

**THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND “THE REST OF THE WORLD”:
LATE OTTOMAN FIRST PERSON NARRATIVES REGARDING THE
OTTOMAN PERCEPTIONS ON THE NON EUROPEAN WORLD AND THE
OTTOMAN PERIPHERY**

**by
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the late Ottoman modes of perceptions and conceptions of the non-European world and their own Arab provinces. It is based on a systematic comparison of the Ottoman perceptions and conceptions with the European colonial discourses and its rhetorical modalities. The main argument of this study is that the Ottoman response to the Western discourses in the context of the non European world and the Ottoman Arab periphery were dualistic in nature. It was the internalization of the fundamental aspects of the European colonial discourses while resisting many aspects of it. The sources used in this study are the late Ottoman travelogues and memoirs. In the course of this study the main characteristics of the orientalist discourse as a fundamental part of the colonial discourses and the rhetorical tools of the colonial discourses are discussed in order to render a systematic comparison with the European discourses possible. Then, it was respectively followed by a systematic comparison between the Ottoman perceptions of the non-European world and the European visions on the non-Europe and between the Ottoman perceptions of the Arab periphery and the European visions on the Orient. This study claims that there were both convergences and divergences between the Ottoman and European perceptions and conceptions of the world around them; it investigates various factors that had contributed to these convergences and divergences.

Keywords: Colonial discourse, Orientalism, Ottoman orientalism, Ottoman periphery, Ottoman travelers

OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĐU ve “GERİ KALAN DÜNYA”:
OSMANLILARIN AVRUPA DIŐI DÜNYAYI VE OSMANLI ÇEVRESİNİ
ALGILAMALARI ÜZERİNE GEÇ DÖNEM BİRİNCİ KİŐİ ANLATILARI

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ÖZET

Bu çalıŐma geç dönem Osmanlıların Avrupa dıŐı dünyayı ve kendi Arap eyaletlerini algılama ve kavramsallaŐtırma biçimlerini incelemektedir. Bu inceleme Osmanlı algılamaları ve kavramsallaŐtırmaları ile Avrupa kolonyal söylemleri ve onun retorik unsurları arasındaki sistematik bir karşılaŐtırmaya dayanmaktadır. Bu çalıŐmanın temel argümanı Osmanlının Batılı söylemlere Avrupa dıŐı dünya ve Arab eyaletleri bağlamında verdiđi yanıtın ikili bir dođaya sahip olduđudur. Bu yanıt Avrupa kolonyal söyleminin en temel veçhelerini içselleŐtirirken pek çođuna da direnmiŐtir. Bu çalıŐmada kullanılan kaynaklar geç dönem Osmanlı seyahatnameleri ve anılarıdır. Bu çalıŐmada kolonyal söylemin temel parçalarından biri olan Őarkiyatçı söylemin temel karakteristikleri ve kolonyal söylemin retorik araçları Avrupa söylemleri ile sistematik bir karşılaŐtırmayı mümkün kılmak için tartıŐılmıŐtır. Bu tartıŐma sırasıyla Osmanlının Avrupa dıŐı dünyayı algılaması ile Avrupa dıŐına Avrupalı bakıŐlar ve Osmanlının kendi Arap çevresini algılaması ile Avrupa'nın dođu imgelemi arasındaki sistematik karşılaŐtırmalarca takip edilmiŐtir. Bu çalıŐma Osmanlı ve Avrupa algılamaları ve kavramsallaŐtırmaları arasında hem yakınlaŐmalar hem uzaklaŐmalar olduđunu iddia ettikten sonra bu yakınlaŐmalar ve uzaklaŐmalara katkıda bulunmuŐ unsurları incelemektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kolonyal söylem, Őarkiyatçılık, Osmanlı Őarkiyatçılıđı, Osmanlı çevresi, Osmanlı seyyahları

To my holy trinity: mother, father, and wife

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INTRODUCTION

Lawrence Stone, in his article *The Revival of Narrative*, points out the cultural and narrative turn in historiography that intensified from the early 1970s onwards and discusses how historian's approaches changed in terms of their writing style, mode of arguments, attitudes in relation to questions of change, causality, and agency vs. structure.¹ According to him, the major shifts of historiography in the late 1970s were as follows:

“... with regard to the central issue in history, from the circumstances surrounding man, to man in circumstances; in the problems studied, from the economic and demographic to the cultural and emotional; in the prime sources of influence, from sociology, economics and demography to anthropology and psychology; in the subject matter, from the group to the individual; in the explanatory models of historical change, from the stratified and monocausal to the interconnected and multicausal; in the methodology, from group quantification to individual example; in the organization, from the analytical to the descriptive; and in the conceptualization of the historian's function, from scientific to literary.”²

These trends that he had observed in 1979 have maintained their validity until today and the pace of these shifts were accelerated during the 1980s and 1990s. Stone's notions of “man in circumstances” and “the circumstances surrounding man” are vital for our purposes. These concepts are a reformulation of “agency vs. structure” problem. Although the two are interrelated, there is a difference of nuance between the two. The reception of structures by individuals may be different from the structure itself. However, the individual responses and attitudes are also shaped by these structures. There is a mutual interaction between the two. Nevertheless this thesis attempts to be more sensitive to the “man in circumstances”.

¹ Lawrence Stone, “The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History”, *Past & Present*, No. 85 (Nov., 1979), pp. 3-24.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

The men in this thesis are the late Ottoman travelers and officials who had been in the non-European world or the Ottoman Arab and African provinces. The sources used in this thesis are first person narratives especially travelogues and memoirs. The thesis covers a huge geographical scope as its title *The Ottoman Empire and the Rest of the World* has indicated. This title is a reference to the Eurocentric view based on an epistemological and ontological distinction between Europe and the rest of the world. However, the aim of this thesis is not to discover an Otto-centric worldview in the Ottoman narratives of the late 19th and early 20th centuries or to affirm any kind of ‘centric’ views, but to discover how the late Ottoman elite had responded to this Eurocentric view of the late 19th and early 20th centuries and to give voice to a particular group of people i.e. the late Ottoman travelers and officials, those who were reduced by Eurocentric discourses into “the rest”.

The circumstances surrounding the late Ottoman elite were various, but in this thesis, we will deal with the new imperialism and its ideologies: European colonial discourses in general and orientalism in particular. We will investigate how the late Ottoman elite conceived the world around them. The elites chosen for this thesis reflect the perspective of the center of the empire. In this regard, the title may be considered Istanbul and the world around it. The basic questions of this thesis are as follows: How did the Ottoman elite with an imperial and centralizing state perspective conceive the non-Ottoman world and their provinces in the age of new imperialism and nationalism? How the conceptions of the non-Ottoman geographies and the Ottoman periphery were related to each other and to the western conceptions on the non-European world? Which aspects of western colonial discourses were internalized or resisted? What were the possible motivations behind the common traits between the Ottoman and the European gazes or divergences between the two? With respect to these convergences and divergences between two gazes, how can we name the Ottoman gaze around the world?

We should examine four different, but related secondary literatures in order to grasp our primary sources concerning the non-European world and the Ottoman periphery more efficiently and to answer the questions above. The first literature review is on colonial discourses, the second one is on the responses of the Ottoman visitors of Europe, the third one is on the Ottoman travelers’ perceptions of the non-European world, and the last one is on the Ottoman elite’s views on its own periphery. The literature review on European colonial discourses is significant since we will compare

the Ottoman approaches to European colonial discourses. The third and fourth literature reviews are directly related to the topic of this thesis. Although the second one seems to be irrelevant in the context of this thesis, the literature on the Ottoman visitors' views on Europe give us important insights with regard to the Ottoman gaze around the world and help us to understand the convergences and divergences between two gazes in the context of the non- European world and peripheries.

1. The European Colonial Discourses

We will be benefited from a critical scholarship, which was formed from the 1960s onwards, with regard to new imperialism and its discourses. We will tackle with Edward Said's path breaking work *Orientalism*³, and the post-Saidian contributions to the studies on orientalist and colonial discourses. Since this is an enormously wide literature, I will devote a single chapter to the debates around Said's work and the major components of European colonial discourses. This introductory part will only inform us on the circumstances surrounding the late Ottoman elite i.e. new imperialism and the consolidation of its ideologies and discourses via university system and on the existence of a huge literature on the colonial discourses.

1.1. New Imperialism

Stephen Howe provides us the necessary conceptual tools to clarify our notions of empire, imperialism and new imperialism. First, he makes a distinction between empire by land and empire by sea. Empire by land is a political structure which begins with a core land and extends through their neighboring territories by force. Such polity controls a vast territory of provinces from its center and forms a single block of land. Empire by sea designates the long distance, overseas imperialisms of the western European powers whose expansion began in 1480s and extended throughout early modern period. Nevertheless, their expansion was not evenly distributed along centuries. From the 1480s to 1648, the dominant seaborne powers were Spain and Portugal. Spain concentrated its efforts on the colonization of the Americas, while Portugal on the African and south Asian coasts. Later, the 16th and early 17th centuries

³ Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, (London: Penguin Books, 1995).

witnessed the contribution of new powers, such as France, Dutch and Britain, to the colonizing efforts of Spain and Portugal.⁴

Another necessary conceptual tool to understand different kind of imperialisms is the notion of “tools of empire”.⁵ These are material preconditions which made empire by sea possible in different ages. For early modern period, the expansion of seaborne empires depended upon the guns and sails provided by the efficient tax gathering and war waging state machines and also by the private enterprises i.e. powerful merchant companies. Huge wooden oceanic ships and fire arms were the elements behind this successful expansion. However, within the limits of early modern tools of empire this expansion was generally limited to the coastal areas and could not penetrate into the interior regions of the newly acquired territories.

The late 18th and early 19th centuries witnessed a decline in the European colonial power. Spain and Portugal which were challenged by the British and Dutch powers in the 17th and 18th centuries lost their overseas territories to these rival powers or revolutionaries of the settled descended populations. The Franco-British rivalry in the Seven Years War and French Revolution and subsequent Napoleonic wars weakened the European colonial power and meantime, America declared its independence from Great Britain, then Haiti became the second colony which conducted a successful revolution against the European colonial powers. Another reason for the stagnation in the colonial expansion was the limits of available tools of empire. The European colonial powers could not manage to penetrate the interior regions further in Africa and the so-called gunpowder empires of the old world were often able to hold their own against the Europeans. In this period, the idea of overseas empire was relatively in retreat. There were demands for self government and critical voices on the efficiency of slave labor in the colonies. Nevertheless, during this era, the colonial expansion maintained its continuity. Britain extended its control over India and established settlement colonies in the South Pacific with the help of its powerful navy and its growing industrial power.⁶

⁴ Stephen Howe, *Empire : A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 62-63.

⁵ This notion belongs to Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*, (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

⁶ Stephen Howe, *Empire* , p. 64.

After these two phases, there came a new phase of expansion especially in the last quarter of the 19th century. The recovery of the decline of the late 18th and the early 19th centuries had already began from the 1820s onwards⁷ and by 1900 about 85% of the world land belonged to the European colonial powers while by 1800 this ratio was about 35.⁸ Most of this struggle for new colonies was conducted by the diplomatic negotiations, strategic alliances and demonstration of power rather than actual warfare. Britain extended its rule over India and developed an elaborate ceremonial display of power. Most of Africa was very rapidly divided up among the European powers in the last quarter of the 19th century. Therefore, the European penetration into the interior regions of Africa was completed. Furthermore, new colonial powers such as Germany, Belgium Italy, US and Japan joined the struggle for colonies and attempted to build European-type seaborne empires.⁹

This accelerated phase of colonial expansion called new imperialism depended on the new tools of empire provided by the industrial societies of Europe. At the end of the 19th century the world became a smaller place thanks to the impact of steam, iron, telegraph and electricity. The iron steamships fueled by coal replaced the early modern vessels. The steam-powered ships transported large cargoes of people and goods more quickly and more reliably than the sailing ships. With this revolution in the transportation and communication, the colonies were connected to the mother countries more efficiently. The navigational boats gave an opportunity to venture further on the African continent. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 was just an illustration of these improvements of the European powers in transportation.¹⁰ New technologies of destruction also contributed to the acceleration of the colonial expansion. New types of firearms produced in the second half of the 19th century rendered even the old gunpowder empires vulnerable to the domination of the colonial powers.¹¹ By the late 19th century, another revolution in communication came with the use of electricity and by the late 19th century, a vast telegraph network connected Europe to every area of the world.¹² In a nutshell, all this was a revolution for the efficient colonial administration. Furthermore, the medical advances allowed the Europeans to penetrate interior regions

⁷ Ibid., p.66.

⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 41.

⁹ Stephen Howe, *Empire*, p. 66.

¹⁰ Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire*, pp. 17-43.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 83-127.

¹² Ibid., pp.157- 165.

of Africa. The control over malaria made the exploration of the African jungles possible.¹³ The western powers used the technological advances as a tool for establishing and consolidating their control over the world.

1.2. Eurocentricism and the Disciplinization of the European Social Sciences

Edward Said takes our attention to the parallelism between the era of the accelerated European colonial expansion and the era of the growth of orientalism. “What European powers shared was not only land or profit or rule but also intellectual power”.¹⁴ This intellectual power is an “idea” for Joseph Conrad's Marlow:

“The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much. What redeems it is the idea only. An idea at the back of it; not a sentimental pretence but an idea; and an unselfish belief in the idea -- something you can set up, and bow down before, and offer a sacrifice to.”¹⁵

According to Howe, this intellectual power of empires depended on a belief in the superiority of the Europeans. The justification for the colonial rule as a part of this power took various forms consisting of religious, cultural, civilisational, and environmental-climatic arguments. The representation of colonization as an educational and civilizing enterprise was very popular. The quasi-scientific racist and biological arguments supported and legitimized the claims of the colonizer for superiority. It is very difficult to refer to a single system of legitimacy or ideology for imperialism, but various ideologies of imperialism.¹⁶ Furthermore, these ideologies did not begin with new imperialism. Indeed, they became stronger, complete, interconnected and pervasive in the age of new imperialism. Some ideological fragments of the European colonial thought since 1500 gained in this era an ideological hegemony and became mainstream thought.

The university system had a crucial role on the canonization of various ideologies of imperialism. The euro-centric outlook was the conception of history, temporality and spatiality in terms of European perspectives. The Eurocentric

¹³ Ibid., 58-83.

¹⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 41.

¹⁵ Joseph Conrad, *The Heart of Darkness*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1994), p. 10.

¹⁶ Stephen Howe, *Empire*, pp: 83-87.

conception of the world in terms of hierarchical belts also made itself visible in the development of the social sciences and modern university system. The newly departmentalized social and human sciences such as economics, political science and sociology and history itself were designed for the scholarly investigation of the historical nations which were identified with the Western societies. These historical nations were modern industrialized nations of Europe. They were conceived as dynamic and open to development and progress. They had a history and a complex economy, politics and society worth of investigation in the eyes of the staffs of these newly established departments.¹⁷

On the other hand, anthropology was designed to investigate the primitive, tribal, non-monotheistic and non-state societies. Ethnology and physical anthropology collected, observed, and recorded the lives of tribal cultures with an enormous sense of exoticism and with racist approaches. In Hegelian terms these societies were “people without history”.¹⁸ According to James Carrier, the place of Europe in the anthropological studies had remained very minimal until recent decades since this discipline was designed for the investigation of the most distant and most alien societies with respect to the Western centers. The distinguishing character of anthropology was its essentialist conception of the non-Western societies. The object of field research was not a society in a given time and space, but rather the essence of a given life style. It was not the primitives, nomads or villagers of this or that time and space, but rather the essence of Noer or Trobriader people.¹⁹

Another discipline was designed for the ‘high civilizations’ which had maintained a relatively strong state organization and systematic religions such as the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and China. These societies were not easy game as “the primitives”. The Oriental studies dealt mainly with these societies and their language

¹⁷ Immanuel Wallerstein, “The Historical Construction of the Social Sciences from the eighteenth Century to 1945” in *Open the Social Sciences. Report of the Gulbenkian Commission on the Restructuring of the Social Sciences*, Wallerstein, Immanuel et al., (Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 12-20, Halil Bertay, "Birinci Lig ile üçüncü lig arasında yüksek uygarlıklar: küme düşme korkusuna Osmanlı Türk Reaksiyonu" in *Dünyada Türk İmgesi*, Özlem Kumrular, ed., (İstanbul: Kitap, 2005), pp. 181-182,

¹⁸ Immanuel Wallerstein, “The Historical Construction of the Social Sciences”, pp. 20-22, Halil Bertay, "Birinci Lig ile üçüncü lig arasında", p. 180.

¹⁹ James Carrier, “Oksidentalizm: Tersine Dönmüş Bir dünya” in *Oryantalizm: Tartışma Metinleri*, Aytaç Yıldız, ed., (İstanbul: Doğu Batı, 2007), pp. 465-466.

and religion.²⁰ Fred Halliday defines orientalism as a set of premises whose distribution shaped the approaches to the (middle) eastern societies. For him, the foundation of this discipline was the necessity to work on a regional language. The importance attached to learning a local language was very enormous, since knowing Arabian was almost equated with knowing the Arabian society. In the context of religion, Islam was used as an independent explanatory factor. It was a master key which explains every aspect of the Islamic societies. Moreover, Islam was conceived as static, unchangeable and eternal. Similar to anthropology, the oriental studies approached to the eastern societies with essentialist and reductionist assumptions and prejudices.²¹

The development of the social sciences, anthropology and oriental studies reflected the European perception of the world around them. They conceived the world in terms of hierarchical belts. At the center of the world hierarchy, they located their “superior” civilization. The outer belt, the lowest strata in the world hierarchy included the “primitives”. The middle strata of the hierarchy were formed by the “high civilizations”.

1.3. Edward Said’s *Orientalism* and Post-orientalist Literature

Said's *Orientalism* which was written in 1978 became one of the most influential books of the late twentieth century. It had various influences on many scholars and disciplines and it has led to many interdisciplinary debates since 1978. Edward Said analyzed the accumulated ideas, information, and knowledge produced by the oriental studies and reduced them into ideology, politics and prejudice. He criticized the “objective” conceptions of the category of the Orient. He took attention to the ideologically constructed character of the Oriental studies. Said throughout his work is not depended on sole definition of orientalism and points out different aspects of orientalism. Nevertheless, in general he defines orientalism, with reference to Michel Foucault, as a discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, images, doctrines, colonial bureaucracy, and colonial styles. According to Said, orientalism is a

²⁰ Halil Berktaş, "Birinci Lig ile üçüncü lig arasında", p. 180. Immanuel Wallerstein, “The Historical Construction of the Social Sciences”, pp. 22-24.

²¹ Fred Halliday, “‘Orientalism’ and its critiques”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2, (1993), pp: 151-157.

western style dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient.²² With orientalist discourse, the Orient was constituted and was introduced into Europe. One of the most radical arguments of Said, throughout his book, is that the Orient is an invention of Europe and geographical entities such as the Orient and the Occident are arbitrary.²³

After the publication of *Orientalism*, there emerged both a critical and contributory literature to Said's work. Maria Todorova summarizes the reasons behind the critical responses to Said as follows: his overgeneralization of the western attitudes, insufficient socio-economic contextualization, use of the term "falseness", little attention to discontinuities, essentialization of the West and trans-historicization of orientalism.²⁴ These criticisms can be grouped under five headings. The first one is about the relation between reality and representation and Said's contradictory statements regarding the correspondence between orientalism and the Orient. The second one is about the motivations and causes behind orientalism. Said was criticized because of his presentation of imperialism as the sole motor of orientalism. The third one is about his little attention to the discontinuities and his neglect of the changes within historical power-knowledge context. The fourth one is related to the third one and it is about the question of unity and difference. According to criticisms, Said defined orientalism as a unified, monolithic and homogenous concept at the cost of the overgeneralization of the Western attitudes, the essentialization of the West, and the trans-historicization of orientalism. The fifth one is his little attention to the role of agency, his overemphasis on the internal rationality and consistency of orientalism, and his neglect of the receptions of the orientalist discourse by both the colonized and the colonizer. Some criticisms claim that orientalism was not a thing that belonged solely to the West, rather the Orientals both contributed and resisted to it.

Said's work was a reaction to a discourse that had repressed the voices of the oppressed. However, he did not try to give voice to the colonized; rather his work was an intrinsic critique of the orientalist discourse. The post-orientalist literature especially the post colonial studies contributed to Said in this regard and attempted to give voice

²² Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁴ Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 8-9.

to those whose voices and coevalness with the colonizer were denied by the colonizer. The post-colonial studies investigated how colonial discourses and practices received by the non-colonizer. Their attempts were more sensitive to the heterogeneities, complexities, discontinuities, and failures of the colonial practices and discourses. In short, the post-orientalist studies are based on three pillars: the resistance to the denial of coevalness of the colonized, an attempt to hear the voices of the oppressed, and the emphasis on reception, hybrid cases, discontinuities, differences and heterogeneities.

2. The Ottoman Responses to the West

2.1. The Late Ottoman Empire in a World History Context

Another circumstance that had shaped the late Ottoman elite's mentality was the imperial consciousness and empire's centralizing and modernizing policies. Most of the authors used in this thesis had been in the non-European world and the Arab and African provinces as the representatives of the Ottoman state, with a consciousness of belonging to the center of an empire. Throughout the 19th century the Ottoman intellectuals received confusing messages from the West with regard to their status in the contemporary hierarchies among nations. This confusion also made their responses to the West very complex.²⁵ Their responses to the West were a combination of confusing attitudes. Their attempt at westernization was based on the recognition of the superiority of the West over the weak and backward East. Many scholars defined the Ottoman attitude to the West as a love and hate or admiration and execration relation. According to Edhem Eldem, there were two extreme reactions with regard to the West. One was the total rejection of the Western norms and practices and a return to tradition, the other one was the total submission to the west. However, most of the Ottoman intellectuals posited themselves to a middle ground of flexibility and pragmatism.²⁶ For instance, their relation to orientalism were based on "sometimes appropriation or

²⁵ Edhem Eldem, *Doğuyu Tüketmek*, trans. Leyla Tonguç Basmacı, (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2007), p. 217.

²⁶ Edhem Eldem, "Ottoman and Turkish Orientalism," *Architectural Design*, 203 (January-February, 2010), Turkey at the Threshold, pp. 27-28.

internalization of it, sometimes deflection or projection of it, sometimes opposition to it or subversion of it, sometimes a simple acceptance and consumption of it”.²⁷

The long 19th century Ottoman history is conventionally divided into four main periods: the reigns of Selim III and Mahmud II, the Tanzimat era, the Hamidian era and the Young Turk period. In the context of Tanzimat, Hamidian and Young Turk historiography, we can observe similar developments depicted by Lawrence Stone. The patrimonial image of the empire which explains the 19th century Ottoman history and the history of the Turkish Republic in reference to an ideal Classical age changed dramatically. In that respect, the “decline paradigm” which depicts the empire in a decline since 1699 was left aside and the last centuries of the empire started to be evaluated not as a homogenous decline throughout the empire but as heterogeneous experiences of reorganization, reformation, modernization and centralization. The Ottoman monarchy ceased to be seen as the remnant of an *ancien* regime, rather it is conceived as a modern form of government and modern state.²⁸

The Hamidian historiography is the best illustration of those changes in which Abdülhamid II started to be perceived as the last Tanzimat sultan instead of being considered as either red sultan or sublime khan. The new approaches to the state-society relations ranging from education to criminal law, from public opinion to surveillance, from body politics to center-periphery interactions and negotiations, from power to resistance and reception transformed and abandoned the basic premises of the thesis of the patrimonial Ottoman Empire.²⁹

Before the 1970s, Abdülhamid II was not included in the modernization narrative of the Ottoman historiography since this era was conceived as an Islamist reactionary movement and a deviance from the Tanzimat reforms. In that Eurocentric modernization paradigm, the political elites were presented as the protagonists of the Westernization story. During the 1970s and the 1980s, the economic historians revealed

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ussama Makdisi, "Modernity Violence and the Cultural Logic of Ottoman Reform" in *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Jens Hansen, et al., (Beirut: Orient-Institut, 2002), p. 29.

²⁹ For a discussion of historiographic shifts in Hamidian era, see: Nadir Özbek, "Modernite, Tarih ve İdeoloji: İkinci Abdülhamid Dönemi Tarihçiliği Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme." *Literatür*, no. 3 (2004), pp. 71-90.

the continuities between Tanzimat and Hamidian era in terms financial and infrastructural policies. Moreover, economic researches put forth the strong Ottoman resistance to the European economic expansionism. Therefore, these developments led to a long 19th century perspective among many scholars who have no longer emphasized the discontinuities instead of the continuities. The Hamidian era was also regarded as a Tanzimat movement but rather in a more Islam oriented way.

