under different popular terms within the same literary genre such as crime, detective, espionage, spy and thriller, it seems more helpful to select one of these terms in order to avoid repetition, and confusion of terminology. Therefore, apart from original quotations from named writers and critics, the term 'thriller' will be used hereafter. It is used exclusively about the rougher kinds of suspense stories, which seem to be the English tradition; in others it is used inclusively, in the American tradition, about a wide range of genres, from the classic detective story to the hard-boiled adventure story. See: Lars Ole Sauerberg, "Literature in Figures: An Essay on Popularity of Thrillers" in *Orbis Litterarum*, 1983 vol. 38. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, 'Literature in Figures'.

38-"Letter From S.J. Hamrick" (pseudonym W.T. Tyler) to the author, dated 30 October, 1984. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, 'Letter'.

39-In 1903, the same year that he was making a reappearance on the literary scene in *The Empty House*, Sherlock Holmes made his debut on the screen in an American film made by the American Mutoscope and Bioscope Company entitled *Sherlock Holmes Baffled*. From the silent film *Sherlock Holmes Baffled* in 1903 to *The Seven Per Cent Solution* of 1976, Sherlock Holmes has occupied a special place in the history of the cinema. See: David Stuart Davies, *Holmes of the Movies* (London: New English Library, 1976), p. 17.

40-Tony Bennett, *Popular Fiction* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 248. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, 'Popular Fiction'.

41-Edmund Wilson, *Rudyard Kipling's Kim* ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987), p. 43. Also see: *Culture and Imperialism*, pp. 161-90.

42-Roger Lancelyn Green, "J.H. Millar reviews *Kim*" in *Kipling: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 270.

43-Edmund Wilson, *The Wound and the Bow* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. press, 1947).

44-Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (ed. With Introduction and Notes by Edward W. Said) (London: Penguin Books, 1987), p. 45. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, 'Introduction and Notes'.

45-Edmund Wilson, "The Kipling That Nobody Read" in *The Wound and the Bow* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), pp. 100-103.

46-The first Sherlock Holmes novel published as *A Study in Scarlet* appeared in Beeton's *Christmas Annual* in 1887.

47-Noted in Reeva S. Simon, *The Middle East in Crime Fiction* (New York: Lilian Barber Press, 1989), p. 18. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts or footnotes, by mentioning its shortened title, '*The Middle East*'. Also see: Erskine Childers, *The Riddle of the Sands*, 1st pub. 1903 (London: Penguin, 1952).

48-John Buchan, *Prester John* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons., 1910), p. 88.

49-Brian V. Street, *The Savage in Literature* (London: Routledge and Paul Kegan, 1975), p.41. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*The Savage*'.

50-Angus Wilson, *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling* (London: Secker and Walburg, 1977), p. 132.

51-Noel Behn, "Britannia's Bull Dog" in *Armchair Detective*, Fall, 1984 vol. 17, p. 368. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, 'Britannia's Bull Dog'.

52-Andy East, "The Spy in the Dark: A History of Espionage Fiction" in *Armchair Detective*, Winter, 1986 vol. 19, p. 24. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, 'The Spy in the Dark'.

53-In a particular reference to interview investigations such as Euromonitor (Euromonitor Book Readership Survey) and BPFRS (The Book Promotion Feasibility Study Report) as well as from best seller lists (based on information from retail booksellers as in the *Sunday Times* and W.H. Smith and Sons Ltd's internal information paper; *Smith's Trade News*). See: 'Literature in Figures', p. 100.

54-B. Merry, *The Anatomy of the Spy Thriller* (Dublin: [n.p.], 1977). Also noted in 'Literature in Figures', p. 94.

55-A.P. Hackett, and J.H. Burke, *80 Years of Best Sellers* (London: [n.p.], 1977). 1st ed. (1967), *70 Years of Best Sellers*, p. 61. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning the titles of two different editions; '*80 Years of Best Sellers*' and '*70 Years of Best Sellers*'.

56-'Until the mid-1970s, when the lucrative rewards of the spy novel/thriller formula attracted the attention of amateurs looking for ways to combine their expertise in specialised fields with money-earning activity, most genre authors were professionals who adopted a particular style and format and wrote for a devoted following. Between

1942 and his death in 1975, British espionage novelist Simon Harvester, for example, wrote some forty-four thrillers in addition to his other novels...

Joining the professionals, we now find travellers, wives whose husbands were stationed in the Middle East, academics, bankers and businessmen, engineers, politicians, artists, lawyers, public relations executives, computer experts, government workers, and architects who have been attracted to the possibility of high advance royalties and instant acclaim.

Peace corps volunteers, foreign service officers, and retired military personnel tend to use their field experience and cultural empathy as a base for discussion of the impact of modernisation or Westernisation on the Middle East or as warnings to a perceived need. One of the most convincing, Efreim Sigel, author of *The Kermanshah Transfer* (1973), spent time in Israel and in Iran, travelled to Kurdistan, and observed the Kurdish revolt.

Academics bring language acuity and knowledge of the area to bear in their plots. Richard Bulliet's *The Tomb of the Twelfth Imam* (1979) provides a historical exposition of Shiite Islam and links it to the political, social, and religious convulsions of modern Iran.

At least two politicians have tried their hands at writing fiction with a Middle Eastern motif. Israeli Knesset member Michael Bar Zohar, who also writes under the name Michael Barak, has penned three novels of conspiracy between Russians, Nazis, Arabs, and Israelis. *The Secret List of Heinrich Roehm* (1976) is an intelligence duel between the MOSSAD and KGB, while *The Phantom Conspiracy* (1980) concerns Arab blackmail of an American senator who is running for president.

More esoteric contributions come from architects and financial consultants. Oscar Newman provides a detailed blueprint of the architectural intricacies of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art when he has the gold mask of King Tut stolen from the exhibit in order to blackmail parties over oil rights in the Sinai. The plot in *Unmasking a King* (1981) takes place during the Egyptian-Israeli peace negotiations.

Journalists, too, follow their assignments, first reporting fact and often recapitulating the events in fiction. Eric Pace of the New York Times, who has filed reports from the Middle East, uses scenes of his reportage in his novels. Other print and electronic journalists - Colin Smith, Richard Cox, Matthew Eden, Gavin Lyall, and Christopher Fitzsimmons from Britain; Australian Colin Mason; German journalist Michael Heim; Israeli Matti Golan; and such well-known American personalities as Leonard Harris, Marvin Kalb, and Ted Koppel of American television; and critics John Crosby and Stephen Hunter have written thrillers or spy novels'. See: *The Middle East*, pp. 28-34.

57-Joel Hopkins, "An Interview With Eric Ambler", *Journal of Popular Culture* 9, 1975.

58-Susan Bassnett, *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p. 99. Also see: Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1985); Irene L. Szyliowicz, *Pierre Loti and the Oriental Woman* (London: Macmillan, 1988); Martin Bernal *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985*, vol.I (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987). Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eye: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992); Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of the Orient* (London: Pandora Press, 1988) and Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991).

59-Bernard Lewis, "Some English Travellers in the East" in *Middle Eastern Studies* 4, 1967-8, p.297. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, 'English Travellers'.

60-Lionel Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974), pp. 294-9.

61-Sidney Heath, *In the Steps of the Pilgrims* (London: Rich and Cowan, 1953), p. 17.

62-Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1983), p. 66. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts and footnotes, by mentioning its shortened title, 'Travel Literature'.

63-Peter Wilding, *Adventures in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Putnam's, 1937).

64-'The sixteenth-century literature of travel for Asia and Muscovy is vast and was often well known. After the very popular Varthema early in the period, the Portuguese official Tenreiro enjoyed just as exciting a life in Persia; and his countryman Mendes Pinto, in China and then in Japan with Francis Xavier in the 1540s, had his marvellous adventures come out only in 1614, although two *Lives* of Xavier had already appeared narrating that great missionary's far travels. And for only two more examples - these among the best - one can turn to the English traders Anthonie Jenkinson and Ralph Fitch. Jenkinson, Chief Factor of the Muscovy Company, after 1553 opened a trade route across Russia and the Caspian Sea to Bokhara and Samarkand, made a number of trips, and proved himself a supremely fine diplomat with both the Tsar of Russia and the Shah of Persia. Fitch became thoroughly acquainted with India and the Malay countries during his eight years of moving about there (1583-91) and has one of the best journals ever kept by a merchant. Both of these writers were included by Hakluyt, who added Jan van Linschoten's eyewitness story of Fitch's escape from imprisonment at Goa'. See: *Travel Literature*, p. 52.

65-'They represented a variety of sects. There was the gentle, pious Cambridge Anglican Alexander Whitaker, who loved the Red Men and reported his *Good Newes from Virginia* in 1613. There were the Quakers, who went to America especially in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and who are perhaps best represented then by two men-John Archdale, governor of Carolina in 1694 and author of the *New Description...of Carolina(1707)*; and George Fox, whose readable *Journal* of his travels in the New World appeared in 1694. Finally, there were the Methodists. One was John Wesley, whose amazing *Journal* tells far more than how many people he converted on his 250,000 miles of travels and how intractable he found the Auld Kirch natives of Scotland or the Indians of Georgia. Another was George Whitefield, who travelled just as far and whose various journals reveal not only much about human nature, transportation, and living conditions but about a saint who-in spite of Fielding's ridicule-could make even a Benjamin Franklin love him. All of these innumerable missionaries, Church of Rome or Protestant were more or less literate; and since they were urged by superiors to keep records or impelled by practical considerations of vanity, they may have produced more books, even in proportion to their numbers, than did any other group of travellers of the time'. See: *Travel Literature*, pp. 59-60.

66-Edward Grey, ed. *The Travels of Pietro della Valle* (London: Hakluyt, 1892).

67-Edward Heawood, *A History of Geographical Discoveries in the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1912), rpt.(New York: Octogan Books, 1969)

68-Irene L. Szyliowicz, *Pierre Loti and the Oriental Woman* (London: Macmillan, 1988), p.35.

69-Adams examines the continuity of these associations with reference to several examples of similar stories, anecdotes and representations with some nuances and new interpretations, and points out that there is a traditional process of travel writing tracing back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in which there seems an enormous imitation of the earlier tales. See: Percy G Adams, *Travellers and Travel Liars 1600-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962) and *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1983).

A similar conclusion appears in John Dixon's research about the representation of the Orient (Egypt in particular) through travellers' tales where he remarks: 'The fact that Byron's travels were limited to Constantinople, and that Keats never travelled to either Turkey or Egypt, allowed them the freedom to create fantasies out of parts of other tales, travel sketches etc. without being judged for the veracity of their images. Keats drew his material largely from the British Museum, and its collection of Egyptian relics largely captured from the French after the failure of the Egyptian expedition in 1801'. See: John Spencer Dixon, *Representations of the East in English and French Travel Writing 1798-1882 with Particular Reference to Egypt*, Unpub. Diss. (Warwick: University of Warwick, 1991).

70-Some travel accounts which are mentioned in this investigation on different occasions are not completely involved in Turkey as travellers' journeys in some cases stretch further down to the Middle East or Far East. For some examples, see: Christina Dodwell, *A Traveller on Horseback* (London: Sceptre, 1988); John Dos Passos, *Orient Express* (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1922); Paul Theroux, *The Great Railway Bazaar* (New York: Ballantine, 1975) and William Dalrymple, *In Xanadu: A Quest* (London: Flamingo, 1990).

CHAPTER I

AN ASSORTMENT OF NEGATIVE IMAGES

Owing to the fact that Turkey as a land of Biblical, cultural and geopolitical importance, has accommodated different civilisations, religions and cultures for millennia, the country has always attracted a great number of visitors not only for touristic but also cultural and religious reasons. As can be seen from books, such as *Journey to Kars*¹, *Turkish Reflections*², *In Xanadu: A Quest*³, *A Traveller on Horseback*⁴, *Talking Turkey*⁵, *The Towers of Trebizond*⁶ and *The Asiatics*⁷, most travellers who have visited Turkey have tended to be keen on visiting the historical sites of particular places such as Istanbul, Antalya, Capadocia, Van and Kars.

In addition, owing to its strategic situation between Asia and Europe in both geopolitical and cultural terms, Turkey has supplied an exotic setting for many diverse texts. Among events of historical significance in the twentieth century can be noted the battles of World War I⁸, particularly Gallipoli⁹, the foundation of the Turkish Republic¹⁰

and the subsequent reforms introduced by Kemal Atatürk¹¹, Turkey's neutrality in World War II¹² and consequent strategic significance for espionage, a series of military coups¹³, the Cyprus conflict¹⁴, and the rise of the narcotics trade¹⁵, Turkey's relations with the western world and its actual membership of NATO¹⁶, all of which have provided western writers with primary sources for the depiction of Turkey and its people, encoded in a series of stereotypical images.

These stereotypical images appear in different literary genres such as prose fiction, travel books and magazines, in other media such as the cinema, and can be catalogued under a series of headings that include religious conspiracy, military coup, the drug-business, terrorist activity, antique-smuggling, political espionage, ethnic genocide and torture. On the whole, the images are negative, and Turks tend to be depicted as a corrupted people, often described as filthy and smelly workers who do the worst jobs, as lecherous sodomites, drug-producers and smugglers, relentless torturers and genocidal killers, terrorists, conspirators, barbarians.

Chronologically speaking, the early decades of the twentieth century were the years of war in Turkey, beginning in 1912, in the Balkans, during which Turkey lost two wars as well as one in Libya, before she entered World War I (1914) on the side of the Germans that also ended tragically. In North Africa, Italy declared war on Turkey (September 29, 1911) and as a result, Turkey lost the possession of both Tripolitania and Cyrenaica through the treaty of Lausanne (October 18, 1912) (*Its Successors*, 20). Furthermore, the Italo-Turkish war also encouraged the Balkans to revolt against Turkey with the formation of the Balkan League (*Its Successors*, 21). Thus, on October 8, 1912 the Balkan wars started with the active participation of Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia against Turkey. The final treaty of peace subsequent to the victory of the Allies (September 29, 1913), resulted in considerable increases in population, for all the

Balkan states while Turkey lost two-thirds of her European population¹⁷. Afterwards, World War I started in 1914 and the country entered the war on the side of the Germans which cost another heavy defeat. Eventually, 'the Balkan wars served as a prelude to all the carnage and destruction of the World War, and during the World War the Turkish Empire was to be destroyed' (*The Partition of Turkey*, 36), and then the occupation and partition of the country was started by the Allies.

After her defeat in World War I, the Ottoman Empire was dissolved and the state of Turkey emerged through the efforts of nationalist Turks who hoped to create a new country. Her new leadership, headed by Kemal Ataturk, embarked on a social, cultural, political and economic revolution with the ultimate goal being the creation of a modern, democratic nation-state with an advanced economy and a secular-minded, progressive people.

When the fatal collapse of the Ottoman Empire, which had already been established by the defeats at Navarino and the Crimea in the nineteenth century, was completed with the final blow of World War I by the Allies, the image of the country at that time was the 'Sick Man of Europe'¹⁸. As emphasised by writers such as Barry Unsworth, Wayne S. Vucinich, Harry Howard, Richard D. Robinson and Bernard Lewis, it was an image of disgrace and humiliation for a people with a long and rich history.

H. Howard carries this image back to the nineteenth century suggesting that 'since 1844 the Porte had been recognised as the *Sick Man of Europe*' (*The Partition of Turkey*, 19). Describing this period Vucinich states that 'on October 30, 1918, at Mudros, the Turks signed the Armistice ending the war, the 'Sick Man of Europe' finally expired'¹⁹. On the other hand, Richard D. Robinson evaluates these difficult years of the Empire: 'Ottoman Turkey was the 'Sick Man of Europe', and the Great Powers were

merely biding their time until the propitious moment to pick the bones with maximum benefit to themselves'²⁰. Moreover, Bernard Lewis interprets these critical years after World War I and comments: 'Meanwhile, in the West, the victorious Allies were at last completing their arrangements for the disposal of the Sick Man's worldly goods'²¹.

Turkey's involvement in World War I is reflected in a number of classic thrillers such as John Buchan's *Greenmantle* (1916), Agatha Christie's *Murder on the Orient Express* (1934), Graham Greene's *Stamboul Train (Orient Express[1933])*, Dennis Wheatley's *The Eunuch of Stamboul* (1935) and Eric Ambler's early book *A Coffin For Dimitrios* (1939).

One of the earliest examples of thrillers concerning Turkey is *Greenmantle*. Although the novel draws on a real historical event, like the African rebellion depicted in *Prester John* (1910), Buchan added a number of details especially with regard to religion. It involves German attempts to foment a Muslim Jihad (Holy War) against the British in Erzurum, the eastern town of Turkey, during World War I:

Islam is a fighting creed, and the mullah still stands in the pulpit with the Koran in one hand and a drawn sword in the other. Supposing there is some Ark of the Covenant which will madden the remotest Moslem peasant with dreams of Paradise? What then, my friend?²²

Turkish stereotypes depicted in the novel appear as naive, and subservient to the will of the religious leader, Greenmantle, so that the Germans can easily attempt to utilise this weakness by killing the real Greenmantle and replacing him with the disguised German intelligence officer Hilda von Einem, in order to manipulate the Turkish people into declaring Jihad against the British. Criticising the book from a religious point of view, Simon discusses Buchan's lack of information about Islam and Muslims: 'No matter that Buchan clearly does not understand the Muslims and Islam, Buchan's heroes are inspired by real British characters'²³.

As regards the religious motif in the early texts, another example is *The Eunuch of Stamboul* in which a pro-Islamic organisation (KAKA) conspires a military coup against the Turkish republic under the leadership of Prince Ali, the wicked fictional caliph. Apart from his physical description as a 'garlic eating bounder'²⁴ he is also portrayed as an aggressive and lecherous person recounting exotic stories about harem life with symbolic religious connotations when he talks to Diana:

It will interest you to know, Miss Duncannon, that there is an ancient ritual when a Caliph summons a woman to his bed. I intend that you shall be first to receive that honour during my Caliphate (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 308).

In various parts of the novel, besides his wickedness and lechery, Prince Ali is ironically represented as a man of royal heritage i.e. 'Ali came of the line of sultans' (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 221):

To hear is to obey. Oh! Most exalted one. May Allah bless the pleasures of the illustrious Descendant of the prophet. His servant is eager to show such small talents as he may bring felicity to the Highest of all masters (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 310).

Subsequently, when Wheatley creates Prince Ali as the arch villain he also seems to overestimate some basic Islamic rituals and practices; for example when Swithin and Diana are kidnapped and taken to the prince towards the end of the novel, and:

'The accompanying escort unrobes the lady garment by garment', continued Ali, 'then retreats backwards with low obeisances, closing the doors and leaving the favoured one naked in the presence of her lord. He reclines at ease in the great bed of State inspecting this thing which is to be the instrument of his pleasure. She, overcome by the honour done her, falls upon her knees, touches the ground three times with her forehead, and offers fervent prayers to Allah that, unworthy as she is, he may confer the inestimable blessing upon her of allowing her to conceive. Then with true humility she insinuates herself into the foot of the Imperial bed, creeps upwards little by little, until she can kiss the feet of the Descendent of the Prophet and, receiving permission to advance, presses her lips to each of his legs in turn, inch

by inch as she crawls forward on her belly.' (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 309)

Eric Ambler employs a similar religious motif in *The Mask of Dimitrios* (1939) in which the assassination of Kemal Atatürk by a group of religious fanatics is emphasised:

In nineteen twenty-four a plot to assassinate the Gazi was discovered. It was the year he abolished the Caliphate and the plot was outwardly the work of a group of religious fanatics. Actually the men behind it were agents of some people in the good graces of a neighbouring friendly government. They had good reasons for wishing the Gazi out of the way. The plot was discovered. The details are unimportant. But one of the agents who escaped was a man known as Dimitrios.²⁵

Murder on the Orient Express is another typical example of the genre, with its mysterious murder-plot and its setting which is the Orient Express itself travelling through Europe to Istanbul and back again. The novel focuses in typical Christie fashion on the passengers and her stereotypical detective, Hercule Poirot, who is supposed to find the murderer with his classical methods of investigation²⁶. As Simon emphasises, in Christie's work 'the main characters are the same. They are Europeans who operate against a Middle Eastern backdrop where the natives are bellboys, elevator operators, or native help on archaeological digs' (*The Middle East*, 3). Apart from several minor characters there seems to be no major Turkish characters as the mystery takes place among the European passengers on the train.

Another similar classical spy thriller concerning Turkey is Graham Greene's *Stamboul Train* which was first published in the USA as *Orient Express*. Although the trail of murder, revolution and intrigue starting from Ostend is resolved in Istanbul, there is no direct reference to Turkey or the Turks, apart from a few exceptional passages about Istanbul and its inhabitants such as those attributed to the well-known 'Pera Palas' hotel and its Armenian proprietor Mr. Kalebdjian²⁷.

A general characteristic of thrillers of the early twentieth century suggests that 'by John Buchan's time, villains are anarchists, agents of foreign powers, persons of mysterious ancestry, and, as in *Greenmantle*, have unwholesome sexual habits' (*The Middle East*, 92). The villains in *Greenmantle* are mainly German; a notorious German woman archaeologist, Hilda von Einem; and the homosexual colonel Stumm. The heroes consist of Richard Hannay and his company including 'Sandy Arbuthnot, a multilingual Orientalist who manages to impersonate a sufi dervish and to wander throughout Anatolia gathering intelligence' (*The Middle East*, 62).

It should be noted that on the basis of some spy motifs concerning Turkey there are some writers such as Graham Greene who make use of their personal experiences. In addition although it was not so widespread as among nineteenth-century literary figures, a significant group of writers comprising Oxbridge graduates such as Greene, Lawrence, Fleming and Forster travelled to Middle Eastern countries as diplomats and possibly spies because 'British intelligence was skilled in setting its agents to "travelling" and, by the way, indulging in surreptitious surveying, map-making, photographing, and rumour-planting, especially in the Orient and the Middle East'²⁸.

Graham Greene seems to be one of the outstanding examples of the association of travelling and intelligence, and gives an account of his involvement with British intelligence in different parts of the world ranging from Europe to Africa and Asia in his *A World of My Own: A Dream and Diary (1992)*:

My experiences in M.I.6. in My Own World were far more interesting than the desk work which I performed during three years in the Common World...Of my experiences perhaps the most adventurous, and more in the spirit of the CIA than of M.I.6., was a certain mission to Germany²⁹.

Sometimes he refers to his experiences as an agent in different countries such as Germany, Turkey and Egypt through anecdotes such as the following:

With another man I was spying in Germany, dressed in the uniform of a German officer. We were very light-hearted about the whole affair and to escape we took a train that would cross the Swiss frontier. Nor were we very perturbed when a beautiful young woman demanded our papers. My companion, who was of high rank, said that our papers were packed in our luggage, and she accepted the excuse, only marking the tickets in pencil with the numeral 75 (*A Dream and Diary*, 23-4).

When Paul Fussell, focusing on a particular period of time, discusses the spy issue in association with travellers, he remarks that 'in the late 30s it became increasingly possible to believe that adventurers and travellers were really spies, in accordance with British folk-tradition dating back a century' (*Abroad*, 226). He gives some individual examples:

One assumes Fleming was, for he was a loyal, philistine, and uncomplicated young man with an impenetrable facade, perfect material for M.I.5., as his subsequent success in intelligence work in China and India during World War Two would suggest (*Abroad*, 175).

By the same token, Forster is said to have been involved in some 'hush-hush' work when he travelled to South Africa, and T. E. Lawrence was believed to be a top spy as he had already fermented a revolt in Afghanistan (*Abroad*, 226).

The late 1940s and early 1950s became a turning point in Turkish political history when the country set up close political and economic relations with the West, especially with the USA, subsequent to the Turkish-American agreement on military aid and co-operation ratified in Ankara (September 1, 1947) as a part of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshal Plan, announced on June 5, 1947, and Turkey's ensuing admission into the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation further strengthened its economic and political ties with the United States (April 16, 1948). On

the other hand, Turkey contributed militarily to the U.N. effort in Korea, starting in June, 1950, and its subsequent entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (February 18, 1952) in order that the Soviet expansion could be prevented. In the wake of this political decision, Turkey gradually increased its geopolitical significance as she supplied the only gateway to the Balkans via the Straits, and to the Middle East (*History of the Ottoman Empire*, 399-401).

A further consequence was the steady impact of ideological, cultural and military infiltration from abroad. The USA established military bases in strategically important parts of the country, while other European countries and Russia sent diplomats, officials, military and cultural attaches as well as spies and agents. This new panorama furthered the rise of the publication of detective and spy thrillers taking place in Turkey with different intrigues and conspiracies. When Simon seeks to explain the reason for the increase in thrillers about Turkey she refers to the intensive political and military changes in the country:

Once Turkey joined NATO, all sorts of agents appear retrieving something or other from inaccessible drops along the Soviet Frontiers, or stopping the drug trade. The Turks are Nick Carter's sidekicks as he swats Commies in the North and terrorists in Istanbul (*The Middle East*, 60).

In thrillers set in Turkey of the Cold War era, one of the stereotypical plots is international political espionage and conspiracy, particularly between communist agents and western counterparts. As Stanley J. Shaw argues; 'The end of the war in Europe did not mean the end of the war for Turkey' (*History of the Ottoman Empire*, 399). While the USSR were extending their rule over East European countries, they also demanded the restoration of Kars and Ardahan from Turkey in the east and of parts of Thrace from Bulgaria, while they asked for revision of the Montreux Convention to obtain access to the Straits in war as well as in peace and allow them to establish military bases along

both the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Although Turkey officially turned down these demands, Communist groups in sympathy with Russia in the country began to agitate for concession.

Having borders with the USSR, Bulgaria, Iraq, Syria and Iran on the one hand, and being a member of NATO on the other hand, Turkey provided an inspirational atmosphere for novelists to build up stories of exciting political espionage and terrorist conspiracy. Good examples of this are Charles Forsyte's *Murder with Minarets* (1968)³⁰ and *Diplomatic Death* (1961)³¹; both being constructed around a chain of mysterious murders among British and American diplomats as a result of internal political espionage. Julian Rathbone's *Hand Out* (1968) starts with a political murder on the Turco-Russian border and ends in the South of Turkey with the victorious operation of the western heroes.

Another typical spy motif involves Nazis and democratic westerners in Turkey. For instance, *Journey Into Fear* (1966) introduces a conflict between Nazi spies and the British representative of an armaments factory who wants to sell sophisticated weapons to Turkey to assure her national defence against an imminent Nazi threat.

Despite the fact that the theme of espionage and spying particularly seems more peculiar to thrillers and detective stories such as *Istanbul*, *When I Grow Rich* and *Trip Trap* than travel accounts, Rose Macaulay, unlike some other travellers such as Mary Lee Settle, Paul Theroux and Eric Newby, tends to make use of it in *The Towers of Trebizond* with numerous references to British spies travelling all around the country in different disguises:

At the next table sat the British diplomat got up as a Turk who had said 'yok' to aunt Dot, he was with another Briton en 'Turque', whom he had come to meet there, and they were talking Turkish together and drinking coffee and spying. (*Towers*, 25).

While John Dos Passos and William Dalrymple refer to it briefly early on, Rose Macaulay often reminds the reader of this particular issue in her book. For example, while the issue is partly implied in *Orient Express* in association with the murder of an Armenian at the Pera Palace in Istanbul by a Bolshevik spy³², in *In Xanadu: A Quest*, Dalrymple relates it to the suspicious attitudes and conversations of some Russian people waiting in the queue like himself to get through the customs at the Turco-Syrian border, and he infers: 'They talked Russian among themselves and explained to us in French that they were teachers. Later, one of them said they were engineers. Probably they must have been KGB' (*In Xanadu*, 29-30).

Rose Macaulay comments:

Actually, we saw so many British spies in disguise spying in Turkey that I cannot mention all of them, they kept cropping up wherever we went, like flying saucers and pictures of Ataturk and people writing their Turkey books. One of these, whose name was Charles, and I had known him at Cambridge, walked into this café garden while we were there (*Towers*, 25).

Macaulay utilised the popular image of spying³³ as a sub-plot of the book which is used as an excuse for the mysterious vanishing of Aunt Dot and Father Chantry-Pig at the Russian border; 'Dorothy has gone through the curtain to spy' (*Towers*, 121).

In relation to the second part of the book which deals with Aunt Dot's and Father Chantry-Pigg's trespassing on the Russian border and speculation about their disappearance, Alice R. Bensen makes a general comment concerning this particular theme of spying:

Although this adventure is the least integrated part of the plot, it was highly topical in the mid-1950's when two British physicists had just deserted to Russia and when all countries were jittery from spy-scares and were tightening their visa restrictions³⁴.

The first introduction of spies to the reader is made at the beginning of the journey as the group of three visit the British Cemetery and other historical sites of Dardanelles, where 'the two British spies got up as Turks stood among the rest, spying out the military secrets of Troas' (*Towers*, 34). The number of international spies in Turkey is hinted at on occasions, as where 'Istanbul was a hot-bed of them, and Trebizond a nest' (*Towers*, 113). While Laurie converses with Aunt Dot about the spreading number of spies in the country, saying that 'all this spying was very interesting to us, as we had too often heard of it but had not known that it flourished in Turkey to this extent' (*Towers*, 112), she roughly calculates a figure in response to Aunt Dot's question about the number of spies they have already come across; 'About fifty so far, I should think. But of course there must be hundreds more that we haven't noticed, because they spy more quietly' (*Towers*, 113).

As the missionary group come across spies in every place they visit in Turkey they tend to interrupt their main task, which is to emancipate the enslaved women of the town of Trebizond by converting them to Christianity, and start conversing about the issue of spying. For example, Aunt Dot and Laurie start such a conversation in Trebizond:

'What would you think they are doing here?' I said. 'spying, naturally', said Aunt Dot. 'They had fishing-rods, and no doubt presently we shall be seeing them on the lake...' 'I wonder how much they are paid', said aunt Dot, 'and how often.' 'And who by', I said. 'Were they collecting it on the island, would you say?' (*Towers*, 112).

These interruptions continue on and off with the reappearance of 'the spies who murmured to one another in corners in various tongues' (*Towers*, 56) on the ship to Trebizond, and through various speculations on the disappearance of Aunt Dot and Father Chantry-Pigg, eventually conclude with their repatriation from Russia towards the end of the book.

Apart from the critical geopolitical situation of the country in the region, another reason for the vast number of spy affairs, which is ironically implied in the text itself, is reflected in the awkwardness and unprofessionality of Turkish authorities, particularly the police. The representation of Turkish police which is tough, abusive and vulgar in travel accounts such as *In Xanadu: A Quest* and *The Asiatics*, is designated ironically here as easy-going, incompetent and clumsy, endorsed by one of the spies himself who notes that 'even if you know Turkish, you can't get the better of the Turkish police, because they can't reason' (*Towers*, 27). Elsewhere, he makes a similar comment conversing with Laurie about the routine interrogations of two British spies by Turkish police:

'Will they lock them up?' I asked Charles. Charles said, 'dear me no, it was just a Turkish gesture'. He and David had been taken to police stations for spying again and again, but never kept more than an hour or two, while the police probed into their past lives and the lives of their parents and other relations, and wrote a report for the police chiefs, then they were given a drink and let out to spy again (*Towers*, 36-7).

Since Turkey became an important political concern to the west, particularly to the USA during the 1960s and 1970s, following the 1960 revolution and the military coup and the international discussions about the poppy plantations in the country, thrillers involving Turkey of the time such as *Nothing is the Number When You Die* (1965), *Black Amber* (1965), *Istanbul* (1965), *Diamonds Bid* (1967), *A Stench of Poppies* (1978) and *Trip Trap* (1972) are generally concerned with some internal motifs such as coup attempts, political assassination and drug producing and trafficking

In the course of these crucial decades in Turkish political history, Julian Rathbone with his five consecutive thrillers³⁵ about Turkey has employed a wide range of these popular motifs taking place in cities such as Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir. Rathbone held a post in Ankara college, Turkey, and he also taught part-time at Ankara

University in the Sixties, where he witnessed the 1960 revolution and subsequent sensational trials and attempts at further coups by extreme army groups. He was also aware of the political pressure brought by the USA on Turkey to halt hashish production, and subsequently he utilised such events in his writing.

In texts such as *The Chessboard Spies* (1969), *Diamonds Bid* (1967), the reader faces an internal conspiracy against the present state system in the form of revolution or military coup that might easily be triggered by the assassination of the president or any top figure in the country. This motif relies upon the former experiences of the country since the state-system shifted from the religious to the secular with the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, and the period of military coups started in the early 1960s.

In his earliest thriller about Turkey *Diamonds Bid*, Rathbone employs the coup image which is clearly inspired by the 1960 revolution. The story begins when an English teacher Jonathan Smollett witnesses a bribe change hands at a police station in Ankara, and accidentally overhears a coup being planned by members of the overthrown Democrat Party³⁶ Although he is told to leave the country as soon as possible by the conspirators, he cannot leave Ankara as he is already in love with an English woman married to one of the British Embassy staff. Instead, he prefers to tell the story to Nur Bey, the chief of the security forces in Ankara as he sometimes goes to Nur's house to teach English to his son attending college.

After various adventures, Jonathan learns that the underground committee are going to assassinate the current president and the prime minister of the country during a national procession in Ankara as the first step of their coup. Eventually, the conspiracy is unmasked and the assassination is prevented mainly due to Jonathan's heroic assistance of Turkish security forces, especially his personal co-operation with Nur Bey

and his deputy colleague Alp Bey, and he is allowed in return by Nur to smuggle the diamonds which he has taken from the French mistress of one of the conspirators through Istanbul Customs.

Another significant aspect of *Diamonds Bid* is its religious dimension with negative messages about Islam which is identified with the ideology of illegal organisation. While the members of the organisation, the supporters of the overthrown Democrat Party and its political inheritor the Justice Party, are designated as anti-regime fanatics, destroyers of the westernisation process in Turkey through attempting to corrupt the system, planning to assassinate the leading political figures of the country and preparing themselves for an imminent counter-coup, their underground movement is shown as fanatically religious: 'We are really a religious movement, we want to return to a government dedicated to reforming our nation as the Sword of Islam that it once was' (*Diamonds Bid*, 175). This notion of Islam which is shown as linked to the ideology of the villains in the novel becomes more explicit when it is emphasised that the underground organisation can gain support only from the mosque-builders, peasants, and imams rather than from the educated and westernised class in the cities (*Diamonds Bid*, 53).

So far as the image of Turkey in the later twentieth century is concerned it can be argued that the drug-phenomenon offers the most prominent image which has been utilised in a number of texts, principally travel accounts and films, whilst thrillers make use of this image either in the form of hashish planting and production or smuggling. When Simon analyses the thrillers and spy novels set in Turkey, she makes a classification in accordance with their themes or subject matter, and adds:

Turkey is the setting for detective stories and thrillers about the drug-trade. This include Joan Fleming's *Nothing is the Number When You Die* (1965), Nick Carter's *Istanbul* (1965) and Ivor Drummond's *A*

Stench of Poppies (1978), to name just three of many (*The Middle East*, 109).

The recurring image of drug-dealing substantially derives from the fact that Turkey had a potential hashish production under the tight control of the official state organs to be used for medical purposes. S. J. and E. K. Shaw suggest that this led to a diplomatic problem with the West (*History of the Ottoman Empire*, 432). As a consequence of international diplomatic pressure encouraged basically by the USA, Turkey agreed to stop production completely in 1971 after the 1972 crop was harvested and this decision brought about considerable internal criticism as:

Many Turks could not understand why they were forced to bear the brunt of solving the American drug problem while the United States did nothing to curb the health - endangering tobacco crop in its own country and allowed American drug companies to manufacture and export far more drugs than could be used in legitimate medical activities (*History of the Ottoman Empire*, 432).

After a time the Turkish government decided to distribute seed and provide the way for poppy production under strict government controls to prevent illicit drug-trafficking and in 1976 it was officially approved by the international Narcotics Control Board that these controls were fully effective and that there had not been any diversion or leakage to the illicit market³⁷. Despite this, the image of Turkey as a narcotics centre was so well-established that it continued unchanged.

Against the background of the drug industry in Turkey, novelists such as Eric Ambler, Ivor Drummond, Nick Carter, Joan Fleming and Julian Rathbone employed this popular myth in diverse forms ranging from poppy-planting to opium production, and from production to smuggling around the world. While in *A Stench of Poppies* (1978) the reader is taken to the fields of red and white poppies, Ivor Drummond presents the whole process of drug-trading which starts in the poppy fields of southwest Turkey and

concludes with the final smuggling to Europe by ruthless drug-running professionals headed by a cosmopolitan Turkish businessman, Mustafa Algan³⁸.

Joan Fleming in *When I Grow Rich* (1962), reveals a different variation of drug-trafficking run by a woman, Madame Miasme with a background of notoriety, and the smuggling is carried out by an airline-steward during a flight from Istanbul to Hong Kong. In others like Phyllis A. Whitney's *Black Amber* (1965), the emphasis is on the professional processing of heroin out of raw poppies in irregular workshops or laboratories, and eventually the smuggling of hashish into different countries, particularly to Europe via Italy, in different ways. The story begins with a metaphorical identification of 'black amber' symbolising death and the mysterious disappearance of an American girl in Istanbul when she stumbles upon the drug-production and smuggling by the Turkish family members with whom she is staying³⁹. Unlike other thrillers, Nick Carter's *Istanbul* (1965) introduces an adventure story of the destruction of the poppy plantation and execution of four heroin producers by a typical American narcotics agent⁴⁰.