Although the 1970s and 1980s witnessed the inclusion of the Hamidian era into the modernization story, the main narrative did not change. The euro-centric modernization paradigm and the theme of late modernization were maintained. The Ottoman and republican history were written with respect to the problems of late modernization.³⁰ During the 1990s, the modernization ideology gained a global, multicultural and civil society based content and these changes in the modernization ideology led to the attempts in the Ottoman historiography to situate the Ottoman Empire into its proper world history context. Therefore, the 1990s witnessed the critique of Eurocentric variant of the modernization paradigm. Many works written during that period gave a possibility to situate the Ottoman modernization into a common global temporality and processes in which similar dynamics affected all countries. Scholars began to study symbols, invention of traditions, imagined communities, ceremonies and pageantry. They concentrated on the Ottoman image management both in domestic and international context. All this management was interconnected with the legitimacy structures of the regime.

This new scholarship conceived the Ottoman elite in a new way in their autonomy and agency in front of the great powers. They were no longer the agents of an adaptation of the Western norms into the local conditions, but rather they were agents to draw their own ways in the conditions of a coeval global modernity. The assumption that the state and the Western pressure were the sole agencies of change in the empire ceased to be valid and furthermore, the concepts such as alternative, non-western or coeval modernity and invention of tradition started to be discussed. Many researchers managed to situate the long 19th century into its proper international context replacing the patrimonial image of the empire with an empire in the age of new imperialism. Instead of emphasizing the 19th century as the story of central

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 73-77.

administration, scholars discovered the role of agency of the people and started to ask how the people perceived the changes and how the state legitimized itself.³¹

The question is no longer explaining power relations in terms of state institutions or adaptations of westerns institutions, but rather explaining institutions and modernization in terms of power relations, not vice versa. All these transformations in the Ottoman historiography based on the co-evalness of the Ottoman Empire in the modernity are parallel to developments in the post-orientalist scholarship. In a nutshell, this thesis is part of this larger interest in the contextualization of the late Ottoman history in the international context of new imperialism and growing interest in the narrative history in general and the first person narratives in particular.

2.2. Occidentalism and Anti-colonial Nationalism

The Ottoman intellectuals' responses to the West are a very complex issue. There was no clear cut distinction between traditionalists and modernists or conservatives and westerners. The clear cut separations between these camps were a construction of the republican ideology in order to create a linear historical narrative of a unitary self same national subject. There are many factors that had shaped their responses. Islamic concerns were just one factor among others. The differences among the Ottoman intellectual circles were also directly related to their distance to the prestigious offices. Their ideas shifted with respect to their position in the bureaucratic hierarchy. These career calculations played a determinant role in their responses to the West.³² My claim is that subjectivity is not a static entity and open to change, so that the internalization and the opposition to the Western norms, traditionalism and modernism may be expressions of the same Ottoman intellectual.

The development of an occidentalist discourse was a resistance or a counter movement against colonial alterism according to Carter Findley. He concentrates on the Ottoman intellectual Ahmed Midhat's travel account "A Tour in Europe" in order to show the relation of Occidentalism to anti-colonial nationalism. He states that

³¹ Ibid., pp, 77-85.

³² İbrahim Şirin, *Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa*, (İstanbul: Lotus, 2006), pp. 205-206.

Occidentalism and Orientalism occurred in the context of the world of nation states.³³ He refers to Partha Chatterjee who claims that anti colonial nationalism preceded the explicit struggle against imperialism. This struggle began in the intellectual domain. Findley takes our attention to the relation between imperialism and nationalist discourse.³⁴

İbrahim Şirin in his work *Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa* focuses on the Ottoman knowledge on the West by using travel accounts and embassy reports. The Ottoman views on Europe were based on a distinction between the West and the East. Although there was no academic dimension of it, Şirin termed their views as Ottoman Occidentalism. He argues that the Ottoman Empire looked at the West with eyes of the Orientals, while it looked at the east with the perspectives of the West.³⁵ He criticizes Carter Findley, because he presented Occidentalism as a symmetrical counterpart of Orientalism. Ottoman Occidentalism, for Şirin, was not an impoverished and negated otherization of the other except moral issues. In general, they affirmed the West.³⁶ Şirin's critique of Findley implies that orientalism was just a negated and impoverished image of the Orient. However, our account on colonial discourses will show that orientalism is not only a negative image of the West, but also the aesthetication and idealization of the Orient and use of it as a corrective mirror.

Partha Chatterjee claims that the nationalist discourse in the 3rd world countries could not constitute an autonomous discourse, since it both rejected and approved the dominance of a foreign culture. First of all, nationalism which assumes the autonomous existence of national identities and essences was a European model.³⁷ This essentialism of nationalism was also an intrinsic part of the 19th century social sciences which were founded on the basis of the distinctions of natural sciences. The natural sciences assumed a distinction between human and nature, subject and object. The social sciences, that adopted the methods of natural sciences, also attempted to apply same distinction between the subject and the object to human and social relations and

³³ Carter Vaughn Findley, "An Ottoman Occidental in Europe: Ahmed Midhat Meets Madame Gülnar, 1889", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 101, No. 1 (Feb., 1998), pp: 17-18.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

³⁵ İbrahim Şirin, *Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa*, pp. 29-30.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 255.

³⁷ Partha Chatterjee, *Milliyetçi Düşünce ve Sömürge Dünyası*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 1996), p. 15.

founded themselves on the distinction between the self/us and the other. These models imply the power of subject (human, scientist, our culture, self) over the object (nature and the other). The Western conception of rationality ascribed the epistemic privileges of science to whole culture.³⁸ This kind of essentialism emphasized the compatibility and inseparability between the western culture and the western science.³⁹

Anti-colonial nationalism was based on both the preservation of local cultural identity and the acceptance of the colonial intellectual assumptions. This resulted in a paradox. In order to clarify this paradox, Chatterjee makes a distinction between the *problematique* and the *thematic* of nationalism. The *problematique* means assertions, claims, practical and programmatic forms, and historical possibilities of a (nationalist) discourse. The *thematic* includes the mechanisms of legitimization regarding the *problematique*, the logic and definition of nation, epistemological and ethical principles, and moral justification.⁴⁰ The *problematique* and the *thematic* of colonial nationalism may be considered as a response to Eurocentric, orientalist and imperialistic discourses.

The *problematique* of orientalism is the epistemological and ontological difference between the East and the West. The *thematic* of orientalism is the passivity of the Orient, its incapability of being a subject. The nationalist thought took over this *thematic* as its *problematique* and referred to the possibility for the Orient to become a subject. This takeover of the orientalist *thematic* as the *problematique* of nationalist thought made it a derivative discourse. This reversed orientalism constituted a field in which nationalist discourse made its claims regarding its historical possibilities and opportunities.⁴¹ At the *thematic* level, nationalist thought preserves the essential distinction of the orientalist *problematique* that is based on an epistemological and ontological difference between the West and the East. The paradox of eastern nationalisms lays down the attempt at westernization while preserving essential culture, the hostility to the model they imitate. What prevents the autonomy of nationalist

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 40-41.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 44-45.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 77.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp 77-78.

thought in short is the adaptation of the post-Enlightenment rationalist language and rules.⁴²

2.3. The Ottoman Visitors of Europe

The separation between the material and the spiritual domains of the western societies was a step before overt nationalism. Midhat's travel account was an Occidentalism empowerment which reduced complexities of a world into a cultural polarization between *alla franga* and *alla turca*. Before his journey, he studied guidebooks about European cities written by the Europeans such as Baedeker. According to Findley, occidentalism empowerment included power over the Europeans at the price of mastering European ways. Midhat warned his audiences about the danger of European cities especially about European prostitutes. Ottoman Occidentalism figured the West as a feminine character whose libidinousness was the greatest danger to the East. This was a reversed orientalist theme, a way of struggling with European images which projected an overcharged eroticism onto the Islamic societies.⁴³

Şükrü Hanioglu claims that the number of the Western works in the libraries of the Ottoman intellectuals systematically grew throughout the 19th century.⁴⁴ The Ottoman travelers went to Europe with a baggage of knowledge about Europe like the orientalist travelers. Ahmed Midhat visited Europe to participate at the 8th congress of orientalists in Stockholm. He wrote his travels all around Europe to make it known to the Ottomans.⁴⁵ He had already been knowledgeable about Europe before he arrived there. He wrote a novel called "A Turk in Paris" before he had visited Paris. He had first arrived Paris before he joined the congress, his first impressions were disappointing, and he could not find what he heard and knew about Paris. After he returned from the congress to Paris, he visited the universal exposition of 1889. He uttered his admiration for order and excellence of the city. That city was at the highest stage of progress of civilization.⁴⁶

⁴² Ibid., pp. 82-84.

⁴³ Carter Vaughn Findley, "An Ottoman Occidentalism in Europe", pp. 26-27.

⁴⁴ Hanioglu, Şükrü, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 15-16.

⁴⁵ Carter Vaughn Findley, "An Ottoman Occidentalism in Europe", p. 22.

⁴⁶ Baki Asiltürk, *Osmanlı Seyyahlarının Gözüyle Avrupa*, (İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2000), pp. 74-75.

For Samipaşazade, Paris was not different from what he had read in novels.⁴⁷ Although Halit Ziya remembered Balzac novels in Paris, his experience of Paris were disappointing for him, the city did not satisfy his expectations.⁴⁸ Ahmet İhsan's impression held a middle way and he assessed that some aspects of the city satisfied his expectations but some others did not. His cultural baggage was already filled with the corrupt and immoral images of the Western woman. However, when he arrived to Paris, his general categories contradicted with his actual experiences and found the Parisian woman morally upright.⁴⁹

The Ottoman responses to the West were very complex. They internalized many aspects of the western norms and colonial discourse. They were willing to adapt the superior civilization of the west that they identified with its technology. They reversed the major dichotomies of Orientalist discourse with presenting the Ottomans as male and the Europeans as female. They contrasted the materiality of the West with the spirituality of the East and tried to keep the boundaries between two entities intact. Midhat assessed Europe in terms of the dichotomy between material and moral progress. He praised the European Other for its material progress, but also criticized it due to its moral decay. His examples for the material progress were as follows: the cleanliness of cities, the efficiency of European waiters and waitresses, the conception of structure and place, and the catalog of the Bibliotheque Nationale published in many volumes, libraries, museums and public monuments. Midhat did not discuss the mentality and culture behind these physical embodiments of progress.

Another internalized dichotomy was between indolence of the East and industriousness of the West.⁵⁰ Abdülhak Hamid referred to the indolence of his people which is an obstacle for rendering country developed.⁵¹ Namık Kemal's method for the economic development was to work more and more. He complained that the Ottoman people demanded their needs from god and government rather than their labor and work. He asserted that “the government is neither father nor mentor of the people”. Kemal's narrative exaggerated the success of work life in London. His vision of

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 73.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 77.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 79, 383-4

⁵⁰ İbrahim Şirin, *Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa*, p. 311.

⁵¹ Baki Asiltürk, *Osmanlı Seyyahlarının Gözüyle Avrupa*, p. 72.

civilization was identical to the colonial discourse, which is human victory or domination over nature. It was difficult to imagine a city like London even in Arabian Nights for Namık Kemal. He remained blind to the poverty and misery of London in order to bring progress of the city into the eyes of his audiences. The Ottoman travelers in general concealed the misery of back streets in the name of progress.⁵² Fağfurizade Hüseyin Nesimi's response to London in 1893 was bewilderment derived from his sorrow (*veleh*) and amazement. Namık Kemal also used same word *veleh* to describe his impression of London. This also implies their unhappiness due to the backwardness of their own country in front of the western civilization.⁵³ The amazement with European cities was the common denominator of approximately all Ottoman travelers.