The association of Turkey and drug smuggling is there in *The Asiatics* when the narrator is asked by Mr. Sulciman to take some satchels containing opium to Trabzon by sea in return for money as he is desperately in need of cash:

I shall give you a package of small tins wrapped in water-proof cloth. These I shall place in a small satchel. The satchel I give to you. You take the satchel upon the ship. You sail tomorrow evening. The next morning you approach Trebizond, opposite the peak of a hill, you will look at the water with great care. You will observe a certain floating buoy. Near this buoy you drop the satchel into the water. That is all. I knew, of course, what would be in the little tins, infinitely precious and secret. *Opium* (*The Asiatics*, 41-2).

In some cases, heroin is hidden in Turkish delight which is packed to send abroad as presents; or camouflaged inside the artefacts or fake archaeological pieces as

souvenirs in order to avoid the customs. For example, in *When I Grow Rich* (1962), after witnessing a mysterious murder at Istanbul airport, Nuri Bey panics and rushes out carrying a case supposedly full of Turkish delight to be sent to Hong Kong. He then decides to open the case to satisfy his curiosity about its actual contents:

Naturally I examined the case. I went to a public loo and opened it and I undid the packets of locum;...but inside they were solid blocks of heavy green stuff that smelt pretty horrid. Anyone with any sense could see it was raw opium, or something like that, mechanically compressed and cut into blocks the same size as a box of locum⁴¹.

Another important motif which is sometimes interwoven with the drug trade from the poppy fields through raw hashish to pure heroin powder, is the smuggling of antiques and archaeological treasures, priceless carpets, or jewellery and diamonds. The motif of antique smuggling that is more frequently employed by thriller writers, appears to originate from the fact that Turkey is situated in an unusual area in terms of cultural heritage, for the country embraced different civilisations including the Roman, Hittite, Byzantine and Ottoman. Under these circumstances, Turkey has welcomed archaeological excavations and investigations which have resulted in many valuable finds, mainly under the auspices of western institutions. Later, this led to numerous illegal excavations, and illegal marketing of the finds by both native and foreign smugglers as testified by the display of several pieces in different western museums.

The motif of antique smuggling recurs in the works of writers such as Merry L. Settle, Ivor Drummond or Julian Rathbone. For instance, Ivor Drummond uses this issue in his novel *A Stench of Poppies* (1978) in which the combination of drug and antique smuggling is run by a well-known Turk who has the best carpet shop in the Covered Bazaar, for he is professionally interested in such antique-items as pre-historic and historic pieces. In William Glazebrook's travel book *Journey to Kars* (1984) antique-smuggling is run by M. Mestan, the narrator's landlord during his stay in the Aegean

part of the country, who buys ancient coins and statues from the local shepherds at a low price and sells them at an inflated profit to the visiting dealers or tourists (*Journey to Kars*, 68-71). In *In Xanadu: A Quest* the narrator comments that: 'In fact my anxieties were needless; pieces of roof-tile we had managed to smuggle out of the site were later dated by the Fitz-William Museum as thirteenth-century Mongol, thus somewhat buttressing our classics' (*In Xanadu*, 301).

In some cases, there seems to be a close combination of smuggling drugs, antiques and other valuable stones. This combination is strikingly exercised in *A Stench of Poppies* by Mr. Algan, who is very keen on antiques, whereas in Rathbone's *Diamonds Bid* the political conspiracy is connected with the smuggling of diamonds.

In *Trip Trap*, Rathbone creates sensational images of drug-trafficking and antique smuggling in accordance with the historical and agricultural characteristics of the region, the Aegean part of Turkey being well-known for its archaeological sites and its huge opium fields. He provides a short synopsis about the nature of drug cultivation in Turkey through Nur Arslan, the chief detective, at the beginning of the novel who says that 'Papaver Somniferum was the most profitable cash crop of several thousand peasants who would otherwise live on or near famine level' (*Trip Trap*, 11). He also reveals that drug smuggling can be carried out along with antique trading as statues can be stuffed with opium before being shipped out through Izmir to Europe. Nur Bey exposes this trade:

We shall take samples from each statue that contains opium...Barish Uz. We have found sufficient evidence to convict you of buying opium and attempting to smuggle it out of Turkey...However, you are also smuggling antiquities (*Trip Trap*, 189-91).

Evidently, it is less risky to smuggle opium camouflaged in statues and bronzes since these artefacts have to be officially approved for export by bribing experts and Customs

officials, and it seems more profitable, as confessed by the chief operator of the business that: 'My net profit on the opium would have been no more than fifty thousand dollars; my profit on the statues could have been a hundred thousands' (*Trip Trap*, 200).

When Edward Amberley, a middle-aged English representative of a manufacturing company, comes to Izmir to demonstrate his products at the Izmir Fair he meets Lilak Adler, who works for the Turkish mafia of drug-traffickers and antique smugglers. She suggests that he smuggles opium and artefacts to Europe via Italy as it will be easier and less risky to hide the stuff in his products, mainly tractors and ploughs:

Mr Amberley, I have a friend. A close friend to whom I owe a service. This friend needs to remove from Turkey to Europe four bulky objects. I think you can help him...In the country any friend's goods could be put into your cases which could be re-sealed in the presence of a very minor Customs official who would be quite reliable from our point of view. The cases...would leave without further Customs check (*Trip Trap*, 67).

In return, he is ensured that he will get back his own diamonds and other jewellery confiscated by the Turkish customs. After a while he is introduced to Colonel Nur, whose professional skill stems from his western education, by Diana Ashington, whose boyfriend has been murdered by the mafia, and eventually in co-operation with them Nur Bey succeeds in uncovering the illegal business and arrests the criminals as expected.

Subsequent to World War II, the typical historical figures standing for the old Empire like the 'Eunuch of Stamboul' Kazdim, who appears frequently in the early thrillers, tends to disappear, and instead Istanbul and other big cities like Ankara, Izmir and so on have become the centres of international intrigue populated with white Russians, Hungarian countesses (as in Georges Simenon's *The Client of Avrenos*)

Communist and Balkan fellow travellers, German, and American, French and British agents.

It should also be noted that in these political espionage and terrorist conspiracies, the complicated and difficult situation is heroically resolved by the American or British agent - rarely in co-operation with the Turkish authorities - who usually uncovers the communist, Nazi or internal conspiracy behind the terrorist activities, and there is usually a scapegoat of different nationality or ethnic group living in Turkey such as Russians, Georgians, Romanians, Kurds or Arabs. For example, a Romanian is hired by a Nazi agent to assassinate Graham, the British businessman in *Journey Into Fear* (1966). Moreover, while Grotrian, the embittered Russian scientist is introduced to readers as an expert marketer of the seeds of a new strain of poppy in *A Stench of Poppies* (1978), the drug-trafficking is carried out by Kurdish nomads in southern Turkey as they illegally pass through the Syrian border in *Istanbul* (1965).

Although a new century may provide new images through significant historical, political and economic changes, earlier images still remain influential with a new interpretation or application. The images of Turkey which stem from the Ottoman period something that will be discussed later in this chapter under headings such as the Crusades, the Fall of Constantinople, the Greek War of Independence, the Crimean War were also carried into the twentieth century.

When Jorge Luis Borges visited Turkey in the early 1980s he encountered a disappointing contradiction between what had previously been said and written about Turkey and what he actually observed in Istanbul. He comments:

We think of a cruel country. This notion dates from the Crusades, which were the most cruel enterprise in recorded history, and the least condemned. We think of Christian hatred, perhaps not inferior to equally fanatical Islamic hatred. In the West, we note the lack of a

great Turkish name among these Ottomans. The sole name to remain with us is that of Sulciman the Magnificent (e solo, in parte, vidi 'il Saladino)⁴².

The impact of such historical stereotypes could still be perceived in the 1980s. When Christie Davies examines Turkey within the context of the European Community, he mentions the difficulties of its membership referring, as one of the handicaps, to the prevalent influence of the previous adverse images upon twentieth century European public opinion and adds:

The fearful image of the Turk and the Moor even reached England where many a British pub bears the name and the fierce turbaned and bearded sign of 'The Turk's Head.' In its last phase the Turkish Empire saw the massive persecution and slaughter of Greeks, Bulgarians and Armenians which caused immense moral indignation in Christian and humanitarian order in Northern Europe and especially in Britain⁴³.

There are a great many references to earlier historical figures, stories and places throughout twentieth century writing about Turkey with tangible emphases on certain figures of notoriety and tyranny such as the harem Eunuch as well as on depressing settings like the Seraglio with the associated stories about the abuse or executions of harem wives.

Despite the fact that travellers such as Philip Glazebrook, Rose Macaulay, Frederick Prokosch and William Dalrymple visited Turkey in different periods of the twentieth century, they still appear to have been preoccupied with particular evocations of the past, and refer to the 'unusual' or 'exotic' from the texts of their predecessors. For example, although he travelled to Turkey in the early 1980s, Philip Glazebrook states that: 'It was Turkey's past that I was interested in, the 'past' which was the contemporary scene to nineteenth-century travellers' (*Journey to Kars*, 86).

Some travellers of different educational backgrounds such as Eric Newby, Philip Glazerook, Paul Theroux and Mary Lee Settle, and archaeologists and historians in particular, such as William Dalrymple often embellish their accounts with quotations from previous travellers or other sources ranging from *historical texts to individual reminiscences*.

Walking from Edinburgh to Jerusalem following the route of the First Crusade, and then that of Marco Polo, in his *In Xanadu: A Quest (1989)*, Dalrymple refers to well-known figures who travelled to the region before, such as Marco Polo and Lord Byron in order to be more effective and convincing in his re-presentation of previous images mainly related to Turkish brutality:

Marco Polo came to the Holy Sepulchre in the autumn of 1271. Jerusalem had finally been lost to Islam thirty years previously, and the Sepulchre would have been semi derelict when Polo saw it. The Turks who captured Jerusalem in 1244 had butchered the priests inside, desecrated the tombs of the Kings of Jerusalem, and burned the church to the ground (*In Xanadu, 6*).

In another part of his book, as he tries to draw a general panorama of twentieth-century Turkish people by emphasising their oddities, and he refers to Byron's ironic remark about the Turks:

I see not much difference between ourselves and the Turks, save that we have foreskins and they have none, that they have long dresses and we short, and that we talk much and they little. In England the vices in fashion are whoring and drinking, in Turkey sodomy and smoking, we prefer a girl and a bottle, they a pipe and a pathic. They are sensible people (*In Xanadu, 63*).

Another indirect reference to Byron indicating antipathy towards the Turks is conveyed through an Arab character as he remarks that: 'Mr. Byron didn't like the Turks. Always he is fighting with the Arabs against the Turks who many years ago were enslaving the Arab people' (*In Xanadu, 47*).

Whilst he is apparently inspired by the previous travel writers, especially by those of the Victorian era, such as Alexander William Kinglake and Eliot Warburton, a similar stylistic attitude seems to be prevalent in P. Glazebrook's *Journey to Kars* (1984) when he reminds the reader on his first arrival in Athens before going on to Turkey, of Turkish brutality through quoting from Warburton:

Around this ruin [Jupiter Olympus] was the profoundest silence, and it stood utterly alone...the only living creature a Turk, whose barbaric garb harmonised, to my mind at least, with the scene in which I found him. It was his ruthless race which had made Athens desolate (*Journey to Kars*, 28-9).

Eric Newby refers to previous travel accounts such as Corneille Le Brayn's *Voyage au Levant* (1725) and Edward Daniel Clarke's *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa* (1816), and to some individual reminiscences of those who had been to Istanbul on different occasions, such as Master Thomas Dallam, a cockney organ-maker, sent to Constantinople in 1599 to erect in the Selamlık an hydraulic organ he had built. Newby also cites historical texts concerning the region such as Dimitrius Cantemir's *History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire* (1734) and Francis Mc Cullach's *The Fall of Abd-ul-Hamid* (1910), while he refers to *Voyage au Levant*, which tells the tragic story of an 'unfortunate Venetian interpreter, a Signor Grellet, who, in about 1680, was hanged from his windows, which overlooked the gardens of the Grand Seraglio, for daring to gaze at Sultan Mehmed IV and his ladies through a telescope'⁴⁴. He relates brutal murder such as the following:

Ibrahim was kept prisoner in the Kafes from the age of two until he became sultan at the age of twenty-four. No wonder he was as mad as a hatter. At the end of his reign he was returned to it to be murdered by the deaf-mutes with slit tongues and punctured ear-drums which enabled them to resist any cries for mercy (*On the Shores*, 216).

In *Turkish Reflections* (1991), M.L. Settle does not only refer to earlier travellers such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Alexander William Kinglake but she also refers to twentieth-century figures who, in the main, wrote about Istanbul in different ways:

We have heard about so much, to find an Istanbul I already thought I knew-my city of presuppositions-whispers and memoirs of pashas and harems and sultans and girls with almond eyes, the Orient Express of Agatha Christie, the spies of Eric Ambler, the civilised letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (*Turkish Reflections*, 37)

As can be understood from various implicit or explicit references throughout, the characters' missionary expedition to Turkey in *The Towers of Trebizond* is influenced by the previous figures who travelled to and wrote about the region such as H.F.B. Lynch, Patrick Kinross, Talbot Rice and Finlay. In other words, prior to her journey to Trebizond, Macaulay had already been introduced to the history, culture and archaeology of the city through some previous works as she notes in the book itself:

'I got to know Trebizond, and particularly the ruined citadel and palace, pretty well before I had done with it. There is all about it, with maps and plans, in a very large good book on Armenian travels by H.F.B. Lynch, who was there about sixty years ago, and a good description of Trebizond to-day, and all the Byzantine churches, in Patrick Kinross's Turkey book, and there is a large history of it in German, which is therefore not easy to read, and some good shorter histories, and all about the church painting, by Professor Talbot Rice, and the Empire of Trebizond has a long section in Finlay's *History of Greece*...Mr. H.F.B. Lynch, for instance, in the eighteen nineties, who had stayed in the city for a long time making explorations, maps and plans, and taking notes for a large and remarkable book, had then gone on into Armenia and had climbed Ararat. He had shown a good deal of sympathy, still legendary in Trabzon, for the then recently massacred Armenians. Lord Kinross too, who had been in Trabzon lately, had been thought to have too lively an interest in alleged Armenian church architecture' (*Towers*, 72-80).

The impact of these figures is emphasised in references on several occasions, as, for example 'one keeps remembering what Lynch says about Turkish women in his book - they appear conscious of some immense and inexplicable sin' (*Towers*, 111). Another reference to the history and geography of Trebizond is made through Finlay:

'The Empire of Trebizond has a long section in Finlay's *History of Greece*, but Finlay disapproved of Trapezuntines, and says at the end: "In concluding the history of this Greek state, we inquire in vain for any benefit that it conferred on the human race," for the tumultuous agitation of its stream, he said, did not purify a single drop of the water of life' (*Towers*, 72).

These references are made especially by Laurie, the narrator, usually in the form of a brief historical and religious synopsis in relation to a particular place visited in Turkey. At the beginning of the expedition when the group come to Troy, Laurie points out in reference to Father Chantry-Pigg that:

It seemed that his father, who had been a dean interested in St. Paul, had visited this place in 1880, in order to follow up St. Paul's doings there, and had said ever since that its ruins were among the most beautiful Roman ruins in the world, largely owing to being half buried in volonia oak woods, and having fine arches that were partly in the sea. This was what was said by most of the eighteenth and nineteenth century visitors, and many travellers (*Towers*, 31).

In another example, Laurie reads Charles's manuscript about Trebizond which seems to be very interesting and detailed to her, and she eventually infers from what she has already read that:

Charles also quoted things from the books of old travellers such as Bessarion in the 15th century, and Evliya Efendi in the 17th century, and various 19th century tourists, so that one got many views of Trebizond, how it had looked at different times, and he had put in bits from H.F.B. Lynch, and descriptions of church paintings from Professor David Talbot Rice, and a lot more, besides what he had invented himself, so that altogether it was a very interesting manuscript (*Towers*, 138-9).

Moreover, when she mentions the churches of Trebizond some of which have disappeared, she also refers to Charles's detailed information about them and states: 'Charles had a list of a lot of them, and what state they are now in, and I could see that he had got it from Lynch and from David Talbot Rice and Patrick Kinross, and I thought he ought to have acknowledged these books' (*Towers*, 146).

Discussing the art of travel and travel writing with regard to Theroux's accounts, Elton Glaser takes into account the writer's use of previous texts and authors such as Kipling, David McCullough, Arthur Morelet, William Kinglake, Henry James, and suggests that Theroux also frequently mentions writers or books connected with the country he happens to be travelling through⁴⁵.

Representations of Turkey in twentieth-century literature have not been exclusively generated in the twentieth century, but are the product of a long historical literary process because the vast majority of the texts has a historical context or attribution. In order to understand and appreciate twentieth century images, it is also necessary to demonstrate their historical background.

A-Early Reflections on the Turks

In spite of their long and richly varied history, apart from early encounters during the Crusades, the Turks hardly appear in Pre-Renaissance western literature until the Fall of Constantinople in 1453:

Historically, the Turks have been known to us for almost two milleniums - since the second Century B.C. And how many great empires they have created during those long centuries in the various countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe! Yet only small fractions of their history have been examined and these superficially⁴⁶.

Most of the information about the Turks in English may have been taken from translations from different languages, particularly from Latin and French, or from travel accounts or diaries written by merchants, traders etc. travelling to the Middle East and the Levant. From the sixteenth century onwards, publications about the Turks, both translations and English originals, can be divided under certain headings: pamphlets and newspapers; books giving information about the history, government, manners, religion, etc. of the Turks; books about the Muslim religion; literary texts about Turkish figures⁴⁷.

In the wake of the Fall of Constantinople, the medieval concept of the Turk in the West was dictated by religious fanaticism against the 'infidel', and reflecting the Christian Crusader spirit of viewing the Muslim as the child of the devil or the follower of the imposter prophet Muhammad, the image of the Turk tends to have negative connotations:

The word 'Turk' was mainly used in two ways, as a generic name for an Islamic state with its own characteristic institutions of government and military; and as a description of behaviour or character - the Turk being of nature cruel and heartless⁴⁸.

In his *First Book of the Introduction of Knowledge (1547)*, Andrew Borde reflects an unfavourable image of the Turk as infidel whose habits and beliefs contradict the Christian equivalents:

I am a Turk, and Machamytes law to kepe; I do proll for my pray whan other be a slepe; My law wyllith me no swynes flesh to eate; It shal not greatly forse, for I have other meate. In usyng my rayment I am not varyable, nor of promis I am not mutable⁴⁹.

Berna Moran's bibliography of English publications about the Turks from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth⁵⁰ reveals that most of the documents (generally historical and literary) referring to the Turks date from the sixteenth century onwards. In these early documents, basically because of the bloody wars between the Muslim Turks and

Christian Europe, the strength and greatness of the Turks is presented as a form of cruelty and barbarism. A similar opinion is written in a report translated from German into English (1566):

Newes from Vienna the 5. day of August 1566 of the strong Towne and Gastell of Jula in Hungary, xi myles beyond the river Danubius, which was cruelly assaulted by the great Turke, but nowe by Gods mighty working relieued, and the sayd Turke marueylouslye discomfited and ouerthrowen⁵¹.

Besides R. Stafforde's *A Geographical and Anthological Description of All the Empires and Kingdoms* (1607)⁵², which partly deals with the situation, manners, customs, provinces and governments of the Turks, one of the early books about the Turks is R. Carr's *The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie* (1600) consisting of three books; *Of the origin and beginning of the Turks*; *Of their conquests until the present reign of Mehmet the third*; *Of the wars and siege of Malta*. The book, actually translated from Italian and French historians includes five chapters. In the first chapter there is a short history of Islam; then follows Ottoman history from the beginning until Mehmet III, the siege of Malta, the fall of Cyprus and discussion of the reasons for the magnificence and strength of the Ottoman Empire⁵³.

Another well-known English book concerning Turkish history is Richard Knolles's *The General History of the Turks* (1603)⁵⁴ which was regarded as a good reference book for a long time in the West (*English Theatre*, 6). Knolles's work, published several times subsequent to its first and second editions during his lifetime, covers the period from the first appearance of the Turks to the rising of the Ottomans, with all the notable expeditions of Christian princes against them, together with the lives and conquests of the Ottoman Kings and Emperors. As can be understood from the preface referring to historians such as Marinus Barletius, J. Leundavius, J. Fontanus, A. Busbequius, Nicholas Nicholay, P. Jovius and so forth, the text was a compilation of

different historical sources, both ancient and modern. Despite the fact that it was *praised* by many literary figures such as Johnson, Southey and Lord Byron in ensuing centuries, the work has subsequently been criticised for being a collection of Latin bits and pieces with unreliable prejudices (*The Bibliography*, 43) and as Bisbee remarks: 'Whenever an educated Turk dipped into western histories of civilisation or books on Turkey, he ran into unpleasant passages about his own people'⁵⁵. Afterwards, P. Rycaut made use of this work writing *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire (1668)*⁵⁶ in which he presents maxims of Turkish politics, material points of their religion, their sects and heresies. Their military discipline, with an exact computation of their forces both by land and sea, is also emphasised.

B-Turks on the Early English Stage

The expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries down as far as the Persian Gulf and northwards through the Balkans including parts of present day Hungary, Croatia and Slovenia, across the Caucasus, to Cyprus and Crete, culminating in the siege of the city of Vienna twice (1529 and 1689), deeply worried Europe. In addition to the fear of Ottoman expansion into the heart of Europe through numerous victories in the sixteenth century, the new Anglo-Ottoman economic relations that were officially started with the establishment of the Levant Company by a group of merchants from London under the auspices of Queen Elizabeth in 1581 led to a surge of interest in Turks, their religion, history and culture. This new interest was also felt in a variety of literary texts such as plays, prose fiction and travel accounts.

The fact that a great number of plays were written about the Turks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries proves that the Turks were a subject of great interest for the English people; and this interest continued on into the eighteenth century as well (*English Theatre*, 344). The earliest plays about the Turks can be traced back to 1580.

From that time up to the end of the seventeenth century lots of plays were written with a few or even with all the characters in them being Turks. Utilising Turkish history as source material, these plays were written according to the theatrical taste of the time.

The best known images of Turks which appeared on the early English stage generally portray the conflict as opposition between Christians and Turks. In most of these plays, sensuality and cruelty seem to be dominant characteristics of the Turks. The focus is on pride, passion, horror, cruelty, revenge, intrigue, treachery, i.e. the Turks are portrayed as the incarnation of such motifs, as in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*, Mason's *The Turks*, Graville's *Mustapha* and Carlell's *Osmand the Great Turk*. Ithamore, the Turkish slave whom Barabas bought in the slave-market in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* is designated as an agent of the devil, an agent that works on the destruction of Christendom. He is introduced to the audience through his utterances about his cruel past, how he set Christian villages on fire, chained eunuchs, mistreated galley-slaves, and assassinated western travellers by cutting their throats at night⁵⁷. Another such example is to be found when Othello expresses his contempt and condemnation of the Turks before his tragic suicide at the end of the play:

And say, besides, that in Aleppo once,
Where a malignant and a turban'd Turk
Beat a Venetian and traduc'd the state,
I took by th' throat the circumcised dog,
And smote him thus (v.ii 354-358)⁵⁸.

This trend in play-writing, exemplified by Christopher Marlowe with his *Tamburlane the Great* (1590) and *The Jew of Malta* (1592) was carried on by his contemporaries and successors. The list, particularly in the form of tragedy, includes such texts as Thomas Kyd's *The Tragedy of Soliman and Perseda* (1599), Fulke Greville's *The Tragedy of Mustapha* (1609), John Mason's *The Turks* (1610), Robert Daborne's *Christian turn'd Turke* (1612), Thomas Goffe's *The Raging Turke or Bajazet*

the Second (1631), Ladowick Carlell's *The Famous Tragedy of Osmand the Great Turk* (1657), Nevile Payne's *The Siege of Constantinople* (1675), Elkonah Settle's *Ibrahim the Illustrious Bassa* (1677), and Mary Pix's *Ibrahim the Thirteenth Emperor of the Turks* (1696) (*The Bibliography*, 20-55).

In his *A Critical Edition of Thomas Goffe's The Raging Tyrke or Baiazet the Second* (1631), Ahmed Alam El-Deen states that the stories concerning Turks, usually with some negative connotations of cruelty, malice and violence, not only impressed and appealed to the English public, but also motivated English playwrights to introduce Turkish characters in their plays: "To satisfy the popular demand, playwrights - like Marlowe, Kyd, Shakespeare, Heywood, Messinger, Peele and Goffe - resorted to Turkish history as a source of material"⁵⁹. He also notes that 'playwrights portrayed the Turks as ruthless, brutal villains, and this portrayal drew large audiences to the theatres... The gruesome, malicious Turkish character became extremely popular on the English stage' (*A Critical Edition*, 56).

Rana Kabbani analyses the general characteristics of Elizabethan plays and points out that:

The Saracen, the Turk, ... were key villains in the drama of the period, crudely depicted as such by the lesser playwrights, but drawn with more subtle gradations by a Marlowe or a Shakespeare. Although Shakespeare 'whitewashes' Othello by making him a servant of the Venetian state, a soldier fighting for a Christian power, and most importantly, a killer of Turks⁶⁰.

Similarly, Simon Shepherd maintains that there was a fashion for plays about the Turks (and other Islamic nations) in late Elizabethan drama in his examination of the nature of Elizabethan plays in relation to politics in which he describes the depiction of the cruelty of the Turks as analogous to that of the Catholics (*Marlowe and the Politics*, 142). In other words, Protestant propaganda compared the alleged cruelty of Catholics

in general and Spaniards in particular to that of Turks in order to emphasise the critical political situation between Protestant England and Catholic Spain during this period which was simply expressed in reference to Foxe's speech to Protestants when he pointed out that:

The Turk with his sword is not so cruel but the Bishop of Rome on the other side is more fierce and bitter against us...such dissension and hostility Satan hath sent among us that Turks be not more enemies to Christians than Christians to Christian, Popists to Protestants (*Marlowe and the Politics*, 144).

With regard to such eighteenth-century plays as *The Christian Hero* (1735), *Zoraida* (1780) and *The Siege of Belgrade* (1791) playwrights continued to take interest in the sensuality, passion, cruelty, injustice of the Turkish sultans in horrible court intrigues, rebellions and in the murder of the sultans, which were usually caused by rivalry in love. These bloody subjects were, for the most part, treated in heroic plays, a type of drama in which love-passion is the prime motivation. There is usually a conflict between love and honour, and it usually ends with the triumph of love. Such noble feelings as fame, friendship, duty etc. should kneel before love. Heroic plays are also rich in spectacle; and the speeches of the characters abound in exaggeration, rant and bombast. As for the Turkish characters in the plays: sensuality appears as the dominant characteristic of the Turks both in the tragedies and in the comedies. In the former it is followed by cruelty, pride, passion and treachery as the wicked tyrant who is always either a Turkish Sultan or a Pasha or a General usually separates two virtuous lovers by falling in love with the girl he has kept in his possession through force. These are some of the qualities that the Turks had inherited from the Renaissance drama (*English Theatre*, 345-7).

C-Turks in Travel Writings and Prose Fiction

Taking into account that 'the Turks, the Chinese, in fact almost every nationality, was dissected either directly or indirectly by a long line of travel writers'⁶¹, a great part of the early stereotypes and images of Turkey was created through travel accounts with specific religious positions and value judgements on the Islamic world, which had been in conflict with Christian Europe, often violently, since the Crusades between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. The travel accounts of mainly pilgrims and priests who travelled to the Holy Land are marked by a representation of the Turks in Europe which reflected the Christian view of the Muslim as the child of the devil or the follower of the impostor prophet.

As Adams points out, 'slaves and pirates were popular in travel literature long before *Robinson Crusoe*, however even before *Don Quixote*' (*Travel Literature*, 125), some motifs reflecting the Turkish threat to European sea trade, especially in the Mediterranean began to appear. For example, Rabelais's *Pantagruel* (1532) tells the story of a captive girl in Turkey and notes customs such as the injunction against wine and the great number of dogs, while Gomberville's *Polexandre* (1629) presents various Turkish local traditions such as the Turkish system of military promotion based only on merit; a royal wedding; the fiery passion of the Turks (*Travel Literature*, 113).

So far as the image of the Turk is concerned one of the prominent works is *The Letters Writ by A Turkish Spy*, which is a collection of letters supposedly written by a Turkish agent. It has been generally assumed that the author was Giovanni Paolo Marana (1642-93), a Genoese journalist and political refugee residing in Paris. He was accepted in the Court of Louis XIV on April 15, 1683 with a prospectus for his work, including more than 500 letters to be entitled 'L'exploratore turco e le di lui pratiche segrete con la Porta Ottomana'⁶². The first volume of the book (*Espion turc*) appeared in

1684 published in Paris including 30 letters. The final version - having suffered the exigencies of various translators and publishers in Paris, London, Amsterdam, and Cologne - reached its ultimate size of 744 letters in a nine volume set published in Amsterdam in 1756, although the work consisted of 631 letters arranged into 30 separate books published in an eight volume set by 1694. The collection survived longest in England, and the last complete edition was published in London and Edinburgh in 1801. The first edition (1687-94) was published in London by C. Rhodes with William Bradshaw's assistance as a translation from Italian into English.

The book won popularity by thrilling and satisfying the new bourgeois reading public with its pseudo-secret revelations of the intrigues of a foreign observer (a Turk) who lived 45 years in the capital of one of the most powerful Christian monarchies of western Europe. On the one hand, many literary histories mention it as the ancestor of a long line of spy works and travel journals, of which the best known are Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1722)⁶³ and Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* (1762). On the other hand, it presents the social, philosophical, and religious environment of the age as pointed out by Joseph Tucker:

The Espion turc [Turkish spy] is remembered today as a vigorous chapter in the history of late seventeenth century liberalism, as a model in its themes and techniques of exposition for the philosophers. Nowhere, I suppose, outside the great corpus of Voltaire's work is there to be found a discussion of such wide range of the major themes of the Enlightenment⁶⁴.

Moreover, as his book has been presumed to be a narrative of travel with an exotically-coloured language, Marana was most likely aware of some of the previous works on this topic. Italian nobleman and traveller Pietro Della Valle's narrative voyages written in letter form and divided into three parts (travels in Turkey, in Persia, and in India) provided a stimulating paradigm⁶⁵. Another important literary figure who

contributed to Marana's satiric method in his book is Traiano Boccalini. His *Ragguagli di Parnaso (Reports from Parnasus) (1612)*⁶⁶ is written in the form of a gazette rather than letters and the reports in the book are satirical in tone. Making use of such previous works, Marana creates his work as a journey into a world of unfamiliar sights and experiences exposing reader and foreign observer alike to repeated shocks. Accustomed judgements and values, assumed to be universal, are questioned; since the spy was also a philosopher, he began to seek the truth of his situation by initially comprehending opposites, polarities, antitheses, and ambiguities everywhere.

While Mahmut, the first person narrator, makes a logical arrangement with little emotional appeal in one letter written to Venerable Mufti concerning Catholicism's hierarchy and the best approach to weakening its power in Europe, he tries to show a graceful manner of style as much as possible in the letter without confusing any of its ideas or without delaying the deliberate revelation of its thinking:

Weigh this thought well, and thou wilt find that the Order of Bishops is essential and necessary to the good estate of Christendom; and, that the only way for the Musselmans to undermine all Europe, will be to supplant this Order, and introduce an ecclesiastic independency among the priests; by which means everyone shall assume to himself, not only his proper fragment of the torn dignity but the whole fundamental power of a Bishop... In time, will follow innumerable inconveniences, distastes, and broils; and perhaps as many schisms, as there are particular priests to head them: since everyone will be apt to think himself capable of dictating to all the rest,... Thus will there be a clear stage for ambition, avarice, and lust to act their parts on: when... the greatest part shall be so divided, that... it will then be easy either by thy intelligible reasons in the Koran, or the more cogent arguments of the sword, to plant the true and undefiled Faith in these countries⁶⁷.

In another letter which is addressed to his young naive cousin, who is asking how to conduct himself towards his wife he tries a logical, reasoned approach to the problem

but reveals more dependence on the subtle, emotive devices of momentum and simple association:

Thou wilt, in my opinion, find it difficult to be happy, with or without this woman. She is given thee by Fate, to poise the balance of thy life... Should'st thou deal unkindly by her, thy generous soul would regret it the next moment... And yet, I must confess, 'tis hard to be confined to a fierce woman's tongue, to bear reproaches and contumelies... who, that's a man can brook such slavery? Who, that has but a spark of fire within this softness?...I would counsel thee to take successively five-hundred wives, rather than make thy life miserable, by too much love...to one that knows not how to use thy favors ('To the Reader', *II.i.2*).

Marana's *The Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy* inspired several eighteenth century writers such as those of *The Spectator* (April, 1711)⁶⁸ not only with its unusual material about the East but also its usefulness for earlier satiric and philosophic subjects. Addison and Steele used various Eastern elements from *The Turkish Spy Letters*⁶⁹ for social satire in a number of their narratives. In July 1717, Daniel Defoe contributed to the satirical pseudo-letter genre with material that is similar in form, tone and attitude to Marana's⁷⁰. Adopting the Oriental mask of a Turkish merchant living in Amsterdam who corresponds with the Grand Mufti (chief Minister of State) at Constantinople, a merchant - Kara Selim Oglan - satirises the manner by which Christians conduct themselves toward one another.

In the course of the eighteenth century, the fact that the Ottoman Empire, which was once a threat to the world, began to decline, made it possible for European powers to treat the Ottoman government as an instrument in order to acquire some political advantages. In the past, Europe had had cause to fear the Ottoman potential since they had for centuries directed their militant aggressive energy westward, but by the early eighteenth century the Empire was in decline, and ridden with decadence (*The Present State*). As a consequence of western concern, by the mid-eighteenth century the interest

in the Levant in England matured in at least three unusual respects. Horses and other domestic animals were often named 'sultan' or 'sultana'; decorations in the drawing room and fanciful structures in gardens or parks were built in the Oriental manner. Literary attention was also increasingly focused onto this particular region. As it became easier for travellers to go to Ottoman regions, particularly to Istanbul, there was a surge of curiosity to explore the mysterious East.

Since a great part of the Middle East was still under the rule of the Ottomans and the Caliphate of the Muslim world was represented by the Ottoman sultan, most of the tales of Persian, Indian and Arabic origin with their themes of jealousy, love, intrigue, revenge, adultery, incest, laws of the harem, and conversion to Islam for the ultimate salvation of the soul were associated with the existing themes about the Turks. For example, Aubin's *Strange Adventures of the Court de Vinevil (1721)* relates how Adelissa, the captive, escapes the Lustful Turk Osmin with the help of fire and an assassination (*Travel Literature*, 238).

Another typical travel book is Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes (Persian Letters)*. The work (first published in 1721 in Holland) was translated into English by John Ozell in 1722, and it had over ten printings within the first year of its appearance. It characterises the Turkish myth with more or less the similar evocations intermingled with some exotic elements such as seraglio and harem customs through designating Turkish women in cages or hampers on the back of the camels.

This tradition of writing emerges in works such as Beckford's *History of the Caliph Vathek*. It was originally composed in French and published in London in 1786. It was written by William Beckford, who did not pay a single visit to the region he was writing about, and used his family establishment at Fonthill as the primary setting for his Eastern tale, colouring and transforming it with the resources of a highly vivid

imagination. He is reported to have said; 'I had to elevate, exaggerate, and orientalise everything'⁷¹. The novel takes up the themes of ambition, the quest for power, sadistic sensualism, sexual perversity, and so forth which were developed in a number of pictures and episodes taken from an imaginary world. It also inspired a number of imitative works, as well as numerous references and editions. For example, as a result of such an inspiration, Byron chose a Turkish setting for a tale of horror during the famous contest between Shelley, Mary Shelley and himself and started to write a story about a vampire, taking Izmir as the setting, which revealed his association of Turkey with cruelty and terror⁷². Byron's poems known as *Turkish Tales* and *Hadji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) can be included as they both reproduced similar images embellished by their imagination without first hand observation of the Turks and their culture. However, The letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, from the mid eighteenth century, appear to be relatively more objective and tolerant, and stand in contrast to other accounts focusing on religion, sensuality and sexual perversions.

Owing to 'the fact that travellers could embellish real accounts or that they and non-travellers did invent some or all of what seemed to be authentic' (*Travel Literature*, 74), it will be useful to note that various travel accounts, particularly those written between 1600 and 1800, are believed to have been about imaginary or false voyages rather than on actual ones. As regards fabrication and embellishment in travel-writing the admission of this comes from the travellers themselves. The practice indeed goes back to the second century AD and the work of Lucian, who, far from reproaching the practice, regarded it as lying within the tradition of the genre: 'I will say one thing that is true, and that is that I am a liar'⁷³. However, he emphasises his main discontent with the way in which travellers pretended to be so naive as to think no one would find them out.

Moreover, on the basis of her personal experience and observation of the people of Istanbul during her two-year stay, Lady Mary, in her letter dated 1st April, 1717, made the same complaint about those travellers who stayed too short a time to be able to report anything accurately and 'who can only pick up some confused information which is generally false, and they can give no better an account of the ways here than a French refugee, lodging in a Garret in Greek street could write of the Court of England'⁷⁴.

Similar accusations have been made against various eighteenth century travellers such as Daniel Defoe; for he is believed to have written his fictitious book, *New Voyage Round the World* (1724) and against Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (1721), as he apparently made use of various real or fictional travel books of his predecessors such as J. B. Tavernier (1676) and John Chardin (1686): 'Thus in a hundred ways Montesquieu took what he found in the travellers to the Orient, worked it over imaginatively, and incorporated it in a book' (*Travel Literature*, 115).

While some twentieth century scholars such as Jeffroy Atkinson (1920;1922), Marjorie Nicolson (1936) and Philip Gove (1941) have discussed this question Adams remarks that: 'some books are partly or wholly fabricated by real travellers, by their editors, or by writers who needed only a good library and an imagination' (*Travel Literature*, 72). Investigating this kind of travel fabrication in his *Travellers and Travel Liars: 1660-1800* (1962), as well as revising it in a separate chapter of *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (1983), Adams takes the beginning of the tradition back to earlier centuries since 'the tradition of traveller as liar is, in fact, as old as that for belletristic writers in general and for authors of long prose fiction in particular' (*Travel Literature*, 82). According to this investigation, Marco Polo and the author of *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1356) are indicated as the early performers of fabrication and embellishment and Adams notes they probably borrowed from contemporaneous

encyclopaedias and from travellers such as William of Boldensele (1336) and Oderic of Pordenore (1330) (*Travel Literature*, 73). He makes a similar accusation about the pilgrims, who often returned home and lied about their journeys.

Consequently, a general attribution to imaginary and fictitious accounts has been made by Irene L. Szyliowicz when she analyses travel accounts into groups with particular examples:

The interest in foreign lands and strange societies manifests itself in two literary genres: travel literature which was essentially 'objective' reportage, such as Tavernier's *Voyage en Turquie, en Perse aux Indes* (1676) and Bernier's *Voyages* (1699); and fantasy travel, for example, Rabelais's *Pantagruel* (1532), Motesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (1721)⁷⁵.

As the Ottoman Empire gradually started to decline and European countries received positive responses to their demands to open political, cultural and commercial relations with Turkey, western interest in the Turks and their life, religion, culture and traditions increased. In the light of various cultural and commercial treaties many people of different occupations visited Turkey and produced a great number of works describing seraglio life, women in the Turkish harem, courtly life in general and other exotic aspects of non-European culture.

D-The Search for the Exotic: Post Enlightenment Images of Turkey

If Paris can be considered the pivotal city of European civilisation in the late eighteenth century as a result of the French Revolution and its innovative impact upon social, political and cultural life, in the nineteenth century London began to assume similar prominence, as England became the first industrialised country and started to capture economic markets all over the world. Overseas, by the end of the Napoleonic wars, the commercial dominance of France in the Levant was being reversed in favour of

England. A new economic era opened up for England where factories sought new markets overseas under the protection of a strong imperial sea force.

Despite the scientific spirit of the nineteenth century that found major expression in advances in biological sciences and in medicine, coupled with the strong social and reforming temper of the times, pornography and pornographic writing became a very popular industry during the Victorian period especially through fiction and travel books⁷⁶. Eroticism was particularly repressed within British Victorian society and transferred either into the world of underground pornography, or to foreign lands, such as Ottoman Empire and other Eastern countries. As Mary Ann Stevens argues:

One of the preoccupations which profoundly affected the western understanding of the Near East was the belief that this region could satisfy the West's urge for exotic experience. Exoticism meant the artistic exploration of territories and ages in which the force flights of the imagination were possible because they lay outside the restrictive operation of classical rules. Despite the existence of 'Turqueries' in the eighteenth century, Romanticism's celebration of the primacy of the imagination, together with the pattern of early nineteenth century political and scholarly interests, guaranteed a position for the Islamic lands as one of the most effective locations for western expressions of exoticism⁷⁷.

When Kabbani points out that one dominant image of the Orient in nineteenth century writing is the Oriental sensuality and exoticism mainly associated with imaginary fantasies about Oriental women she makes a similar comment that the East is envisaged within the context of Romanticism as a repository for desires which were increasingly unsatisfied in a Europe dedicated to materialism.

This Coleridgean use of the East as a metaphor for sensuality and seductive sonority changed, later in the nineteenth century, into an explicit sexual message....The Orient of the western imagination provided respite from Victorian sexual repressiveness. It was used to express for the age the erotic longings that would have otherwise remained suppressed (*Europe's Myths of the Orient*, 36).

The western taste for the exotic in the nineteenth century can be seen as the legitimisation of an illicit desire for eroticism through representing the unacceptable side of Eastern life. Some writers of literary pornography during this period employed Eastern settings and characters to satisfy their readers' erotic expectations about mysterious peoples such as the Turks. Texts such as Byron's *The Giaour* and *Don Juan* (especially cantos 5-8) which focus on images of the Oriental harem reveal the figure of the veiled Eastern girl symbolising the colonial Other, created by a narrative structure in which a male attempts to liberate a female object from the tyranny of the harem and is interrupted or arrested by a stereotypical patriarchal aggressor who prevents him from possessing the woman. It has been argued that the Orient figures as the harem fantasy of European imperialism that shows 'the East' as the obscure object of western desire:

The Western male could possess the native woman by force of his dominion over her native land; she was subjugated by his wealth, his military might, and his access to machinery. She was his colonial acquisition, but one that he pretended enjoyed his domination and would mourn his departure (*Europe's Myths of the Orient*, 81).

In fiction, *The Lustful Turk* (first published in 1828) is an outstanding example of a convention that consists largely of a series of letters written by its heroine, Emily Barlow, to her friend, Sylvia Carey. When the heroine sails from England for India in June 1814 their ship is attacked by Turks and afterwards they are taken to a sumptuous harem⁷⁸. In this epistolary novel readers quickly encounter bizarre sexual scenes and stories associated with the lecherous and cruel character of the Turkish Dey. All the erotic fantasies are narrated through Emily as she talks to the other enslaved girls in the harem. For example, one of the captives in the harem is a Greek girl named Adianti, who tells the tragic story of how her father and brother were slaughtered before her eyes by the Turks.

From an integrated perspective of pornography and cruelty, Stephen Marcus makes an analogy between the Dey himself and the Byronic hero figure and remarks that '*The Lustful Turk* uses the trappings of the Gothic romance in much the same way as it uses Byron. The Abbots, monasteries, novices, burials, illicit relations, etc. all function as parts of a tissue of reference through which the whole of reality is sexualised' (*The Other Victorians*, 210). Each of the sexual fantasies represented in *The Lustful Turk* follows a similar narrative line, starting with a virgin, reluctant, proud, chaste, a young woman who then undergoes a series of violent experiences which ritually include various types of torture like beating, flogging, and defloration in the form of rape.

Apart from the sadistic masculine image of a figure such as the Dey in *The Lustful Turk*, there are also feminine variants depicting veiled Turkish women as figures of repressed sexual desire. A prominent motif in books by travellers in the nineteenth century is the representation of Turkish women as lecherous and voluptuous under despotic suppression. The heroines of Byron's *Turkish Tales* (1813), Leila, Zuleika, and Gulnare are portrayed as beautiful hopeless victims of a despot, for whose sake the western protagonist, or the Byronic hero, confronts his antagonist. The image of these women comes out with curious elements of romance; the 'veil' with the unfailing attraction of the hidden, and the 'harem' with that of the forbidden.

Another similar example is Pierre Loti's *Aziyadé*, a novel about a slave girl, which tells a story of the Turkish woman's surrender to the European hero who is an English officer named Loti not by force but because he has seduced her with his personal charm and holds her in willing captivity. When the hero is about to leave with his regiment, *Aziyadé* loses all force, falls ill, suffers inconsolable anguish, and after his departure, dies. As Loti shows, what the European in the nineteenth century liked to

cherish is only a sublimated form of Eastern women's real dependency on Western men (*Europe's Myths of the Orient*, 80). Loti, the officer, came to the East and was enticed by the love of a passionate Turkish girl.

A similar attitude to Oriental women appeared more clearly when Loti made a speech entitled 'La Femme Turque' (the Turkish Woman) before a large gathering of European women in the conference on 'Feminine Life', which he concluded with the message; 'Open the cages, open all the harems. Yet, don't open them too quickly, for fear that the young, imprisoned birds should take a frantic flight before knowing properly where their inexperienced and fragile wings will take them'⁷⁹. According to Loti's interpretation of Oriental women, which is quite similar to that of Byron, one might imagine that 'they could be manipulated easily by their dominating masters, and further, this masculine paradigm presented these women, like their Occidental sisters, as actually craving male domination' (*Pierre Loti*, 3).

As she thinks that Pierre Loti's attitude toward Oriental women is particularly worth studying for several reasons, Szyliowicz, in her *Pierre Loti and the Oriental Women* (1988), points out that 'since all the Oriental women essentially support and ratify their Occidental lovers, it is proper to conclude that Loti created these fictional characters as wish-fulfilment fantasies, to simultaneously reinforce and magnify his manhood' (*Pierre Loti*, 118). Eventually, in the case of Oriental or exotic women created by Loti, the reader faces a different form; they are simple, primitive, dependent, often helpless, and they worship the hero as though he were God. 'And despite the fact that he was still a product of his Occidental milieu and the prejudices with which he was raised, he prided himself on his objectivity toward various lands which he visited' (*Pierre Loti*, 12).

As a consequence of nineteenth-century literary attitudes, that is to project suppressed sexual fantasies onto foreign lands, pornography written in the West with an Oriental setting and sexual peculiarities (sometimes associated with brutality and sadism) was not only popular in the nineteenth-century novel (see in particular *The Lustful Turk-1828*), but was also introduced into travel books, especially those written by male travellers such as Burton, Lane, and Flaubert. Burton fantasised about traditional harem life that:

the Moslem harem is a great school for this 'Lesbian (which I call Atossan) love'; these tribades are mostly known by peculiarities of form and features, hairy cheeks and upper lips, gruff voices, hircine odour and the large projecting clitoris with erectile powers⁸⁰.

In another description of the harem, Burton emphasises the lechery and lust of the Oriental women: 'In many harems and girls' schools tallow-candles and similar succedonia are mainly forbidden and bananas when detected are cut into four so as to be useless'⁸¹.

Nineteenth-century travellers tended to imply exotic and erotic elements in references to magic, mystery and bizarre practices, and the rest was left to the reader's imagination. When W. Kinglake pictures Istanbul in terms of beauty associated with the sensual attraction of the veiled ladies, he recounts one episode:

Of her very self you see nothing, except the dark, luminous eyes that stare against your face, and the tips of the painted fingers depending like rosebuds from out of the blank bastions of the fortress. She turns, and turns again, and carefully glances around her on all sides,...then suddenly withdrawing the yashmak, she shines upon your heart and soul with all the pomp and might of her beauty⁸².

Upon his first entrance into Istanbul via the Balkans in *Around the World on a Penny-Farthing* (1st published in 1888 as *Around the World on a Bicycle*), Thomas

Stevens's early utterances about the city refer to an exotic evocation of the harem, its eunuch and ladies:

I pass the country residence of a wealthy pasha, and see the ladies of his harem seated in a meadow hard by, enjoying the fresh morning air. They form a circle, facing inward, and the swarthy eunuch in charge stands keeping watch at a respectful distance⁸³.

He depicts Istanbul as a city with mysterious and exotic features: 'Here, in this bewildering maze of buying and selling, the peculiar life of the Orient can be seen to perfection; the "mysterious veiled lady" of the East is seen thronging the narrow traffic-ways and seated in every stall' (*Around the World*, 93).

Subsequently, as Donald Rosenthal argues, such Romantic elements of Oriental women found their echo in the form of increasingly explicit eroticism in paintings, particularly towards the end of the nineteenth century. The idyllic trysts, taken from Byronic sources, that were often revealed during the Romantic period were gradually overshadowed by more overtly erotic wish-fulfilment safely projected onto a distant Muslim world⁸⁴.

While criticising the place of the Oriental woman in nineteenth century painting, Linda Nochlin examines the operation of male sexual/power fantasies both in the black/white contrast, with its implicit racism latent in the slaves having their white skin washed by black servants:

in the purest distillation of the Orientalist bath scene-like Geromes, or Debat-Ponsin's the Message of 1883-the passivity of the lovely white figure as opposed to the vigorous activity of the worn, unfeminine ugly black one, suggests that the passive nude beauty is being prepared for service in the Sultan's bed⁸⁵.

Nevertheless, this eroticism partly out of fantasising about illicit sexual practices associated with the harem, from which westerners (western men in particular) were

barred, did not substantially change from the time when Lady Mary Montagu described her perception of the Turkish Bagnio or female baths in 1717, noting 'Tis no less than Death for a Man to be found in one of these places'⁸⁶. The negative representation of Turkish women as inferior or notorious in association with the harem and the veil has sometimes been criticised by other nineteenth century travellers such as Robert Curzon with some nuances. When Curzon emphasises the misinterpretation of the harem as a scandalous place in his *The Monasteries of the Levant (1849)* he tries to replace it with the genuine sense and connotation of the term:

'harem', nevertheless is not a genuine synonym for scandal, the most conservative Turkish husband of one wife had a harem, since it simply means 'wife'. It is used too, as an abbreviation for 'haremlik', an architectural term referring to the houses of the wealthy. Large houses were built in two parts, the 'haremlik' for women and 'selamlık' for men⁸⁷.

It has also been emphasised on several occasions by especially women critics and scholars such as Rana Kabbani, Irene L. Szyliowicz and Susan Bassnett that it was very difficult for male travellers to have access to the harem or Seraglio. While Bassnett specifically remarks that 'women travellers in Turkey and other Oriental lands had access to the closed room that provided the locus of sexual fantasy for the European men excluded from them, and so their accounts derive from the first hand experience, rather than from imagined impressions of harem life'⁸⁸. Kabbani specifies that 'the Orient for Burton was chiefly an illicit space and its women convenient chattels who offered sexual gratification denied in the Victorian home for its unseemliness' (*Europe's Myths of the Orient*, 7). Moreover, Irene L. Szyliowicz remarks that historians and social scientists today demonstrate that the traditional portrayal of women in Muslim societies has been biased and based on western judgements. European ethnocentrism and male chauvinism have combined to account for this phenomenon (*Pierre Loti*, 1-3).

As Martina Rieker and Reza Hammani argue in their “Feminist Orientalism and Orientalist Marxism” it can be argued that the degraded images of the harem and the veil associated with Oriental women that were formed in nineteenth century travel writing have continued to dominate western discourse about the Middle East⁸⁹ and Turkey in particular.

E-Turks in the Philhellenic Works

When Edward Said points out that the West inherited much of the traditional hatred of Islam as the enemy of Christendom⁹⁰, he notes the significance of the 1820s, a crucial decade in the formation of Orientalism since it was dominated by the Greek War of Independence between Christian Greeks and Muslim Turks and Egyptians. The political conflict between the Muslim Turks and the Christian Greeks, was based on three main factors reinforcing each other in the Greek rebellion against the Turks (nationalism, commerce and the weakness of Turkey) according to Martin Bernal, who states that 'all are related; to the extent that Europe can be identified with Christendom. Christian reaction is concerned with the continuation of European hostility and intensification of the tension between Egyptian religion and Christianity'⁹¹. As Christianity and Europe were presumed to be a highly compatible combination, the two could come together with the idea of civilisation in a philhellenic movement which sided with Christian Europe and the Greeks in their struggle against old Asia and the infidel Turks (*Black Athena*, 131).

On religious and cultural grounds, the idealisation of the Greeks as the symbol of liberty paved the way to a great enthusiasm for Greece as Shelley states:

The human form and human mind attained to a perfection in Greece which has impressed its images on those faultless productions whose very fragments are the despair of modern art and has propagated impulses which can never cease, through a thousand channels of

manifest or imperceptible operation, to enable and delight mankind until the extinction of the race⁹².

Since Shelley never visited the East, his attitudes toward the East were far removed from reality, something that is clearly comprehensible in his *The Revolt of Islam* and *Hellas*. Especially in *Hellas* his initial object was to suggest that the Greek heritage would survive even if modern Greece were under the tyranny of the Turks.

Islam, for Shelley, was a form of tyranny which might prevail at night, but would vanish at the break of the day. Having no first hand knowledge of the region and Islam, he was inspired by books such as Beckford's *Vathek*, Ockley's *History of Saracens*, Moore's *Lalla Rookh* and Southey's *Thalaba*. Accordingly, from his poems Islam appears as the religion of the Turks, the persecutors of the Greeks whom he regarded as his own ancestors as well as the ancestors of the civilised world. He does not really distinguish between the 'tyrant' and the tyrant's religion, since he believes each is fostered by the other⁹³.

In spite of Shelley's passionate rhetoric, the most well-known philhellenic figure of the Romantic era was Lord Byron on account of his participation in the Greek War of Independence. Replacing writing with active service, he organised an expedition to assist in the Greek War of Independence against the Turks. Since his own works had helped to activate European enthusiasm for the Greek cause, he now felt honour bound to see what could be done. He is also represented as considering the Ottoman Empire as an example of Asiatic and African decadence, corruption, and cruelty: 'The barbarians of Genghiz Khan and Tamerlane are arrived in the nineteenth century. War to the death has been declared against European religion and civilisation'⁹⁴.

Despite his non-dogmatic attitude toward Islam as a faith, Byron's main concern - if not sympathetic - was the sensual element in the Muslim life style, on the one hand,

and the Muslims' treatment of women, on the other. In *The Giaour* a metaphorical parallelism can be seen between the characters of the poem and political incidents during the Turco-Greek conflict in the nineteenth century, i.e. Leila, the symbol of beauty, and Greece, the symbol of freedom caught in the hands of the tyrant symbolised by Hassan, her master. Leila's revolt against her master, freeing herself from his grip by deliberately choosing to fall in love with his enemy, symbolises Greece's rise to free herself by fighting against her oppressors (*Oriental Elements*, 39-44).

Byron both offered a range of images of helpless, sensual females and espoused the Greek cause. In order to express his supportive feelings he chose a historical victim rather than an imaginative one in *Childe Harold*; Greece under the Turkish yoke. The lines about Greece in this poem certainly excited European philhellenic sentiment for the Greek Cause, but Byron's main interest lay in the theme of the torturer and tortured, the tyrant and the slave, the persecutor and the persecuted, the avenger and the avenged.

Other writers such as Victor Hugo continued the same tradition, though as Jale Parla points out 'Hugo himself' never travelled to the Near East'⁹⁵ In *The Eastern Question and the Fortunes of the Turkish Myth in England and France* (1978) Parla comments that Hugo wrote his poetry concerning Turkey under the influence of Byron and Chateaubriand:

The immediate sources of Hugo for the picturesque descriptions of *Les Orientales* were Chateaubriand and Byron. The Paintings of Delacroix also, with their exaggerated exoticism of Turkish soldiers, of the *odaliks*, inspired the main features of Hugo's Eastern fantasy (*The Eastern Question*, 59).

Hugo's "Clair de Lune" (published in *Les Orientales*, 1828), 'an improvisation of the theme of *The Giaour*' (*The Eastern Question*, 61), opens with an idyllic description of a sultana playing the guitar, gazing across the silent waters of the Bosphorus, and toward

the end of the poem, the noise that disturbs the tranquillity of the scene, and the sultana's repose is that of a 'sack being thrown into the sea'⁹⁶. In addition, the poems in *Les Orientales* that celebrate philhellenic sentiment and an historical preoccupation with Greece are "Canaris", "Enthousiasme" and "Navarin". In Particular, "Navarin" was composed to celebrate the burning of the Ottoman fleet in 1827, and the opening song of freedom by the Greek hero Canaris is an ecstatic delineation of the themes of heroism and liberty (*Les Orientales*, 608).

F-The Crimean War: Some New Dimensions to the Image of the Turk

The myth that saw the Turks in terms of excessive or criminal sensuality began to decline in the second part of the nineteenth century following the serious defeat of the Ottoman Empire in alliance with France and Britain against the Russians in the Crimean War⁹⁷. The actual shift in how the image of Turkey was perceived goes back to the 1820s after the fiasco at Navarino Bay that exposed Turkey's military weaknesses to Europe and turned the Ottoman Empire into a caricature of power. John Carne stereotypes the Turks, once accused of having imperialist ideas, in his *Letters from the East* (1826) while he implicitly praises British vigour:

For ambition or the restless desire to rise in the world whether to riches or fame, the Turk certainly cares less than any other being. The pride of family, or the trouble of sustaining it, affects him little, there being no orders of nobility amongst them. Give him his Arab horses, his splendid arms, his pipe and coffee, his seat in the shade, and the Turk is in general contented with the state which Allah has assigned him⁹⁸.

In the wake of Greece's independence (1829), Egypt under the command of Mehmed Ali Pasha and Russia appeared to be potential threats to the Ottoman Empire in decline. In these circumstances, to maintain the balance of powers in Europe by preventing the powerless Turkish Empire from collapsing under Russian or Egyptian

aggression became a key issue on the western agenda. In 1849 Lord Palmerston, English Foreign Secretary raised the question in Parliament and proposed to give moral support to Turkey⁹⁹. After the Navarino defeat, it was hardly possible to come across depictions of Turk associated with power in western writing; images of weakness now dominated¹⁰⁰.

Disenchantment with Turkey was reflected in travel literature as the element of the quest that had also helped Turkey to become a myth lost its appeal. Thus, in various travel accounts such as Aubrey de Vere's *Picturesque Sketches in Greece and Turkey (1850)* and Gautier's *Constantinople (1852)* either disillusionment with a tottering empire making attempts at modernisation was emphasised or the elements of romance consisting mainly of such curiosities as the harem, Turkish women and the veil became attractive trappings.

Istanbul, the capital of the Empire, once the exotic land of the East, became the object of this shift in the Turkish myth. In *Constantinople* Gautier creates a double perspective of the imagined and the real, of illusion and reality. Through emphasising the necessity of disassociating the *Arabian Nights* atmosphere from the atmosphere of the Ottoman capital, he envisions Istanbul as a three-faced city: the Eastern city of the European imagination, the real city of poverty and misery, and the commercialising metropolis of the Near East, a parody¹⁰¹.

When Nerval went to Istanbul for the second time in the 1840s he saw the city as a place with a double identification: the Istanbul of broad daylight, Europeanised, where the Turks wore the fez as a substitute for the hat, where the Levantine of the Pera read such newspapers as *Journal de Constantinople*, or *L'Echo de Smyrne*, or *Le Moniteur Ottoman*, where a western man would be accepted and served in a cafe more readily than would be a Muslim belonging to a different sect; and the city of the night and many

tales in which he retains the Turkish myth¹⁰². The Romantic orient had already become a legend of a distant past owing to the penetration of Europe into Istanbul in terms of the westernisation of the country.

During the year of the Crimean war (1854) and after, many Europeans of diverse professions came to Istanbul and witnessed the Ottoman Empire at a moment of complete helplessness, inefficiency and administrative incompetence despite the rhetoric of reform and modernisation. All this contributed a final blow to the Eastern myth of the powerful Turk. The books written during or after the Crimean War express disenchantment with the East, particularly with the Turks, brought about by the disillusionment of such a defeat.

Charles Dickens expresses his disappointment with the actual Turkish army - once powerful, barbarous and invincible, and remarks that 'there is no enthusiasm in martial ideals of glory. Our friends will go listlessly into the battle and listlessly out of it'¹⁰³. He also tends to show some sympathy for their situation:

I knew that in saying this, I am not according to popular or agreeable sentiment. The romantic notions of a Muslim Warrior are very different; but I know the Turkish soldier pretty well, and pity him sincerely for I know the causes which have sunk him so low ("The Roving Englishmen", 142).

As regards his disillusionment with Istanbul, he describes an atrocious sea voyage to the historic city in his "Roving Englishmen", ending with the exclamation, 'Oh no! We should have been off anywhere but in Turkey' ("The Roving Englishmen", 143)

Subsequent to the decline of the Ottoman Empire caused by consecutive defeats such as those at Navarino and the Crimea, the image shifted again, becoming sometimes demeaning, sometimes critical and mocking, caricaturised by Victorian figures such as

Bayle St. John and Thackeray. By mocking the Romantic image of the Turk in the form of comedy, St John attempts to ridicule the Orientals who imitate western costume:

The ancient costume, whilst it covered their body, covered also their ignorance and their barbarism; the Frank dress has revealed the thing itself-the forked, two-footed animal, and has rendered it ridiculous to the last degree¹⁰⁴.

Thackeray satirises Oriental romance and the realities of travel in *Punch in the East*, a series of articles he contributed to *Punch*, while he also attempts to mock the Romantic myth of Turkey in 'Mehmet Ali and the Sultan' in a mock-oriental style¹⁰⁵ by pretending to relate a visit from the rebellious Pasha to the Sultan, and describes the procession as Mehmet Ali approaches the serail:

The ladies of the Harem lined the walls of the Seraskier's tower, and waved their shulwars in the air to welcome the illustrious vassal of the Porte. One of the them, lifting her veil incautiously to look at the cortege was seen by the Chief of the Eunuchs and instantly sewn into a sack and flung into the Bosphorus. Her struggles and ludicrous contortions caused a great deal of laughter, and served to engage the crowd (*Contributions of W.M. Thackeray*, 173).

To sum up, there is so far a cluster of images: the vengeful pagan warrior; the tyrant; the lustful sultan; the cowardly ally; the deviant trader as well as drug producer, antique smuggler, perpetrator of genocide, etc. that cut across one another and sometimes are entirely contradictory, but which all coexist. Therefore, it seems quite difficult to mention a cluster of twentieth century images of Turkey utterly dissociated from the past, although a number of new representations such as political conspiracy, drug trafficking and antique smuggling has already emerged. As will be examined and discussed in the ensuing chapters with examples from thrillers and travel books, some reflections are repeated with their earlier historical connotations while others are reinterpreted with regard to twentieth century events i.e. the notion of historical brutality, which was previously attributed to the bloody wars between the Ottoman

Turks and Europe, is now presented in the form of ethnic genocide, massacre and torture attributed to various civil wars in the country during the early twentieth century.

NOTES

1-Philip Glazebrook, *Journey to Kars*, 1st pub. 1984 (London: Penguin, 1985). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Journey to Kars*'.

2-Mary Lee Settle, *Turkish Reflections* (New York: Prentice Hall Press, 1991). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Turkish Reflections*'.

3-William Dalrymple, *In Xanadu: A Quest*, 1st. pub. 1989 (London: Flamingo, 1990). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*In Xanadu*'.

4-Christina Dodwell, *A Traveller on Horseback*, 1st. pub. 1987 (London: Sceptre, 1988).

5-David Dodge, *Talking Turkey* (London: Arthur Barker, 1955).

6-Rose Macaulay, *The Towers of Trebizond*, 1st. pub. 1956 (London: Flamingo, 1990). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Towers*'.

7-Frederic Prokosch, *The Asiatics*, 1st pub. 1935 (London: Robin Clark, 1991). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*The Asiatics*'.

8-Turkey's entrance into the world struggle was the direct result of the sending of the Liman Von Sanders mission to Turkey in 1913, the signing of the alliance of August 2, 1914, and the passage of the Goeben and Breslau through the Straits in August 1914.

Russia declared war on Turkey on November 4 1914, and Great Britain and France followed by declaring war the next day. From November 1914 to the end of October 1918, the Ottoman Empire was in open conflict with the Allies, having been brought into war by German military and naval command of the Turkish forces. As Mr. Asquith said: 'The Turkish Empire has committed suicide, and dug with its own hands its grave'. See *War Speeches by British Ministers, 1914-1916* (London: 1917), pp. 55-6.

The significance of Turkey's entrance into the Great War would be difficult to overestimate. Immediately, the Ottoman Empire - whether in the region of the Straits, in Palestine and Syria, or in Mesopotamia - became one of the major theatres of the war. Great Britain alone employed more than one million men against the Turks. It has been suggested that the war was prolonged by two years on account of the decision of the Germans to force Turkey into the war. In the end Turkey's entrance into the struggle not only sealed the doom of the Ottoman Empire, but through the closure of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and the consequent isolation of Russia, it almost brought the downfall of the empire of the Tsar. See: Harry N. Howard, *The Partition of Turkey: A Diplomatic History 1913-1923* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1966), pp. 13-15. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text or after footnotes, by mentioning its title, '*The Partition of Turkey*'.

9-The first impetus for the campaign came from Russia, which, to facilitate its campaign into eastern Anatolia, asked the British to mount some kind of operation to divert the Ottomans. After considerable debate the British decided in favour of an operation proposed by Churchill, a naval expedition 'to bombard and take the Gallipoli Peninsula (the western shores of the Dardanelles) with Constantinople as its objective.'

'The first British squadron moved to the attack on February 19, 1915, expecting to take the Straits with ease and pass on to Istanbul; but the British were not aware that the Ottoman First Army, now led by Von Sanders, had mined the waterway and mounted strong batteries on the surrounding hills; hence a month went by with their objectives unfulfilled and three battleships lost. As a result, the operation was changed to include landings by British troops from Egypt starting on April 25, 1915, but again they were kept to the beaches by fierce Ottoman resistance, with heavy casualties, and as the year came to an end the War Cabinet decided to give up the entire operation. The attempt to take the Straits had failed. There were 213,980 casualties on the British side, and the Ottomans had 120,000 dead and wounded'. See: Stanford J. Shaw & Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* vol.II (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press. 1977), pp. 317-8. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text or footnotes, by mentioning its shortened title, '*History of the Ottoman Empire*'.

10-'The Turks were the only one of the Central Powers able to overturn the vindictive settlements imposed by the Allies following World War I. Because Turkish resistance ultimately was led to success by Kemal Ataturk, it has long been assumed that he created the country as well. He did, indeed, do more than anyone else to create the Turkish Republic on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, but he accomplished this by bringing together elements of resistance that had already emerged. He co-ordinated their efforts, expressed their goals, personified their ambitions, and led them to victory'. See: *History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 340.

On October 29, 1923, the National Assembly in Ankara proclaimed the Turkish Republic with the fundamental premise: 'Sovereignty belongs without reservation or

condition to the nation. The system of administration rests on the principal of the people's personal and actual control of their destiny'. See: Nuri Eren, *Turkey Today and Tomorrow* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963), p. 20. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text or footnotes, by mentioning its title, '*Turkey Today and Tomorrow*'.

11-The success of the Turks against the Greeks in Asia Minor enhanced the prestige of Mustapha Kemal, and on November 1, 1922, the Grand National Assembly, which had been constituted in Angora, passed a resolution abolishing the Sultanate and separating from it the Caliphate, which had hitherto been one of its most important attributes See: William Miller, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Successors 1801-1927* (London: Frank Cass, 1966), pp. 555-6. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text or footnotes, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Its Successors*'.

Subsequent to the foundation of the Turkish Republic, there was a series of reforms under the presidency of Mustafa Kemal. On March 3, 1924, the Grand National Assembly decided to abolish the Caliphate, and to banish from the country all family members of the Caliph. More fundamental reforms took place in the law codes; in 1926 the country adopted the Swiss civil code, a penal code modelled on the Italian, and a commercial code modelled on the German and Italian example. Moreover, educational and cultural reforms were given particular attention in the years 1928 to 1933. See: Roderic H. Davison, *Turkey: A Short History* 2nd. ed. (England: The Eothen Press, 1988), pp. 129-35.

12-On October 19, 1939, Turkey entered a mutual assistance agreement with Britain and France. But it was arranged to prevent Turkish participation in a war unless the Republic's interests were directly involved, such as aggression by a European power in a war in the Mediterranean, in which case the Allies would help Turkey. See: *History of the Ottoman Empire*.

13-When the first democratisation process started with the first multi-party election in Turkey in 1946, the single party era which had been in power since the foundation of the Turkish Republic was ended. Owing to radical changes in the country's politics and administration, especially by the Democrat Party between 1950 and 1960, the Turkish Military intervened several times in different ways.

I-On May 27, 1960, as the agitation in the streets reached a new peak, a group of officers led by Gursel, commanding the key military units in Istanbul and Ankara and using the students of the war academies, arrested Menderes [the prime minister], Bayar [the president], most other members of the cabinet along with many Democratic deputies. The remaining elements of the armed forces immediately declared their support. Martial law was imposed and the coup accepted throughout the country with very little opposition, even by those who continued to support the Menderes regime.

II-Abortive Coups: The first abortive coup of 22 February, 1962 was led by Colonel Talat Aydemir, Commandant of the War College. He had been a member of conspiratorial groups in the mid-fifties, but on 27 May he was in South Korea and was therefore unable to participate in the first coup or to play a role in the military regime that emerged...He disliked the results of the 1961 election and believed that the army ought to intervene. Talat Aydemir's second abortive coup attempt on the night of 20/21 May, 1963 was also unsuccessful.

III-Coup by Memorandum: On March 12, 1971, President Sunay and the chairman of both chambers received a memorandum signed by the chief of the General Staff Menduh Tagmac and the Commanders of the Land, Sea and Air Forces, acting on behalf of the armed forces. Then Prime Minister Demirel resigned. See Feroz Ahmad, *The Turkish Experiment in Democracy 1950-1975* (London: C. Hurst & Loupay, 1977), p. 204. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text or footnotes, by mentioning its shortened title, '*The Turkish Experiment*'.

IV-The recent coup took place on September 12, 1980 as a result of political and economic instability as well as political terrorism with thousands of victims. This was also a military coup held by Kenan Evren, the Chief Commander of the General Staff and the senior military figures. It was ended in 1983 with a new democratic election.

From the moment it took over the government on September 1980, the National Security Council (composed of the five highest-ranking generals in the Turkish armed forces) made it clear that it intended eventually to return power to democratically elected civilian authorities. It made it equally clear, however, by words and deeds that it did not intend a return to the status quo ante. Rather the council aimed at a major restructuring of Turkish democracy to prevent a recurrence of the political polarisation, violence, and crisis that had afflicted the country in the late 1970s, and thus to make the military's continued involvement in politics unnecessary. The new constitution, Political Parties Law, and Electoral Law prepared by the council-appointed Consultative Assembly and made final by the council itself reflect these objectives and concerns of the military and indicate the extent to which Turkey's new attempt at democracy is intended to be different from its earlier democratic experiments. See: Ergun Ozbudun, ed. *Perspectives on Democracy in Turkey* (Ankara: Sevinc Matbaasi, 1988), pp. 25-6.

14-'The Cyprus problem, which caused strained relations between Greece and Turkey in 1955, was solved temporarily in February 1959 by an agreement among Turkey, Greece, and Britain, concluded in Zurich and London, by which Cyprus became an independent republic (August 16, 1960), with the protection for the Turkish minority under the guarantee of the three signatories, which were allowed to station small garrisons on the island for that purpose. Turkey's position toward Cyprus after 1959 was to secure full implementation of that settlement. But most of the key governmental positions on the island were controlled by Greeks, who also managed to dominate trade and the economy and left only the worst lands and positions to the Turks...

During the summer of 1967, new attacks on the Turkish minority led Demirel to attempt an agreement to safeguard their interests, but American pressure again prevented the kind of Turkish intervention that might have secured a solution, leaving a stalemate that allowed conditions to deteriorate further. The United States got Greece to withdraw its regular troops, but it substituted Greek officers sent as 'volunteers' to command the National Guard of Cyprus. In addition, with the Greek military dictatorship in control in Athens, General Grivas returned to Cyprus to organise support for a new move toward 'enosis'...

A new chapter in the Cyprus quarrel came in the summer of 1974 when the National Guard, under the leadership of its Greek army officers, carried out a coup that forced Makarios to flee and installed a regime led by the radical Greek nationalist Nikos Sampson, who declared his intention of bringing the island into union with Greece. The United Nations and United States attempted to resolve the situation peacefully once again, but their apparent intention of accepting the coup and, possibly, enosis, as a fait accompli and large-scale Greek massacres of the Turkish minority finally led Turkey to intervene with an expeditionary force that overwhelmed the National Guard and took control of the Northern part of the island'. See: *History of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 430-1.

15-'Upon American political persistence and suppression...in July 1971, Nihat Erim [Prime Minister] agreed to prohibit the cultivation of the opium poppy after the 1972 crop was harvested. In return the United States undertook to provide \$35 million over a three-year period: \$15 million to compensate the poppy growers... and \$20 million for investments to orient poppy farmers to other crops'.