In addition to the horrors of European nightlife and prostitutes, Ahmed Mdihat criticized the pathologies accompanying industrialization: the atomized family and lonely individual in the modern metropolis. He asserted that family life as a vital institution of civilization had began to disappear in Paris. The rent system in the issue of home owning was a disturbing problem for Ahmed Midhat. The increasing volume of the illegitimate births in European cities was presented as a strong evidence for the moral decay and decline in family life. Midhat claimed that still backward peoples like the easterners preserved a happiness that the Europeans had lost. Midhat used an essentialist terminology in which he maintained the Orientalist distinction between the west and the east. He contrasted the spiritual self with the material other.⁵⁴

This dichotomy between the material West and the spiritual East was also shared by the majority of the Ottoman travelers. Namık Kemal equated a life without civilization with untimely death, but he regarded Europe as an incomplete civilization. He believed that the Ottomans can acquire European civilization with his own reason and morality.⁵⁵ It was necessary, according to Şinasi, to combine this incomplete civilization with Asia's ancient civilization. The formula was the synthesis of “our morality” with “European progress”.⁵⁶ Another theme of the Ottoman travelers was the compatibility between Islam and progress. According to Ömer Faiz Efendi, who

⁵² İbrahim Şirin, *Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa*, pp. 313-318.

⁵³ Baki Asiltürk, *Osmanlı Seyyahlarının Gözüyle Avrupa*, pp. 92-93.

⁵⁴ Carter Vaughn Findley, “An Ottoman Occidental in Europe”, pp. 42-48.

⁵⁵ İbrahim Şirin, *Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa*, p. 276-277.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

participated in Abdülaziz's European journey, it was necessary to give up ignorance, primitiveness and indolence for sake of the preservation and maintenance of the state and Islam.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Şüleyman Şükrü contrasted the artificial beauty of Paris with the natural beauty of Istanbul and Bosphorus.⁵⁸ Abdülhak Hamid commented that "in this civilized and artificial country (London), their churches were banks, their priests were moneylenders and their god was money".⁵⁹ The image of the artificial and material West contrasted with the natural and spiritual Orient.

We can find this cleavage between the morally inferior materially superior West and the materially inferior and morally superior East in the Ottoman novel. Şerif Mardin argues that there are two types of Westernization in Ahmed Midhat's novels. One was symbolized by Rakım Efendi who makes a successful blend of the western cultural baggage and the views of the Ottoman lower middle classes and the other one is Felatun Bey who is a westernized charlatan. There was also similar Felatun Bey-type of characters in other Ottoman novels. Rezaizade Ekrem's Bihruz Bey in *Araba Sevdası* (1896) was also an archetypical westernized fop. Bihruz Bey was a syndrome of the disintegration of traditional values and infatuation with western culture for the Ottoman novelists.⁶⁰ The fop characters represented the morally degenerative impacts of westernization and anti-fop characters represented the morally superior character of the Ottoman Islamic culture.⁶¹

According to Jale Parla, the Ottoman novel was a symbolic search for a father by an absolutist culture in which the authority of an absolutist and patriarchal state and sultan was in decline. Many Tanzimat authors depicted Tanzimat as weak child in need of protection. Namık Kemal saw it as a progress of a crawling child; however he maintained his optimism for catching and then competing with the world civilization.⁶² Both Namık Kemal and Şinasi used the marriage metaphor to signify the Ottoman

⁵⁷ Ibid., 281.

⁵⁸ Baki Asiltürk, *Osmanlı Seyyahlarının Gözüyle Avrupa*, p. 80.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp: 71-72.

⁶⁰ Şerif Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century," in *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives*, ed. Peter Benedict, et. al (Leiden: Brill, 1974), p. 406.

⁶¹ Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 1993), pp. 29-37.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 15-16.

relation with Europe. For Şinasi, it was a marriage between the old wisdom of Asia (*Asya'nın akl-ı piranesi*) and the virginal idea of Europe (*Avrupa'nın bikr-i fikri*). Namık Kemal uttered similar ideas in other words: the marriage between the mature idea of the Orient and the original dream of the Occident.⁶³

Parla takes our attention to the feminization of the West in these terminologies (*the word bikr means virgin*) and concludes that this marriage was still a male dominated unification. In my opinion, we may read in these anxieties and metaphors both the internalization of the Western superiority and the resistance to it. The metaphor of child for the non-western peoples was a major component of the colonial discourse. The non-western societies represented a backward stage of human development. In addition to the internalization of this discourse, there was an attempt to present the empire as a male figure with regard to the West opposed to the Western feminization of the Orient. This was an effort to resist the superiority of the west with preserving tradition and culture.

Dror Zeevi studies the Ottoman Muslim discourse on sex from 1500 to modern period using sources on medicine, legal texts, literature on dream interpretation, Islamic debates around morality and *Karagöz-Hacivat* plays. He tries to show that there occurred a discursive rupture concerning sexuality at the threshold of the 19th century. A lively, explicit, dynamic discourse on sexuality that was not bounded by heteronormality was silenced.⁶⁴ Zeevi questions the relationship between colonialism and silencing of the Ottoman sexual discourse in the 19th century. The major explanatory factor behind the silencing was the Ottoman encounters with the agents of Europe such as missionaries, traders, and other travelers talking about sexuality. It is important to consider on the impact of the Western and Ottoman published travelogues on the Ottoman society. Until the 19th century, the majority of the European descriptions of the Ottoman morality was much more descriptive and was related to segregation and veiling of woman as a means to secure public morality. From the 17th century onwards a new critical approach to the Ottoman moral codes appeared and

⁶³ Ibid., p. 17.

⁶⁴ Dror Ze'evi, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2006).

coincided with new heteronormality of Europe. They established a connection between the Ottoman sexual deviation and the failure and corruption of government.⁶⁵

According to Zeevi such travel books, that depict of the Ottoman sexuality and politics as corrupted, reached elite circles in the Ottoman world and influenced them. Throughout the 19th century, the Ottoman travel literature on Europe tended to increase. Ahmed Midhat Efendi was the trend-setting and emblematic writer among those increasing travel accounts. While Ahmed Midhat as well as many other Ottoman travelers received European superiority in science, technology, and material standards, they still regarded European morality inferior to the Ottoman moral codes. The literature turned into an Occidental discourse which uses a similar pattern with Orientalism to define Occident as morally and sexually corrupt and degenerated.

Before Ahmed Midhat, the Ottoman Paris ambassador Halet Efendi's critique of European homosexuality in a letter written in 1803 was striking. He shared his observations that young French boys chased the Ottoman man with *fes*. He claimed that there is not as much boy and pederasty in Islamic countries as in Paris. This was also an implicit recognition of the existence of pederasty in Islamic lands. He replaced the European image of gay Muslim straight Frenk with a little gay Muslim and much gay Frenk.⁶⁶ According to Zeevi, this was more than to counterattack to the Orientalist discourse on the Ottoman sexuality; it was also an internalization of the European norms and practices:

“What had been a transparent universe of norms, views and mores has suddenly become opaque and set at center stage. The sexual differences between Europe and the Ottoman world had become apparent, and the attempt to present morality back home as superior was much more than an effort to counter a Western offense. It was in fact a re-creation of the Ottoman sexual world as an improved version of the European one, an idealized version parody of bourgeois monogamous heteronormality”.⁶⁷

Therefore such wars of representation led to the redefinition of the Ottoman gender and sexual codes in terms of the European heteronormality and the silencing of the Ottoman

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 153-158.

⁶⁶ Edhem Eldem, “18. Yüzyıl ve Değişim”, *Cogito: Osmanlılar Özel Sayısı*, 19 (Yaz, 1999), pp. 189- 199.

⁶⁷ Dror Ze'evi, “Hiding Sexuality: The Disappearance of Sexual Discourse in the Late Ottoman Middle East”, *Social Analysis*, Volume 49, Issue 2, Summer 2005, p. 49.

sexuality was a part of image management of the Ottoman Empire in order to present itself with a modern (i.e. heterosexual) sexuality.

2.4. Ottoman Image Management

Another space for European passion for exhibition was universal exhibitions. For the Ottoman travelers, these expositions were designed to display the physical embodiments of progress and civilization. The Ottoman travelers were very sensitive to the false representations of their country and culture in these expositions.⁶⁸ Especially, belly dancing was their target of opposition. Midhat's discontent with belly dancing was about its presentation as an essential characteristic of the Islamic culture. He underscored that their dance could be seen, even in Egypt or Tunisia, only in out of the way places of dissipation. The phrase "even in Egypt or Tunisia" tells too much about Midhat's social Darwinist evolutionary scale according to Findley. In general, the Ottoman travelers showed no solidarity with the colonial peoples. Midhat's interest had already concentrated in the displays of machine rather than the colonial pavilions.⁶⁹

Çelik and Kinney argue that belly dancing had never been such a spectacle until 1882. The date was meaningful; it was one year after the British conquest of Egypt. In 1834, the Egyptian government prohibited the street performances of dancers. Similarly, belly dancing was disappearing from upper class households in Istanbul. It was replaced by the European patterns of entertainment in both public and private spheres. While both the Egyptians and the Ottomans attempted to remove belly dancing from public view as a part of their image management, the orientalist painting, travel literature and expositions were reversing it.⁷⁰

The universal expositions were also spaces for image management. The Ottoman Empire attempted to give a European image. In 1867, there was a conscious effort to bring rational components of the Ottoman monuments into fore. The Ottoman pavilions underlined the Ottoman participation at world civilization. In this regard, they

⁶⁸ Baki Asiltürk, *Osmanlı Seyyahlarının Gözüyle Avrupa*, pp. 261-272.

⁶⁹ Carter Vaughn Findley, "An Ottoman Occidental in Europe", pp. 38-42.

⁷⁰ Zeynep Çelik, Leila Kinney, "Ethnography and Exhibitionism at the Expositions Universelles", *Assemblage*, No. 13. (Dec., 1990), pp. 39-40.

adapted many European norms and values.⁷¹ The Ottoman intellectuals obsessed with their image in Europe. Selim Deringil examines how late Ottoman intellectuals perceived the world around them. It was the age of new imperialism and the Ottoman elite struggled to extend their sphere of maneuver to maintain their autonomy. Their efforts were to present a positive image of the Ottoman Empire in the international arena. Their anxiety about and fear of the disintegration were reflected in their vocabulary. Their epithet for their country was “well protected domains” (*memalik-i mahrusa-i şahane*) despite the fact that these domains were under the threat of great power politics. Although the empire was shaking by the separatist movements, their epithet for their state was “Eternal Ottoman State (*Devlet-i ebed müddet-i Osmaniyye*). They were also obsessive with their image in the foreign countries. The widespread use of phrases such as “It would not look good towards friend or foe“ (*enzar-ı yar ve ağyara karşı hoş görümemek*) and “It would cause loose talk” (*tervic-i kil-u kal*) was evidences for their anxieties about their image.⁷²

Therefore, simple divisions among the Ottoman intellectual circles such as reactionaries or westerners, and reformists or traditionalists reduce complex positions, responses, and attitudes, shifting alliances and ideas of the Ottoman intellectuals into simple monolithic and static camps. Indeed the reality was much more complex than those assumed by the simple divisions. Their responses to the West and its colonial discourses were a combination of different positions: internalization, reversal, and resistance. They internalized some aspects of orientalism such as the dichotomy between the materially superior West and the backward East and the indolent image of the Orient. They resisted to the feminine and homosexual image of the Ottoman Empire via reversal or deflection of the orientalist images. They depicted the West as homosexual or feminine. However, this was also an internalization of the Western sexual norms and the silencing of traditional codes of the Ottoman sexuality. This

⁷¹ Zeynep Çelik, *Şarkın Sergilenişi: 19. Yüzyıl Dünya Fuarlarında İslam Mimarisi*, trans. Nurettin el Hüseyini, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2004), p. 12.

⁷² Selim Deringil, *İktidarın Sembolleri ve İdeoloji: II. Abdülhamid Dönemi(1876-1909)*, trans. by Gül Çağalı Güven, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), pp. 59-62. For the Ottoman attempts at influencing the foreign press and public opinion, the struggle with the exoticization of the empire in the west, the preparation of photography albums with modern and civilized images of the empire, and strict application of protocol rules in the international relations see: pp:175-210.

internalization was a reflection of their obsessions with their images and resistance to the exotic, backward, and uncivilized images of the empire.

The problematique (claims) of Ottoman Occidentalism was to present the empire as an equal player of the world civilization. All this image management was designed to give a modern and civilized image of the empire. Another claim of Ottoman Occidentalism was the Ottoman decisiveness for the preservation of the Ottoman Islamic culture. The thematic (justifications) of Ottoman Occidentalism was based on the dichotomy between the materially superior West and the morally superior East. The motivation behind the preservation of their own culture was the threats of the morally inferior West. The motivation behind the reform and westernization was an acceptance of the material superiority of the West. Indeed, they maintained the epistemological, ontological and moral distinctions between the East and the West. Paradoxically, these concerns and anxieties over local culture were in contradiction to increasing adaptation of the Western intellectual codes. The naturalization of the non-western world in front of the artificial West and the spiritualization of the East in front of the materiality of the West were also popular themes in the colonial discourses. Their travels in Europe with European guidebooks, Midhat's social Darwinist arguments, and the heteronormalization of the Ottoman sexual discourse were evidences for their internalization of the European intellectual and cultural norms.

3. The Ottoman Perceptions of the Non-European World

3.1. Orientalism *alla Turca*

Herzog and Motika, in their article "Orientalism *alla Turca*", discuss the Ottoman travel accounts written in the 19th century relating to the Muslim 'outback'. Their sources are the Ottoman travelogues concerning on the non-Ottoman, non-European world except Cami Bey's travelogue on the Ottoman province of Trablus. They describe the Ottoman experiences with the 19th century modernity as a process of acculturation and self assertion. They also claim that there was no sharp fault line dividing the Ottoman Muslim culture into traditional and modern. In the 19th century, there emerged new literary genres such as travel literature and novel. Ahmed Midhat regarded travel literature as one of the cornerstones of the advancement of modern

knowledge.⁷³ Herzog and Motika ask significant questions with regard to these travel accounts on the non-Ottoman Muslim territories: "Why did Ottomans travel from one end of the Islamic world to the other? Why did they go to where they went? Why and how did they compose and publish travelogues? Are there identifiable constitutive elements of modern Ottoman travel literature? How did Ottoman travelers see non-Ottoman Muslims or in post modern terms how did they construct Otherness within their common Islamic polity?"⁷⁴

The scope of Motika and Herzog's sources comprise Caucasus, central Asia, Afghanistan and India, in the east, Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa in the west, the Volga-Ural region in the north as well as Sudan and Ethiopia in the south. Motika and Herzog divide their article into four main components, they first discuss the programmes of Ottoman traveling (their views on traveling in general and their motivations behind traveling), then the Ottoman travel literature as literary genre, changing material and mental conditions of traveling and at last Ottoman ethnographic and political discourses on the Muslim outback.

The basic problem of their article is that they do not clarify their notion of "Orientalism *alla Turca*". What make these travelers' accounts Orientalism *alla Turca* are not clear and their discussions are not systematic. There are extremely long quotations from sources without any sufficient interpretation. Some common elements that have discussed in different headings are more suitable to be discussed under a common heading. In their third heading, their discussion of changing material conditions of traveling overweighs the discussion of how these material changes influenced the mental conditions of traveling. They only state that this technological modernization gave them a feeling of superiority and conscience of belonging to the most advanced and powerful Muslim state of their time.⁷⁵ However, the material changes of traveling that had discussed by the Ottoman travelers were not completely related to the Ottoman Empire but to what they encountered during their voyages. Why

⁷³ Christoph Herzog and Raoul Motika, "Orientalism "alla turca": Late 19th / Early 20th Century Ottoman Voyages into the Muslim 'Outback'", *Die Welt des Islams, New Series*, Vol. 40, Issue 2, Ottoman Travels and Travel Accounts from an Earlier Age of Globalization (Jul., 2000), p. 139.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

and how did their encounters with new technologies of communication and transportation during their voyages give them a sense of belonging to the most advanced Islamic state? Furthermore, the connection between changing material preconditions and Orientalism *alla Turca* is not explicit.

In the context of the programmes of Ottoman travelling they discuss Ahmed Midhat's preface to Mehmed Emin's travelogue, Mehmed Mihri's hunting trip to Sudan, Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi's official duty in Swat and Afghanistan.⁷⁶ They refer to Ahmed Midhat's cultural relativism and his emphasis on wonders and curiosities. However they do not pay enough attention to display the connection between Midhat's exoticism and Orientalism *alla Turca*. Was this interest in wonders and curiosities a sufficient condition to regard it Orientalism *alla Turca* or was it a general tendency of travelers of both colonial and non-colonial eras? They mention Midhat's complaints about the Ottoman lack of interest in traveling. They argue that Midhat did not unduly regard this lack of interest a general characteristic of the Orient. Rather, his criticism directed towards the bureaucratic and commercial middle and upper strata of the Ottoman imperial center. According to Herzog and Motika, the leading role assigned to the Ottoman Empire over the rest of the Muslims by Ahmed Midhat made his preface an example of Orientalism *alla Turca*. He attributed a middle position to the Ottoman society vis-à-vis both the European and the Islamic civilizations. Ahmed Midhat's emphasis on the leading role of the Ottomans in the contemporary Islamic world was interpreted as the Ottoman civilizing mission by Herzog and Motika.⁷⁷

In the context of Şirvanlı, Herzog and Motika refer to his distinction between historical narratives and travel accounts. His description of travel accounts had ethnographic overtones.⁷⁸ Their discussion of Mehmed Mihri's hunting trip⁷⁹ has significant information on the political discourses of the Ottoman travelers. However his motivation (hunting) behind trip is not related to orientalism. Herzog and Motika did not also establish a relation between Mihri's critiques of the quality of the Ottoman published travelogues and Orientalism *alla Turca*. In addition, their discussion of Cami Bey's preface under the heading of "Ottoman travelogue as literary genre" is not

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 141-157.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 149-151.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 155

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 168-169.

completely relevant to this heading. The preface consists of more Cami Bey's views on the European colonialism, the status of Trablus within the empire, the political and economic importance of Trablus than the literary qualities of his travelogue.⁸⁰ All these examples show us that there is an organizational problem in their article. Nevertheless, there are significant evidences for the internalization of the orientalist themes by the Ottoman travelers.

According to Cami Bey, the perception of Trablus in Istanbul was a place "as horrible as the terrible and dark dungeons in the noblemen's old castles during the middle ages for the prisoners of the inquisition". The province of Trablus and Fezzan were used by the former administration as places of exile. He took his readers attention to these huge lands and then he gave information on his perception on Europe of his own day. He depicted Europe economically brave and ready for progress. Europe shifted towards all unprotected parts of the world since it could not find enough space at home to employ its increasing population and wealth and enough profitable business to invest its capital. The Ottoman Empire lost its provinces in Africa to European powers and Trablus was the last center of the Ottoman province in North Africa.⁸¹

He criticized the perception of former administration regarding Trablus. Its only usage was to be a place of exile. He claimed that it was the Europeans who brought about the revolutions in Africa while the violence and aggression were brought by the predatory desert tribes as well as his government's mismanagement and weakness. Cami Bey compared Trablus of his own day with its brilliant and prosperous Roman past. It was the granary of ancient Rome with its huge arable lands and a center of caravan trade thanks to its advantageous geographical location. Cami Bey took his readers' attention to increasing economic interests of Trablus. Despite its importance, it was "poor, neglected, isolated province which is far away from the support of the mother of the fatherland (i.e. Istanbul)".⁸²

According to Herzog and Motika, Cami Bey gives a striking example for the Ottoman view on the native populations of the Muslim outback. He regarded the Tuareg tribes of Trablus as savages and threats to security. Nevertheless, he attempted

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 164-167.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 165.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 166-167

to correct the European misconceptions on this tribe and claimed that these misconceptions led the Europeans to lost several missions before they adjusted their behaviors to reality. The overall picture of the Tuaregs was negative. Cami Bey had no plans to civilize these tribes which were only the objects of the colonial rule in the eyes of Cami. However, he was aware of the French missions in Africa.⁸³

Mehmed Mihri, on the other hand, did not consider the Ottoman Empire as a victim of European colonialism but perceived it as an equally colonialist power having received less than its fair share of territorial spoils. In his travel account, he defines Sudan as a vast region which is a potential Ottoman colony. He presents European exploratory travels as a model for the Orientals and regards exploratory travels as a patriotic, national, and religious duty.⁸⁴ According to Herzog and Motika, he conceived a direct competition between France and the Ottoman Empire. Mihri ascribed a civilizing mission to the Ottoman Empire in front of the non-Islamic local cultures. He regarded civilization as a combination of the western modernity and the Islamic scriptural high culture. Although the local peoples of Sudan learned Islam and too much other knowledge from the Arabs, they were still quite far from civilization. However, he insisted that they have freed themselves from the ridiculous pagan customs of the Negroes in central and South Africa thanks to Islam.⁸⁵

Mehmed Emin contended that the Ottomans had managed to establish a world conquering state and present the world the model of a new civilization since their origins came from a progressive, civilized and prosperous area (i.e. Central Asia). Herzog and Motika regarded this statement as an example for the Ottoman civilizing mission.⁸⁶ Mehmed Emin depicted the Ottoman dominions as the spiritual colonies of central Asia. He implies that these lands colonized by the Turks of central Asia. He depicted the Turks as the carriers of civilization and the founders of empires. However this was a spiritual relation between the Ottoman Empire and Central Asia. He found the current situation of the empire superior to central Asia. This feeling of superiority can also be found in the account of Mehmed Fazlı who had been in Afghanistan as member of a consultant board. He encountered with the Ottoman officials who trained

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 192-193.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 153-154.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 191.

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 186-187.

the newly formed modern army of Afghanistan. The Afghan ruler himself accepted the Ottoman superiority over Afghanistan and depicted his country as a little brother of the Ottoman Empire.⁸⁷ Although Herzog and Motika asserts that there was no overall Ottoman picture or discourse with regard to the non-Ottoman Muslims, they also mention a common feeling of Ottoman superiority vis-a-vis the rest of the Islamic world.⁸⁸

My aim in following chapters is to expand their study both thematically and geographically. I will focus on the Ottoman approaches to the non-Ottoman, non-European societies in general and the Muslim peoples in particular while Motika and Herzog concentrates on the non-Ottoman Muslim communities. I want to compare the Ottoman approaches to the non-European societies with European colonial discourses in a more systematical way than Herzog and Motika's. First of all, I will attempt to determine the most salient rhetorical modalities of colonial discourses and then I will compare them with the Ottoman views systematically. I will try to give meaning to these mass of information above. Moreover, I will add Herzog and Motika's geographical scope China and Japan in the Far East, Brazil and United States in Americas, and South Africa.

3.2. Sources on the Ottoman Perceptions of the Non-European world: Late Ottoman travelogues and memoirs

The Ottoman travelogues on the non-European world used in this thesis are as follows: Ömer Lütfi's *Ümitburnu Seyahatnamesi*, Mühendis Faik's *Seyahatname-i Bahr-i Muhit*, Bağdatlı Abdurrahman Efendi's *Seyahatname-i Brezilya*, Mehmed Emin Efendi's *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vusta'ya Seyahat*, Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi's *Hindistan Svāt ve Afgansitan Seyahatnamesi*, Mustafa bin Mustafa's *Aksa-yı Şarkta bir Cevelan*, Ubeydullah Efendi's *Geçirdiğim Günlerin Hesabına ait Dağınık Yapraklar*, Sadık el Müeyyed's *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, Süleyman Şükrü Karçinzade's *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, Halil Halid's *Cezayir Hatıratı*, Mehmed Fazlı's *Resimli Afgan Seyahatnamesi*,

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 190-191.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 195.

Abdürreşid İbrahim's *Alem-i İslam*, Habibzade Ahmed Kemal's *Çin Türkistan Hatıraları*, Samizade Süreyya's *Büyük Japonya*.⁸⁹

The most significant criterion in the selection of these sources was to provide a geographical variety. The accounts included Brazil, South Africa (Cape Town), North Africa (Algiers), East Africa (Ethiopia and Somalia), Far East (China and Japan), central Asia (Turkestan), South and Southeast Asia (India, Singapore, Korea). This geographical inclusiveness and variety enabled us to see different countries under different political conditions ranging from the former Ottoman provinces to the colonized ones, from independent African countries at midst of the "scramble for Africa" to the newly developed countries with colonial ambitions.