Erim's 'bargain' was an economic disaster for the cultivators, for as Harris has written, 'Poppy planters earned far more from this crop-even selling it legally to the state-than they could expect from other produce grown on their land; hence to restrict or abolish the crop would be an economic blow to the traditional producers.' Public reaction was one of shame and dismay: the government, most people believed, had succumbed to US pressure and 'bribery'; for that is how they understood the \$35 million agreement. Thus in the country as a whole Erim's decision was very unpopular, one which all parties promised to overturn if they were elected to power in the 1973 general election. It was a decision only a government unconcerned about popular support or popular discontent could pass'. See: *The Turkish Experience*, pp. 418-9.

16-The Soviet Union's refusal in 1945 to renew the 1925 Treaty of Friendship without substantial concession from Turkey had destroyed that link with the USSR. The Turkish government had begun to seek closer ties with the United States and had succeeded in obtaining military and economic assistance under the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan respectively.

'Within six months, on March 12, 1947, President Harry Truman proclaimed to a joint session of Congress his now renewed programme of aid to Turkey and Greece. In

truth, this was the announcement of the end of America's benevolent neutrality towards the spread of Soviet power in the world. The benefits of the Truman Doctrine, as the aid program came to be known, were twofold. The Turkish armed forces received the equipment they needed to bring them up to date. At the same time, Turkish diplomacy obtained a boost and Turkey's postwar psychological isolation ended.

On February 15, 1952, Turkey was accepted as fully fledged member of NATO. The Eastern Mediterranean NATO Command was quartered in Izmir, and planning of the armies of the alliance. The Turkish armed forces willingly accepted their strategic integration with other allied armies'. See: *Turkey Today and Tomorrow*, p. 389.

For more information about the political, economic and historical events which have already taken place in twentieth-century Turkey, also see: Andrew Mango, *Turkey* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968); Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1961); Claire Sterling, *The Terror Network* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981); E.W.F. Tomlin, *Life in Modern Turkey* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons., 1st pub. 1946); Geoffrey Lewis, *Modern Turkey* (London: Ernest Benn, 1974); Sir Harry Luke, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Macmillan, 1936); Lord Kinross, *Ataturk: The Rebirth of A Nation* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964); Richard D. Robinson, *The First Turkish Republic* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Univ. Press, 1963).

17-Noted in Miss Edith P. Stickney's *Southern Albania or Northern Epirus in European International Affairs 1912-1923* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1926) and in C.A. Chekrezi, *Albania Past and Present* (New York: 1919).

18-Owing to various consecutive defeats in different parts of the Ottoman Empire stretching from North Africa to the Balkans from the mid-nineteenth century, Ottoman Turkey was designated as the 'Sick Man of Europe' by various writers, politicians as well as historians. Describing the country as the 'Sick Man', they generally referred to its instability and some weaknesses in politics, administration and economy which reached its peak in the closing years of the last century and the first two decades of the twentieth century. See: Richard D. Robinson, *The First Turkish Republic* (Massachusetts: Harvard Univ. Press, 1963), p.2.

The early decades of the twentieth century were a time of chaos for the Turks - an era in which men and governments rose and fell. Over much of Turkey there was no really effective rule. Between 1908 and the 1918 armistice there were twenty-four changes of cabinet in Istanbul. See: T.S. Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler (Political Parties in Turkey)* (Istanbul, 1952), p.165.

In 1907, the British Embassy in Istanbul reported to London that 'at the present time, the whole of the provincial administration is apparently falling into a state of a complete anarchy. Taxes have been refused; recruits have been refused. Valis (i.e., provincial governors) have been driven out, sedition has been preached almost openly'.

See: "The Near East" in *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, vol. V (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1928), p. 34.

19-Wayne S. Vucinich, *The Ottoman Empire: Its Record and Legacy* (London: Penguin, 1986), p. 200.

20-Richard D. Robinson, *The First Turkish Republic* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Univ. press. 1963), pp. 1-2.

21-'The treaty of Sèvres (August 10,1920) was very harsh, and would have left Turkey helpless and mutilated, a shadow state living on the sufferance of the powers and peoples who were annexing her richest provinces. It was far more severe than that imposed on a defeated Germany, and was received in Turkey with a national day of mourning'. See: Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford Univ. Press. 1961), p. 241.

22-John Buchan, *Greenmantle* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1916), p. 17. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Greenmantle*'.

23-Reeva S. Simon, *The Middle East in Crime Fiction* (New York: Lillian Barber Press, 1989), p. 20. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts or footnotes, by mentioning its shortened title, '*The Middle East*'.

24-Dennis Wheatley, *The Eunuch of Stamboul* (London: Arrow Books, 1960), pp. 24. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*The Eunuch of Stamboul*'.

25-Eric Ambler, *The Mask of Dimitrios*, 1st pub. 1939 (London:Fontana\Collins, 1966), p. 22.

26-Agatha Christie, *Murder on the Orient Express*, 1st. pub. 1934 (London: Fontana, 1956).

27-Graham Greene, *Stamboul Train*, 1st. pub. 1932 (London: Penguin, 1975), pp. 196-214. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Stamboul Train*'.

28-Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 175. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Abroad*'.

29-Graham Greene, *A World of My Own: A Dream and Diary* (London: Reinhardt Books, 1992), p. 15. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*A Dream and Diary*'.

30-Charles Forsyte, *Murder With Minarets* (Leicester: Ulverscroft, 1990). 1st. pub. London: Cassell, 1968.

31-Charles Forsyte, *Diplomatic Death* (London: Cassell, 1961).

32-John Dos Passos, *Orient Express* (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1922), p.13. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title; '*Orient Express*'.

33-Macaulay set up her journey to Turkey during the early 1950s; the decade of intensive cold-war diplomacy as well as military conflicts in different parts of the world such as the Korean War (1952) and the early Vietnam conflict started with the first French-Indochina War (1946-54). It was also the decade when Turkey had a strategic position in the region as a bordering country of Russia, whose political and military power had already invaded various neighbouring countries. Moreover, siding with the West (America) rather than the East (Russia) in terms of political administration, economy and military by being a member of NATO and having an active involvement in the Korean War strained Turco-Soviet relations, since then the country has been considered by the West in the position of preventing further Soviet expansion to the Middle East as well as to Europe via the Straits.

34-Alice R. Bensen, *Rose Macaulay* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1969), pp.141-2. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title '*Rose Macaulay*'.

35-When Julian Rathbone worked in Ankara as a teacher in the early 1960s he also visited different places in the country which he later employed as settings for his novels in which are: 1-*Diamonds Bid* (London: Joseph, 1967; New York: Walker, 1967): A novel about a coup attempt in the capital city of Turkey starting with an innocent British teacher's witnessing a bribe change hands in a police station. 2-*Hand Out* (London: Joseph, 1968, New York: Walker, 1968): A story of a British spy travelling through Turkey to photograph Soviet installations. 3-*With My Knives I Know I'm Good* (London: Joseph, 1969; New York: Putnam, 1970): The brother of an Azarbaijani knife thrower who works for KGB tries to get mineral information from an American Jew working for the UN stationed in Ankara. 4-*Trip Trap* (London: Joseph, 1972; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972): The story of Murder, drug-trafficking and stolen artefacts. 5-*Kill Cure* (London: Joseph, 1975; New York: St. Martin's Press., 1975): Nur Bey investigates how a British girl became involved with a group posing as a Bangladesh relief mission. See: *The Middle East*, p. 181.

36-The single-party period in Turkish political history was ended by the overall success of the Democrat Party in 1950. As the party was overthrown by the military during the 1960 revolution in Turkey, their traditional mission as the right-wing conservatives in Turkish politics was taken over by the new-born Justice Party in 1961. See: *History of the Ottoman Empire* and *The Turkish Experiment*.

37-U.N. Press Section, Office of Public Information, Press Release SOC/NAR/199, July 21, 1976 in *Washington Post* (July 5, 1976).

38-Ivor Drummond, *A Stench of Poppies* (London: Michael Joseph, 1978). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*A Stench of Poppies*'.

39-A. Phyllis Whitney, *Black Amber* (London: Robert Hale, 1965). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Black Amber*'.

40-Nick Carter, *Istanbul* (London: Universal pub. and Distribution Corporation, 1965). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Istanbul*'.

41-Joan Fleming, *When I Grow Rich* (London: Collins, 1962), p. 109.

42-Borges died on June 14, 1986. Evelyn Fishburn and Psiche Hughes, *A Dictionary of Borges* (London: Duckworth, 1990), p.270. (Borges 1899-1986)

The *Atlas* was first published in Argentina in 1984. Borges looks quite old in the photos in the book, so I would say he went to Istanbul circa 1983. Jorge Luis Borges, *Atlas*, trans. by. Anthony Kerrigan (England: Penguin Book, 1984), p.18.

43-Christie Davies, "Time to Talk Turkey" in *New European*, Summer 1989, p.24.

44-Eric Newby, *On the Shores of the Mediterranean*, 1st. pub. 1984 (London: Picador, 1985), p.209. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its shortened title, '*On the Shores*'.

45-Elton Glaser, "The Self-Reflexive Traveler: Paul Theroux on the Art of Travel and Travel Writing" in *The Centennial Review*, vol. 33, 1989, p.200. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, 'The Self-Reflexive Traveler'.

46-Nicholas N. Martinovitch, *The Turkish Theatre* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968), p. 5.

47-For the list of the works and their detailed analyses, see: Yildiz Aksoy, *The Turks in 18th Century English Theatre*, Unpub. Diss. (Erzurum: Ataturk University, Dept. of English Language and Literature, 1975), p.344. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text and footnotes, by mentioning its shortened title, '*English Theatre*'.

48-Simon Shepherd, *Marlowe and the Politics of Elizabethan Theatre* (U.K.: the Harvester Press, 1986), p.142. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Marlowe and the Politics*'.

49-Andrew Borde, *The First Booke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, ed. F.J. Furnivall for the Early English Text Society (London: [n.p.], 1870), p.214.

50-Berna Moran on behalf of English Language and Literature Dept. of Istanbul University undertook archival research about the 'Turks in official documents from the 15th to the 18th centuries in the British Library. The research, which was later published by Istanbul University chronologically includes documents in the form of letters news reports plays, poems etc. See Berna Moran, *The Bibliography of the English Publications About the Turks From the 15th Century to the 18th Century* (Istanbul: Istanbul University Press, no.1050, 1964). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text or footnotes, by mentioning its shortened title, '*The Bibliography*'.

51-*Newes from Vienna the 5. day of August 1566 of the strong Towne and Gastell of Jula in Hungary; translated out of hye Almaine into English.* (London: J. Awdeley, 1566). Four pages, in British Museum, London. See: *The Bibliography*, p. 20.

52-R. Stanforde, *A Geographical and Anthological Description of All the Empires and Kingdoms* (London: Simon Waterson, 1607).

53-R. Carr, *The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie* (London: T. Este, 1600).

54-Richard Knolles, *General History of the Turks*, fifth ed. (London: A. Islip, 1638).

55-Eleanor Bisbee, *The New Turks: Pioneers of the Republic 1920-1950* (Philadelphia: University Press, 1951), p.7.

56-P. Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, rpt.(New York: Arno Press, 1971). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text or footnotes, by mentioning its shortened title, '*The Present State*'.

57-Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta (1588)*, ed. Richard W. Van Fossen, (London: Edward Arnold, 1965), II. iii. 206-15.

58-H. C. Hart, *The Works of Shakespeare: The Tragedy of Othello (1604)*, (London: Methuen, 1934), fifth edition, p. 255.

59-Ahmed Alam El-Deen, *A Critical Edition of Thomas Goffe's The Raging Tyrke, or, Baiazet the Second (1631)*, unpub. diss. (West Virginia: West Virginia University, 1984) pp.55-6. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text or footnotes, by mentioning its shortened title, '*A Critical Edition*'.

60-Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of the Orient* (London: Macmillan, 1986) p.20. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text or footnotes, by mentioning its title, '*Europe's Myths of the Orient*'.

61-Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1983), p. 66. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Travel Literature*'.

62-*The Turkish Spy and His Secret Pact with the Ottoman Court. Discovered in Paris in the Reign of the Great Louis, the Year 1683*, First vol. trans. from the Italian. Noted in William H. McBurney, "the Authorship of *the Turkish Spy*," *PMLA*, 72, 1957, pp. 915-35.

63-Published in France as *Lettres persanes* in 1721, John Ozell's English translation, *Persian Letters*, was issued the following year. There were other English editions in 1730 and 1731, and an issue in 1736 heralded as "Third Edition, Carefully corrected". See Charles de Secondat Baron de Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, translated by John Ozell in two volumes (London: Garland Publishing, 1972).

64-Joseph Tucker, "The Turkish Spy and its French Background" in *Revue de Litterature Comparee*, 32, 1958, (74-91), p. 79.

65-Pietro Della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle* ed. Edward Gray (London: Hakluyt Society, 1892) p. viii.

66-Traiano Boccalini, *Ragguagli di Parnaso* trans. and ed. Henry, Earl of Manmouth (London: Thomas Guy, 1674).

67-Giovanni Marana, "To the Reader", *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy* (London: A. Wilde, 1748), I.V. All notes relating to these letters will be designated as 'To the Reader' followed by volume, book, and letter number.

68-*Spectator*, 50 (April 27, 1711), pp. 150-2.

69-Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator* (1715) ed. Gregory Smith (4 vols.), rpt. London: Dent and Sons, 1964).

70-Daniel Defoe, *A Continuation of Letters Written by a Turkish Spy at Paris* (London: W. Tylor, 1718).

71-William Beckford, *The Episode of Vathek* (London: Stephen Swift, [n.d.]) p.9.

72-Rowland Prothero, ed. *Byron's Works: Letters and Journals* (London: John Murray, 1902), Appendix. IX

73-Lucian, *True Story (or True History)*, in *Lucian Selected Works*, trans. Bryon P. Reardon (New York: Bobbs-Merril, 1965), p. 220.

74-Robert Halsband, ed. *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 1708-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 315-6.

75-Irene L. Szyliowicz, *Pierre Loti and the Oriental Woman* (London: Macmillan, 1988), p. 35. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Pierre Loti*'.

76-Sтивен Marcus, *The Other Victorians* (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1966) p. 2. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text or footnotes, by mentioning its title, '*The Other Victorians*'.

77-Mary Ann Stevens, "Western Art and its Encounter with the Islamic World" in *The Orientalists: Delacroix to Matisse* (London: Royal Academy and Wiedenfeld and Nicholson, 1984) p. 17-18.

78-See the detailed analysis of the novel in '*The Other Victorians*', pp. 195-217.

79-'Et je dis avec eux, mais non sans inquietude: oui, ouvrez toutes les cages, ouvrez tous les harems. Cependant ne les ouvrez pas trop vite, de peur que les jeunes oiseaux prisonniers ne prennent un vol éperdu, avant de bien savoir encore où les conduiront leurs ailes inexpérimentées et fragiles'. See Pierre Loti 'La Femme Turque' in *Quelques aspects du vertige mondial* (Paris: Ernest Flammarion, 1917), p. 182.

80-Richard Burton, *The Book of Thousand Nights and a Night* 17 vols. (London: Burton Club, 1886), vol.2, p. 204.

81-*The Book of Thousand Nights and a Night* vol.7, p. 238.

82-Alexander Kinglake, *Eothen, or Traces of Travel Brought Home from the East* 1st. pub. 1844 (Oxford: Oxford University Press., 1982), pp. 36-7.

83-Thomas Stevens, *Around the World on A Penny-Farthing* (London: Arrow Books, 1991), p. 85. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Around the World*'.

84-Donald A. Rosenthal, *Orientalism, the Near East in French Painting (1800-1880)* (New York: Rochester, 1982), Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, p. 9.

85-Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient" in *Art in America*, vol. 71, pt.5, 1983, p.126.

86-Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Complete Letters* (1763) ed. R. Halsband, 3 vols. (Oxford:University Press, 1965). Recent Letters in vol. i.1708-1720.

- 87-Robert Curzon, *Monasteries of the Levant* (London: George Newnes, 1897), p. 41.
- 88-Susan Bassnett, *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p.112-3.
- 89-Reza Hammani and Martina Ricker, "Feminist Orientalism and Orientalist Marxism" in *New Left Review*, 170, 1988, p.93.
- 90-Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 1978), pp. 59-92.
- 91-Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985* (London: Free Association Books, 1987), p. 188. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Black Athena*'.
- 92-P.B. Shelley, *Hellas* (London: Preface), pp. 290-91.
- 93-George K. Rishmawi, *Oriental Elements in English Romantic Poetry: Shelley and Byron*, Unpub. diss. (Univ. of New York, 1983) pp. 1-8. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Oriental Elements*'.
- 94-Courrier Francais (7 June, 1821) noted in Dimakis, *La guerre de L' independance grecque vue Francaise* (periode 1821-1824): Contribution a l'étude de l'opinion publique et du mouvement philhellénique en France. 1968, p.123.
- 95-Jale Parla, *The Eastern Question and the Fortunes of the Turkish Myth in England and France*, Unpub. diss. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1978), p. 58. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its shortened title, '*The Eastern Question*'.
- 96-Victor Hugo, *Les Orientales* in *Oeuvres poétiques* ed. Pierre Albouy. (Paris: Pleiade, 1964), p. 623. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Les Orientales*'.
- 97-In the wake of the Anglo-Turkish commercial convention of 1833 in which the Ottoman government approved the abolition of the commercial monopolies throughout the Ottoman Empire, there seemed to be a new westernisation process in the region - a process which was supposed to be the final blow to abolish the established Turkish image. Since it was obvious that the Near Eastern markets had become very important for the expansion of British industry, as Puryear points out: 'the Manchester manufacturers were obliged to live on shirts for black men and brown men, and for the Muslim world', the Crimean War was to be a significant turning point in economic and political terms. The immediate expansion of British commercial activity in the Levant brought about the enlargement of the British consular representation in Turkey as well, in order to protect the British advantages in the region against Russia.

Until 1840 Southern Russia was the major grain producer and exporter in Europe, using Odessa for her exports, and the main rivalry between Russia and England took place in grain trade. England tried to develop other sources of supply and expanded her investment for grain production and trade in the Danubian Principalities. Therefore, the significance of Odessa, and consequently of the Straits for the wheat export of Russia became more crucial. In these circumstances, France and England felt themselves obliged to help Turkey against Russia in order to prevent a new powerful alternative being set up in the region. In other words, the Crimean War as a result of the Anglo-Russian competition for the Near Eastern markets, for the Straits, and for the exploitation of the Danubian Principalities for grain was a colonial war. Moreover, Louis Napoleon's desire to act in alliance with England, and his hopes to increase his legitimacy by exploiting a religious issue led France to enter the Crimean War. See: Vernon J. Puryear, *International Economics and Diplomacy in the Near East, 1834-1852* (California: Archon, 1969), pp. 108-133.

On December 23, 1853, the British government sent orders to its fleet to protect the Ottoman flag as well as Ottoman territory and to compel all Russian ships then in the Black Sea to return to Sebastopol, Russia refused this ultimatum as well as that of the Ottomans to leave the Principalities and broke off relations with Britain and France, who in return declared war (March 28, 1854), thus commencing the international conflict that came to be known as the Crimean War.

'The war then became primarily a conflict in the Crimea between Russia and allied European expeditionary forces. The first allied landings took place near Sebastopol on September 14, 1854, and the allies made their preparations for the siege of the city. By the time the attack came in mid-October, the Russians were ready for an extended resistance, and the harsh winter months caused terrible suffering among the attacking forces. In the face of the British losses, the Ottomans signed an agreement to provide 20.000 soldiers and all needed supplies to help them fight on. The death of Czar Nicholas I (March 2, 1855) and the accession of Alexander II stimulated peace negotiations, but in the meantime the war continued. The Ottomans supported the allied forces at terrible expense while Florence Nightingale and her colleagues established a hospital service at the Selimiye barracks in Uskudar.

The war rhetoric was intended to erase the feeling of alienation felt towards Turkey and project it onto Russia. In other words, Russia would become an Oriental country while the Occident was extended to include Turkey, but eventually neither of them could be realised. Instead, the heavy financial strains on the new Tanzimat treasury forced the Ottoman government to take a series of foreign loans at such high rates of interest that, despite all the fiscal reforms that followed, it was pushed into unsolvable debts and economic difficulties that continued for the rest of the century'. See Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* vol.ii (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press. 1977), pp. 138-9.

98-John Carne, *Letters From the East* (London: H. Colburn, 1826), p. 12.

99-Basil Kingsley Martin, *The Triumph of Lord Palmerston: A Study of Public Opinions in England before the Crimean War* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1924). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text or footnotes, by mentioning its title, '*The Triumph of Lord Palmerston*'.

100-The active maintenance policy of Lord Palmerston after 1840 created a considerable public opinion in the English parliament and the press by bringing about the argument for intervention if it became inevitable in order to protect Turkey from Russia. Endorsing the righteousness and political triumph of Lord Palmerston Basil Kingsley Martin also emphasises, as moral excuse, the weakness of Turkey in reference to the press that '*The Manchester Guardian* at first agreed that Turkey was weak, but found this a reason not for deserting her, but for continuing our protection'. See: *The Triumph of Lord Palmerston*, p.125.

101-Théophile Gautier, *Constantinople* (Paris: Charpentier, 1918), p.6.

102-Gérard de Nerval, *Voyage en Orient* in *Oeuvres* ed. Albert Begein and Jean Riches (Paris: Gallimard, 1961), pp. 448-95.

103-Charles Dickens, "The Roving Englishmen" in *Household Words (1854-1856)*, IX, p. 142. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its shortened title, 'The Roving Englishmen'.

104-Bayle St. John, *Turks in Europe: A Sketch of Manners and Politics in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1853), p.79.

105-Marion H. Spielmann, ed *Contributions of W.M. Thackeray to Punch from 1843 to 48* (London: Harper and Brothers, 1899). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Contributions of W.M. Thackeray*'.

CHAPTER II

IMAGES OF VIOLENCE

It is axiomatic that in dealing with the long histories of great empires and nations such as Russia, Britain, Germany and Spain we should come across events that arouse both our admiration and censure, the latter especially in the context of past wars. Turks, with their own long historical background, and associated with the Ottoman Empire in many contemporary western texts, have also had numerous victories as well as defeats which have resulted in scores of casualties and losses throughout history.

However, while some peoples are usually remembered and praised for their heroic victories, others such as Turks are for some reason continuously portrayed as appalling stereotypes of cruelty and barbarism. As a consequence of such a negative attitude Turkey can still be found depicted in the last quarter of the twentieth century, albeit with some nuances, as inhabited by people who committed atrocities to others,

especially with regard to World War I, although Turkey was actually one of those countries who suffered immensely on the side of the defeated at the end of the war.

A number of twentieth century texts about Turkey reproduce previous historical, cultural and religious stereotypes and introduce new ones stemming from several twentieth-century events such as civil wars between the Turks and ethnic groups in Asia Minor, mainly Greeks and Armenians during the First World War. Contemporary accounts still contain pejorative reminiscences of Turkish brutality with reference to the Crusades and subsequent bloody clashes between Christian Europe and the Muslim Orient. These images are often juxtaposed with sensuality and over-indulgence, with a revival of nineteenth-century perceptions of exoticism and pornography in relation to the harem, and with an implicit or explicit comparison of Islam and Christianity in association with arts, culture, architecture and aesthetics as discussed in chapter one. The new dimensions of historical Turkish cruelty which appear in different forms vary from accounts of massacres or genocide to systematic torture by police and unbearable prison conditions, repulsive descriptions of Turkish people, even heroic figures, and emphasis on drug and antiques-smuggling and espionage.

As one of the common characteristics of twentieth century texts such as *The Towers of Trebizond*, *In Kanadu: A Quest*, *The Eunuch of Stamboul*, *The Mask of Dimitrios* and *Journey To Kars*, the historical image of Turks as brutal, violent and bloodthirsty, is introduced through fictitious characters or the travellers themselves. Macaulay presents this image through Aunt Dot and Father Chantry-Pigg:

Aunt Dot did just say that, when it came to bloodthirstiness, murder, torture, violence, and all that, it seemed a pretty near thing between Byzantines and Turks; often all, as she pointed out, both the Comneni and their conquerors were Asiatics, and deeply devoted to cruelty. Look, she said, at the way Mahomet II had massacred or enslaved the Christian Greeks of Trebizond¹.

A similar identification of Turks with the Ottomans, who are supposed to have committed atrocities to the West, in *The Towers of Trebizond* comes when the history of Trebizond is described: 'the Ottomans, sweeping in with their healthier and more robust strain, armed with the vigour of Islam, had built up a new and noble regime, too destructive' (*Towers*, 75).

Another negative attribution is made describing the eradication of both Byzantine antiquities: 'Father Chantry-Pigg said his piece about Turkish apathy and squalor having let this noble palace and citadel go to ruin, as all antiquities in Turkey went to ruin' (*Towers*, 74), and Byzantine addiction to magic, notorious wizardry and alchemy:

The arrival of the down-to-earth, matter-of-fact Ottomans, who were neither clever nor imaginative, and thought wizardry wrong, had driven it underground, to be practised privately and lucratively by the Greeks who remained in the city after the Turkish massacres (*Towers*, 139).

Discussing Macaulay's writings about the Turks, J. V. Guerinot points out that her historical interpretation of the Turks as savage is presumably the main factor in her lack of sympathy for the Turks. Guerinot remarks:

Turks she dislikes and Goths, those disgusting savages who roamed over Europe sacking other people's cities, who are so praised by German historians, and who ought never to have left the Vistula².

Through associating the idea of indifference and historical stagnation with the Ottoman Empire in *Journey to Kars*, Glazebrook moves into another stereotype, that of Turkish brutality and tyranny. He considers the Ottomans as invaders and destroyers in the first place:

The very buildings and ornaments which Pericles had set up at Athens to celebrate Europe's turning back of the invading tide of Persia at

Plataea, in the fifth century before Christ, had tumbled into ruins under the sway of another Eastern invasion by the Ottomans³.

Glazebrook tends to recreate the traditional stereotypes of tyranny which have been backed up with almost the same historical episodes of brutality, massacre and sensuality in association with the places he travels through. While he passes through the Balkans in the early pages of the book, he reminisces about the sensuality of some places, where 'the barges of pashas fluttering with the silks of veiled Circassians, their slave-pulled oars dancing in the watery light' (*Journey to Kars*, 14), and the brutality of others:

At the time of chief interest in it, the whole of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria (as well as Albania and much of Romania) were provinces of European Turkey. Repression and massacre followed frequent rebellions. At Nis the Turk built a tower of human skulls, to overawe the Reyahs, or Christian subject-race (*Journey to Kars*, 17).

In Bulgaria he returns once again to Turkish tyranny in the Balkans during the second half of the nineteenth century: 'on a hillside about twenty miles to the west of my train, in the May of 1876, Turkish irregulars butchered or burned five thousand men, women and children as a measure to suppress a Slav rising at Batak' (*Journey to Kars*, 197). Another story of massacre relates to a Turkish pasha slaughtering the inhabitants of a city in Bulgaria referred to by Skene, the nineteenth-century English traveller who is supposed to have witnessed it:

First the slaves lost their heads in face of the storm's fury and ran about in packs screaming with terror; next the guests began to hesitate miserably between fear of the elements and fear of the pasha, until one by one they had shuffled away into recesses of the rickety old building where lightning whitened tatters of curtain and the moaning of the wind was engulfed in long passages and empty halls (*Journey to Kars*, 198-9).

Later he moves on to Akschir, a middle-Anatolian town, and refers to Layard's description of the town in 1839: 'this barbarous and unclean habit of leaving the bodies of horses, camels and other beasts to rot in the streets prevails in most parts of Turkey' (*Journey to Kars*, 79). When he continues eastward to Kars, the ancient town on the Russian border, he comes across military check-points, as Turkey was under martial law after the 1980 coup, and in order to emphasise the threatening appearance of the Turkish soldiers he inserts another historical episode of Turkish brutality to a Russian soldier during the war between Russia and Turkey in the late nineteenth century:

The battle was at its thickest and hottest, when three Turkish soldiers pushed a wounded Russian officer back from the parapet, and followed him over it to dispatch him with their bayonets. Major Teesdale, seeing this act of barbarity, vaulted over the breastwork, cut down the foremost Turk with his sword, and called on the Russian, in French, to surrender as a prisoner of war (*Journey to Kars*, 129).

To reinforce the view of Turkey as mysterious and hostile territory through reference to Ottoman rule, he evokes history or his imaginings about the past. Watching a parade of schoolchildren in Trebizond, from five years old up to eleven or twelve, marching in step to a military band, he notes, 'whose martial music seemed to me to be thumping and blowing the little feet along the road like the kicks and cuffs of armed men herding crowds into order. A drought of the tyrant's breath chilled me as they marched by' (*Journey to Kars*, 153).

Apart from establishing a range of negative images of the harem, Eric Newby reminds his readers of Turkish cruelty inflicted upon the Greeks by Ali Pasha during the Greek War of Independence⁴. Introducing hair-raising examples of Ali Pasha's brutality not only against his Christian subjects while he was the governor in Greece, but also to his family members and relatives as he himself murdered his brother, Newby seems to imply that Ali Pasha's initial incentive is his mother:

Whether this is true or not, his mother, a remarkable woman, deliberately brought him up to be both cruel and cunning and with a remarkable capacity for biding his time until the opportunity presented itself for taking what was usually a hideous revenge on those whom he considered to have wronged him or obstructed his designs. It is said that his mother murdered his half-brothers in order to have more to settle on him (*On the Shores*, 155)

As regards the reproduction of the historical image of Turkish brutality in connection with a particular locale, Istanbul, the imperial capital of the Ottoman Empire, attracted many writers as the setting of their mysterious stories of savagery. In other words, Istanbul is represented as a mysterious and exotic locale more than any other Turkish setting e.g. the historical city is used as the setting for two Nick Carter novels. The hero Carter is reminded of a Marlene Dietrich song about the city in *The Turkish Bloodbath* (1980), and he designates it in *Istanbul* as a 'squalid, teeming, dynamic nexus between Europe and Asia'⁵, suggesting that Istanbul is 'a natural magnet for intrigue and for the inevitable concomitant of intrigue which is death' (*Istanbul*, 20). Carter describes various historical 'palaces', 'kiosks' and 'yalis', such as the haunted Kiosk in *Black Amber* which is now used as the laboratory for producing heroin as well as the residence of the smuggling family, and which reminds the reader of terrible stories about the execution of women in the harem, put into sacks and thrown into the deep waters of the Bosphorus.

The negative reflections of Istanbul in thrillers and travel books such as *From Russia With Love* (1955), *Black Amber* (1965), *When I Grow Rich* (1962), *Journey Into Fear* (1966), *Diplomatic Death* (1961), and *On the Shores of Mediterranean* (1984) are created through particular references to different historical parts of the city, like the Bosphorus, the Palace and the Golden Horn, and there seems to be a close identification of these places with different stories ranging from exotic harem intrigues to suicide and brutal punishment as implied by Phyllis A. Whitney in *Black Amber* when she says that

'the Bosphorus has always been a receptacle for ugly secrets'⁶. In another part of the book she also adds:

There had been one such Sultan who had made a thoroughly fresh start by ordering a hundred concubines tied up in sacks that were well weighed with stones at the feet, and gathered and tied tightly below the chin so that no struggling would be possible when they were dropped into the Bosphorus (*Black Amber*, 114).

In Forsyte's designation of the city interwoven with both Turkish brutality and his

biased religious comment, Istanbul seems to be a 'City of Cats'⁷:

I've never come across a place like it. But it isn't because they live like animals. They put down poison for the dogs in the street. It is because Mohammad made cats sacred. Like the cows in India. They won't even drown the kittens. But they'll leave them to be run over or to starve to death (*Diplomatic Death*, 180).

Later on, he introduces a brutal anecdote about the city with reference to the Seraglio:

That's Saray point. Tradition says that is where the garrotted victims of the intrigues of the palace and the harem were thrown into the sea...The later sultans had the recognised right to strangle all their brothers on their accession in order to prevent possible rebellions. Mehmed III executed all his nineteen brothers in one day...So you can see that it is not a great problem to dispose of one body in Istanbul (*Diplomatic Death*, 220).

In order to emphasise the mysterious disappearance of Dimitrios, a wicked character who is presumed to have committed various crimes in *The Mask of Dimitrios*, the narrator makes a reference to the cruel image of the Bosphorus: 'A fisherman pulled his body out of the Bosphorus last night. It is believed that he had been knifed and thrown overboard from a ship. Like the scum he was, he was floating'⁸. In another part of the novel this image is ironically repeated in association with Dimitrios's wickedness that 'there are a few more like him who should float in the Bosphorus' (*The Mask of Dimitrios*, 25).

Eric Ambler in *The Light of the Day* (1962) tells us that: 'In fact, one of the Sultans got bored with the whole harem had had them all dumped into the Bosphorus⁹, and continues to give details through a character about the internal brutalities of the Seraglio during the hero's touristic visit to the present Museum:

The Ortakapi Gate is a good introduction to the 'feel' of the Seraglio. "It was here at this gate that the sultans used to stand to watch the weekly executions. The sultan stood just there, you see the block where the beheading was done. Now, see that little fountain built in the wall there? That was for the Executioner to wash the blood off himself when he had finished. He was also the Chief Gardener. By the way, this was known as the Gate of Salvation. Rather ironic, don't you think? Of course, only high palace dignitaries who had offended the sultan were beheaded here. When princes of the Royal house were executed - for instance, when a new sultan had all his younger brothers killed off to prevent arguments about the succession - their blood could not be shed, so they were strangled with a silk cord. Women who had offended were treated in different way. They were tied up in weighted sacks and dropped into the Bosphorus. Shall we go inside now?" (*The Light of the Day*, 117)

Similarly, Joan Fleming reminds the reader of the prevalence of negative stereotypes through a Turkish character in *When I Grow Rich* (1962): 'We Turks have made a habit throughout history of throwing anything which is of embarrassment to us either into the Golden Horn or into the Bosphorus'¹⁰. In addition, she reminds the reader of the historical technique of brutality through Hadji as he finally kills Madame Miasme:

For years he had had a suitable large sack ready-made almost to measure, and for an equal number of years had marked the large pieces of basalt rock he would use for the operation. It had been a matter of five minutes to do what he had visualised doing, so often; her body had gone into the water, her head protruding from the tied neck of the sack in the old, old way. He had kicked her down the water steps and now she lay, a distance of not more than two feet from the bottom step, but a long way down; food for the Bosphorus (*When I Grow Rich*, 212).

As has already been the case almost in every detective novel, the one way of execution highlighted in many novels is the murder, especially of women, by throwing them into the Sea of Marmara in sacks full of stones. When the housekeeper's dead body is found several days after of her mysterious murder in *Diplomatic Death* (1961)¹¹, it is easily noticed that 'the body is not eaten by crabs because it was in a sack with some big stones inside (*Diplomatic Death*, 220).

Rathbone also uses the popular Bosphorus stereotype as an execution point in *Diamonds Bid*. When Jonathan comes across the dead body of his friend Thomas in his hotel room he panickingly asks himself: 'What could I do? Buy a trunk, put him in it and get a hamal to ditch it in the Bosphorus?'¹² In Istanbul, Glazebrook repeats similar barbaric connotations associated with the Bosphorus, suggesting that 'my feelings were like those of a Turkish woman in a bag about to be thrown into the Bosphorus (*Journey to Kars*, 202), or 'beyond the Pass lies the dread East, with its frisson of license and cruelty, where women in bags are thrown into the Bosphorus' (*Journey to Kars*, 202).

Besides the historical stereotypes of Turkish cruelty and brutality, twentieth-century travel accounts refer to incidents of genocide, massacre or ethnic cleansing which are supposed to have happened during the First World War and after. The image of Turks massacring Greeks, Armenians and Kurds during the early decades of the century is implicit or explicit in many travel accounts and thrillers in the twentieth century. For example, it is discussed in *The Orient Express* (1922), *The Mask of Dimitrios* (1939), *Pascali's Island* (1980), *On the Shores of the Mediterranean* (1984), and *In Xanadu: A Quest* (1989).

Some travellers such as John Dos Passos take a more neutral stand in reporting different stories about the nature and implementation of the massacres (*Orient Express*) whilst other travel writers such as Frederick Prokosch and William Dalrymple imply

that only Greeks and Armenians were systematically murdered by the Turks. During his long journey from Istanbul to Damascus subsequent to the outbreak of the First World War, when most parts of the country were invaded by the Western Allies, John Dos Passos met Armenians and Greeks who maintained that their parents and relatives had been slaughtered in different parts of Turkey; from Samsun and Trabzon in the North to Adana in the South; from Erzurum and Van in the East to Izmir in the West. But a similar accusation is made by Turks and even Iranians: 'It was there the Sayyid found a Persian who kept a shop. He was a Musulman, and told how the Armenians had massacred and driven out the majority of the Mohammedan inhabitants of Erivan'¹³.

When Ambler gives a brief history of Izmir at the beginning of *The Mask of Dimitrios* he refers to bloody clashes between the local inhabitants of the city, especially between the Turks and the Greeks, which are believed to have resulted in numerous examples of savagery on both sides during the period when the city was captured by the Turks (September 9, 1922). Initially, he points out briefly that the Greek atrocities started when they retreated from the city that had already fallen to the Turks:

In the early hours of an August morning in nineteen twenty-two the Turkish Nationalist Army under the command of Mustafa Kemal Pasha attacked the centre of the Greek army at Dumlu Pinar [Dumlupinar] on the plateau two hundred miles west of Smyrna. By the following morning, the Greek army had broken and was in a headlong retreat towards Smyrna and the sea. In the days that followed, the retreat became a rout. Unable to destroy the Turkish army, the Greeks turned with frantic savagery to the business of destroying the Turkish population in the path of their flight. From Alashchr [Alasehir] to Smyrna they burnt and slaughtered. Not a village was left standing. Amid the smouldering ruins the pursuing Turks found the bodies of the villagers (*The Mask of Dimitrios*, 30).

But the whole story of massacre and savagery turns the other way round on the same page with detailed descriptions of slaughtering and looting by the Turks:

Assisted by the few half-crazed Anatolian peasants who had survived, they took their revenge on the Greeks they were able to overtake. To the bodies of the Turkish women and children were added the mutilated carcasses of Greek stragglers. But the main Greek army had escaped by sea. Their lust for infidel blood still unsatisfied, the Turks swept on. On the ninth of September, they occupied Smyrna. For a fortnight, refugees from the oncoming Turks had been pouring into the city to swell the already large Greek and Armenian populations. They had thought that the Greek army would turn and defend Smyrna. But the Greek army had fled. Now they were caught in a trap. The holocaust began (*The Mask of Dimitrios*, 30).

He also states that the massacre was, later on, diverted onto the Armenian population of the city as they were believed to have helped the Greeks while the city was under Greek control in the wake of World War I:

The register of the Armenian Asia Minor Defence League had been seized by the occupying troops, and, on the night of the tenth, a party of regulars entered the Armenian quarters to find and kill those whose names appeared on the register. The Armenians resisted and the Turks ran amok. The massacre that followed acted like a signal. Encouraged by their officers, the Turkish troops descended next day upon the non-Turkish quarters of the city and began systematically to kill. Dragged from their houses and hiding-places, men, women and children were butchered in the streets which soon became littered with mutilated bodies. The wooden walls of the churches, packed with refugees, were drenched with benzine and fired. The occupants who were not burnt alive were bayoneted as they tried to escape. In many parts looted houses had also been set on fire and now the flames began to spread (*The Mask of Dimitrios*, 31).

He introduces another hair-raising story of massacre which was continued by the Turks even for some time after the fall of the city:

The massacre continued with unabated ferocity. A cordon of troops was drawn round the city to keep the refugees within the burning area. The stream of panic-stricken fugitives were shot down pitilessly or driven back into the inferno. The narrow, gutted streets became so choked with corpses that, even had the would-be rescue parties been able to endure the sickening stench that arose, they could not have passed along them. Smyrna was changed from a city into a channel-house. Many refugees had tried to reach ships in the inner harbour.

Shot, drowned, mangled by propellers, their bodies floated hideously in the blood-tinged water. But the quayside was still crowded with those trying frantically to escape from the blazing waterfront buildings toppling above them a few yards behind. It was said that the screams of these people were heard a mile out at sea. Giaur Izmir - infidel Smyrna - had atoned for its sins (*The Mask of Dimitrios*, 31).

Barry Unsworth presents similar accounts of massacres in association with the brutal image of the Turkish figure in *Pascali's Island* (1980): 'my mind began to fill slowly with thoughts of the bayoneted children, disembowelled before they could walk; the clubbed Armenians bleeding their lives away into gutters'¹⁴. Nancy Phelan relates similar account in her *Welcome to the Wayfarer* (1965):

The country was closed to foreign tourists while the Turks tried to put their house in order. Shocking reports were heard. The Greeks who had lived in Asia Minor for centuries were massacred; and their remnants driven from the land; the Kurds were massacred; the Armenians were massacred¹⁵.

Another massacre image is introduced by Mary Lee Settle when she refers at one point to the Trabzon massacre:

The massacre at Trabzon was one of the few times in Turkish history that Turkish soldiers, who still have the reputation as the most disciplined troops in the world, refused to obey orders. There were so many that they were not shot, but were jailed¹⁶.

Christina Dodwell, during her journey to the eastern part of Turkey in *A Traveller on Horseback* (1987), also refers to the Turkish atrocities:

Armenian independent mindedness clashed with its Arab overlords, and in the eighth century the Arab viceroy was reported to have ordered the killing of Armenian high nobility. But that was nothing to the genocide that came later¹⁷.

As far as the image of brutality and massacre is concerned in twentieth century thrillers and travel accounts with reference to early twentieth century Turkish history,

writers such as Dennis Wheatley and Nancy Phelan remind the reader of the Turkish national figure, Kemal Ataturk with diverse negative attributes, as he was one of the key military figures during World War I, the chief military commander of Turkish army in the Turkish War of Independence, and eventually the founder of the Turkish Republic.

While travel writer Jan Morris calls Kemal Ataturk one of the Turkish despots¹⁸, Nancy Phelan declares that 'Ataturk was a bloodthirsty tyrant, a fiend, a monster' (*Welcome to the Wayfarer*, 2). The negative image of Kemal Ataturk propagated in the West also find its expression in popular fiction. For example, in several parts of *The Eunuch of Stamboul* (1935), Dennis Wheatley describes him with demeaning attributions:

He is said to be a licentious drunken brute, a cynic and a liar, whom no decent man could respect or trust. He was feared and hated even by the men who, from patriotic motives, had stood by him in his long struggle¹⁹.

Describing a Turkish military figure within the context of brutality in *The Mask of Dimitrios* Ambler makes an indirect reference to Kemal Ataturk through a character in the novel that 'he was one of the Gazi's own particular man in Anatolia in nineteen nineteen, a deputy in the Provisional Government. I've heard stories about him then. Bloodthirsty devil by all accounts. There was something about torturing prisoners' (*The Mask of Dimitrios*, 16).

When Mary Lee Settle described the ethnic clashes in Turkey during the First World War as the Turkish massacre of the Armenians in *Turkish Reflections*, she emphasised the late nineteenth century as the starting point with the key brutal image of the Ottoman sultan of the time:

In the late nineteenth-century, Abdul Hamid II, known along his coast as Abdul the Damned, sent the Turkish army to put down an Armenian revolt that existed mostly in his own paranoid mind. He was

the last of the absolute monarchs. He sent his army to ferment murder and looting. It was cold-bloodedly done, with a bugle call to start the massacres, and one to end them in the evening. English sailors from a ship in Trebizond harbor told of Armenians being pursued as they tried to swim to safety and drowned by fanatical Turkish Muslims and soldiers (*Turkish Reflections*, 66).

Although the number of Turkish casualties was higher than the Armenian ones during the First World War, Settle still feels exasperated with the earlier conflict and accuses the Turkish sultan of being the arch-murderer:

All of this was the product of the half-insane mind of Abdul Hamid, and it was murder without excuse, unlike the civil wars during the First World War that came later, and from which a half-million Armenians and two million Turkish people are said to have died (*Turkish Reflections*, 66).

In addition, within the context of World War I there are some other Turkish military figures who are represented not only for their cruelty but also for their humiliating defeat. In *Greenmantle* Enver and Talat Pashas, who participated in World War I on different fronts of the country in alliance with Germans, are described in a sarcastic and humiliating way:

Those boys aren't good. Enver's bright enough and for sure he's got sand. He'll out a fight like a Vermont game-chicken, but he lacks the longer vision, sir. He doesn't understand the intricacies of the job no more than a sucking child, so the Germans play with him, till his temper goes and he bucks like a mule. Talaat is a sulky dog who wants to batter mankind with a club. Both these boys would have made good cow-punchers in the old days, and they might have got a living out west as the gunmen of a Labour union²⁰.

As a consequence of the popular belief that 'the lust of massacring Christians is in the blood of every Turk' (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 44), 'America came to share the popular antipathy in Europe toward the "Unspeakable Turk"'²¹ as well. Because there had been serious emigration from Asian provinces of the Ottoman Empire to the United

States during the closing years of the nineteenth century, the great majority of whom were Armenians, Greeks and other Christian minorities, there began to be an emotional identification of the American public with the non-Turkish, and especially non-Muslim, subjects in Turkey through the views propagated by Armenian, Greek and Lebanese immigrants in the United States (*Middle East Dilemmas*, 167-8).

In a number of travel accounts examined in this thesis Turks are compared to minority groups such as Greeks or Armenians. In these comparisons, the minority groups are usually depicted as victims oppressed by the Turkish yoke, whilst the Turks are seen as the oppressors, mainly through anecdotes presented by characters from the minority groups such as Krikor of *In Xanadu: A Quest*. In the early pages of the book concerning Turkey a similar massacre episode is reflected through an Armenian character, Krikor, who is described with sympathy by the narrator on their first meeting in Syria:

Krikor Bekarian looked pleased to see us. He was a Christian Armenian, he told us, whose family had fled from Erzurum in 1917 during the massacres, and had managed to get to Beirut where they had set up a shoe-making firm²².

Later on, Krikor takes the narrator to an Armenian nightclub where 'an Armenian band was backing a wailing chanteuse' (*In Xanadu*, 54) and "“Lovely, lovely”, said Krikor. “This is a famous Armenian song about the massacre in Van” (*In Xanadu*, 54). Accounts of massacre increase as Dalrymple travels eastwards. Noting the ruins of the churches in Sivas, a middle Anatolian city, he refers to what he has already heard from an old man in the city:

I had managed to establish that whatever was the case in Polo's time, there were no longer any Greeks or Armenians in Sivas. According to the old man they had all 'left' during the First World War (i.e. they had all been slaughtered during the 1917 massacres) and since then their churches had fallen into disrepair, and eventually had been swept

away. The one near the citadel, probably the Armenian church of St. Blaise, had been used as an army store, and when the roof fell in 1953 it had been destroyed. The other, presumably the Greek church of St. George, was knocked down in 1978 and its stones had been used to build a mosque (*In Xanadu*, 92-3).

Likewise Newby in *On the Shores of the Mediterranean* (1984) tells how he hired a taxi in Adana driven by an Armenian who is depicted sympathetically:

He was an Armenian and gloomy. I had always had a soft spot for Armenians, a race who have spent more time being massacred than any other people in the Mediterranean regions in the last eighty years or so, more than 600.000 in 1915-16 alone (*On the Shores*, 184).

It is Xenophon, a Greek student in *The Towers of Trebizond*, who guides the travellers through the Black Sea region. When he describes a group of boys playing around the tent he cannot contain his prejudice by making a comparison that 'they were Turkish bullfrogs and had no shame, and that Greek boys would never behave so' (*Towers*, 103). Another example of such ethnic prejudice is revealed in reference to the historic barbarism of Turks through another old Greek when the group meet him in Rize, a small Black Sea town. As he converses with Laurie hesitatingly in Greek he expresses his opinion about the Turks:

Whispered to me, 'Ellenes, Ellenes! I said 'panu', nodding and smiling to show him how completely I accepted his view. He repeated it, however, saying, 'Ellenes. Ou Barbaros', and I echoed 'Ou Barbaros', with such conviction that he would realise how utterly I was with him in rejecting the barbarian ascription (*Towers*, 148).

While passing through different cities of Turkey John Dos Passos narrates different stories about the massacre of the minority inhabitants of the places, relaying anecdotes like 'there's another Armenian whose mother, father and three sisters were cut up into little pieces before his eyes by the Turks in 'Trebizond' (*Orient Express*, 9). In another place, he encounters another massacre-story: 'The Turks in Samsoun, the

Kemalists, who some weeks ago since deported the men of Orthodox faith, have now posted an order to deport the women and children. Three days notice. Of course that means ...”Massacre”, says some one hastily’ (*Orient Express*, 17).

Besides accounts of massacres which add a new dimension to the historical connotations of Turkish brutality, another reflection of atrocity comes in the form of accounts of harassment by the Turkish police and the military particularly during the coups, and accounts of the appalling conditions of prisons in the country. As he travelled to Turkey when the country was under curfew during the 1980 coup, Philip Glazebrook met many soldiers at different check-points on his way to the eastern part of Turkey, and infers from their physical appearance as well as from their aggressiveness a close identification with Germans and Mongols:

Many of the buses I had taken had been stopped at military roadblocks: in the west of the country, in sunlight, these had seemed not unfriendly checks on passengers’ papers. By night, in the eastern wilds, they altered their character. They became frequent, and hostile... Up the steps sprang a couple of soldiers under steel helmets, one running to the back of the bus, both covering the passengers with automatic weapons... The shaven skulls and Germanic helmets of the guards behind their weapons made them into another race from the passengers, Mongol overlords crushing rustics under armed heels (*Journey to Kars*, 116-7).

In addition to the early images of brutality, another widespread anti-Turkish stereotype, especially popular in the second half of the century refers to the appalling prison conditions and the ill-treatment of prisoners by the Turkish security forces. This image, which has become quite powerful through the cinema, with films such as *Midnight Express* (1978), intermingled with the implementation of sadistic sodomization is also obscenely emphasised in novels such as *The Light of the Day* (1962), when the protagonist narrates his first impression of a Turkish jail: "Then he took a rubber glove and a jar of petroleum jelly from the wall cabinet and searched my

rectum' (*The Light of the Day*, 50). Another shocking example of torture and ill-treatment by the Turkish police is pointed out by William Dalrymple through a Turkish youth as he tells the bitter story about his cousin to Laura, another English traveller in *In Xanadu: A Quest* (1989):

My cousin - my uncle's son - was arrested for his socialism and given electric shocks by the police...Still he talks about the prisons. The robbers, they beat the political prisoners and the guards they beat up everybody (*In Xanadu*, 78).

Dalrymple implies that torture as a method of interrogation is employed particularly in the case of political prisoners: 'The robbers, they beat up the political prisoners and the guards, they beat up everybody. There are gangs, and many killings' (*In Xanadu*, 78). In *Diamonds Bid* (1967), when the hero witnesses a bribery scene in a Turkish police station he is exposed to brutal harassment by the police (*Diamonds Bid*).

Frederick Prokosch relates how he was arrested in an eastern city in *The Asiatics* (1935):

The first three days we spent in a large room with twenty-eight other men. They were all political prisoners;..All of them needed a bath. One man had typhoid and another dysentery and a third one gonorrhoea. We were allowed to go to the latrine only twice a day. And as for the food, it was unspeakably wretched. One wouldn't have been surprised to discover that the meat was the flesh of hyenas and the vegetables came from out of the Pontic swamps. Many in this room, I learned later, had died, were dying, were going to die; either from sickness or in the executioner's yard^{2,1}.

Referring to what he has learnt from the guardians of the prison Prokosch proceeds to give some details about the appalling conditions of the prison and the prisoners:

There were three guards; one of them, a fat little man from Elizabetopol, grew quite friendly with me later. He would tell me tenderly obscene jokes and bring me uncatable sweets wrapped in blue lead foil. There were men with catalepsy, he told me with erysipelas, all sorts of worms, tuberculosis, syphilis, eye diseases of a tragic kind,

and many saddening things that the exposure and the dirt and the malnutrition had slowly grafted upon them. In a neighbouring room were the narcotic patients. We would look at them by standing tiptoe on the bench and peering through an iron lattice-work rose between them and us. They were living behind a permanent veil. Once or twice some one called to them. But they didn't answer. There was no use trying to get near them; they were far, far away... One of them was whispering incessantly. "He'll die soon," said my guard from Elizabetopol casually. "Next week maybe." And that's just what did happen, but it was an event so trivial and inconclusive that not a single person could possibly have noticed the difference. But still, that's what strategy is, of course. The things no one else knows. And if I'd had the chance I might have wept a tear or two (*The Asiatics*, 57-8).

Besides some general attributions to the Turks such as 'Turkish habit of striking... servants violently in the face when they displeased' (*The Mask of Dimitrios*, 13), as far as the image of savagery or cruelty is concerned at individual level, particularly thriller writers seem to create various fictitious Turkish figures who are generally characterised by their villainous acts or records. Apart from bribery, Rathbone tends to make use of brutality in order to make the combined image of drug-trafficking and antique smuggling more sensational. For example, Barish Uz invites Diana's boyfriend David, who is an expert on Hellenistic bronzes, to his villa and he is introduced to 'an Eros and a Zeus. He said the Zeus was as fine as and similar to the one in Athens Museum'²⁴, but 'two days after he had talked of it all to this Turkish archaeologist he was knocked down and killed. (*Trip Trap*, 132).

Another Turkish stereotype Timur Urganci, is a psychopathic murderer paid by Barish Uz: 'They were both shot by Timur Urganci. Both times in the pay of Barish Uz. Timur Urganci is probably psychopathic' (*Trip Trap*, 142). In order to emphasise his wickedness Rathbone remarks:

For Timur Izmir was a dream come true: It was Chicago; and his employers, mysterious people who kept him like a prince, had given him a black suit, a machine gun, a black car, a suitable laconic driver, and a target. Timur was in Heaven (*Trip Trap*, 82).

To increase the impact of Turkish brutality upon the reader, many novelists refer to different methods of execution as commonplace. In *The Asiatics* (1935) the execution takes the form of shooting an Armenian prisoner already sentenced to death since he killed a Turkish soldier:

Finally they took away the old Armenian (Miskranian was his name)...That was the last we saw of the old Armenian, we strained our ears as we sat there, waiting to hear the pistol report. Finally we heard it. Click. Then a pause, then click again. That was all (*The Asiatics*, 71).

Sometimes executions are described as taking place in public in well-known parts of Istanbul like Sultanahmet square (a popular tourist centre), as exemplified in Joan Fleming's *When I Grow Rich* (1962):

Do they hang people in Turkey?' Yes! he replied, 'they hang people in Turkey, for murder!...Yes! they hanged murderers in Turkey and Nur bey thought it necessity to tell her that they were public hangings (*When I Grow Rich*, 27).

On one occasion Madame Miasme takes Jenny to another public execution in Istanbul as an implicit sign of warning:

The hangman's movements were economical and unfussy. In his ordinary well worn European-style suit he looked like a busy draper or any other kind of shopkeeper performing familiar movements amongst his stock. He slipped the noose over the prisoner's head, pulling the knot round to the back and tightening it against The back of the neck whilst adjusting it in front well beneath the chin. He then helped him upon to the stool, pulling the spare rope twist and tying it firmly against one of the supports. There was absolute silence now in the square but once more the fog horn sounded. Light was rushing up out of the east, but the deed would be done before dawn (*When I Grow Rich*, 78)

Dennis Wheatley: *The Eunuch of Stamboul*

Dennis Wheatley's *The Eunuch of Stamboul*²⁵ is a typical example of the novel that relies on images of Turkish brutality as it introduces the reader to the transformation of Turks from Orientals to Westerners in terms of administration, education, social life, etc. through the transformation of the Ottoman Empire into Turkey in 1930s.

The plot of the novel involves an adventurous coup attempt by KAKA - an illegal pro-Ottoman organisation in Turkey which is aborted by the help of a highly skilful British intelligence officer Swithin Destime. It is based on a number of religious, political and cultural anti-Turkish clichés ranging from a misinterpretation of Islam and haunting stories about the exotic harem and other historical sites of Istanbul to distorted and abusive accounts of significant Turkish figures of history. Moreover, the villains chosen from history are also depicted as brutal and repulsive, while the Bosphorus is revealed as a setting for brutality and execution. The story set in the early 1930s initially starting in England, consists of a political conspiracy by a pro-Ottoman underground organisation which aims to restore the Caliphate and operates through various high-rank bureaucrats in Istanbul. The chivalrous hero Captain Destime pretends to resign when he interferes to stop the Turkish Prince Ali trying to seduce Diana, the daughter of a prominent British diplomat, Sir Charles Duncannon, during a formal party in London. Upon Sir Charles's request, Captain Destime agrees to resign in order to keep Turco-British diplomatic relations intact, and afterwards he is honoured with a top-secret mission when he is asked to go to Istanbul as a British spy by Sir Charles:

I want someone like yourself to go out at once and investigate the situation at first hand... The remuneration, of course, if you take this job on, will be handsome, you may leave that to me, and you would have the additional satisfaction of knowing that you are also serving your country, since any information you may secure will be passed on to the Foreign Office and might enable them to avert serious trouble

by acting in time if there are any grounds for the sort of thing I fear
(*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 44-45).

Assigned to be director of a tobacco company around Istanbul and staying in the Pera Palas, Swithin Destime tries to uncover the illegal organisation known as the KAKA which is planning to overthrow Ataturk in the hope of rebuilding the previous Ottoman state. One of the top figures of this organisation is Prince Ali, nephew of the late sultan and 'Emir of Konia and Grand Commander of the State and Crescent' (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 11); another is the chief police director of Istanbul named 'Eunuch Kazdim'.

Through making contact with a Turkish university student and a Russian woman working in the bookstall of the Pera Palas and reluctantly spying for the Eunuch since she and her mother are threatened with deportation, Swithin learns something about this illegal organisation. Subsequent to various adventures, the hero manages to obtain some important clues and finally uncovers the conspiracy of revolution and a detailed list of the leading committee members. He takes this valuable information to the British authorities first, and then to Ankara - to Kemal Ataturk. In return, apart from official congratulations, most importantly, he gains Diana's love.

As an interwar thriller *The Eunuch of Stamboul* is a typical example of Turkish stereotyping in the first half of the twentieth century as it was written during the transition period of Turkish history and politics. The book builds up various Turkish stereotypes in reference to previous historical events, places and figures in a degenerated form supposedly representing early reactions to the modernisation process in Turkey (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 49). These stereotypes appear to reinforce the images of massacre, execution, brutality associated with some historical figures such as the Eunuch of Stamboul or Prince Ali as well as with the historical places such as the Bosphorus.

Since the plot is composed of a historical conspiracy, a brutal reflection of the Ottoman Empire and its corrupt state system, Dennis Wheatley, in order to justify the westernisation process in the country after the foundation of the Turkish Republic, chooses all the villains from the late Ottomans rounded up in the anti-Republic organisation, the so called KAKA. The Empire is depicted as exotic and brutal, through stereotypical figures like Eunuch Kazdim and Prince Ali. Wheatley portrays 'those strange half-Eastern and half-Western people-the 'Turks' (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 55) as a nation still identified with brutality and cruelty which, it is claimed, was mainly inflicted upon minorities such as Armenians, Greeks and Jews:

All business in Turkey before the Kemal era was transacted by Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. The Turks despised such men and all their activities. The majority of those they have now butchered or deported (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 42).

Elsewhere we are told that 'there were quiet periods and during them massacres of Bulgars, and Armenians were carried out on a greater scale than ever before' (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 90).

Moreover, these references to Turkish brutality are underlined in another way towards the end of the novel when the British hero has been helped by a little electrician named Murad, a Syrian living in Istanbul:

'Splendid!' Swithin looked at the little electrician. 'And very kind of you, Mr. Murad. Am I right in thinking that you are not a Turk?' Murad grinned and shook his head. 'No, I Syrian. Turks kill my father, mother, brothers, rape sister, all in big war against Eengleish-hate Turk.' He spat (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 299).

Apart from his biased and contemptuous attitude to the late Ottoman sultans through the utterances of different characters such as; 'Teh! The Old Red Fox-Abdul the Damned! (Abdulhamid II) (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 90), and 'the Emperor of all the

Turks and Terror of the world, fat, flabby, and useless, escaping out of his rebellious capital under the protection of the British' (the last Ottoman sultan Vahideddin) (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 64). Wheatley shows a similar negative attitude towards Kemal Ataturk, who replaced the Ottoman system with the new western-oriented Turkish Republic, by accusing him of similar brutality, foolishness and betrayal. Cynical references to Kemal Ataturk are made through different characters with remarks such as; 'They gave him the title of 'Gazi', the Destroyer of 'Christians' (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 44) (Gazi simply means survivor of the war). Elsewhere Kemal is presented as the traitor whose admiration for western nations has brought about the sacrifice of the Nation (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 94).

It should also be noted that it is not only the Turks who are despised and insulted, but also other ethnic groups such as Russians, Arabs and Kurds. The Russian woman Tania is treated as a mistress and forced to work for the KAKA by the Eunuch in order to obtain a residence permit from the Turkish authorities for herself and her mother; the Kurds living in the southeast of Turkey are designated as weird and lecherous as the Eunuch threatens Tania:

I will send her to Bitlis as a plaything for a Kurdish chieftain of my acquaintance. A man whose only pleasure is to inflict pain upon soft bodies. She will have aged thirty years by the time she has been his mistress for six months (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 266).

On another occasion, he repeats a similar threat to her: 'You shall be sent to the Kurd, and I will kill your lover. Once more, with that air of terrible finality that Tania knew so well' (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 267).

Wheatley seems to make an implicit comparison between the Turks and the Arabs in terms of brutality through Eunuch Kazdim when he orders Tania to bring the documents as soon as possible: 'I shall be waiting outside the hotel and if I find that you

have lied to me you know well that a Wahabi would have less mercy for an unbeliever than I for you' (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 286).

Wheatley depicts the Turkish character as the embodiment of all vices and cruelties, together with repulsive physical features since 'the villains are an imperious scion of the last sultan and the chief of the secret police, a eunuch whose former job was guarding the sultan's harem, ensuring that none of the ladies indulged in any hanky-panky'²⁶.

When Prince Ali is introduced to the reader for the first time in a formal party in London he is described as vulgar and repulsive through Diana Duncannon:

Her glance fell from the haughty, well-marked olive features of the Turkish prince to his waistline, so narrow that one might almost have suspected him of wearing corsets, and a long cigar that he was holding. Half unconsciously she noticed that for so tall a man his hand was surprisingly small - plump, sensitive, womanish - and that the index finger was distinctly crooked (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 11).

The title figure of *The Eunuch of Stamboul*, is Eunuch Kazdim Hari Bekar, the formidable chief of the secret police in Istanbul. Kazdim has also a strange record since he used to be the chief eunuch of the last sultan's harem, and now he is an active member of the KAKA. Besides the repulsive physical description of him such as his great, egg-shaped face creased into a frown, he also has a brutal and sadistic side as Jeanette suggests: "But Kazdim!" breathed the girl. "That man is a monster of sadistic cruelty; 'e 'as never missed an execution an' delights in carrying them out i'self" (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 116). His brutality and relentlessness are made explicit when he threatens his victims during an interrogation that; 'All my life I have preferred to experiment on others, and I am too old to change my habits now' (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 221).

Reinforcing the cruelty and repulsiveness of Eunuch Kazdim, Wheatley depicts his guards in more appalling terms:

Then he saw that two other men beside the Eunuch and his guards were present. Both were huge negroes, naked to the waist, their black skins shiny and glistening, their white eyeballs staring at him with dumb animal curiosity. The mouth of one opened in a half-imbecile grin,..the man had no tongue-and they were mutes, old henchmen of the Eunuch's from his palace days perhaps, the instruments of many hideous crimes under his orders (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 187).

Another image which can repeatedly be seen in other thrillers concerning Turkey like *Black Amber*, *When I Grow Rich* and *Journey Into Fear* is created in particular reference to Istanbul and its different historical sites like the Bosphorus and Topkapi Palace. The city in *The Eunuch of Stamboul* is represented through various intrigues, mysteries, and sadistic tales, for 'despite its surface modernity, still held all..., cruelty, romance, and intrigue of timeless East' (*The Middle East*, 71). As Wheatley sets the story on 'returning the political situation to the status quo ante' (*The Middle East*, 66), and chooses the villains - members of the KAKA - mainly from historical figures, Istanbul, being an Imperial capital once, is still depicted as the cruel city of the sultans (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 59).

Linking the Bosphorus with exotic harem intrigues (like other thriller writers such as Joan Fleming and Phyllis Whitney) Wheatley designates it as a place of suicide and execution; an image of punishment which can be traced back to Ottoman times. When Sir Charles asks Swithin Destime to be careful in Turkey, he also mentions that Turkish punishment in case of capture is 'ten years in a fortress, or worse, he would be knocked on the head one dark night and flung into the Bosphorus' (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 70). When the Russian girl is threatened with being sent to the Kurds by the Eunuch, her answer is: 'No! Rather than face that she would kill herself-throw herself into the Bosphorus-that was the way out' (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 278).

The Bosphorus is portrayed in connection with the harem and its wives that:

The Bosphorus still contained traces of the lattice work which had shielded the ladies of the harem from the gaze of curious, and Swithin knew that a number of them had remained in residence there until as recently as 1922 (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 69).

As far as Istanbul with its popular sites is concerned in *The Eunuch of Stamboul* Wheatley creates a mosaic of images of romance, intrigue, cruelty, lust and exoticism:

He thought...of the beautiful veiled odalisques who had danced and loved and died in the great, haunted echoing chambers, of the curved sharp-bladed scimitars which decorated the walls of the Palace Armoury and the quarters of those almost legendary creatures, the eunuchs (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 129)

As we have seen, in the long tradition of depicting Turks and Turkey in a negative light within a number of western genres examined so far in this thesis, the most prevalent stereotype has emphasised hostility and savagery, which have taken diverse forms. This stereotype is usually displayed - explicitly or implicitly - through the evil often injected into the characters of these novels involved, or attributed as an innate element of some of the more well-known parts of the country. These have had the effect of reminding the reader of unusual stories or reminiscences from the past. Although the image has at times been reinterpreted with relation to a few contemporary political and military issues relevant to twentieth-century Turkey, nevertheless the historical process of repeating past images has never been explicitly countered or brought to an end.

NOTES

1-Rose Macaulay, *The Towers of Trebizond* (London: Fontana, 1990), p.75. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Towers*'.

2-J.V. Guerinot, "The Pleasures of Rose Macaulay" in *Twentieth Century Literature*, 33 (Spring 1989), (110-128), p.119. Guerinot makes this comment in particular reference to Macaulay's *Pleasures of Ruins*. See: Rose Macaulay, *Pleasures of Ruins* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1953), p. 169.

3-Philip Glazebrook, *Journey to Kars* (London: Penguin, 1985), pp. 223-4. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Journey to Kars*'.

4-Eric Newby, *On the Shores of the Mediterranean* (London: Picador, 1985), p.152. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its shortened title, '*On the Shores*'.

5-Nick Carter, *Istanbul* (London: Universal Publishing and Distribution Corporation), p.20. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Istanbul*'. Also see: *Turkish Bloodbath* (New York: Ace-Charter, 1980).

6-A. Phyllis Whitney, *Black Amber* (London: Robert Hale, 1965), p.114. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Black Amber*'.

7-Charles Forsyte, *Diplomatic Death*, first pub. London: Cassell, 1961, (Leicester: F.A. Thorpe, 1988), p.180. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Diplomatic Death*'

8-Eric Ambler, *The Mask of Dimitrios* (First Pub. Hodder and Stoughton, 1939) (London:FontanaCollins, 1966), p.21. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*The Mask of Dimitrios*'.

9-Eric Ambler, *The light of the Day*, (London: Heineman, 1962), p.117. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*The light of the Day*'

10-Joan Fleming, *When I Grow Rich*, 1st pub. (London: Collins, 1962), p. 186. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*When I Grow Rich*'.

11-Although it has been published recently, the story was composed in the mid 1950s while the author was working in the British Consulate-General. As the author remarks, 'behind the story of *Diplomatic Death* lies another story. It began in the mid 1950s in Istanbul, where I was working in the British Consulate-General. During this time my father-in-law in England suffered a severe stroke and my wife had to fly home to be with him. To while away the winter evenings on my own I read a number of detective stories, until the thought came to me that it would be more entertaining to write one myself. I devised a mystery plot set in the local scene - for although the characters and events were invented, the story is set in the Istanbul I knew'. See: Charles Forsyte, *Diplomatic Death* (Leicester: F.A. Thorpe, 1988), prologue.

12-Julian Rathbone, *Diamonds Bid* (London: Joseph, 1967), p.127. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Diamonds Bid*'.

13-John Dos Passos, *Orient Express* (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1922), p. 70. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Orient Express*'.

14-Barry Unsworth, *Pascali's Island* (London: Penguin, 1980), p.42. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Pascali's Island*'.

15-Nancy Phelan, *Welcome to the Wayfarer* (London: Macmillan, 1965), p. 2. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Welcome to the Wayfarer*'.

16-Mary Lee Settle, *Turkish Reflections* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1991), p. 68. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Turkish Reflections*'.

17-Christina Dodwell, *A Traveller on Horseback* (London: Sceptre, 1988), p. 125-6.

18-Jan Morris, *Among the Cities* (London: Penguin, 1986), p.200. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Among the Cities*'.

19-The book was first published in 1935 by Hutchinson. Dennis Wheatley, *The Eunuch of Stamboul* (London: Arrow Books, 1960), p. 41. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*The Eunuch of Stamboul*'.

20-John Buchan, *Greenmantle* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1916) 1st pub., p. 226. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Greenmantle*'.

21-J.C. Hurewitz, *Middle East Dilemmas: The Background of the United States Policy* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1973), p.168. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Middle East Dilemmas*'.

22-William Dalrymple, *In Xanadu: A Quest* (London: Flamingo, 1990), p. 6. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*In Xanadu*'.

23-Frederic Prokosch, *The Asiatics*, 1st pub. 1935, (London: Robin Clark, 1991), p. 56-7. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*The Asiatics*'.

24-Julian Rathbone, *Trip Trap* (London: Joseph, 1972). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Trip Trap*'.

25-As the son and grandson of Mayfair wine merchants, Dennis Yeats Wheatley was born in London on 8 January, 1897. At the age of seventeen he was commissioned in the army at the beginning of World War I; then he turned to work in the family wine business from 1919 until 1931. In his mid-thirties he had to leave his wine business because of the financial difficulties during the Depression, and it was at this point he started writing and published *The Forbidden Territory* in 1933. Although he has been well-known for his occult novels, he has also written various thrillers such as *The Eunuch of Stamboul* (1935).

26-Reeva S. Simon, *The Middle East in Crime Fiction* (New York:Lilian Barber Press, 1989), p.71. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*The Middle East*'.

CHAPTER III

IMAGES OF THE EXOTIC

In the tradition of travel accounts such as Richard Halliburton's *The Royal Road to Romance* (1925), Aldous Huxley's *Along the Road* (1925) and Robert Byron's *The Road to Oxiana* (1937), Americans tended to prefer Europe, particularly France and Spain whereas the British went eastward: 'The places between the wars the British traveler took as his province: Kashmir, Japan, China, Egypt, Northern India, Palestine, Constantinople, the Bay of Naples, Sicily, Ceylon'¹.

When Paul Fussell studies British travellers in his *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (1980) he suggests that travelling was a bourgeois obsession or cult in the first half of the twentieth century among the younger generation, especially Oxbridge graduates:

Curiously, the obsession seemed to grip Oxford prominently. Cambridge can boast a few devotees of abroad, mostly homosexuals like Forster, Ackerley, and Isherwood, but it is Oxford that produced

the bulk of between-the-wars literary travelers. Balliol is responsible for Greene, Patrick Balfour, Aldous Huxley, Peter Quennell, and Connolly; Magdalen produced Alan Pryce-Jones; Christ Church, David Talbot, Rice, Sykes, Fleming, and Auden; Hertford, Evelyn Waugh; and Merton, Robert Byron (*Abroad*, 76).

Subsequent to World War II the US has appeared as a new domineering power in terms of politics, economics and military might in the West. Mainly as a result of its imperial competition with the former USSR America has increased its interest and involvement in some geopolitically significant parts of the world such as the Middle East in general - because of its rich oil resources - and Turkey in particular since it is a de facto westernised country bordering on the USSR. As far as Turkey is concerned, after setting up new political, economic and military agreements with the USA there has been an influx of travellers into the country for different reasons, varying from intellectual and diplomatic to touristic ones in the second half of the twentieth century, and writing about Turkey in different forms has increased.

Apart from 'the national snobbery engendered by two centuries of wildly successful imperialism' (*Abroad*, 74), one significant motive for the common desire among western writers to travel abroad seems to be the quest for adventure, a motive which is usually inspired by the earlier adventurous fictions and accounts set in particular locations of the world such as Turkey. Deeply influenced by his childhood excitement over the witch Gagool in Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1886), his favourite book, Graham Greene, speaking on behalf of his fellow travellers such as Fleming, Waugh and himself, remarks that: 'We were a generation bought up on adventure stories who had missed the enormous disillusionment of the first war; so we went looking for adventure' (*Abroad*, 70).

According to Fussell the search for the unusual and exotic appears to be another motive for travel. Various travellers who were fascinated by the vision of the East

generated in Western minds during the Age of Imperialism² were preoccupied by the quest for eccentricity and anomalies, which modern times have termed 'tourist attractions'. It was believed that:

A travel book, at its purest, is addressed to those who do not plan to follow the traveller at all, but who require the exotic or comic anomalies, wonders, and scandals of the literary form 'romance' which their own place or time cannot entirely supply (*Abroad*, 203).