4. The Ottoman Perceptions of the Arab and African Provinces

4.1. The Notions of "Ottoman Orientalism" and "Borrowed Colonialism"

According to Ussama Makdisi, the resistances of the non-western world to modern imperialism and its discourses had been discussed for a long time by scholars, however they have not paid sufficient attention to how the Ottoman representations of the Arab provinces changed and consolidated power relations between the center and the Arab provinces. The purpose of Makdisi is to overtake the simple dichotomy between the western imperialism/orientalism and the non-western resistance to them.⁹⁰ Above, we have seen that the Ottoman relation to the colonial discourse was more than a simple resistance to and critique of it; rather it also included the adaptation, internalization, and reversal of the orientalist themes. We have discussed Herzog and Motika's article for the Ottoman responses to the colonial discourses in the context of non-European non-Ottoman cases. In the following chapters, we will also deal with how the Ottoman intellectuals reflected the orientalist metaphors and rhetorical instruments into some selected groups within the empire. These groups were nomads in general and Arab people to some extent. We will investigate how the Ottoman intellectuals represented their own Arab and nomadic periphery.

⁸⁹ For an extended list of the Ottoman travelers to both the European and the non-European worlds, see: Rüya M. Soydan, "Osmanlı Türkçesi ile Yayınlanmış olan Seyahatnameler ve Sefaretnameler", *Kültür*, Sayı 13: Seyyah ve Seyahatnameler, 2008-2009 Kış, pp. 120-127.

⁹⁰ Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 107, No. 3, (Jun., 2002), p. 768, Ussame Makdisi, "Modernity Violence and the Cultural Logic of Ottoman Reform", p. 29.

Makdisi calls orientalist representations of the Arab provinces by the Ottoman elite “Ottoman Orientalism”. This notion represents a shift from classical imperial paradigm to a progressive, nationalist and modernist imperial paradigm. According to Makdisi, the Ottomans resisted to the political and colonial practices of the western orientalism while adopting its paradigm of progress and temporality. They resisted to the orientalist misrepresentations of the East while internalizing various representations of orientalism. The attempts at reform led to a pre-modern image of the imperial subjects and a modern image of the central elite.⁹¹

A civilizing and temporal discourse was adopted by the Ottoman-Turkish elite in order to justify their rule throughout the empire. Tanzimat, according to Makdisi, was a combination of modernization tendencies and an official nationalism based on the common Ottoman patriotism. In this regard, the Ottoman subjects were regarded as both the victims of imperialism, the members of the Ottoman nation and obstacles in front of reforms. While Ottoman nationalism was officially inclusive, it was temporally and racially exclusive. The Arab provinces were considered as territories that had not yet been Ottomanized but will be Ottomanized soon. On the one hand, Ottoman nationalism had a target of spatial integration within the empire; on the other hand Ottoman orientalism was based on a temporal differentiation between the center and the periphery.⁹²

The 19th century was a search for binding and homogenizing Ottoman modernization and nationalism. The empire struggled to be recognized as an equal player of the world civilization. The Ottoman relation to European orientalism was multilayered including layers of accommodation, imitation and resistance. The Ottomans contributed to European orientalism with orientalising its Arab provinces. Ottoman orientalism was an invention of “pre-modern” within the empire. It was based on an imaginary temporal cleavage between modern Istanbul and the rest of the empire.⁹³ In this regard they thought that they could escape the orientalist images of the empire.⁹⁴ The depiction of the Arabs as inferior and backward was an integral part of

⁹¹ Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism", pp. 768-769.

⁹² Ibid., pp. 770-771.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 778-780.

⁹⁴ Edhem Eldem, *Doğuyu Tüketmek*, p. 219.

the Ottoman effort to counter the orientalist representations of barbarous and indolent Turks.⁹⁵

In the 19th century, the Ottoman government decided to mobilize manpower resources it had hitherto not used. The nomadic populations became the primary target of this mobilization. According to Deringil, the Ottoman Empire conceived of its periphery as a colonial setting. They adopted the mindset of their imperialist enemies and the late Ottoman elite was benefited from the “civilizing mission” mentality and “project of modernity” in their provincial administration and in their struggle of the survival in front of the competing imperialist nations.⁹⁶ After the empire lost many territories after 1877-8, the Ottoman state began imitating the western colonial empires. The state consolidated the homogeneity of the core regions -the Anatolian peninsula and the eastern regions of Thrace. Then, it pushed the Arab provinces into a colonial status according to Eldem.⁹⁷ Deringil called this accommodation to the practices of enemies, “borrowed colonialism”. The Ottoman Empire in the late 19th century and early 20th century had an in between status. It was neither one of the aggressive industrialist empires of the West nor its core territories had ever colonized by these aggressive empires. Colonialism was perceived by the late Ottoman elite as a modern way of being and a survival tactic. Nevertheless, they were aware of the colonial threat felt in their core lands. The borrowed colonialism was a response to this in-between status.⁹⁸

4.2. Premodern vs. Modern Ottoman Administrative Practices: The role of Islam

Makdisi compares the pre 19th century Ottoman administrative practices with the 19th century practices. The premodern Ottoman administration was based on the preservation of differences and the imperial distance from its subjects. The meaning of being an Ottoman was being a member of the ruling elite. The Ottoman identity was related to a monopoly over the Islamic metaphors and imperial distance between the

⁹⁵ Ussame Makdisi, "Modernity Violence and the Cultural Logic of Ottoman Reform", p.47.

⁹⁶ Selim Deringil, "'They live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery': The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post Colonial Debate", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Apr., 2003), pp. 311-312.

⁹⁷ Eldem, Edhem, “Istanbul from Imperial to Peripheralized Capital” in *The Ottoman City between the East and West: Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul*, Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, eds. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 200.

⁹⁸ Selim Deringil, "'They live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery', p.313.

subjects and the sultan. He discusses the account of Evliya Çelebi on the Yezidis and highlights that the Yezidis were not a problem in the eyes of the Ottoman elite as long as they obey the public order. Another example given by Makdisi is Lebanon. The local elements were tolerated by the Ottoman elite unless they damaged the Islamic order.⁹⁹ The premodern approach to the periphery was the coexistence of the center and the periphery within the same temporal moment.¹⁰⁰

The 19th century witnessed a shift from religious and heretical discourses to the rhetoric of backwardness and modernization discourses, from easy negotiations and bargaining with the periphery to the modernizing mission of the empire.¹⁰¹ The limit imposed upon Ottoman orientalism was Islam since the Arab periphery was dominantly a Muslim land. They avoided the Islamic references and emphasized nomadism and savagery.¹⁰² There were also certain differences between Ottoman borrowed colonialism and western colonialism. First of all, the Ottoman elite shared the same religion with its Arab provinces.¹⁰³ The question posed by Deringil was as follows:

“At what point is common religion not enough of a differentiating factor in a comparative study of how Christian or Muslim powers relate to their respective subject peoples? At what points do the Ottoman version of colonialism and the Western version converge and diverge?”¹⁰⁴

The conflict between Druzes and Maronites in 1860 Lebanon crisis was interpreted by the Ottoman Foreign Minister Fuad Pasha as a reflection of an age old tribal struggle rather than a religious conflict. It was the work of unthinking and ignorant Muslims in the eyes of Fuad Paşa. He tried to give an image of the Ottoman neutrality and tolerance to the European powers. These conflicts were regarded as events incompatible with the principles of the civilized world. Sectarianism was located by Fuad Paşa into a pre-modern world in which fanaticism, tribalism and ignorance reigned supreme.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism", pp. 773-774.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 777.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 780.

¹⁰² Edhem Eldem, *Doğuyu Tüketmek*, p. 219-220, Edhem Eldem, "Ottoman and Turkish Orientalism" p. 28.

¹⁰³ Selim Deringil, "They live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery", p. 315.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism", pp. 780-783.

According to Deringil, in the late 19th century the fact that the population in question is Muslim was no longer the first degree importance in the provincial administration. The oversensitive balance of power between the center and the periphery came to an end in the 19th century. The pre- modern Ottoman administrative practices in the periphery were based on the principle of not intervening to local influential people as much as possible. It was a bargaining process that was not uttered by strict rules and explicit expressions. These pre-modern practices turned into more strict administrative rules and practices imitating western colonialism.¹⁰⁶ While the Ottoman elite rejected its subaltern role in the arena of new imperialism, it presented its own subalterns to the world historical scene.¹⁰⁷

Yonca Köksal compared the Tanzimat policies of sedentarization with the strategies of the Ottoman state regarding tribes before Tanzimat. They were short term and temporary state policies of settlement and they were incentive based strategies or forced exile. In the frontier regions, it was based on negotiations and in general the Ottoman center did not intervene much in the internal relations of tribes. During Tanzimat, a new strategy of controlling tribes was appeared. The sedentarization of the tribes was performed in their pastures instead of expelling them to the distant provinces. Tanzimat's project of sedentarization was a mass scale attempt. The government directly intervened to the internal affairs of the tribes with property and population registers. The center had concerns over conscription and taxation.¹⁰⁸

4.3. Coercion or Mediation?

According to Makdisi, Ottoman imperialism was based on a set of imperial practices and discourses which were premised on the need to induct *forcibly* supposedly reluctant peripheries into an age of modernity. The purpose of the Ottoman reform was to become a modern nation-state and reshape, improve and ultimately discipline the Arab peripheries. The Arab provinces were considered as the subordinate parts of the Ottoman state. While the center represented rational, scientific and civilized norms and practices, the periphery were characterized by its backward, primitive and savage

¹⁰⁶ Selim Deringil, "They live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery", pp. 338-339.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. p. 342.

¹⁰⁸ Yonca Köksal, "Coercion and Mediation. Centralization and Sedentarization of Tribes in the Ottoman Empire", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 3, (May, 2006), pp. 477-479.

status. This was an assumed contrast between the modern center and the premodern periphery. Makdisi regarded modern Ottoman imperialism as a project of both reform and violence. Modern Ottoman imperialism justified and deployed physical and symbolic violence in the name of reform, modernization and imperial stability. The reform was carried out by the Ottoman officials hand in hand with state violence.¹⁰⁹ Makdisi contends that in official view, the public order and security could be guaranteed only by bringing local notables to heel and by removing their stupid silly and fickle followers from the realm of politics.¹¹⁰

Contrary to Makdisi, Deringil gives information on the Ottoman elite's vocabulary on the mild practices and measures with regard to the nomadic groups. They were "simple fold who cannot tell good from evil". It was suitable to treat nomadic leaders carefully in order not to "provoke their wild nature and hatred". The distribution of gifts and favors were a part of "winning the heart and minds of the local population" by "giving them a little something" and "flattering their leaders".¹¹¹ There was a "tension between the official intolerance of diversity and the reality of the need to tolerate such diversity" according to Deringil. Therefore, in many cases the Ottoman rule in the periphery was depended upon the alliance between the center and the local notables. For instance, in Ottoman Libya, the government allied with Sennusi dervishes to be benefited from their influence on the tribes. The center regarded these dervishes occasionally as the bearers of civilization to the tribes. They helped the government to solve the security problems in the region.¹¹²

Osman Nuri Paşa, who had been in Hejaz and Yemen as the governor for a long time, was opposed to the constant appointment of military governors to the Arab provinces. He was also against the perception of these areas and peoples as a constant security risk. He also adopted the rhetoric of winning the heart and minds.¹¹³ This rhetoric was a reflection of the weaknesses of the center and its need for the support of Senussi Sheikhs, local notables and the Bedouins. Therefore they applied "lenient and moderate measures" and was benefited from "advisory commissions" and favors

¹⁰⁹ Ussame Makdisi, "Modernity Violence and the Cultural Logic of Ottoman Reform", p. 30.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 35.

¹¹¹ Selim Deringil, "They live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery", pp. 317-318.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 322.

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 329.

distributed by the center. The bargaining power of the periphery with the center was relatively high.¹¹⁴

The elimination and incorporation of the local intermediaries through the confrontation between the well defined and distinct spheres of state and the local groups were considered as the basis of the nation state and centralization. However, the top-down state policies of coercion and the bottom-up strategies of mediation with local authorities can be combined in state centralization according to Yonca Köksal.¹¹⁵ She studied the Ottoman practices of mediation and coercion in the context of sedentarization. There was a continuous interaction between the tribes and the Ottoman state. The Ottoman rulers adopted a pragmatic approach to the tribes. For Köksal, the state-society relation is not a zero sum game. There is always a place for the coexistence. She asks how tribal structures and setting influenced the Ottoman state policies.¹¹⁶

Köksal posits that The Tanzimat was a combination of centralization and decentralization and the implementation of reform was carried out as a negotiated outcome between the periphery and the center. She studied sedentarization of four tribes in the Ankara region and determined several factors behind the state strategies: the geographical location of the tribe: core or frontier, the geographical boundedness of the tribe, the internal organization of the tribe: scattered or concentrated, and the density of trade between the tribes and the settled groups.¹¹⁷ Köksal, in another article, compares reform processes of Edirne and Ankara regions. Edirne was an example of the cooperation between the central administration and the local groups that led to a support of the reforms and Ankara is an example that was lack of cooperation within local notables and in their relations with the state.¹¹⁸

Köksal advocates that the demands of the local populations for public works (i.e. infrastructure) were compatible with the centralization attempts of the state. As the state developed infrastructure such as means of communication and transformation

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 339-340.