When Paul Theroux discusses various evocations of the word, 'exotic' with regard to travel writing in *Sunrise With Seamonsters* (1985) he remarks that 'it may be the plump odalisque squinting from her sofa with her hands behind her head, or else a glimpse of palm trees - the palm tree is very emblem of the exotic: or else power, or riches, fine weather, good health, safety. It is the immediately recognisable charm of the unfamiliar'³. As he points out that the word itself implies distance and it is the magic of travellers' tales he draws its geographical border:

And between Tahiti and Istanbul, the pretty island and the fabled city which are two of the exotic frontiers, there is a middle zone that combines palm trees and riches, the exotic of India and China - *nautch* girls, *howdahs*, the pink palace, the court, and the sahib's pipe-dream of himself in stately repose. The frontiers are actual (*Seamonsters*, 147)

Although he takes into consideration the significant role of the earlier travel accounts, no matter whether they are based on fictional or actual travels or their use of the exotic, Theroux argues that 'the exotic image is not implicitly erotic but often subtly sensual,.. and it goes almost without saying that the exotic notion is a Western dream, a hankering for the East' (*Seamonsters*, 147). Since, however, most reflections of the exotic as a traditional romantic element in texts set either within the Oriental context in general or a Turkish one in particular, usually appear to be inspired by previous works,

(especially nineteenth-century tales as we have already discussed) it is necessary to go back to the previous century's use of the term in relation to eroticism.

In his textual analysis of diverse nineteenth-century English and French travel accounts about the Orient, John Dixon seems almost to identify exoticism with eroticism, in that the legitimisation of the illicit pleasure for eroticism is camouflaged as a taste for the exotic, largely expressed through fictitious tales of the Victorian male imagination: 'The travel writers know they were able to play into the readers' fantasies of the East in which the exotic and erotic were in close proximity'⁴. In another part of his thesis Dixon takes this proximity of the terms into the twentieth century with some nuances:

The close proximity of the terms exotic/erotic had a real basis in the early nineteenth-century of harems and slave markets,...The individual imagination was always in excess of the capacity of reality to satisfy erotic desires, but by the twentieth century the symbolism of Oriental sensuality had been reduced to the tourist bibelot (*Representations of the East*, 62-3).

Besides historical Turkish brutality and savagery another well-known motif ascribed to Turks in travel accounts is to be the sensual and exotic representation of stories of the harem. As Frederic Raphael remarks: 'The self indulgence symbolised by the Sublime Porte, inhabited by lolling despots and their pampered harem jades, turned exploiting the Grand Turk into doing him a kind of punitive favour' (*Empire Building*", 6). A similar attitude can be perceived in works of fiction such as William Gibson's *Newromances* (1984) and Joan Fleming's *When I Grow Rich* (1962).

Although the end of the Ottoman Empire was signalled definitively by the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 it is still commonplace in twentieth-century travel accounts, particularly those written about Istanbul, to stumble upon so called romantic reminiscences from the past, such as exotic stories of the harem,

eunuchs and concubines, and an emphasis on Turkish interest in sexual perversions such as sodomy, a dominant image of the cinema with special reference to *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) and *Midnight Express* (1978).

It can be said that *The Towers of Trebizond* with its diverse oddities, ironies and miscellaneous themes is the outcome of a skilful combination of the setting, since Trebizond and the history of Turkey have certain qualities the author needed for her novel, and the creative employment of different images by her intellectual and personal experience:

Rose Macaulay triumphantly justifies the choice of her key-image...by the tightness of her intellectual control over its every detail and by her courage and delicacy in handling every personal material drawn from the experience, years long, of happiness and fun, coupled with guilt and the bitter loss, for many years, of peace of mind⁵.

The account of the journey starts with three English figures; the narrator, Laurie, an English girl under forty who is an artist and has been in love with her married cousin for ten years; her aunt Dot, a religious widow in her sixties, who gallops incessantly around the world on a white racing camel and fights for the rights of women; and Father Hugh Chantry-Pigg, a retired Anglican divine given to saying long graces in either Latin or Greek. Arriving in Istanbul they are joined by a Turkish woman, Dr. Halide Tanpinar, who had studied medicine in London and joined the Anglican Church. They set out on a missionary venture to the Black Sea, particularly to Trebizond, during which Aunt Dot and Father Chantry-Pigg vanish illegally into Russia to see what they can see. Then the focus shifts to the narrator as she wanders off on a camel by herself and grows steadily sadder until her lover is killed in an automobile accident at which point the book simply ends.

Although it is rare in comparison with other travel accounts, the recreation of nineteenth-century images of romance also occurs in association with Turkey in *The Towers of Trebizond*. While Laurie and Dr. Halide discuss the speculations of the reporters about the mysterious disappearance of Aunt Dot and Father Chantry-Pigg they agree that these stories may also be embellished with some elements of romance in an oriental context. Criticising the exaggeration of the reporters, Dr. Halide comments:

'Yes, and you would read it in the papers, with names. Romance! All they mean by romance in some commonplace tale of love. What do they know of the romance of the deserts and the mountains and the sea, the great Turkey cities buried in sand that we dig out piece by piece, the roaming of nations across wild lands to build grand civilisations'⁶.

Afterwards, Laurie completes Halide's description by adding exotic evocations of the Bosphorus, slaves, harems and eunuchs:

'And palaces', I added, for romance excites me, 'and harems and eunuchs and fountains playing in the courts, and peacocks spreading their tails in the sun, and paved roads running down to the port where the ships go in and out with purple sails, laden with cargoes of nuts and Circassian slaves, and camel caravans coming up from Arabia, jingling their bells through Petra and Palmyra and Baalbek, heading for Byzantium and the Bosphorus (*Towers*, 210-11).

Endorsing Laurie's long description of romance, Halide discusses the connotative difference between versions of romance:

'Yes, yes,' Halide broke in, 'but we cannot now tell all the tale of Romance, it is too long. We are agreed, you and I and Dot, and all our friends, what is Romance. But these newspaper gossips, they do not understand all that, they do not read poetry or look at beauty, they only know love (*Towers*, 211).

It is also possible to encounter a similar interpretation of romance which has been identified with several elements of sensuality in works of fiction such as William Gibson's *Newromances* (1984). Although the book does not directly deal with Turkey,

Gibson introduces historical parts of Istanbul such as the Topkapi Palace with similar evocations through a dialogue between two characters:

“What is this thing?” he asked Molly, as the Mercedes parked itself on the fringes of the gardens that surround the Seraglio. He stared dully at the baroque conglomeration of styles that was Topkapi. It was sort of a private whorehouse for the “King”, she said, getting out stretching. “Kept a lotta women there”. Now it is a museum⁷.

Despite the fact that polygamy was officially abolished in Turkey after the establishment of the Republic by the Turkish Civil Code⁸, some travellers, such as Frederic Prokosch, seem to be keen on harem fantasies. When he first meets Mr. Suleiman in Istanbul in *The Asiatics*, the latter is ironically depicted as having had a close connection with the sultan's harem before:

We drove through the sad neglected streets of the decaying city, on along the shore and out into the open country. Mr. Suleiman told me all about himself as we rode. He was surprisingly intimate. “Mrs. Suleiman,” he asserted in a high, whispering voice, “was once in the sultan's harem. That was when she was young and beautiful.” I turned back involuntarily and glanced at Mrs. Suleiman. She was quite fat and there was a bit of moustache on her upper lip. She stared back at me without expression. “She was very beautiful then,” Mr. Suleiman continued. “Eyes like coals, a body graceful and limber like a gazelle. She is growing a little heavy now from eating too many biscuits and too much honey. But she was beautiful once, and I loved her with great devotion”⁹.

Upon the narrator's further curiosity about such an eccentric subject in the course of their dialogue Sulciman gives some more details about the woman in relation to the harem:

The last word surprised me a little. But then I glanced at him again and it seemed the most natural possible word. “Where did you first know her?” I asked innocently. “I was a guardian in the harem”, he replied. “I saw her everyday. I loved her and she loved me. So after the end of the Empire we married. We have been very happy” (*The Asiatics*, 40-1)

In the proceeding part of their conversation, Mr. Sulciman expresses his nostalgia for the past again in terms of harem life:

He lit a cigarette and blew three fine smoke rings. "We have travelled much," he went on. "To Paris, Vienna, Budapest, Sicily. Also Cairo and Alexandria. Mrs. Sulciman has enjoyed it. It has made her modern." "But times changed," he continued sadly. "We are free, yes. But we regret the old days. Both of us feel homesick for the days of the sultan and the harem. They were full of leisure, we could relax. We could have all that we requested. But now everything is so uncertain and troublesome. I have much money but still I feel uncertain and troubled with life. These are such restless years!" (*The Asiatics*, 41).

In order to add some exotic taste to the issue of drug-smuggling which is mainly operated from a historical kiosk of Istanbul Joan Fleming introduces a similar sensual image referring to the harem through Madame Miasme, the arch-villain who runs the smuggling in *When I Grow Rich*:

Miasme had missed being the 'Valide' by inches. The Sultan Valide, or the mother of the sultan, used to be the most important person in the whole great Turkish Empire, but jealousy and ambition for the position ran so high in the harem that any woman who did finally become the Valide earned all honour that was due to her for sheer tenacity of purpose. She would, of necessity, have to be a woman beautiful, mobile and deductive, ruthless, cunning, single of purpose and satanically clever. Miasme had simply not made the grade. When the imperial harem was finally dissolved, she had emerged into the modern world with a few jewels and a yellow, hairless, dead-eyed eunuch as her only prize¹⁰.

Soon after the hero's arrival in Istanbul on his first secret mission in *The Eunuch of Stamboul* he is initially reminded by an English merchant who is supposed to provide all detailed information about the illegal organisation planning a coup about Eunuch Kazdim, the Chief of the Secret Service and the most dangerous member of the organisation. While Kazdim is depicted not only through his brutal records but also

through his previous occupation in the harem, Wheatley tries to make a comparison, through the merchant, between Kazdim's sensual background and spying:

'Spying's the natural business of a Eunuch. In the big harems there were scores of bonnie lassies wi' only one husband between the lot of them and no natural outlet fer their passions. At times they'd go fair mad fer the lack of a man, so every harem was riddled wi' plots to smuggle in some lusty young *hamal* or soldier fer an hour. 'T was the job of the Eunuchs to match their cunning against that of the women, and the clever ones made mint o' money at the game. Think of the opportunities for blackmail in sich a posection, mon! When one of these onnotural creatures had nosed out a love affair, he'd play the woman like a salmon trout by threatening to tell the master if she did not find him sil'er enough to still his tongue, or if she were rich, he'd encourage her to play the whore provided he made a guid thing oot of it. But all the time he'd have to go canny as a cat, fer if the woman were caught at her tricks he'd be called on to answer fer it, and if his brother Eunuchs found him out, they'd tell on him to curry favour with their boss, so he stood, so he stood a double chance of having his fat neck wrung. Can ye tell me a better school than that for a secret-service man?'¹¹

Some travellers such as Paul Theroux, Mary Lee Settle and Eric Newby aim to satisfy the reader's expectation for titillatory material. For example, during his visit to Topkapi Palace in Istanbul, Theroux is particularly concerned with the harem:

In the Topkapi harem I was shown the quarters of the black eunuchs. Outside each cell were various instruments of torture, thumbscrews, lashes, and so forth. But punishments, according to the guide, were not always elaborate. I pressed her for an example. 'They hang them up and beat them on their feet, 'she said¹².

Visiting the historical places of Istanbul Settle decides to set out to find a clue to what life in the harem must have been like. Apart from depicting the harem as 'a huge, ornate prison for women, and for many of the sultans, who hid there in fear of their lives, victims of the irony of absolute rule. There is, in all that rich imperial polyglot, no place to be alone'¹³, she also recounts her disappointment at the present state of Turkish baths in the city compared to those historical ones she learnt from the previous stories:

I expected to be brought Turkish coffee, and to be wrapped in thick, warm Turkish towels. Instead I was shoved into a cold, dirty cubicle, given a thin towel, and told to undress. The attendant pointed to a door with her cigarette. At one of the basins an enormously fat naked old woman, with arms of iron, was sitting washing her underwear. She was the attendant, a eunuch figure, pendulous and mighty. They are an ancient guild, those masseuses, and for the first time I had a sense that I was in a room that might have been like the reality instead of the romance of the harem (*Turkish Reflections*, 48).

Eric Newby seems to be another typical example who treats similar anomalies mainly associated with the harem, Seraglio, Turkish baths, kiosks, etc. with detailed descriptions in separate chapters of *On The Shores of the Mediterranean (1984)* such as “Baths and Bazaars” and “The Harem at Topkapi”. Besides visiting all those exotic places in Istanbul and introducing their attraction among the westerners he initially focuses on the cultural significance of the traditional Turkish bath with reference to personal observations of the Reverend Robert Walsh, chaplain to the British Embassy at the Sublime Porte:

At the time when he was writing, and long after it, marriage contracts included a provision that the husband had to give his wife bath-money. If he failed to do so, all she had to do was to go before a *cadi*, a muslim judge, and turn her slipper upside down. If the husband still failed to produce the necessary admittance money, it was a ground for divorce¹⁴.

Although he has not been in one of those baths for women to which male access was strictly forbidden, in order to exoticise the bath image he introduces some unusual details about the inside of the ladies' baths from a female writer's reminiscences:

According to her, the ladies' baths visited by Wanda, and indefatigable investigator (four baths in three days and a rigorous inspection of the rest), were much more jolly than the gentlemen's, a female version of White's Club without the booze, as opposed to the ones I bathed in, which were more like the Athenaeum without the bishops. Everyone was kind to her, both attendants and bathing ladies being fascinated by her pallor, taking her for a Circassian slave escaped from a harem. There was a lot of singing and laughter and

scurrilous gossip in the women's baths and in all of them small children raced around naked like miniature streakers. Everyone else wrote briefs - should take a pair with them - but there seemed to be far less *pudeur* than in the men's department; and in one bath she was massaged by a lady with wildly swinging bosoms, but much less violently than I was by her male counterparts. She gave her masseuse 700 TL for the whole treatment which included the tip, and as the masseuse constituted the entire staff she was delighted (*On The Shores*, 195-6).

In the following chapter, which diverts the exotic focus onto the harem itself, Newby, unlike other travellers, discusses in particular the definition and historical connotations of the words; 'harem' and 'Seraglio':

What is a harem? What is a seraglio? The best description, the easiest to assimilate, is that written by N.M. Penzes, the author of *The Harem*, published in 1936, of which what follows is a precis. 'Harem' is derived from the Arabic haram, 'that which is unlawful', as opposed to 'halal', 'that which is lawful'. The correct word in Turkish for the women's part of the house is 'haremlük', harem strictly being the occupants. The part of the house where guests are received is the 'selamlık', but this never shortened, as selam alone simply means 'salutation' or greeting. Relations with European powers gave rise to the coining of a word that would embrace not only the 'haremlük' and the 'selamlık' but the royal palace as a whole, which became known as the Grand serail or Seraglio, seraglio being derived from the Italian 'serraglio', 'a cage for wild animals', and was adopted owing to its chance similarity with the Persian words 'sara' and 'sarai', 'a building' and particularly 'a palace'; and this name for it was accepted both by Europeans and Turks (*On The Shores*, 207).

Later on, he draws a promiscuous picture of the Topkapi Palace, and then contrasts this with an account of a parade of Circassian peasants, who arrived in the capital where they were taken to the palace to be identified during the early twentieth century:

There, in the presence of a Turkish Commission, they were taken into a long hall filled with the ex-Sultan's concubines, candines and odalisques, all of whom were then allowed to unveil themselves for the occasion. The scene that followed was very touching...The contrast between the delicate complexions and costly attire of the women and the rough, weather-beaten appearance of the ill-clad mountaineers who

had come to fetch them home was not the least striking feature of the extraordinary scene... The number of female slaves thus liberated was two hundred and thirteen... Clad in Circassian peasant dress, they are now in all probability milking cows and doing farm work in Anatolia (*On The Shores*, 222).

Newby reminds us of the impossibility of male access to the harem; 'What a pity it is that some literate laundress or female dressmaker, the sort of people who were allowed inside, or even a black or white eunuch, left no record of what they saw' (*On The Shores*, 209). But when it comes to the revelation of Oriental sensuality, he also speculates on sexual peculiarities:

Even cucumbers and other vegetables of inflammatory shape and size were cut into slices before being allowed in, for fear of misuse. In this harem nothing was left to chance; and it is therefore not surprising that those odalisques who were not occupying the sultan's bed, and might never do so, sometimes took an interest in one another (*On The Shores*, 212)

In addition he describes an image of sensuality juxtaposed with brutality as he refers to a particular nineteenth century episode of castration in the harem:

Two Coptic Christian monks had what amounted to a monopoly of this business, castrating about a hundred and fifty young Negro boys a year, after which, as a post-operative treatment, they buried them up to their haunches in warm manure. No wonder the Black Eunuchs were cruel, arrogant, jealous and petulant. At least the White Eunuchs, who administered the harem in its early years before being supplanted by the Black Eunuchs, were asked if they wished the operation to be performed before submitting to it (*On The Shores*, 212).

In another example he paints pejorative picture of the Turks mainly indulging in lechery and sensuality from historical texts such as *History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*:

As Murat [Ibrahim's brother, Murad IV] was wholly addicted to wine so was Ibrahim to lust. They say he spent all his time in sensual pleasure and when nature was exhausted with the frequent repetition of venereal delights he endeavoured to restore it with potions or

commanded a beautiful virgin richly habited to be brought to him by his mother [Kosem, the Sultan Valide, who was eventually murdered in the harem], the Grand Vezir, or some other great man (*On The Shores*, 216).

In order to emphasise the combination of savagery and sensuality in the characters of Ottoman sultans and pashas Newby reveals Ali Pasha's lechery as one crucial reason for his cruelty:

When Ali set eyes on his son's mistress he was enamoured of her that he immediately sent his son away on a campaign and then asked her to transfer her affections to himself. When she refused, he accused her of being a spy and had her drowned from a boat in the Lake of Ioannina, together with seventeen other ladies of what was alleged to be easy virtue who had been chosen to keep her company (*On The Shores*, 157).

Glazebrook emphasises the Victorian sense of the unusual associated with slavery and the harem:

Everyone visited the slave-market, trying by bribery to catch a view of the white girls, Circassians, whom the *giaour* was supposed neither to see nor to buy. Accounts of slave girls, in the context of Victorian writing and painting, seem to me definitely salacious - whether the style is romantic or poke-in-ribs jocularity - as indeed in the habitual tone of travellers' accounts of harems and of encounters with women in the East in general. There are hints of intrigue covered by *chaddar* and veil, and enthusiastic appraisals of 'forms' and 'figures' revealed by bodice or shalwar or chemise¹⁵.

Another account is introduced in relation to nineteenth-century perceptions of Turkish palaces and kiosks through an incident recounted by Layard during his visit to those places:

Layard gives an account of himself and a friend being decoyed into a palace in Stambul by a mysterious woman who turned out to be the Sultan's sister; so like an *Arabian Nights* tale is the adventure, with veiled beauties beckoning from caiques and go-betweens hastening through midnight streets that it doesn't quite have the ring of truth about it (*Journey to Kars*, 188).

Describing Turkish passengers on the deck of the ferry from Trabzon to Istanbul he returns to the Victorian fascination for sensual or exotic evocations of the harem and eunuchs:

I thought as I watched them of a description in Creagh's book of a voyage on a Turkish ferry when an Aga's harem was kept on the deck in a cage guarded by a Negro eunuch, food being pushed into them through the slats. These passengers could be the grandchildren of such a menage, so recent is Turkey's enlightenment (*Journey to Kars*, 162).

In *The Asiatics* when Frederic Prokosch describes a group of Turkish women washing clothes at the waterside in an eastern city, the reflection of Turkish women, unlike that of nineteenth-century travel accounts portraying the Ottoman ladies as sexual chattels with exotic beauty, is a repulsive one:

The old women sat at the waterside with their yellow jars, chattering with queer stiff movements, looking like a group of tough garrulous birds. They were almost outside of humanity by now. God knows what they talked about-insane little bits, raggedy odds and ends of life, gray pieces of nothing. Their breasts hung down like flat leather patches and their hair blew like straw in the sharp November wind. They were hideous, they were mindless, they didn't have anything left out of life, anything at all (*The Asiatics*, 55).

Another image of sexual fantasy attributed to Orientals or Muslims in general terms and to the Turks in particular focuses on sodomy or homosexuality, usually revealed by the non-Turkish characters in various travel accounts such as *The Asiatics* and *In Xanadu: A Quest*. The identification of sodomy with Muslims in a general sense initially appears in *The Asiatics* through the ironic speech of a Greek character as he converses with the narrator about the brothels in Beirut:

"Oh, Moslems do not like brothels. They believe that brothels are immoral. They think Beirut a wicked western city." "I didn't know that Moslems were so virtuous." "Oh," said Papandopoulos with a sly laugh, "they aren't! It is only their tastes are a little different! (*The Asiatics*, 4).

A similar image of homosexuality with religious connotations is implied by Glazebrook:

Reference to homosexuality are of course veiled and rare, the most open discussion of its prevalence in the East being in Pelgrave's *Arabia*, where 'the nameless vice and "disgrace baboons are free from"' is blamed upon Muhammad for creating a society in which women, 'too degraded for respect, may be also too despised for love' (*Journey to Kars*, 188).

Krikor of *In Xanadu: A Quest* humorously delineates the indulgence of Turkish people in homosexuality through a funny anecdote about two homosexual Turkish gardeners:

He loved roses, he said, and he started on a long joke about roses, two homosexual Turkish gardeners and a spade, but it didn't translate well (the punchline hinged on the similarity of the Armenian words for digging and buggery)¹⁶.

Dalrymple endorses what Krikor has already implied:

Their men are almost all handsome with dark, supple skin and strong features; good bones, sharp eyes and tall, masculine bodies. But the women share their menfolk's pronounced features in a most unflattering way. Very few are beautiful. Their noses are too large, their chins too prominent. Baggy wraps conceal pneumatic bodies. Here must lie the reason for the Turks's easy drift out of heterosexuality (*In Xanadu*, 71).

In terms of sexuality Glazebrook questions the Victorian perceptions, and challenges the claims of travellers who embroidered their diaries with sensual stories:

Having read no private diaries giving an account of such things, I've no idea how possible it was for a traveller to have affairs with Eastern women, but it must always have been dangerous work to pick the rose from the encircling thorns-far more dangerous than to have homosexual relations (*Journey to Kars*, 188).

Besides introducing the promiscuous past of Madame Miasme and her French secretary Valance as they used to be good companions during their harem days in *When I Grow Rich* Fleming points out through Nuri Bey that it is probably their homosexual relationship which might explain Valance's absolute loyalty to Miasme although she has always been bossy and capricious to her:

It was said, as has often been said about the favourites of sultans, that she had been a human attendant whose beauty had attracted one of the sultan's agents and that she had been acquired by the harem. The hamam attendant's main duty is to rub the bodies of women who come for their bath and, as this rubbing is neither therapeutic nor skilled, the purpose of it is ambiguous. For a long time after being introduced to the household, Nuri Bey had believed that the relationship between Miasme and her French companion Valance had been lesbian (*When I Grow Rich*, 36).

Although it has attracted wider popularity as a film than as a book, *Midnight Express* (1977) is another crucial text which identifies (in addition to various negative representations of Turkey such as brutality, drug-smuggling and addiction, corruption and filthiness) homosexuality or sodomy with the Turks. The image is presented from the very beginning of the book through Billy Hayes, an American tourist who has been charged with drug-smuggling when he is searched by Turkish customs officers:

When they finished I stood there stark naked and extremely uncomfortable. Since it'd been in Turkey I'd come to think that many Turkish men tend towards bisexuality. Every cab driver, every waiter, every bazaar vendor had seemed to leer at me. Now standing naked in front of the customs officers I felt the same hungry stares. They made no effort to conceal their interest. I grabbed for my clothes and quickly put them back on¹⁷.

Having been convicted and sent to prison Hayes, the narrator, witnesses a brutal scene in the next *konus* (section) for kids as the guards are beating some of them badly, and he suddenly changes the subject to another sodomistic incident referring to another prisoner: 'News travels fast on the prison grapevine. Ziat, the prisoner who ran the tea

shop, relayed the information. They raped one of the new kids while the lights were out' (*Midnight Express*, 72). Later on, in an ironic description of the Sagmacilar prison, where everything which is unlawful in actual life seems to be lawful, he makes another reference to homosexuality as one of the 'lawful things' in the 'Turkish prison:

There were all sorts of rules and there were no rules at all... Gambling was illegal, but all the Turks rolled dice and most of the foreigners played poker. There were strict laws against drugs and prisoners could buy hashish, opium, LSD, morphine, and pills of every shape, colours, and description. Homosexuality was a illegal and moral crime but it was rampant in the prison. The very guards who were supposed to be in control of this situation seemed to gain sexual pleasure from binding and beating a man with his pants off (*Midnight Express*, 74).

In some works of fiction such as *A Stench of Poppies* the image of Turkish promiscuity and lechery is used to emphasise a political issue in terms of rape: 'The Turks were given to rape. They loved it. Their invasion of Cyprus was notorious for the soldiers' repeated and violent rape of Greek Cypriot women of all ages, old women and very young girls. It was natural male behaviour, earning no moral condemnation¹⁸. Soon after, a similar attribution is made by Colly when he ironically warns his girl friend: "“You didn't have a whole lot of choice, baby”, murmured Colly. “You did fine. Now cover yourself up, will you? before I start feeling like a Turk myself” (*A Stench of Poppies*, 100).

As we have seen in the case of themes developed in earlier chapters, the motif of sexual promiscuity, both heterosexual and homosexual which formed a definitive element in nineteenth century works, has continued to exert an influence on twentieth century literature about Turkey. We might in fact envisage a process by which the twentieth century author, inspired by the sights of modern Istanbul, has allowed his mind to revert to an earlier period, one no less imaginative, and has injected this into his present day account as if it were still valid. It goes without saying, of course, that in the

context of the Turkish Republic such scenarios as those depicted are as representative of reality as if the surreality of Jane Austen were suddenly to materialise in the London of today.

NOTES

1-Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p.60. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Abroad*'.

2-Frederic Raphael, "Empire Building" in *The Sunday Times* (5 December, 1993), p.6. Further reference to this review will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, "Empire Building".

3-Paul Theroux, *Sunrise With Seamonsters*, 1st pub. 1985 (London: Penguin, 1986), p.146. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Seamonsters*'

4-John Spencer Dixon, *Representations of the East in English and French Travel Writing 1798-1882 with Particular Reference to Egypt*, Unpub. Diss. (University of Warwick, 1992), p.25. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Representations of the East*'.

5-John Coates, "Metaphor and Meaning in *The Towers of Trebizond*", 80 (1987) 111-121 (p.121). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, "Metaphor and Meaning".

6-Rose Macaulay, *The Towers of Trebizond* (London: Fontana, 1990), p.20. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Towers*'.

7-William Gibson, *Newromances* (London: Harper Collins, 1993), p.116.

8-On September 1924, a commission of twenty-six lawyers set to work on the task of adapting the Swiss civil code to Turkish needs. The completed code was voted by the Assembly on 17 February 1926, and came into effect on 4 October...

'Polygamy, repudiation and all the ancient bars to the freedom and dignity of women, were abolished. In their place came civil marriage and divorce, with equal rights for both parties. Most shocking of all, to Muslim opinion, the marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim man became legally possible, and all adults were given the legal right to change their religion at will'. See: Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford Univ. Press., 1961), p. 267. Also see Feroz Ahmad, *The Turkish Experiment in Democracy 1950-1975* (London: C. Hurst and Loupay, 1977); Stanford J. Shaw & Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol.II (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1977).

9-Frederic Prokosch, *The Asiatics* (London: Robin Clark, 1991), pp. 40-1. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*The Asiatics*'.

10-Joan Fleming, *When I Grow Rich* (London: Collins, 1962), pp. 35-6. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*When I Grow Rich*'.

11-Dennis Wheatley, *The Eunuch of Stamboul* (London: Arrow Books, 1960), pp. 64-5.

12-Paul Theroux, *Great Railway Bazaar*, first pub: New York: Ballantine, 1975, (London: Penguin, 1977), p.47.

13-Mary Lee Settle, *Turkish Reflections* (New York: Prentice Hall Press, 1991), p. 48. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Turkish Reflections*'

14-Eric Newby, *On the Shores of the Mediterranean*, 1st pub. 1984 (London: Picador, 1985), p.193. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*On the Shores*'.

15-Philip Glazebrook, *Journey to Kars* (London: Penguin Books, 1985), 1st pub. by Viking, 1984, p. 187. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Journey to Kars*'.

16-William Dalrymple, *In Xanadu: A Quest* (London: Flamingo, 1990), pp. 55-6. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*In Xanadu*'.

17-Billy Hayes and William Hoffer, *Midnight Express* (London: Sphere Books, 1977), p. 16. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Midnight Express*'.

18-Ivor Drummond, *A Stench of Poppies* (London: Michael Joseph, 1978), p.99. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*A Stench of Poppies*'.

CHAPTER IV

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF TURKEY AND THE TURKS

Travellers who describe the countries and peoples of the Middle East have always attracted a wide readership according to Bernard Lewis¹ and travel writing in the twentieth century continued to enjoy popularity. One of the main changes that brought about an increase in the number of travellers in the early decades of the century was the rapid extension of railway networks around the world. The Orient Express, which made its first trip in 1883² was described as "the King of Trains and the Train of the Kings" and in 1920s was christened "The Magic Carpet of the East"³.

The conventional mythical train journey that reflected every aspect of life by giving a sense of community with fellow passengers and by allowing casual encounters with strangers, led to a genre of travel thrillers, such as *Murder On the Orient Express* and accounts of train journeys such as *Stamboul Train*, *Orient Express* and *La Madone des Sleepings*. For Graham Greene train journeys were part of the excitement of

holidays and visits to relatives from his childhood, which offered 'all the necessary ingredients of a novel, travel, adventure, suspense and final climax'⁴. The popularity of train travel also brought about the establishment of societies and clubs for railway fans such as the Railway Club at Oxford whose membership was composed of well-known literary figures like Evelyn Waugh; and the Travellers' Club in London, whose only requirement for membership was an achievement of travel a thousand miles from London (*Abroad*, 75-6).

After travel books such as *Orient Express* (1922) and *Twilight in Italy* (1916) were presented by the Travellers' Library, Jonathan Cape started to publish travel books in 1926. By 1932 Cape had produced 180 titles with over a million copies in print. The popularity of *Wide World Magazine*, which first appeared in 1917, also contributed to the recognition of many travel stories, as is pointed out in Greene's *Stamboul Train* when an elderly clergyman on the Orient Express says: 'I always read a *Wide World* when I travel' (*Abroad*, 61).

As far as train travel writing is concerned there appeared a popular example in the second half of the twentieth century, Paul Theroux, author of *The Great Railway Bazaar* (1975) and *The Old Patagonian Express* (1979), for whom 'the ideal mode of travel is by train, partly because it affords him enough distractions that he loses touch with his inner self'⁵. Theroux does not simply recount his adventures in foreign and familiar places, but also reflects on the meaning of travel and travel writing in his accounts:

Train travel animated my imagination and usually gave me the solitude to order and to write my thoughts: I traveled easily in two directions, along the level rails while Asia flashed changes at the window, and at the interior rim of a private world of memory and language⁶.

Although the train seems to have become less than ideal for the passengers due to the fact that 'a combination of poor service, the cheapness of air-travel and the short-sighted bickering of little countries in full cry killed the Orient Express'⁷, it is proposed by various writers such as Paul Theroux as the best setting for mystery, romance and criminal intrigues:

Like the trans-Siberian, it links Europe with Asia, which accounts for some of its romance. But it has also been hallowed by fiction: restless Lady Chatterley took it; so did Hercule Poirot and James Bond; Graham Greene sent some of his prowling unbelievers on it, even before he took it himself (*Railway Bazaar*, 19).

In his later travel book, *Sunrise With Seamonsters* (1985), Theroux draws an overall portrait of the train once more in relation to its different literary and artistic evocations:

The atmosphere is familiar, a blend of the cosy, the glamorous and the sinister: so many national frontiers are crossed, the possibilities for sexual stratagems and the occasions for disappearance, deception and surprise are practically limitless (*Seamonsters*, 182).

And he adds that 'every feature of the train had a novelistic dimension; its route had a plot-like structure; its atmosphere was well-known. It was made for the novel and it matched fiction exactly' (*Seamonsters*, 182).

Since the last destination of the train from Europe to Asia is Istanbul, many thrillers and travel books such as *The Eunuch of Stamboul* (1935), *Stamboul Train* (1932)⁸ and *The Great Railway Bazaar* (1975) start with the journey to Istanbul, or with its arrival at the Sirkeci Railway Station in Istanbul: 'Two days later, in the broiling sunshine of the mid-afternoon, the Orient Express covered the last stage of its journey to Constantinople'⁹. Graham Greene emphasises Istanbul as the final destination in *Stamboul Train* (1932): 'Constantinople, for many of the passengers the end of an

almost interminable journey, approached him with the speed of the flying climbing telegraph-poles' (*Stamboul Train*, 17).

Among thrillers, *Murder on the Orient Express* (1934) is probably the best known in building up a skilful combination of the exotic setting and mysterious detective-plot. The story takes place on the train beginning with a professional murder and ends up with the mystery revealed by Christie's archetypal detective Hercule Poirot. Furthermore, the initial effects of suspense in the novel are created in accordance with the moves and stops of the train: 'we have run into a snow drift. Heaven knows how long we shall be here'¹⁰. And this stoppage is limited to the thrilling news of the mysterious murder on the train: 'first this snow-this stoppage... And now a passenger lies dead in his berth-stabbed' (*Murder on the Orient Express*, 43).

As the Orient Express crosses Europe, it seems to draw a trail of lust, murder and intrigue from Ostend to Istanbul. In *Stamboul Train* (1932) the mystery starts when the novel introduces some suspicious passengers with bizarre manners and conversation. As the passengers start meeting each other the mystery deepens:

You ought to 'ave a sleeper', he said, 'going all the way like that.' Three nights in a train. It's no joke. What do you want to go to Constantinople for anyway? Getting married?' And the lady responds: 'Not that I know of.' She laughed a little through the melancholy of departure and the fear of strangeness. 'One can't tell, can one?' (*Stamboul Train*, 10)

Similarly, Paul Theroux makes use of this kind of conversation on the train in order to increase the suspense in reader's mind:

He showed me a nick on his throat, then told me his name. He'd be spending two months in Turkey, but he didn't say what he'd be doing... I guessed he was about seventy. But he was not in the least spry, and I could not imagine why anyone except a fleeing embezzler would spend two months in Turkey (*Railway Bazaar*, 24-5).

Another aspect of books concerning Turkey is the pejorative depiction of the cities, mainly Istanbul. For example, Prokosch pictures a southern Turkish city, Adana as 'a foul and filthy city full of beggars... Nothing seemed to flourish in Adana [Adana] except mud and the autumn heat and mosquitoes'¹¹, and describes Istanbul as 'a dying city. Everywhere were dogs. All along the shores stood hideous, empty, unpainted houses' (*The Asiatics*, 38).

The prevalent reflections of Istanbul¹² as 'a traumatic kind of city'¹³ in most writings about Turkey, particularly in popular fiction and travel accounts, seem to be constructed in relation to different historical and religious bias as the imperial city has been the cradle of diverse empires and civilisations such as Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman.

When Ernest Hemingway stayed in Istanbul in the early 1920s as a correspondent he sent letters and dispatches to *The Toronto Daily Star*. In one of these dispatches, he expresses his discontent with the city of Istanbul:

From all I had ever seen in the movies Stamboul ought to have been white and glistening and sinister. Instead the houses look like Heath Robinson drawings dry as tinder, the colour of old weather-beaten fence rails, and filled with the little windows. Scattered through the town rise minarets. They look like dirty, white candles sticking up for no apparent reason¹⁴.

In another dispatch, he describes the city as a dirty and depressing place as he goes through it by train:

The train passes the old, reddish Byzantine wall and goes into a culvert again. It comes out and you get flashes of squatting, mushroom-like mosques always with their dirty-white minarets rising from the corners. Everything white in Constantinople is dirty white (*Ararat*, 43).

When a new era in Turkish politics and administration started in the second part of the twentieth century for reasons referred to in previous chapters the country provided an arena for international espionage located mainly in Istanbul and other big cities, and as a natural consequence the number of publications depicting these issues also increased. For example, Paul Bowles sees Istanbul as a proper setting for spy novels ironically referring to some of its negative aspects¹⁵.

Some thriller writers such as Ian Fleming or Eric Ambler, have chosen Istanbul as the setting for stories of crime-intrigue, political espionage, terrorist action, drug-trafficking and military coups. When Ian Fleming went to Istanbul in 1955 he had already read Eric Ambler's classic thriller about the city, *The Mask of Dimitrios* (1939) and then he drew some negative pictures of the city: 'Istanbul is a city in decay, the grimy wreck of what was once, unbelievably, the greatest city in the world - Byzantium. It is a shambling, grey, half-forgotten place, neither Europe nor Asia'¹⁶. His subsequent depiction of the city insults the whole country as well as its people when he says that 'the temper of this sullen city is as raw as the back of one of those Turkish mules which will suddenly lash out against the discomfort and indignity of life in this terrible country' (*The Life of Ian Fleming*, 363).

In Istanbul, another recurring name is that of the Pera Palace Hotel, which was built in the European part of the city, and used to be run by minorities or non-muslims during the early decades of the twentieth century. The Pera Palace generally appears as a meeting place in diverse thrillers and travel accounts such as *The Eunuch of Stamboul* (1935), *Stamboul Train* (1932), *Orient Express* (1922), *The Journey Into Fear* (1966), *Among The Cities* (1985) and *The Great Railway Bazaar* (1975).

John Dos Passos stayed at the Pera Palace during his visit to Istanbul in the early 1920s. In *Orient Express (1922)*, he writes about the hotel describing the city of Istanbul from the hotel window, while witnessing an espionage-murder inside the hotel:

Downstairs in the red plush lobby of the Pera Palace there is scuttling and confusion. They are carrying out a man in a frock-coat who wears on his head a black astra-khan cap. There's blood in the red plush arm-chair; there's blood on the mosaic floor... He was the envoy from Azerbaijan. An Armenian, a man with a beard, stood in the doorway and shot him¹⁷.

When the hero, Swithin Destime arrives in Istanbul in *The Eunuch of Stamboul (1935)* he is taken to this hotel, and makes his first contact with Tania, the Russian girl, who works for the KAKA - the illegal organisation, in the book stall of the hotel (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 61). As soon as Graham, the representative of the British armaments factory arrives in Istanbul in *The Journey Into Fear (1966)* he holds his first secret meeting with someone from the Turkish Intelligence at dinner in the Pera Palace¹⁸.

Subsequent to his journey to Istanbul on the Orient Express, Paul Theroux stayed a few days in Pera Palace Hotel, and he describes the decor from a romantic perspective:

To catch a glimpse of oneself in a gilt framed ten-foot mirror at the Pera Palas Hotel in Istanbul is to know an instant of glory, the joy of seeing one's own face in a prince's portrait. The decor in the background is decayed sumptuousness, an acre of mellow carpet, black panelling, and rococo carving on the walls and ceilings, where cupids patiently smile and flake (*Railway Bazaar*, 45-6).

Jan Morris describes her first impressions of the famous hotel in a similar way:

I always stay at the Pera Palas Hotel on the Galata hill, almost the last of the old-school grand hotels to survive the invasion of the multi-nationals - a haven of potted plants, iron cage elevators, ample baths with eagle feet. It has been halfheartedly modernised once or twice,

but like Istanbul itself, it really ignores improvements and is settled complacently into its own florid heritage¹⁹.

Apart from Istanbul, the reader may be introduced to some other Turkish cities such as Ankara, Izmir, Antalya, Kars, or villages which are used as settings for poppy planting. The setting varies in accordance with the nature of the action. For instance, where the military coups, revolution attempts or diplomatic conflicts are concerned the setting tends to be the capital, Ankara. *Murder With Minarets*, *Diplomatic Death* and *Diamonds Bid* can be regarded as good examples of this kind as they all take place in Ankara. Other Turkish towns, especially on the border of Russia in the East and Syria in the South provide settings for political conspiracy and terrorist conflict; *Hand Out* starts with a political murder in Kars, the Turkish town on the Russian border, then the conflict extends down to the South and is finally concluded in Antalya.

While some travellers such as David Dodge discuss the historic value of the country, other writers are unable to conceal their prejudices and tend to compare Turco-Islamic arts or architecture as reflected in the palaces, mosques and minarets unfavourably with Christian churches, sculpture and paintings. On his first observation of the city, David Dodge tries to describe Istanbul with an artistic admiration for both Christian and Turco-Islamic values praising the Santa Sophia (Hagia Sophia or Aya Sofya), which is a Christian architectural masterpiece, and the Blue Mosque (Sultanahmet Cami), a Turco-Islamic one:

The individuality is composed of hundreds of minarets, pointing the eyes of a faithful towards Allah, the wails of muezzins at sundown, Byzantine architecture, Islamic traditions,.. the accretion of thousands of years of overlapping cultures from east and west; all going into making of a city which is unique and which must be visited to be believed²⁰.

Showing a critical or suspicious attitude towards the Turco-Islamic features of the city, Jan Morris remarks that 'the Ottomans built their vast Topkapi Palace, crammed

with vulgar jewellery, where the Ladies and Eunuchs of the Seraglio gossiped life away in exquisite pleasure kiosks above the sea' (*Among the Cities*, 198) while some others seem to present their aesthetic evaluative opinions which are usually expressed as a preference for Byzantine architecture over the Ottoman. For example, Dalrymple compares the architectural features of two diverse cultures, Byzantine and Ottoman:

Ottoman mosques have never appealed to me. Although the exteriors of the great Suleymaniye and Bayazit mosques in Istanbul are impressive, with their shady cloister arcades and ripple of cupolas, their interiors are always disappointing. They are simply pale imitations of Hagia Sophia, without the latter's perfection of colouring (imperial gold and purple) or form (perfect shapes; the square and the circle)...The result is pastiche,..as far from the perfection of Byzantine architecture in Istanbul, it is all the more so of the millions of identical maquette mosques erected over the empire...There are none of the flutings or fantasies one expects in Islamic architecture, no development of the ideas of Seljuk architects, only an uninteresting, bastardised Byzantinism, lacking either the dignity or grandeur of the original²¹.

Citing earlier texts about the region such as James Creagh's *A Scamper to Sebastopol and Jerusalem* (1869) and *Armenians, Koords and Turks* (1880 2nd. vol.), Philip Glazebrook notes that: 'Heavily decorated baroque minarets hang above the lanes, impending Islamic banners, with something of the menace of old Turkey towards the giaour'²².

He interprets the Muezzin's call for prayer from the minaret in a humiliating comparison of Islamic culture with western technology:

Never was an invention so abused as is the electric amplification of sound abused by Asiatics, an example of the fact that a culture like Islam, which has never invented anything, is sure to misapply the invention of other races (*Journey to Kars*, 102).

The comparative picture of Turkey emerges when Glazebrook describes two different Istanbuls: the Istanbul of Turco-Islamic culture and architecture, and

Constantinople, seen through Santa (Hagia) Sophia and Pera, the European quarter of the city: 'To me the streets and buildings of Pera looked magnificent. The mighty banks, the stone facades, how imposing and sturdy they were, how European was the severe dark architecture shutting out the sky!' (*Journey to Kars*, 177).

The former is described as 'less friendly than it used to be. Certain factors - the rise of Islam, a despotic government, decreased tourism - have created in the famous mosques a less warm welcome for Christian tourists than there was a year or two ago' (*Journey to Kars*, 181). His disappointment about Istanbul, which can be understood from his implicit statement about a specific incident in Istanbul: 'Fences now keep us separate from the Faithful, notices prohibit this and that in sharp tones; we enter very much on sufferance' (*Journey to Kars*, 181), seems to be due to the fact that he had some difficulty in entering the mosques of the city during prayer time, because of religious or partly security reasons as the country was under marshal law during the early 1980s.

Visiting various Turco-Islamic historical places in Istanbul, he expresses a sense of dissociation and alienation:

Emeralds and foot-prints of vast size, intimations of tyranny, the fearful courts of the Sultan-all serve this purpose of travel, all mark boundaries as deep and wide as the pool of the Danube between Semlin and Belgrade (*Journey to Kars*, 183).

His critical attitude turns into appreciation or even admiration where places featuring western culture such as the Pera district are concerned. His main interest during his stay in Istanbul, following his fascination for the Victorian travellers, is the Pera Palas²³, the hotel where most nineteenth-century travellers who visited Turkey used to stay: 'When you find that your own idea of perfection in the hotel line is shared by so few, it isn't surprising that there are only a handful of hotels like Pera Palas left round the world' (*Journey to Kars*, 175). Despite his discontent with the interior decoration

consisting of 'dim lights in huge-looking glasses; huge pictures, huge portraits, enormous palms in brass pots, sofas so uncomfortable and very large' (*Journey to Kars*, 176), he still perceives some similarities between the historic hotel and his sense of an ideal home, the Victorian country house:

I suppose a Victorian country house probably is my idea of home. In which case to find here beside the Bosphorus such a matrix - such a chunk of Reality set down in this doubtful shadowy city - is wonderful luck (*Journey to Kars*, 176).

Another attraction for Glazebrook is Santa Sophia, the Byzantine church converted into a mosque after the Fall of Istanbul:

Amongst the works of man, Christian mosaics and pagan marbles touch high points of achievement, but Santa Sophia compared to such things impressed its visitors like a phenomenon of nature which transcends human architecture altogether...In this Santa Sophia possesses the power essential to any of the man-made Wonders of the world that I have seen, which is the power to sweep aside all preparations made in your mind, and to hit you amidships with an original force which makes you stop and stare. The Grand Canal does that, and the Taj Mahal, and the skyline of Manhattan seen from Central park; and so does Santa Sophia (*Journey to Kars*, 192).

Apart from a few places such as the Pera Pulas and Santa Sophia, his overall perception of the city, even from a tourist's point of view, is quite detrimental:

We still disliked the city, though the hotel was our solace. There seemed to be none of the superficial attractions which made a tourist's stay pleasant: no proper restaurants or cafes that we could find, no elegant streets or shops; in stumbling about the steep broken pavements we saw nothing but shabbiness and confusion, eyes full of dust, interest baffled and rebuffed. We almost left in disgust (*Journey to Kars*, 172).

Although he tends to emphasise his awareness of the past of the country and its people Glazebrook's general perception of Turkey and its people in the early 1980s is not so

derogatory as that in many earlier texts, which stressed 'hostility', 'intriguing scene of threat', 'laziness', 'dishonesty', 'false piety' and 'dirtiness' (*Journey to Kars*, 84).

Rose Macaulay's *The Towers of Trebizond* (1956), is a typical example of the kind of comparison in which one culture and belief is represented with exaltation whereas the other one is dramatically humiliated. Observing the tough living conditions of Turkish women in the countryside, particularly those working hard on the fields during her long stay in Turkey as a missionary, Rose Macaulay points to a connection between the appalling conditions of Turkish women and Islamic culture: "Turks", she said, "won't condone, they won't coexist. And that old-fashioned religion they have will get their women nowhere"²⁴. She also adds an explicitly Christian solution: 'There is nothing in the Gospels about women behaving differently from men, either in church or out of it. Rather the contrary. So what a comfort for those poor women to learn that they needn't' (*Towers*, 20).

Another pejorative representation of Turkey reflected through different characters in the book comes out in the form of historical and cultural comparison between the Christian past and the Muslim present of the country. Due to their long historical and cultural backgrounds Istanbul and Trebizond have been the focal points of this comparison in which Macaulay seems to glorify Byzantine sites and places while criticising Turkish ones. In this comparison mainly based on religious criteria, Macaulay tends to present Islam as the fundamental obstacle to the actual emancipation of Turkish women in the Black Sea region, presented through Aunt Dot; 'Aunt Dot grew angrier and angrier about the Moslem treatment of women, and could not wait for the A.C.M.S. to get its mission going' (*Towers*, 71).

Prior to the creation of *The Towers of Trebizond* Macaulay's early concern about the issue, as has already been emphasised in her letters, goes back to her personal

contacts with other tourists during her stay in Turkey in 1954 as well as her own observations in some villages and small towns on the Black Sea. She raises this issue in one of her letters to Hamilton (8th July, 1954):

Women are being ill-treated, having been looked on as slaves for centuries; they walk while the man rides the donkey; they stay at home while the men eat out in cafes and restaurants; they are pushed aside in the scramble for tram seats (as I found - I never once got a seat) and almost pushed into the sea in the stampede for getting onto a boat. A shipwreck among Turks would be a poor time for women; none of them would even get on to one of the boats. Nor have they (quite) souls. Nor may they eat with men; not even the Consul's wife in her own house when her husband has Turks to lunch²⁵.

She recounts the unacceptable practices of discrimination imposed on women in those regions in both her letters and *The Towers of Trebizond*, practices such as dressing differently, eating separately and not being allowed outside, which seem to be based mainly on the traditional attitudes of the local people rather than any religious principles. Macaulay tries to question Islam as responsible for such discrimination as she writes to her friend Jeanie:

By the way, have you a Koran? I shall like to see what it says about women in Mosques. The German Archacologist told me the men wouldn't let the women be photographed, but men, being strong souls, can disobey without their souls being destroyed by it, whereas women, whose souls are very weak, can't. I wonder if the Koran also says women are 'unclean'. Moslems think they are, but they may have thought of that for themselves²⁶.

While she makes a similar comment on Islam in another letter she refers to the personal interpretation of another German tourist:

He thinks the women (outside the large westernised towns) will take at least 50 years more to recover from the Koran and cast off their hot muffling clothes. The Prophet was very firm about their not letting men see their faces or hair. Perhaps in the Middle Ages it would have been rather rash of women to let Turkish men see much of them. But the men aren't told to behave decently, it is the women who musn't

tempt them. He says the women usually die early of such unhealthy clothes. He asked the Turkish maid why she didn't dress like his wife in hot weather; she said she couldn't, her religion forbade it. An awful life it must be. Besides being hot, they are scorned and unfit to pray (*Letters to a Sister*, 166).

After Aunt Dot observes the status of women in this region as inferior and exploited in *The Towers of Trebizond*, supposedly due to their religion, she makes a general religious comparison in which Islam is held to be irrational:

I know it's a very fine and noble religion, but I'd rather have atheism, it would make easier life for women. But we'll try and make Anglicans of them. You know how religious women are, they must have a religion, so it had better be a rational one (*Towers*, 19).

Moreover, upon coming across a group of Turkish students on the ship to Trebizond she repeats her comparative interpretation of religions with a similar emphasis:

And you students? One understands that you have largely left Moslimism behind, it's so bound up with old-fashioned tradition and all that. But what about Christianity? Dr. Halide is a Christian, you know, and you can't call her behind the times. It's a most progressive religion actually. Have you ever considered it? (*Towers*, 58-9)

As far as religion is concerned in *The Towers of Trebizond*, being a member of an Anglican family from an Anglo-Catholic missionary society, Macaulay appears to denigrate not only the Turks and their values but also Arabs and other Christian sects. Besides calling Islam an 'old fashioned religion' (*Towers*, 262), and considering the Koran as 'being most odd' (*Towers*, 167), she also makes a prejudicial comparison of Arabs with Jews through Laurie, after her arrival in Jerusalem, who says: 'I saw that Jews were more intelligent and progressive than Arabs and would get further, but which race ought to have had Palestine, or how they ought to have shared it out, is not a thing to be decided by visitors' (*Towers*, 175).

Furthermore, while Aunt Dot suggests that 'never mind about missionaries. I don't suppose any of them are specifically concerned, as we are, with the position of women' (*Towers*, 19), she displays her critical attitude to other Christian sects, an attitude which is figured out by Laurie at the beginning of the book:

My aunt, therefore, had inherited a firm and missionary Anglicanism, with strong prejudices against Roman Catholicism, British Dissent, and All American religious bodies except Protestant Episcopalianism; she had also inherited a tendency to hunt fish (*Towers*, 8).

As a consequence of her feminist enthusiasm about the problem of women in general Macaulay shows some objections to Roman Catholicism mainly due to its doctrine of gospel infallibility and its prohibition of intercommunion as she exemplifies from her own experience:

When we were little girls going to the daily convent school at Varazze for a time, the nuns wouldn't even let us join in prayers with the other children; we had to sit down, lest the awful sin should be committed of praying with little heretics²⁷.

In her analysis of Macaulay's biography and works Alice R. Bensen emphasises that Rose Macaulay sometimes questions Christianity as well as Islam with regard to gender issues and feels dissociated from the Church because:

she agrees with its critics that many of its doctrines are ill-founded, that theology seems the only science which does not keep adopting its views and its manuals to new knowledge as it turns up, that nothing in the world... could be as true as each church thinks its teachings are (*Rose Macaulay*, 161).

In order to make Macaulay's religious ups and downs more comprehensible she also quotes, in her *Rose Macaulay* (1969), from her letters to her sister shortly before her death:

religious belief is too uncertain and shifting a ground (with me) to speak of lying or truth in connection with it. One believes in patches,

and it is a vague, inaccurate word. I could never say 'I believe in God' in the same sense that I could say 'I believe in the sun & moon & stars'(S, 282). Always averse to bigotry in religion, during her last years she 'made a point of taking part in the worship of various Nonconformist churches'(S, 23); and, in the same month in which the book was published, she said, 'I have started a new group, called Inter-communionists...'(S, 236) (*Rose Macaulay*, 161).

Setting out from Laurie's statement concerning Aunt Dot in the book itself that 'then she remembered the position of Moslem women, and her missionary zeal returned' (*Towers*, 42), Bensen tends to infer from the attitudes and utterances of Aunt Dot that:

Though aunt Dot is a zealous High Church woman, her mission is motivated even more by her feminism; and she sets forth triumphantly, in blue linen slacks, holding scarlet reins, on the white camel-white plumes waving from its head - to help Turkish women toward sexual equality by converting the Moslems to the Church of England (*Rose Macaulay*, 159).

She shows a feminist reaction to the so called gender discrimination attributed to the Church and the Gospels through Father Chantry-Pigg since she also finds something concerning the position of women within the Christian context unacceptable. When Aunt Dot criticises the gender obstacles imposed on Muslim women she is interrupted by Father Chantry-Pigg during a conversation:

'As for women, they've got to be careful, as St. Paul told them. Wrapping their heads in a religious tradition that goes very deep.' 'An oriental tradition, said aunt Dot. 'Christianity', father Chantry-Pigg reminded her, 'is an oriental religion.' 'Anyhow', said aunt Dot. 'Christianity doesn't derive from St. Paul. There is nothing in the Gospels about women behaving differently from men, either in church or out of it' (*Towers*, 19-20).

As for the depiction of the Turks in these works, they are either characterised through the fictitious figures in thrillers or described by the authors in travel accounts. As regards the characterisation in novels, there seems to be a sharp distinction between the villains and heroes and heroines in physical and intellectual terms. In almost every

text, the smugglers, drug producers, terrorists and other secondary characters, apart from some stereotypes such as Colonel Nur, Alp Bey or the detective Nuri, are usually Turks or from different ethnic groups living in Turkey, including Germans, Russians, Hungarians, Romanians, Armenians and Kurds.

On the other hand, the heroes and heroines who are always physically and intellectually superior, and fit enough to fulfil the operation by risking their lives for the sake of their national interests and policy are either American or British. As businessmen, spies, detectives, visitors and company representatives they resolve the political and military conspiracy and drug-trafficking, or prevent terrorist attacks, revolutionary coup attempts and sabotage through applying their own superior methods and tactics.

In contrast to figures like Kazdim, the 'Eunuch of Istanbul' in the first half of the century, it is possible to come across Turkish bureaucrats generally in military uniform, and 'they have a western way of looking at the world, intelligence spit and polish, and an appreciation of the good life'²⁸. The best example of this Turkish figure in thrillers is Julian Rathbone's Colonel Nur who is a middle-class bureaucrat deeply rooted in family and country, and his junior colleague Alp Bey in *Diamonds Bid, Hand Out and Trip Trap*. Similar is Nuri Bey of Joan Fleming's *When I Grow Rich* and *Nothing is the Number When You Die* who sometimes behaves as an intellectual private detective and sometimes as a philosopher whose spirit is overstimulated by the great western philosophers; and Colonel Haki of Eric Ambler's *Journey Into Fear* who is the chief of Turkish intelligence section. He is described through a character in the novel as:

very chic and polished - a ladies' man. There is also a legend that he can drink two bottles of whisky without getting drunk. It may be true. He was one of the Ataturk's men, a deputy in the provisional government of 1919. There is also another legend - that he killed prisoners by tying them together in pairs and throwing them into the

river to save both food and ammunition,..You can speak French to him
(*Journey Into Fear*, 33)

In the novels involving drug-trafficking in Turkey, besides various male Turkish figures as villains or antagonists like Mustafa Algan of *A Stench of Poppies* who runs the drug-business from his famous carpet shop, and Barish Uz of *Trip Trap* who is a rich and well-known businessman in Izmir, there are some prominent female figures as well. These female characters either Turkish or foreign used to be wives, concubines, servants etc. in the Sultan's harem, and now live in historical Kiosks or Yalis of Istanbul in similar luxury through running the drug-business i.e. Mrs. Erim (Sylvana) of *Black Amber* who is the key operator of the drug-trafficking and Madame Miasme of *When I Grow Rich*. These women tend to be served and guarded by male servants and safe guards like Ahmet Efendi of *Black Amber* who used to be the ex-eunuch of the harem in service of the women. These types of characters are pictured as slaves and unable to understand the consequences of their actions properly.

Among the foreigners, the most striking villainous stereotypes are the German agents and smugglers who try either to destroy Turkey or use it in conformity with their political and military ideology. For instance, the German stereotype is the arch-conspirator in the plan to rob the Topkapi Palace in *The Light of the Day*, and it is also a German spy who attempts several times to kill the British businessman while he negotiates with the official Turkish authorities in order to sell arms to Turkey in *Journey Into Fear*. It is also possible to see KGB agents chasing and assassinating western spies as well as Turkish security and military people; Hungarian mistresses who fall in love with the hero; Romanian assassins working for the Nazis; Kurdish drug-smugglers, rebels and other types.

Characteristic of novels set in Turkey is the critical designation of people with negative evocations. Apart from an exceptional number of high-ranking Turkish

bureaucrats such as Nuri Bey, particularly those stereotypical military figures in thrillers such as Colonel Nur or Colonel Ilaki whose determination and success in action can only be attributed to their western mentality and technique, most Turkish characters are from the lower or working class, and in specific references to their physical appearance and clothing they are usually depicted as shabby, rude, uneducated, ignorant, and unable to carry out anything serious.

Earlier, when Ernest Hemingway describes the people of Istanbul he also introduces a note of prejudice, commenting that 'in the station are a jam of porters, hotel runners, and Anglo-Levantine gentlemen in slightly soiled collars, badly soiled white trousers, garlicised breaths' (*Ararat*, 43). Dennis Wheatley expresses an extreme view through the character of Sir George Duncannon when he gives a brief information about the historical and political background of Turkey as well as peculiarities of Turkish people to Swithin Destime on his way to Istanbul for the secret mission:

the Turks are almost entirely a peasant population, lazy, ignorant, hidebound with tradition, accepting blindly as their rule of life on the smallest issue the decisions laid down thirteen hundred years ago by a fanatical soldier-preacher in the Koran (*The Eunuch of Stamboul*, 42).

When Graham Greene describes the Turks in his *Stamboul Train* (1932) he uses a negative metaphor to recount their characteristics:

The Turkish gentlemen, drinking coffee, laughed and chattered and shook their small dark feathery heads like noisy domestic birds, but their wives, so lately freed from the veil, sat in silence and stared at the singer, their faces pasty and expressionless (*Stamboul Train*, 213).

Julian Rathbone is also less than flattering in the prologue to *The Pandora Option* (1990):

Dumpy women in shapeless cottons beneath black head-scarves coped with multiple plastic shopping bags; men in grey suits and collared sweatshirts traded goods and gossip while fingers fiddled the Names

of Allah through their worry beads; potters in striped shirts and voluminous dun-coloured cotton pantaloons humped sacks of potatoes from the south on peddled head-bands and leather-harnessed shoulders²⁹.

During his short stay in Istanbul for the 23rd Interpol Conference (September, 1955), Ian Fleming took some notes about the Turks which would later be used in *From Russia With Love* (1955): 'And as usual when Turks reach the manic phase, their frustrations were just about to be released through the one safety valve every patriotic Turk is born with - his hatred of the Greeks' (*The Life of Ian Fleming*, 363). He pictures his Turkish fellow in the novel under the name of Darko Kerim ironically in a complete physical distortion with 'his curling black hair, his crooked nose, and the face of a vagabond soldier of fortune' (*The Life of Ian Fleming*, 368).

Discussing the anthropological traits of the Turks Paul Bowles begins dismissively:

Faces range in type from Levantine through Slavic to Mongoloid, the last belonging principally to the soldiers from eastern Anatolia. Apart from language there seems to be no one element which they all have in common, not even shabbiness, since there are usually, among the others, a few men and women who do understand how to wear their clothing (*Their Heads Are Green*, 56).

He then tries to establish a cultural image of a nation addicted to hashish based on the curious religious argument that:

For Judaism and Christianity the means has always been alcohol; for Islam it has been hashish. The first is dynamic in its effects, the other static. If a nation wishes, however mistakenly, to westernise itself, first let it give up hashish (*Their Heads Are Green*, 57).

The most effective representation of Turkey, which is clearly pointed out at the very beginning of *Diamonds Bid* when Jonathan faces tough questioning and witnesses the bribe at the police station in Ankara, is the corruption of people:

They had their backs half to me and I watched one pulled out of his pocket a large bundle of notes and handed it to the other who began to count. There were a hundred of them, new 500 lira notes, say two thousand pounds sterling³⁰.

From this specific incident at the police station, Rathbone generalises the corruption of most Turkish officials through Jonathan who remarks that 'every foreigner in Turkey has his pet stories about bribery of officials;..and many English teachers are offered expensive presents round about examination time' (*Diamonds Bid*, 21).

The corruption image as a general line through his works is also repeated with similar emphases later in *Hand Out* (1968). When the writer introduces Nur Bey as an incorruptible person at the beginning of the book he tries to draw a general picture of the corruption among the bureaucrats of the country as well:

People in high positions had found that they could not bribe or blackmail Nur Bey. He had been an embarrassment to perverted politicians, to businessmen too rich to be bothered with even a smoke-screen of legality, and to generals who saw nothing wrong in taking a commission from foreign armament manufacturers for weapons³¹.

In spite of the previous remarks describing Nur Bey as an honest character, dedicated only to his moral responsibilities, Rathbone also implies on the same page that he is also affected by the general trend of corruption in his country: 'Yet Nur's integrity was not the icy incorruptibility of a Protestant, public-school, senior civil servant. He put his family before his countrymen, his countrymen before government expediency' (*Hand Out*, 20). Moreover, referring to the fact that Jonathan Smollett had been teaching English to Nur's son Firat before he was allowed to leave Turkey with a bag of diamonds he concludes that: 'He would not bribe the examiners, but he would not feel he was doing anything wrong if he offered them favours in return for favours received' (*Hand Out*, 20).

Apart from several general designations of Turkish people with cynical connotations, some writers such as Dennis Wheatley and Barry Unsworth also seem to create an individual Turkish cliché through historical figures such as the Eunuch Kazdim, Prince Ali of *The Eunuch of Stamboul* (1935) and Mahmud Pasha of *Pascali's Island* (1980) in particular references to their repulsive appearance and brutal behaviour. For example, in Unsworth's characterisation, Mahmud Pasha and his chief guard Izzet are reflected in quite a humiliating way: 'The Pasha enormously fat, almost immobile, some clogging of breath in the depths of him, wheeze of depravity and avarice; Izzet (his Jackal) delicate-boned, beaky, vigilant, like a well-groomed vulture'³². In another part of the novel, while Unsworth mockingly criticises his hostility as a governor to the inhabitants of the island, he caricatures the Turkish Pasha as untalented and stupid:

For Mahmud Pasha to burden the peasants in order to acquire a grand piano his thick fingers cannot play and his malformed ears cannot appreciate, that is when harmony breaks down, in every sense of the word, that is the discord impossible not to dwell on (*Pascali's Island*, 74).

Although some critics such as John Coates, suggest that 'the point here is not a disdainful dismissal of Turks in themselves, but a comment on the western European central impoverishment of which they are the image'³³, it is possible to come across detrimental attributes to Turkey in *The Towers of Trebizond*. While Rose Macaulay, as 'a woman of deep religious conviction'³⁴, criticises Europeans for their disconnection with the past in terms of moral and cultural values, she also tends to be critical of Turks by depicting different characters in the book as indifferent and hostile to western cultural values as Laurie comments in reference to Troy: 'Troy was our ancestor, and the centre of a world that Turks could never know' (*Towers*, 38).

As far as the historic city of Troy is concerned, Macaulay seems to criticise Turkish unawareness and lack of appreciation of the cultural values of the city. As

Laurie points out: 'Turks are not brought up, as Europeans are (were) on the Trojan legend' (*Towers*, 31). John Coates tends to back up this attitude:

Laurie knew the history of 'Trebizond' from the time of Jason, its role of 'Queen of the Euxine and apple of the eye of all Asia.' For her it is a Romance like Troy, Fonterrabia or Venice. Without a sense of the beauty of the Christian past, by analogy, the mind has nothing to work on in considering Christianity. Like the Turks who had not heard of it and called it Trabzon and supposed it has always been a Turkish town" (*Towers*, 67-8).

Macaulay's complaints about the indifference of the Turks to classical values is also backed up by her personal correspondence concerning Turkey. So, for example, she describes a German couple she came across in Antioch in a letter (Alexandretta, 25 June, 1954) to a friend named Jeanie: "They are, I think, the only people in Antioch who know anything about the antiquities - Turks neither know nor care - so they were very useful" (*Letters to a Sister*, 162).

Although she attributes a similar comment to another German she met in Troy in another letter to Jeanie (Istanbul, 1 July, 1954), her complaints about Turkish indifference sometimes turn into antipathy as she partly agrees with what the German says about the Turks:

I had an interesting talk with a German this morning who has lived in Turkey...for 17 years. He thinks Turks on the whole (as I do) the stupidest people in the world, and not really belonging to Europe, which they drifted into over the centuries from the eastern plains (*Letters to a Sister*, 166).

Although it is not felt as effectively as in other travel accounts such as *The Asiatics* and *In Xanadu: A Quest* the stereotypical western interpretation of Turkish history with its negative evocations is ironically emphasised by Laurie in reference to Father Chantry-Pigg on a couple of occasions. Once he disparages the people of Trebizond as a fierce race of nomadic, bloodthirsty and rather stupid followers of the Prophet (Father

Chantry-Pigg looked on the followers of the Prophet with prejudice and distaste) who had been most uncultured' (*Towers*, 76). On another occasion in the proceeding pages, Laurie introduces Father Chantry-Pigg's historical evaluation of the Turks in an ironic way:

Father Chantry-Pigg who had unfair anti-Turk prejudices, owing to his devotion to Greeks and to the Trinity, said that Turkish hordes had always made where they settled barren deserts only fit for camels, and every few centuries they move on somewhere else and make more howling deserts...the Sultans and Pashas and eunuchs and nobles and tycoons, have built palaces and mosques and harems and castles and cities, out of the stones they take from the Greeks and Roman cities and temples (*Towers*, 104).

Another common characteristic of travel accounts about Turkey is the unfavourable depiction of people and different locations of the country. Turks are usually featured as ugly, ignorant, smelly and lecherous, and the cities as filthy, boring and full of beggars and dogs. When Krikor warns the narrator about the Turks before he enters Turkey across the Syrian border in *In Xanadu: A Quest*, he introduces Turks with the most well-known negative evocations, for example: 'Be careful with the Turks. They are bastards. Evilmen. Bang! They kill. Rob money. Rape womens. Big problem' (*In Xanadu*, 58).

Remarking that 'I had forgotten how boring Turks could be' (*In Xanadu*, 62), William Dalrymple then describes a policeman he meets on the train to Erzurum:

We sat in a compartment beside a suicidal policeman returning to his posting in Erzurum after a holiday on the Aegean coast. His clothes were dirty and unwashed, and three or four days' stubble covered his face; he chain-smoked and spat on the floor. His mood reflected my own and I was waffled to sleep by a long lullaby of his woes (*In Xanadu*, 109).

While the image of Turk as ignorant is painted through a Greek character, Mascououlos, in *Orient Express* 'the Turks have not studied the Greek classics. They are ignorant. They do not know Aristophanes or Homer or Demosthenes, not even the deputies (*Orient Express*, 27). Philip Glazebrook seems to ratify the perception of ignorance more or less with a similar interpretation that

as a race the Turks don't care a jot for preserving what is beautiful, or even what is useful, they have the instinct (nomad's instinct?) for making the best of what chance puts in their way to achieve a little comfort in a stony place (*Journey to Kars*, 75).

Since the focal point of the book is the past of Turkey rather than the present, Glazebrook's primary concern seems to be the anthropological background of Turkish people. When he visits Konya, a historical middle Anatolian city he criticises the distressing appearance of the city by seeing it as a reflection of nomadic taste with some negative connotations:

Water and shade, not fine buildings, satisfy a nomad's needs, and I believe that much of what has always distressed and surprised the European in Turkey may be understood by accepting that the Turks are a nomadic race. They are at heart nomads, and their country is subject to devastation by earthquake; you have to take these two fundamental facts into account when you look at a Turkish town and wonder why they don't seem to care that it is so dreadfully ugly (*Journey to Kars*, 88).

Besides the use of the term "nomadic" in a similar context, when he notes that 'an efficient, widespread, and cheap system of travel is, I'm sure, as necessary to a nomadic people as water and shade' (*Journey to Kars*, 92), he also employs it in his negative evaluation of the people as restless and indifferent: 'The restlessness of Asiatics - their nomadic lack of attachment, most obvious to a stranger in their indifference to buildings - makes the settled peoples of Europe uneasy' (*Journey to Kars*, 151).

Starting with the anthropological term "nomad", he criticises the nation, taking it to be indifferent and unappreciative. In one example, to emphasise the indifference of Turks to western values and civilisation he argues:

The race of Osman, after all, is not descended by blood or by culture from the Greeks, as Europeans are, so it isn't surprising that Turks don't instinctively revere classical remains. All the upper floors of the museum were closed, as they had been the last time I was there three years before. The building appears to be falling to pieces (*Journey to Kars*, 191).

Elsewhere, he makes a similar comment about the Turks being indifferent and destructive to classical values:

Everything that the educated European valued - all that his civilisation was based upon or had produced - was regarded by the impassive Turk with indifference, and was allowed to become a heap of ruins. The Turkish language contains no word meaning 'preservation'. Whatever fell into their hands became 'the undrained marsh, the sand-choked river, the grass-grown market-place, the deserted field, the crumbling fortress, the broken arch. Stagnation, death-like stagnation, ever characterised the rule of the race of Othman.' (*Journey to Kars*, 233-4).

He makes use of this popular image of indifference in a different context to support his stereotypical perception of Eastern people or the "Asiatics" as he calls them: 'It doesn't offend Asiatics, who possess no instinctive reverence for old stones, having always sold them to foreigners, or burned them for lime, thrown them down in the search for treasure' (*Journey to Kars*, 50).

To sum up, the image of Turkey which had been built up by novels and travel accounts since the Crusades, and was matured during the heyday of the Ottoman Empire, was transformed into an image of self indulgence symbolised by the Sublime Porte in the nineteenth century. It was then perpetuated by new perceptions related, for example, to atrocities and became worldwide owing to diffusion through the new means

of communication. In addition, those who visited Turkey to reverse previous images as they had been imbued with the past rather than the present state introduced their first impressions which reinforce the stereotype although “Johnny Turk isn’t a bad chap”. But that has not prevented his being treated as one³⁵.

NOTES

1-Bernard Lewis, "Some English Travellers in the East" in *Middle Eastern Studies* 4, 1967-8, p. 296. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, "English Travellers".

2-'On October 4, 1883, the highly publicised Orient Express made its inaugural run to Constantinople, its two sleeping cars full of distinguished journalists, diplomats and railway officials, and its dining car stocked with the vintage wine and gourmet food which, long after it had been removed from the menu, people would associate with the great train.

Though its route, 1800 miles, was much shorter than the Trans-Siberian's 6000, its romance remained undiminished until the Second World War. With the exception of James Bond's trip in *From Russia With Love*, all Orient Express fiction is set in the 'twenties and' thirties, beginning with Maurice Dekobra's *The Madonna of the Sleeping Cars* (1924) and including Graham Greene's *Stamboul Train*, Agatha Christie's *Murder on the Orient Express*, part of Eric Ambler's *A Coffin For Dimitrios*, and Ethel Lina White's *The Wheel Spins* - this last became the Hitchcock film, *The Lady Vanishes*'. See: Paul Theroux, *Sunrise With Seamonsters* (London: Penguin, 1986), p.182.

3-Norman Sherry, *The Life of Graham Greene* (1904-1939) vol.1 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1989), p. 408. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Graham Greene*'.

4-Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 407. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Abroad*'.

5-Elton Glaser, "The Self-Reflexive Traveler: Paul Theroux on the Art of Travel and Travel Writing" in *The Centennial Review*, vol. 33, 1989, p.196. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, "The Self-Reflexive Traveler".

6-Paul Theroux, *The Great Railway Bazaar*, 1st pub. 1975 (London: Penguin, 1977), p.166. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Railway Bazaar*'.

7-Paul Theroux, *Sunrise With Seamonsters*, 1st. pub. 1985 (London: Penguin, 1986), p.184. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Seamonsters*'.

8-*Stamboul Train* was first published by William Heinemann Ltd. in 1932, and in the United States of America it was first published under the title *Orient Express* in 1933 by Doubleday; it was later published by Penguin in 1963. Graham Greene, *Stamboul Train* (London: Penguin, 1963-1975), p. 213. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Stamboul Train*'.

9-Dennis Wheatley, *The Eunuch of Stamboul* (London: Arrow Books, 1960), p.59. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*The Eunuch of Stamboul*'.