¹¹⁵ Yonca Köksal, "Coercion and Mediation", p. 469.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 470-471.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 472-473.

¹¹⁸ Imperial Center and Local Groups: Tanzimat reforms in the provinces of Edirne and Ankara", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Vol, 27, (Fall, 2002), pp. 107-138.

networks, its control over provinces or communication and contact between the center and the periphery increased. In the context of taxation, for instance, due to insufficient number of tax-officials, the local tax collectors or local intermediaries continued to be benefited from tax collection. Moreover, in Edirne case, tax collection cooperatives were established in order to increase revenues. Surprisingly, there were positive results of the decentralized elements in Edirne case since it was managed to integrate the local notables to the central administration. The central government appointed local notables to the state offices. Thus, the contact between the province and the state increased and especially developing infrastructure helped the increase in communication between Istanbul and the province.¹¹⁹

According to Stephen Duguid, the central policies regarding the region of Eastern Anatolia was aimed at a balance of forces in the region instead of pursuing centralization. It attempted to prevent any local power group to gain a dominant position. The cooperation of the local groups was vital for the Hamidian regime to provide unity among the Muslim subjects. The formation of the Hamidian Cavalry Corps from the Kurdish tribes was a part of this project of Muslim unity. These corps was designed to use against the potential threats from the Armenian population in this region. The government tried to assimilate, integrate and manipulate the Kurdish population.¹²⁰ The formation of *Aşiret Mektebi* was a part of this integration of the Arab and Kurdish provinces more closely to the imperial center. This was an experiment in social engineering according to Eugene Rogan. The school for tribes was opened in Istanbul in 1892 to provide an Ottoman education for the sons of the leading tribal notables. The purpose of the project was to integrate the tribal communities into the life of the state and develop supranational ideologies among them.¹²¹

We have paid attention to four different scholars' views on the Ottoman center-periphery relations. These are Edhem Eldem, Ussama Makdisi, Selim Deringil and Yonca Köksal. There are some common points among them. For instance, Eldem,

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 116-117.

¹²⁰ Duguid, Stephen, "The politics of Unity. Hamidian Policy in Eastern Anatolia", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2, (May, 1973), pp. 139-155.

¹²¹ Rogan, Eugene L., "Aşiret Mektebi: Abdülhamid II's School for Tribes (1892-1907)", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Feb., 1996), pp. 83-107.

Deringil and Makdisi relate the orientalist representations of the periphery to similar causes. It was the Ottoman attempt to escape the orientalist descriptions of the empire by separating the empire into the two as modern center and pre-modern periphery. Therefore, the late Ottoman elite had a chance to depict the center of the empire as an equal player of the world civilization. They tried to give the image that they also owned, like European imperialist powers, the non-civilized lands waiting for the Ottoman missions. Another common point was their separation between pre 19th century and modern Ottoman practices. The Islamic overtones of the discourses on the periphery were transformed in the 19th century into the discourses of modernity, temporality, civilization, and progress.

The basic difference was their conceptions of the Ottoman modernity. While Makdisi conceived of the Ottoman modernity as a project of power and violence, Köksal evaluated it as a process of development (infrastructural and communicative developments for instance) based on negotiation and incorporation. For Deringil, the Ottoman elite conceived of imperialism as an integral part of modernity and adopted imperial practices with regard to its periphery in order to give a modern image of the empire to the civilized world.

Another difference was based on the reality and representation issue. Deringil and Makdisi concentrated on the Ottoman elite's representations of the center and the periphery. Therefore, they are less sensitive to the difference between their representations and actual conditions. Köksal with her case studies on Ankara and Edirne is more sensitive to the gap between intended and actual consequences of the Ottoman reform process. However Köksal's essays' weak point is that her case studies (i.e. Edirne and Ankara) were relatively the core lands of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, it is uncertain how much the condition of the Arab lands and Balkan provinces was similar to an Anatolian province or Edirne. In other words, to what degree we can generalize the interpretation of Köksal. Furthermore, Deringil and Makdisi are less sensitive to the reception of the Ottoman reforms in the periphery while Köksal is more sensitive to different interpretations of the Ottoman reform in different regions. Nevertheless, Makdisi is also aware of different interpretations of Tanzimat reforms. The groups which understood Tanzimat as a contract based on social equality evaluated Tanzimat as the legitimization of social revolution. Some groups

perceived *Tanzimat* as a legitimization for the restoration of old regime's social order. However, he concludes that it was a project of violence and power.

This thesis is also more sensitive to the Ottoman representations and conceptions of the periphery by the Ottoman elite. However, my claim is that the distinction between the center and the periphery is not as strict and clear as assumed by Deringil and Makdisi even in the Ottoman representations. There are various statements of the Ottoman elites that blurred the boundaries between the center and the provinces.

4.4. Sources on the Ottoman Perceptions of the Arab and African provinces: Late Ottoman memoirs and travelogues

Our sources regarding the Ottoman Arab and African provinces are first person accounts especially memories of the Ottoman officials and intellectuals. These sources are as follows: Cami Baykurt's *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat: Çöl İnsanları ve Jön Türkler*, Sadık el Müeyyed's *Afrika Sahra-yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, Ahmed Şerif's *Arnavudluk'da, Suriye'de, Trablusgarb'de Tanın*, Ebubekir Hazim Tepeyran's *Hatıralar*, İsmail Hakkı Babanzade's *Irak Mektupları*, Şerafettin Mağmumi's *Seyahat Hatıraları: Anadolu ve Suriye*, Naciye Neyyal's *Mutlakiyet, Meşrutiyet ve Cumhuriyet Hatıraları*, Mehmed Tevfik Biren's *Abdülhamid, Meşrutiyet ve Mütareke Devri Hatıraları*, Cemal Paşa's *Hatıralar*, Ali Suad's *Seyahatlerim*, Mahmud Nedim Bey's *Arabistan'da Bir Ömür*, Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa's *Anılar*, Falih Rıfkı Atay's *Zeytindağı*, Cenap Şahabettin's *Afak-ı Irak* and *Hac Yolunda*, Samizade Süreyya's article *Japonya Yolundan Metruk ve Münsi bir belde-i Kadime*, Mustafa bin Mustafa's *Aksa-yı Şarkta bir Cevelan*.

I intended to choose memories regarding different parts of the Arab and African provinces. We can group them into four types. The first group was about Trablus, the second one is Syria including Damascus, Beirut, Hejaz, the third one is about Yemen and the fourth one is about Iraq including Baghdad, Mosul, and Basra. The six out of twenty-one sources published after the collapse of the empire. Therefore, it is possible to encounter with lots of *ex post facto* evaluations with regard to the empire and provinces. However, similar trap is also valid for those works published after the proclamation of the constitution in 1908. They had also *ex post facto* approaches to Hamidian era. In following pages, I will discuss the traps of these kinds of works in detail.

The first chapter of this thesis is related to the circumstances surrounding man. It deals with Said's *Orientalism* and debates around it and the rhetorical tools of the colonial discourse. A major part of the first chapter is devoted to the criticisms of *Orientalism*. This part is very significant to understand the work of an important scholar on the European conceptions of the Other and to develop new insights on the Ottoman historiography. Moreover, the questions that I will be discussed in this part will enable me to explain my own theoretical and methodological standpoints regarding the sources and themes used in this thesis.

In the context of the reality- representation issue, I will deal with the relation between the real Orient and the orientalist discourse. The debate around causality argues that there were other motivations than western imperialism behind the orientalist discourse. The debates around change and unity emphasizes that orientalism is not a unified discourse both synchronically and diachronically. The discussion of agency and structure are based on the reception of the orientalist discourse by the non-European peoples and the emphasis is on the cases of hybridization, modification, and adaptation. This part will be benefited from the post-colonial studies to show the contradictory and complex nature of the colonial subjectivity.

The first chapter will be ended by the discussion of different rhetorical tools of the colonial discourse. These are as follows: the rhetoric of surveillance, appropriation, affirmation, classification, denial of coevalness, naturalization, exoticism, idealization, aesthetization, debasement, negation, eroticization and insubstantialization. In the first chapter I do not attempt to use primary sources regarding the colonial discourses. It is beyond the limits and scopes of this thesis. First of all, there is an enormous literature on colonial discourses in general and orientalism in particular. My aim is to draw an overall picture of colonial discourses with using this growing secondary literature and then compare my conclusions on the European conceptions of the non-European world with the Ottoman conceptions of the Other. Therefore, the literature on the colonial discourses will enable us significant insights in our evaluations of the Ottoman primary sources in the following chapters.

The second and third chapters are related to man in circumstances: the late Ottoman elite in the age of new imperialism and its discourses. The second chapter will deal with the Ottoman travelers who had been in the non-European world and with their encounters with peoples, cities and cultures. It will be based on a systematic comparison between their narratives and the rhetorical modalities of the colonial discourse. The third chapter will discuss the late Ottoman first person narratives regarding the Arab and African provinces. In the context of Ottoman orientalism, this chapter deals with the Ottoman rhetorical tools of debasement, negation, naturalization, the denial of coevalness and classification with regard to the Ottoman periphery. The basic dichotomy between the center and the periphery was between civilization and nomadism. In the context of borrowed colonialism, the chapter discusses the Ottoman rhetorical modes of surveillance, appropriation, and affirmation concerning the periphery. The remaining part of this chapter will be devoted to the Ottoman mental mapping regarding the Ottoman country and the status of the Arab and African provinces within the empire.

CHAPTER I

THE COLONIAL DISCOURSES

Edward Said's *Orientalism* led to a vital environment of debate around his work and its problematizations. This chapter begins with brief information on Said's *Orientalism* and continues with two main parts. The first one is devoted to the contributions of other scholars to Said's problematizations. The second one is devoted to the classification of the rhetorical instruments of European colonial discourses in general. These two main parts will be used in the following chapters in order to compare the Ottoman gazes around the non-European world and the Arab and African provinces with the discourses of European colonialism.

1. Said's *Orientalism*

Said makes three qualifications on Orientalism. Firstly, he claims that the Orient of orientalism is essentially an idea or creation without a correspondence to reality:

“The phenomenon of orientalism... deals principally, not with a correspondence between orientalism and orient, but with the internal consistency of Orientalism and its ideas about the Orient (the East as career) despite or beyond any correspondence, or lack thereof, with a ‘real’ orient.”¹²²

Secondly, Said perceives the relationship between the Orient and the Occident as a relationship of power, of domination and of varying degrees of a complex hegemony. He attempts to analyze social and political processes and economic interests immanent in the pursuit of knowledge production. Therefore, he tries to reveal the relations between the representations of the other and the power structures. He concludes that orientalism is not about the discovery of the Orientals; rather it was an operation for rendering the Orient as the Oriental i.e. for orientalizing of the Oriental.¹²³ In his third

¹²² Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 5.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

qualification, Said argues that Orientalism is “a valuable sign of European Atlantic power over the Orient and it is a veridic discourse about the Orient”.¹²⁴ Thus, he does not grasp Orientalism as a discourse which corresponds to the reality; rather he emphasizes the strong relationship between Orientalism and colonialism throughout his career and in his article “Orientalism Reconsidered” he defined orientalism as the science of imperialism and a combination of the real and the imaginary.¹²⁵

Michel Foucault, in his preface to *Civilization and Madness* defines the Orient as the “colonizing reason of the Occident” and emphasizes that the Orient is a place in which the Occident was formed and the Orient was everything that does not belong to the Occident.¹²⁶ Said repeats these arguments in his *Orientalism* and contends that orientalism helped Europe to define itself as contrasting image, idea, personality, and experience of the Orient. According to him, Orientalism responded more to “the culture that produced it than to its putative object, which was also produced by the West”. All in all, Orient became the deepest and recurring image of the “other” for the West.¹²⁷ Therefore, the source of orientalism and its meaning is the West rather than the East. In this regard, Said concentrates on the internal consistency of orientalist discourse and the influence of dominant culture on individual authors. He maintains that Orientalism is more about narrative strategies, styles, metaphors, social conditions than natural depictions.¹²⁸

According to Ali Behdad, Said's *Orientalism* represents a shift from textuality to historicity, from the aesthetic to the political, from individual receptions to collective responses to literary texts.¹²⁹ For Said, the orientalist representations were not natural depictions of the orient, rather signs of the relationship between power and hegemony. Said applies the Gramscian notion of hegemony into his analysis of orientalism and he shows the consent given by various texts and authors to the Orientalist discourse. The

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 6.