10-Agatha Christie, *Murder on the Orient Express*, 1st. pub. 1934 (London: Fontana, 1959), p. 39. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Murder on the Orient Express*'.

11-Frederic Prokosch, *The Asiatics*, 1st pub. 1935, (London: Robin Clark, 1991), p. 71. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*The Asiatics*'.

12-'The city of Istanbul has a triangular position; on the west is the land of Thrace, on the south is the Sea of Marmara and to the northeast the wonderful, deep sea water harbour called the Golden Horn. And Northwards from the tip of the city runs the narrow thoroughfare of the Bosphorus, dividing Europe from Asia and joining the Black Sea, fed by the great traffic-carrying rivers of Russia, to the Sea of Marmara, and thence, through the historic narrows, flanked by Gallipoli and Troy, to the Mediterranean and the world beyond'. See: Michael Maclagan, *The City of Constantinople* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), p.13.

'The city used to be called Constantinople-a name deriving from the name of the Roman emperor, Constantine, the founder of the city. Constantinople has been many things: the capital and centre of the East Roman or Byzantine Empire for over a millennium, the head of a struggling Latin state for five decades, the capital of the Turkish Sultanate for nearly five centuries. To the Russians it was Tsarigrad the town of Caesar; the Norsemen and Varangians named it Micklegarth. As the Ottoman dynasty declined politically-the city became increasingly cosmopolitan.

How the name Istanbul arose for the imperial city is something of a problem. The form Astanbul occurs as early as Ibn Batuta, writing Arabic in 1350 or so. This makes less likely the widely accepted view that Istanbul is a Turkish version of the Greek words 'in the city'(eis ten polin). In the west the form Stamboul was current, but it is not easy for Turks to pronounce two initial consonants; Istanbul is possibly therefore neither more nor less than a failure to pronounce Constantinoupolis in all its syllables.

The hazards of the epithet 'Constantinopolitan' may account for the popularity of 'Byzantine'.

During the nineteenth century the Great City and the Bosphorus figured constantly in international politics because of Russian ambitions both for Constantinople, the great cradle of the orthodox faith, and also for an ice free access to her ports. In 1923 came the severest blow of all for the city when the National Assembly decreed that henceforward Ankara would be the capital of Turkey'. See: Michael Maclagan, *The City of Constantinople* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), p. 146.

For more information, also see: David Talbot Rice, *Constantinople: Byzantium - Istanbul* (London: 1965); J.A. Cuddon, *The Owl's Watchsong: A Study of Istanbul* (London: 1960); N.M. Penzer, *The Harem* Revised ed. (London: 1966); Robert Liddell, *Byzantium and Istanbul* (London: 1956);

13-Jan Morris, *Among the Cities, Ist. Pub. 1985* (London: Penguin, 1986), p.196. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Among the Cities*'.

14-Leo Hamalian and Ara Baliozian, "Hemingway in Istanbul" in *Ararat*, 1988 Spring vol. 29, p. 43. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Ararat*'.

15-Paul Bowles, *Their Heads Are Green* (London: An Abacus Book, Peter Owen Publishers, 1990), p. 55. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Their Heads Are Green*'.

16-John Pearson, *The Life of Ian Fleming* (London: Coronet Books, 1989), p. 363. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*The Life of Ian Fleming*'.

17-John Dos Passos, *Orient Express*, Ist pub. 1922 (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1930), pp. 12-3. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Orient Express*'.

18-Eric Ambler, *Journey Into Fear*, (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1966), p.9. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Journey Into Fear*'.

19-The writer has been to Istanbul in 1978 and written a chapter about the city under the title 'City of Yok'. See Jan Morris, *Among the Cities* (London: Penguin, 1986).

20-David Dodge, *Talking Turkey* (London: Arthur Barker, 1955 Ist pub.), pp. 151-2.

21-William Dalrymple, *In Xanadu: A Quest* (London: Flamingo, 1990), pp. 101-2. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*In Xanadu*'.

22-Philip Glazebrook, *Journey to Kars*, 1st pub. 1984 (London: Penguin, 1985), pp. 82. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Journey to Kars*'.

23-'Hotels are built, after all, to make the tourist feel at home, and that, nowadays, means that the home of the mass tourist and of the commercial traveller must be copied, whereas, when the Pera Palas was built (or any of the magnificent monuments to the **belle époque** of hotel building), 'home' to a majority of visitors was a Victorian country house - or, if it wasn't, they would have wanted the hotelier to think it was. So, at the Pera Palas, once behind your mahogany door off the long dim corridor, what you have is the bedroom of a Victorian country house with an Edwardian bathroom added to it. When the porter had gone, leaving me master of solemn wardrobes, and chests of drawers, of plush curtains and Turkey rug, of broad white bed and comfortable white space in the bathroom, peace entered my soul. Home at last!' See: Philip Glazebrook, *Journey to Kars* (London: Penguin Books, 1985), pp. 175-6.

24-Rose Macaulay, *The Towers of Trebizond* (London: Flamingo, 1990), p. 262. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Towers*'.

25-Constance Babington Smith, ed. *Last Letters to a Friend from Rose Macaulay* (London: Collins, 1962), pp. 159-60. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Last Letters*'

26-Constance Babington Smith, ed. *Letters to a Sister from Rose Macaulay* (London: Collins, 1964), p.162. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Letters to a Sister*'.

27-Alice R. Bensen, *Rose Macaulay* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1969), pp.141-2. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Rose Macaulay*'.

28 Reeva S. Simon, *The Middle East in Crime Fiction* (New York: Lilian Barber Press, 1989), p.85.

29-Julian Rathbone, *Pandora Option*, 1st pub. 1990 (London: Mandarin, 1991), p. 1. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Pandora Option*'.

30-Julian Rathbone, *Diamonds Bid* (London: Joseph, 1967), p. 14. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Diamonds Bid*'.

31-Julian Rathbone, *Hand Out* (London: Joseph, 1968), p. 20. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Hand Out*'.

32-Barry Unsworth, *Pascali's Island* (London: Penguin, 1980), p.55. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Pascali's Island*'.

33-John Coates, "Metaphor and Meaning in *The Towers of Trebizond*", in *Durham University Journal* 80 (1987) 111-121 (p.114). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, "Metaphor and Meaning".

34-J.V. Guerinot, "The Pleasures of Rose Macaulay" in *Twentieth Century Literature*, 33 (Spring 1989), 110-128 (p.119). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, "The Pleasures".

35-Clement Attlee remarked after fighting at Gallipoli. Noted in Frederic Raphael, "Empire Building" in *The Sunday Times* (5 December, 1993), p. 5.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: FROM VERBAL TO VISUAL - REPRESENTATIONS OF TURKEY INTO THE 21ST CENTURY

What can be concluded from the travel writings and thrillers studied in the present thesis is the difficulty of determining a distinct range of images totally peculiar to the twentieth century divorced from the historical past of Turkey. In other words, despite the works intended to examine twentieth century perceptions of Turkey in the west by analysing the texts of various thrillers and travel accounts, it can be established that, with a few exceptions, it is almost impossible to discuss the prevalent images completely dissociated from early religious and historical stereotypes of Turks, which can be traced back to the Crusades. 'The traditional Eurocentric attitude towards the Turk began then, when the Pope called for the First Crusade to protect the Christian Byzantine Empire. It was then that the name Turk became a pejorative term meaning infidel, savage'¹.

The Fall of Constantinople in 1453 has in particular become the milestone of Western concern about the Turks in political and military terms, as well as building up western stereotypes of the Turks associated with cruelty, savagery and sadism. Other historical factors which made the Ottoman lands a focus of curiosity for Europeans as regards beliefs, culture, traditions and manners can briefly be attributed to the Empire's subsequent expansion into Europe through the conquest of Belgrade (1521), Rhodes (1522), Budapest (1529), and Cyprus (1571), followed by later economic agreements with European counterparts and the gradual decline of the Ottoman Empire due to various humiliating defeats by those same European powers.

As a consequence of such a long but unstable historical process, the Western view of Turks and Turkey has been an evolving entity - evolving over a period of centuries by means of a lengthy historical process:

Whatever happy view might be taken of the knock-on effects of their conquests, the Ottomans themselves were regarded almost entirely as A Bad Thing. In Western eyes, they soon degenerated into debauched and corrupt Turks from whom Lawrence of Arabia, backed by satchels of sovereigns and Arnold Toynbee's *fiat*, set out to liberate the Middle East. For at least a century before its dismemberment at Versailles, the Ottoman Empire had furnished Europe with a Sick Man on whom imperial surgery could be visited with affections of trenchant altruism. The atrocities committed against the Greeks, the Armenians and the Bulgars were held to have put the Turks beyond the civilised pale. Atrocities committed against them, by the same Greeks, and even by the Armenians, were either disregarded or taken to be their fiendish due².

In the ensuing centuries, the early images were conveyed with similar connotations, as the writers who wrote about the Turks within the Middle Eastern context often relied on their imagination as well as the writings of the earlier scholars and travellers, as Kabbani implies: 'We have remarked how travellers depended on each other's testimony in forging their narrative; the place became the place they had read

about, the natives functioned as the traveller imagined they would do³. The long tradition of imitating earlier writings with some personal embellishments of imaginary fantasies may have begun with Lucian, and was followed over the years by Marana, Beckford, Byron, Hugo, Greene and Glazebrook.

We have seen that the prevalent impact of this ongoing historical process of Turkish stereotyping can be perceived in different forms in twentieth century fiction. The images are reproduced either through direct reference to particular locations such as Istanbul, Izmir and Trabzon, and events like the coup attempts targeting the democratic system of the Turkish Republic, or through the creation of fictitious characters, usually villains, supposedly modern counterparts of historical figures in terms of savagery, eccentricity and sensuality.

On the other hand, this historical process has also been the formative element for various contemporary travellers such as Glazebrook and Macaulay who set out on their journeys to Turkey to satisfy their cultural nostalgia for the numerous architectural and religious remains of different Western civilisations as well as all the mysterious and unusual elements of the East they had already learnt about from the tales of their predecessors - varying from the early missionaries to European merchants, traders, warriors, diplomats, etc. This can be seen from the direct references to previous works or the explicit emphasis on the writers' aspirations to visit the country expressed in their works. However, in most cases these aspirations result in ironic disappointment.

Intrigued by nineteenth-century accounts of journeys of adventure through Ottoman lands, Philip Glazebrook became fascinated by characters who had been to the Middle East. With this and many questions in mind, he planned a journey of his own in 1980 which took him through the old Serbian and Greek provinces and islands, through the ruined cities of Asia Minor as far as Turkey's eastern frontier with Russia at the

fortress of Kars, then back to Trebizond, Istanbul and the Balkan capitals. He travelled alone for months at a time when Turkey was under martial law.

Glazebrook's apparent respect and admiration for Victorian travellers⁴ is reflected in his references to them and citations from their works in different parts of *Journey to Kars* (1984), as when he declares: 'I came across a copy of Layard's *Early Adventures* (1887), and with that my real interest in Near Eastern travel began' (*Journey to Kars*, 172). He chose to travel following more or less the same route as his Victorian predecessors:

This was the view I had come for, and these were the travellers I had hoped to glimpse as they pushed off on their adventures. I meant to meet them again and again, between here and Turkey's eastern frontier with Russia, where I intended to go, and to understand, if possible - by seeing some of the scenes they travelled through - something of what was in their minds; why they came, what they wanted of the East, who they thought in their hearts they really were, these Englishmen of the middle years of the nineteenth century, who travelled restlessly about the realms of Sultan and Shah in a spirit of adventure which seemed to be inherited, or imitated, from the knights-errant of Malory and Tennyson (*Journey to Kars*, 8).

One aspect of Glazebrook's journey to Turkey combined with his curiosity about the prime motivation that led many nineteenth century travellers Eastwards seems to be his particular interest in the past of the country, and the idea of the unusual revealed by previous travellers:

What was the impulse which drove middle-class Victorians to leave the country they loved so chauvinistically, and the company of the race they considered God's last word in breeding, to travel to discomfort, danger, illness, filth and misery amongst Asiatics whose morals and habits they despised, in lands which, at best, reminded them of Scotland? That was the question I had set out from Victoria station the day before to answer, and this is the account of my journey. I have been nowhere unusual. I have done nothing reckless, made no discoveries...I have been there, and to Kouyn and Trebizond and many another haunted city, in the company of ghosts, the shades of real

travellers, whose voices I have tried to overhear, and whose thoughts I have tried to understand (*Journey to Kars*, 9).

This motif is also present in his nostalgia for the heroic past of England as he refers back to the Middle Ages and chivalry:

It occurred to me that it was partly this threatened scenery - the feeling that the Middle Ages had not ended - which attracted adventurous young Englishmen, their minds influenced by the Gothick revival and the rage for Chivalry, to travel in the East. Here were cruel pashas, wild horsemen armed with lance and sword, inhuman tortures, stone castles guarding river-crossings - all the trappings of Romance through which the Knights-errant of Scott and Southey and Tennyson rode so bravely (*Journey to Kars*, 47).

Fascinated by their accounts of the "far-flung, down-at-heel Ottoman Empire", Glazebrook not only follows the footsteps of nineteenth century travellers such as Byron, Warburton, Spencer and Carlisle but also refers to their accounts, diaries or notes about every place he visits in the so-called Ottoman lands stretching through the Balkans to the ruined cities of Asia Minor, through Kars and Trebizond then back to Istanbul.

Upon his arrival in Athens in the early pages of the book he refers to the early travellers in order to emphasise the historical and cultural significance of the ancient city:

Despite support for the Greeks in their war of independence against Turkey, English travellers were nearly united in their impatience with the base and degraded race who had inherited a country, but little else, from the Greeks of antiquity. "What is left the poet here?" asked Byron, and answered, "For Greeks a blush, for Greece a tear." It's a pity that Hellenists from northern Europe encouraged King Otho to build his German palace and capital on the site of the Athens of Pericles. "At every step", said Warburton in 1844, "there is an annoying, even a painful, sense of incongruity between the present and the past". Reluctantly I put my things together and got out at Athens station (*Journey to Kars*, 21).

In another reference to Athens, Glazebrook describes the city in terms of geography with rather disappointing evocations, citing from Spencer:

Our first view of Athens excited a feeling of disappointment, which even the distant prospect of its classic ruins failed to dispel, and it must be confessed that the aspect of the arid plain of Attica, with its groves of ill-grown olive trees, and here rocky mountains; the broiling sun and the clouds of dust...even the far-famed Acropolis, situated on the summit of a naked rock, looked little superior at a distance to a ruined fortress, with its ugly tower built in the rude style of the middle ages (*Journey to Kars*, 27-8).

Subsequent to his crossing into Asia Minor his method of introducing places in association with the notes or diaries of nineteenth century travellers prevails. Describing his first impressions of Gallipoli he refers to Spencer again: "Gallipoli", wrote Edmund Spencer in 1837, "now only interesting as being the fatal spot on which the Turk first planted the Crescent in Europe" (*Journey to Kars*, 42), while the history of Ephesus is revealed through Murray; 'Murray's guide to Turkey for 1854 says, "Of the site of the theatre, the scene of the tumult, there can be no doubt. Every seat is now removed, and the proscenium is a hill of ruins"' (*Journey to Kars*, 49).

As for Istanbul Glazebrook reflects Victorian travellers' perceptions of Eastern peculiarities. Referring to the accounts of N.P. Willis, a nineteenth-century American traveller who visited a mad-house in Istanbul, Glazebrook starts with his peculiar picture of the appalling conditions of the asylum:

'I have visited lunatic asylums,' says Willis with an air of self-commendation, 'in France, Italy, Sicily and Germany but, culpably neglected as most of them are, I have seen nothing comparable to this in horror. We entered a large quadrangle, surrounded with the grated windows of cells. In every window was chained a maniac. "Are they never unchained?" we asked. "Never!" And yet from the floor-ring to the iron collar there was just chain enough to permit them to stand upright. There were no vessels near them, not even a pitcher of water...' His description then becomes too distressing to read (*Journey to Kars*, 186-7).

Although he travelled throughout Turkey, Glazebrook focuses intensively on Istanbul: 'I expected to arrive in Istanbul where I had imagined Constantinople' (*Journey to Kars*, 171). Because prior to his journey to Turkey, he had already been fascinated by intriguing romances ascribed to Constantinople by previous travellers he writes: 'I was profoundly intrigued by this image of the Clashing Rocks from early days' (*Journey to Kars*, 170). But his first impression becomes a total disappointment when he sees Istanbul for the first time from the Bosphorus. The result was quite different from what he had imagined:

The wooded winding channel of the Bosphorus which you first enter from the Black Sea soon degenerates, I'm afraid, into shores littered with buildings and bays made ugly by hulks rusting at anchor. Three winters ago, living alone for six weeks in St. David's in West Wales, I imagined these romantic shores so vividly to myself (when I was writing a novel set in Constantinople in the last century) that I painted in my mind an image of the place which eclipsed what I really remembered of it. Not this, but the Bosphorus of Bartlett and Allom's engravings, were the waters I had set my tale beside (*Journey to Kars*, 170-1).

Rose Macaulay, who set out on her journey with similar expectations, reveals her cultural and religious interest in the classical values of the country through different characters in her book. With reference to the apparent influence of previous travellers to the region, Aunt Dot's and Father Chantry-Pigg's nostalgia for Asia Minor appears in the early pages of the book when they first visit Troy and the Dardanelles. In an early reference to Father Chantry-Pigg Macaulay remarks:

What Father Chantry-Pigg wanted to see was the place where St. Paul preached so long that the young man Eutychus sank into sleep and fell down three storeys and was taken up for dead but revived by the apostle, and where Paul met a man from Macedonia who entreated his missionary help, so that he set sail at once and converted Gentiles, and left his cloak behind in Troas⁵.

In another example, as a reply to Father Chantry-Pigg's remark about those places that '*Jam seges est ubi Troia fuit*' Charles, the British spy they meet in the region comments: 'well, hardly *seges* just grass and things and anyhow Troy had probably never stood there at all' (*Towers*, 30). Setting out from her contemplative state in front of the classical ruins of the Dardanelles, Laurie tries to interpret Aunt Dot's nostalgia:

But aunt Dot could only think how Priam and Hecuba would have been vexed to see the state it had all got into, and no one seeming to care any more. She thought the nations ought to go on working at it and dig it all up again, and perhaps do some reconstruction for she belonged to the reconstruction school, and would have liked to see Troy's walls and towers rising once more against the sky like a Hollywood Troy, and the wooden horse standing beside them, opening mechanically every little while to show that it was full of armed Greeks (*Towers*, 30).

The on-going process of creating historical stereotypes about the Turks means that Turkey still stands in an ambiguous position among the nations, as Jan Morris remarks in her/his introduction to *Turkish Reflections*:

For centuries it was the terror of Christianity; for generations it was the Sick Man of Europe; today it stands formidably on the edge of Asia surrounded in the universal mind, as always, by an aura of mingled respect, resentment, and fear... The echoes of historical quarrels, old and new, still swirl around the name of Turkey: the accusations of Greeks, the recriminations of Armenians⁶.

In other words, the image of Turkey for those people who have never been there is still appalling, as Mary Lee Settle emphasised when she returned to America from Turkey, saying 'I came back to a Eurocentric culture where Turkey is still unknown country, or if it is known by those who have never been there and never known the Turkish people, it is known only for its mistakes and brutalities' (*Turkish Reflections*, XII). And this dependence on previous literature, which is so clear in travel writings, is no less the case in works of fiction. Indeed, since fiction has frequently shown itself to be in many

respects the offspring of the travelogue and imagination, one could hardly expect a different outcome.

It has become clear, then, in the course of writing this thesis that twentieth century works are actually the direct offspring of earlier literature in terms of themes, atmosphere and content. This leads us to consider briefly another means of popular entertainment, which perhaps deserves fuller analysis in a separate work, a genre - or more accurately - a group of genres which, because of technological advances, has diminished the power of the writer and critic to effect changes in popular opinion, i.e. cinema and television. It will, therefore, become increasingly important to gauge how the image of Turkey develops in the light of this explosion in media formats, and to discover if these media are able to break free of the past or will be as much the slaves of literature as twentieth century novels and travelogues are of works produced in earlier centuries.

With the immense development of audio-visual technology in the second half of the twentieth century, the process of manipulating the masses through image-making has gradually escalated, and the influence of western, and particularly American, media (which seem to be exercising a cultural control on the rest of the world) reinforces the means of producing and circulating images, news, and representations. Furthermore, discussing the depiction of cultural export in his *Sociology of Culture* Raymond Williams takes into account the role of media, especially cinema and television, in terms of political and commercial dominance, and points out:

Cultural export is a different process. Typically it is a function of relative political or commercial dominance, with especially clear cases in the political empires and many related cases in general international competition...In certain areas, notably cinema and television production, conditions of relative monopoly, not only internally but internationally, have led beyond the simple process of export to more

general processes of cultural dominance and then of cultural dependence⁷.

While Said partly mentions the power of media as a new means of cultural imperialism, he briefly defines its impact in military terms: 'they are effective in representing strangè and threatening foreign cultures for the home audience, rarely with more success in creating an appetite for hostility and violence against these cultural 'Others' than during the Gulf crisis and war of 1990-91'⁸.

Since the cinema, by building on the visual image and the direct spoken word, contains within it the potential for effects that are not possible in literature, it has become an effective visual medium for the propagation of cultural images and stereotypes of different peoples and countries. It does this, often for economic and political reasons: 'because every film is a part of the economic system it is also, part of the ideological system, for cinema and art are branches of ideology. None can escape; somewhere, like pieces in a jigsaw puzzle, all have their allotted place'⁹. As a result, most people get their impressions about other people who come from different nationalities, geographical regions, cultures, religion, etc. through the movies and series produced about them. For example, for the last two to three decades Hollywood films have had the reputation of being the strongest advocacy and exemplars of a centralised, homogenous American culture¹⁰.

As a result of economic and political factors there has come into being within the cinema industry an increasing interest in the Middle East. Several well-known film companies and producers have turned their attention to this particular area and its people, especially Arabs, Persians and Turks. The Middle East is seen to provide basic ingredients required for a successful thriller or spy movie, its locale is both erotic and exotic, and its culture unfamiliar enough to a Western audience to furnish abundant stereotypes as villains¹¹. In particular, there has been a strong Middle Eastern cultural

stereotype figure who is the enemy or antagonist equipped with negative physical and moral features.

On the other hand, the villain in the James Bond tradition is the Other, someone who is the very antithesis of the hero. He is physically or morally repulsive and has cultural traits repugnant to the Western audience. This kind of characterisation - a construct of opposites - ensures that a Western audience will identify with the hero, whose positive character is well developed in the scenario, and impels him to wish consistently for the villain's destruction. Most frequently, the villain is a stock figure with no developed past who never appears to live a normal life. Moreover, where the hero will be loyal, courageous, fair, honest, and attractive, the audience can expect the villain to be cowardly; a physically ugly person who stabs in the back ally and foe alike, who corrupts the young, weak, and innocent and presents an overpowering danger to Western society: 'He is the Other, the one who must be smashed lest he conquer, pollute, corrupt, control, defeat, or destroy the good' (*The Middle East*, 92)

Within the media context, the pejorative image of Turkey has been perpetuated and many people have continued to judge Turkey on the basis of images of *Midnight Express*, since criticised by its own apologetic director as being based on an account full of lies, distortion and appalling racism¹². By the same token, Mary Lee Settle makes a similar conclusion that 'the Turks I saw in *Lawrence of Arabia* and *Midnight Express* were ogrelike cartoon caricatures compared to the people I had known and lived among for three years of the happiest years of my life' (*Turkish Reflections*, XII).

In the former, Lawrence a British army officer, stationed in Cairo during World War I, works to ally the Sharif of Makka with the British against the Turks. The Turks are utterly vile and disgusting with no saving qualities of any kind. Although it is a well-made film from the artistic point of view, it was based on a biased book written by

an officer who was sent to the region on a secret military mission, which is to fight for the Arabs against the Turks. Therefore, as the villain or the enemy must be characterised as a contrast with the hero, Turks are pictured as brutal, barbaric and sexually frustrated - a particular reference to the Turkish Pasha in Egypt who is, in addition to being ugly, foul and aggressive, a sodomite, a fact which has been called into question¹³. On the other hand, the image taken from the movie not only denigrates and demeans the image of Turks, but also renders Arabs inferior by treating them as naive, awkward and unable to act for themselves. With reference to Williams's depiction of the 'works of art' where he asserts that in one sense, they are the products of fine workmanship, but in another sense, their function is ideological (*Sociology of Culture*, 96), *Lawrence of Arabia* is conspicuously infused with distorted political and cultural messages for and against some peoples, despite the fact that the movie received a very warm welcome from Turkish audiences.

Another stereotyped movie, which was based on the personal account of Billy Hayes, an American tourist who visited Turkey, and has been widely shown since its production in 1978, is *Midnight Express*. It is the story of his incarceration in a Turkish prison for attempted hashish smuggling in the midst of world pressures on Turkey over drug farming. It did not create a great impact until it came out as a film directed by the English director, Alan Parker. Parker created a hair-raising story of brutality and torture, leading a contemporary reviewer to comment that 'most viewers will find *Midnight Express* a tough visceral experience, and the credit goes to Alan Parker and his ability to commingle the real and the surreal usually'¹⁴.

When the film critic Pauline Kael compared the original text with the production, she agreed on the artistic skillfulness of Alan Parker, the director, and Oliver Stone, the screenwriter, and adds:

The 'true story' of Billy Hayes - that is, the relatively simple account given in the book by Hayes and William Hoffer, which was probably already somewhat heightened - is used merely as a taking off place for the movie makers' sadomasochistic and homoerotic imaginations. Parker and Stone pile on the horrors, and, together with the composer, Georgia Morodan, and his synthesizer jack them up to a frenzy¹⁵.

She also points out a close similarity between the cast of *Lawrence of Arabia* and *Midnight Express* in order to justify the sodomization of the heroes by the brutal Turks:

When he is arrested, Billy (Brad Davies) - the beautiful male ingenue, with his well-fed, muscular American body - is stripped, in a smoky room, for the delectation of the cruel Turks. He's cast as Lawrence of Arabia, for the roughest of rough trade ("Movie Yellow Journalism", 496).

In addition, she emphasises the artistically fitted combination of the homoerotic imagination with the brutal character and repulsive appearance of the Turks:

Surrounded by these garlicky oilmen with hairy nostrils who talk in their incomprehensible language, like members of another species, he is isolated with his fear,..he is hung up by the ankles and clubbed - and there's the strong suggestion that he's also sodomised - by the headguard, Hamidou (Paul Smith), a huge, sadistic bullock of a man with great dumps of hair growing from the rims of his ears, like outcroppings of lust ("Movie Yellow Journalism", 496-7).

In contrast, in the succeeding scenes, the audience faces a steaming sauna that appears in a patch of sunlight in the middle of this foul dungeon, and an amiable Swede is giving Billy a lyrical scrubdown:

The Swede kisses Billy solemnly and the music rises for a triumphal wedding celebration, but the marriage isn't consummated: with a Madonna smile, Billy gently - one might say with polite regrets - declines the offer. That's the only overt sexual advance in the movie; you'd think sex among prisoners meant whimsical, tender friendships - among Westerners, that is (The dirty Turkish prisoners are sodomites, who also keep knifing each other) ("Movie Yellow Journalism", 497)

The setting of the movie is a depressing scenario of Istanbul despite the fact that the movie was shot mostly in a nineteenth-century British barracks in Malta. *Midnight Express* is successful in building up a negative Turkish image as humiliating as possible - 'the Americans, and Englishmen and the Swede are civilised and sensitive, and the Turks are bestial, sadistic and filthy' ("Movie Yellow Journalism", 498).

What has been understood from the examination of twentieth century Western images of Turkey with reference to a number of texts of thrillers and travelogues is the evolving entity of Turkish stereotypes which have usually been produced as a result of the political dependency of discourse. In other words, as the twenty-first century approaches, taking into consideration Foucault's discourse analysis, the close interrelation of politics and discourse or more precisely power and knowledge is prevalent with regard to the perpetuation of cultural or even geographical 'Otherness' of Turkey as a Middle Eastern country despite its long-lasting effort to transform itself into a new national entity through cutting off almost all ties with the past and attempting to adopt Western norms in various forms ranging from economic to educational, from social to political. Although it has been emphasised by critics such as Said and Bassnett that there can be no unchangeable validity or canon of geographical entities, Turkey has been kept distant from the West by the recreation of previous negative images through verbal as well as visual means.

Turkey's otherness has not only been perpetuated through the recreation of previous images but also it has recently been expressed in different forms, particularly through the media with reference to internal political events such as military coups or to international ones like drug-trafficking, or even in the news of international sports events. For example, while several football disasters resulting in a significant number of casualties have taken place recently in Europe itself such as the one in Brussels during

a European championship match between Liverpool and Juventus in the mid-1980s, it is Istanbul, which is depicted as the 'deep Hell' or 'fixture from Hell' - an image that ironically contradicts the Mölln tragedy in Germany, where three Turkish immigrants were burnt alive.

As has been pointed out by some critics such as Davies, the negative representation of Turkey has had an influential impact upon the political attitude of the West. In her analysis of Turkey within the context of the European Community, Davies suggests that, besides some internal economic and political problems of the country, another crucial handicap in Turkey's membership to the community still stems from its historical stereotypes¹⁶. In addition, having discussed on an international level, the reason why images of the Turks are based on unchanging clichés in books, newspapers, movies, etc., Sir Bernard Burrows opines that 'Turks have been notoriously bad at lobbying for themselves, and myths of the 'terrible Turk', whether or not realistically based, continue to be perpetuated through Byron, *Lawrence of Arabia*, and *Midnight Express*'¹⁷.

The evolving entity of images may generally be countered through the liberation of the discourse or the knowledge of the 'Other' from the political control of the 'Self'. As far as Turkey is concerned, one way of doing this is to inject material into the corpus of Western literature via translation studies which have already started to gain ground and have come to be a discipline in their own rights with professional associations since the end of the 1970s¹⁸. Furthermore, translation has been designated by theorists such as Bassnett and Lefevere as a major shaping force in the development of cultural transfer between the source and target cultures and languages (*Translation, History and Culture*). England, for example, has become known worldwide through its geography, history and above all language, as a result of its cultural interaction with the rest of the

world through translation of numerous English classics such as Shakespeare into different languages.

Compared to various European or non-European countries Turkey has always been one of those which have had a very limited number of books translated into European languages so far. Therefore, the demand for learning about the Turks, their culture, religion, social life, traditions, etc. has usually been met by the West itself. Under these circumstances, as has already been pointed out on different occasions in the thesis, most of the information about the region is usually provided either through personal speculations and imaginative accounts or through the reproduction of previous texts. As a result, there appear various misconceptions and misuses of some cultural and religious terms such as the Harem and Gazi - a word which is indicated in some thrillers as an epithet for Kemal Ataturk meaning the murderer of Christians whereas it simply means the survivor of the war.

Turkey as a state is undergoing a period of change despite the fact that it still has some serious ethnic, political and economic problems to tackle, and in order to provide a neutral picture of the country and a better understanding of the people and their culture and traditions with positive as well as negative aspects, it is necessary to know Turkish philosophers, writers, critics, poets and artists, not necessarily through the original texts, but at least through translation.

In the closing decades of the twentieth century this evolving entity of Turkish stereotypes may also be countered through mass tourism, since it is likely that direct perceptions of people make positive images. In other words, the recent explosion of tourists can provide the opportunity to counteract the historical picture of the Turks. In the past tourism was a very individual pursuit and those who engaged in it influenced others through their accounts of what they saw, experienced or even sometimes what

they heard and imagined. Today, however, in the period of mass tourism a broad spectrum of people is able to experience Turkey at first hand, and although there are no statistics to back up the thesis, it cannot be understated that the positive image which tourists constantly refer to will influence the overall picture of Turkey.

NOTES

1-Mary Lee Settle, *Turkish Reflections* (New York: Prentice Hall Press, 1991), p.77. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the text, by mentioning its title, '*Turkish Reflections*'.

2-Frederic Raphael, "Empire Building" in *The Sunday Times*, 5 December, 1993, p.6.

3-Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of the Orient* (London: Pandora Press, 1988), p.114.

4-In order to provide the reader with detailed information about the books which he mentions or quotes, Glazebrook adds a bibliography at the end of his work. The date of publication is not necessarily that of the earliest edition. The bibliography includes; Abbott, Captain James, *Journey from Herat to Khiva, Moscow and Petersburg*, 2 vols (1843); de Bode, Baron Clement, *Travels in Laristan and Arabistan*, 2 vols (1845); Burnaby, Captain Fred, *A Ride to Khiva* (1876), and *On Horseback through Asia Minor*, 2 vols (1877); Burnes, Sir Alexander, *Travels into Bukhara in 1831*, 3 vols (1839), and *Cabool* (1842); Carlisle, George, Earl of, *Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters* (1854); Carne, J., *Letters from the East* (1830); Conolly, Lt. Arthur, *Journey to the North of India*, 2 vols (1838); Creagh, James, *A Scamper to Sebastopol and Jerusalem in 1869* (1873), and *Armenians, Koords and Turks*, 2 vols (1880); Curzon, Hon. Robert, *Armenia* (1854), and *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant* (1849); Digby, Kenelm Henry, *Broadstone of Honour*, 3 vols (1829-48); Fowler, George, *Three Years in Persia*, 2 vols (1841); Fraser, James Baillie, *Winter Journey to Tehran* (1838), and *Travels in Koordistan, etc., etc.* 2 vols (1840); Galton, Francis, *The Art of Travel; or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries* (1855); Gerard, Mrs, *Land Beyond the Forest* (1888); Houghton, Walter, *The Art of Newman's Apologia* (1945); Jenkyns, Richard, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (1982); Jolliffe, Rev. T.R., *Letters from Greece*, 2 vols (1827); Kinglake, A.W., *Eothen; or, Traces of Travel Brought Home from the East* (1844); Madden, R.R., *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, etc.* (1833); Monk, Charles, J., *The Golden Horn*, 2 vols (1851); Newton, Charles T., *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, 2 vols (1865); Ross, H. J., *Letters from the East, 1837-1857* (1902); Sandwith, H., *The Siege of Kars, and Narrative of Travels in Armenia* (1856); Scheider, D., *The Traveller's Guide to Turkey* (1975); Spencer, Captain Edmund, *Travels in Circassia*, 2 vols (1839), and *Travels in European Turkey*, 2 vols (1851), and *Turkey, Russia, the Black Sea and Circassia* (1854); Warburton, Eliot, *The Crescent and the Cross*, 2 vols (1846). See Philip Glazebrook, *Journey to Kars* (London: Penguin Books, 1985), 1st pub. by Viking, 1984, pp. 244-46. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Journey to Kars*'.

5-Rose Macaulay, *The Towers of Trebizond* (London: Fontana, 1990), p.31-2. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*Towers*'.

6-Jan Morris, "Introduction" in *Turkish Reflections* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1991), p.IX.

7-Raymond Williams, *Sociology of Culture* (London: Fontana Paperback, 1982), p. 96?. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Sociology of Culture*'.

8-Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993), p. 353.

9-Bill Nicholls, (ed) *Movies and Methods*, vol.I (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p.24.

10-Jim Collins, *Uncommon Cultures: Popular Culture and Post Modernism* (London: Routledge, 1989).

11-Simon S. Reeve draws some similarities between the characterisation of thrillers, spy and detective novels and the cast of the movies concerning the Middle East with particular reference to James Bond. See: Simon S. Reeve, *The Middle East in Crime Fiction* (New York: Lilian Barber Press, 1989). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its shortened title, '*The Middle East*'. Also see: Tony Bennett, "The Bond Phenomenon: Theorising a Popular Hero" in *Southern Review, Literary and Interdisciplinary*, July 1983, vol.16, pt.2, pp. 195-225 and Robert Chrigo, "From Baker Street With Love: Being a Study of James Bond and His Illustrious Predecessor" in *The Baker Street Journal: An Irregular Quarterly*, December 1988, vol. 38, pt.4, pp. 199-205.

12-D. Shipman, *The Story of Cinema*, vol.I (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1984), p.1103.

13-Sir A.S. Kirkbride, *Crackle of Thorns: Experiences in the Middle East* (London: John Murray, 1956).

14-Neal Nordlinger, "The Making of *Midnight Express*" in *Filmmakers Monthly*, November, 1978, vol.XIIV, p.21.

15-Pauline Kael, "Movie Yellow Journalism" in *When the Lights Go Down* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980), p.496. Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, "Movie Yellow Journalism".

16-Christie Davies, "Time to Talk Turkey" in *New European*, Summer 1989, pp.22-24.

17-Sir Bernard Burrows, "Turkey and Europe: The Cultural Background" in Gordon Johnson (ed), *Turkey and Europe in a Cultural Context* (Cambridge: Centre of Middle Eastern Studies, 1988), pp.1-8.

18-Susan Bassnett, "From Comparative Literature to Translation Studies" in *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction* (London: Blackwell, 1993) and Susan Bassnett and Andre Lefevere, ed. *Translation, History and Culture* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1990). Further reference to this work will be given after quotations in the texts, by mentioning its title, '*Translation, History and Culture*'.

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