¹²⁵ Edward W. Said, “Orientalism Reconsidered”, *Cultural Critique*, No. 1, (Autumn, 1985), p. 94.

¹²⁶ Foucault, Michel, “Deliliğin Tarihi’ne Önsöz”, in *Büyük Kapatılma (Seçme Yazılar 3)*, Ferda Keskin, ed., (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2005), pp. 20-21.

¹²⁷ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 1-2.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 22.

¹²⁹ Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution*, (London: Duke University Press, 1994), p. 10.

majority of texts produced by the western authors adopted a sense of superiority of the western societies over the backward peoples of the Orient. The strategy of orientalism was to construct a series of possible relations with the Orient without losing the sense of superiority. It was an opportunity of being present at the Orient and of contemplating on the Orient.¹³⁰

Said harshly criticizes the separation between ‘pure knowledge and political knowledge’, and ‘human sciences and ideological sciences’. His work was a direct attack on the liberal agreement which attributes impartiality and truth to the non-political knowledge. For Said, this so called supra-political rules of objectivity helps to conceal the political preconditions of knowledge production.¹³¹ Said, in his analysis of orientalism, accentuates the political conditions of the orientalist knowledge production and attempts to show that the western identity of the orientalists shaped their individuality. This identity was based on an awareness of belonging to a superior power whose interests lay in the Orient. For Said, orientalism is a distribution of a geopolitical consciousness to the texts on the Orient. Therefore, the notion of inter-textuality was one of the basic tenets of orientalism. He focuses on the relation between individual authors and imperial contexts, the reconciliation among texts, the pressure of rhetorical styles and the authority of predecessors, the impacts of political institutions; in short, he stresses on the power- knowledge connections.¹³²

In a nutshell, orientalism was a tendency to dichotomize human reality into us/them, black/ white, and Occident/orient, dividing the world into binary oppositions in which the first terms are privileged. Said's tasks consist of describing the systematically coherent structure of orientalism, the essentializing modes of its representations and the internal consistency of its institutional configuration.¹³³ We can summarize the western experiences of the Orient in two characteristic attitudes: the first one was a tendency to reduce differences via essentialization and dichotomization; the second one was the internalization of “an epistemological and ontological separation between the Occident and the Orient”¹³⁴. Said's notions of truth and language were

¹³⁰ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 6-7.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹³³ Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers*, pp. 10-11.

¹³⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 2.

shaped by Nietzsche who defines language and truth as follows: "a mobile army of metaphors, metonymies and anthropomorphisms, a sum of human relations, which have been enhanced, transposed, and embellished, politically and rhetorically, and which after long usage seen firm canonical and obligatory Truths are illusions about which one has forgotten that that is what they are."¹³⁵ For Said, the Orient does not necessarily refer to the Orient, rather to the domain which surrounds this word. Orientalism is the fixation of the "difference" between the Orient and the Occident, a political imposition upon thinking about the Orient, and blindness to the "difference" of the Orient. Although fixation of a "difference" and blindness to the "difference" seem to be a contradiction at the first glance, these two differences are not same. The former implies a difference between two sameness and identities while the latter implies the differences and multiplicities of life.

Said explains his understanding of the objective reality in reference to Claude Levi Strauss. The selection of distinctions among things is an arbitrary process. This selection is derived from the demands of the mind for order. The process of attaching meaning and function to the things constructs the objective reality. Therefore, the construction of clear and distinct objects is produced by human mind.¹³⁶ In this way, Said highlights the constructed character of the objects. This process of selection is a reduction of differences and multiplicities of a cosmos (or chaosmos) of becoming into clear and distinct identifiable objects of a world of beings. Said employs the understanding of the objective reality defined by Levi Strauss not to naturalize and legitimize reductionism and dichotomization, but in order to criticize "radical realism" of the orientalist discourse which means the assumption of a one to one correspondence between the orientalist discourse and the Orient.¹³⁷ Although arbitrary geographical distinctions between the alien and the familiar are universal acts according to Said, he also reminds that these separations are historical and cultural constructions instead of being our natural and deeply oriented components.

Said describes orientalism as a machine whose arms transmit sources of human power, material wealth and information from the Orient, processes those sources and transforms them into power once again. This mechanism transforms raw Oriental

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 203.

¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 53-54.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p.72.

material into useful, desirable and effective substances and identities.¹³⁸ Said takes our attention to an interesting peculiarity of the oriental studies: its ever-extending scope. Orientalism had an enormous degree of geographical inclusiveness. This growing aspect of orientalism is described by Raymond Schwab as “Oriental Renaissance”: a rise of professional and amateur interest in the Oriental societies including India, China, and Islamic lands between 1765 and 1850. However, Said asserts that the orientalist mechanism reduced all the differences among these societies into the same title and approached them in a similar way: the Orientalists focused on the classical periods of their objects of research and until the end of the 19th century there was no scholarly desire for the investigation of the contemporary Orient.¹³⁹

According to Said, cultures impose corrections upon raw reality and transform this reality from the arbitrary objects into the units of knowledge in order to perceive other cultures not as what they are, but rather as what they ought to be. This is a process of the objectification of the unlimited under a limited form. Linguist and orientalist Silvestre de Sacy was a prime example of this process of transformation. He selected and presented only the most valuable, useful and exemplary components of the infinite Orient. The most salient works of Sacy were composed of anthologies, excerpts from the oriental works, editions and translations. His purpose was to rescue a boundless mass of materials via the organization of the Oriental archive, the systematization of explanations, and interpretations and the de-codification of the Orient. For instance, for him, it was crucial to transform the Arabic poems by the orientalists to render them understandable for the Western audience. He transformed a product of alien culture for the sake of the audiences of a superior civilization. The method of Sacy led to an idea that it is impossible to know the Orient without the mediation of the orientalists.¹⁴⁰

Essentialism and dichotomization are major ways of reducing differences of and of preserving the distinction between the East and the West. The Orientalist authors treated the Oriental peoples as though they had never been subject to historical processes and they believed in their eternal stagnation and unchangeable roots. Every contemporary native behavior was managed to be reduced to its deep-oriented origins. The Orientalists were insensitive to the multiplicities of the contemporary Orientals and

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 44.

¹³⁹ Ibid., pp. 50-53.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 123-129.

squeezed their varieties in the original roots. They easily supposed to be able to grasp the Oriental societies via investigation of their primitive roots. For Ernest Renan, the Semitic people was an example of the interrupted development and he declares that no Semitic individual can transcend pressures imposed upon him by their own roots, which temporally imprisoned them in their classical age and spatially in desert and tent.¹⁴¹

The particular experiences of the Orientalists were occupied by the essentialist and generalized categories. For them, the Oriental peoples were at first Orientals and then human beings. These essentialisms provided the western orientalists the necessary intellectual tools to keep the epistemological and ontological distinction between the East and the West. In this distinction, the West was generally evaluated in privileged and positive terms. Even, when they attempted to evaluate the orient in neutral terms, they never tired to challenge the distinction between two separate entities. For instance, although Charles Doughty declared that he had never resorted to orientalism, he did not refrain himself from depicting the Semitic people as men who were up to his neck in excrement.¹⁴² Therefore, orientalism was indifferent to the differences and multiplicities of the Orient and the Occident and reduced their varieties into the strict dichotomies between two sameness or entities or substances called the East and the West.

2. Problematizations and Critiques of *Orientalism*

2.1. Question of Reality vs. Representation

A group of critics of Orientalism was about reality - representation issue which interrogates the relationship between the representation and its objects. In his afterword to *Orientalism* Said notes that he was not interested in what Islam and Orient corresponded in reality. He basically argues that the Orient and Occident are not given natural phenomenon and do not correspond to a constant reality.¹⁴³ For Macfie, this problematic is related to following philosophical questions in terms of the relation between the object and the subject, mind and matter and appearance and reality:

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 233-234.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 237.

¹⁴³ Edward W. Said, "Orientalism Reconsidered", p.90.

“Is perception merely a reflection of an external world of real causes and powers, or is it product of a series of neural events taking place in the brain? Does matter impinge on the mind, or does the mind create matter, in all its various manifestations? Or is there a twofold relation between perception and the world, that is to say a physical causal relation between physical objects and brain events, and another perhaps cognitive or semantic relation between brain events and the mind?”¹⁴⁴

This problematic of the reality and the representation is beyond the limits of orientalism. It had been a recurrent theme of age old philosophical debates. Therefore, it is very expectable that Said have certain contradictions regarding the relation between reality and representation. Although he defends that the orient is a cultural creation and he is critical of the correspondence theory between the Orient and the orientalist discourse and despite his focus on vocabulary that surrounds the word instead of the real Orient, he warns us that it is a mistake to conclude that the Orient is just a creation or idea without any correspondence to the reality. Therefore, in some points, he maintains the opposition between the reality and the discourse.

According to Melda Yeğenoğlu, Said assumes that discourses are about ideas, words, vocabularies or statements and she criticizes Said for his insufficient attention to the constructive nature of the discourses. For Yeğenoğlu, discourses produce their own objects and these objects cannot be considered independent of these discourses.¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, Said is not ignorant of this constructive character of discourses and discusses how the orientalist discourse made possible and gave meaning to and validated Napoleon's acts on Egypt and Ferdinand de Lesseps's project of the Suez Canal.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, he accepts that the texts produced by the discourse in turn produces the reality itself. He shows how orientalists turned into the political agents of the empire in the late 19th and early 20th century. T. E. Lawrence was one of the most famous examples of this new kind of orientalist who was actively engaged in the production of the oriental politics and realities.¹⁴⁷

Nevertheless, Robert Young asks how Orientalism can be just a representation that bears no relation to the Orient and yet shape and exercise power over it:

¹⁴⁴ A.L. Macfie, *Orientalism*, (London: Longman Pearson Education, 2002), p. 144.

¹⁴⁵ Melda Yeğenoğlu, *Sömürgeci Fantaziler: Oryantalist Söylemde Kültürel ve Cinsel Fark*, (İstanbul: Metis, 2003), pp. 23-26.

¹⁴⁶ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 94.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

“On the one hand he (Said) suggests that Orientalism merely consists of a representation that has nothing to do with “real Orient”, denying any correspondence between Orientalism and Orient, looking instead Orientalism's 'internal consistency' as a discursive object or field, while on the other hand he argues that its knowledge was put in the service of colonial conquest, occupation, and administration. This means that at a certain moment Orientalism as representation did have encounter the 'actual' conditions of what was there, and that it showed itself effective at a material level as a form of power and control. How then can Said argue that the 'Orient' is just a representation, if he also wants to claim that 'Orientalism' provided necessary knowledge for actual colonial conquest?”¹⁴⁸

Gyan Prakash asserts that Said tries to solve this problem on the basis of the distinction between latent Orientalism which is defined by synchrony and unity and manifest Orientalism which is defined by its openness to change and heterogeneity. On the one hand, manifest Orientalism allows for a room to change, on the other hand, latent Orientalism retains internal regularity and unity of Orientalism. Manifest differences mean differences in form and personal style, not in basic content. Despite manifest differences among orientalist authors, they maintained the basic division between the Orient and the Occident. Therefore, Prakash argues, stable synchrony of latent Orientalism and unstable diachrony of manifest Orientalism solves the problem. The synchronic essentialism of latent Orientalism was subjected to the pressure of manifest diachrony i.e. actual functioning of representation.¹⁴⁹

Yeğenoğlu epistemologically disregards Robert Young's critique since he also maintains a strict separation between the reality and the representation and a latent assumption that orientalism has to establish a direct and actual relation with the real Orient in order to colonize and administer it. However, orientalism constructs both the reality and the experiences of the western sovereign subject and the subjugated oriental peoples. Yeğenoğlu claims that the process of knowledge production about the Orient is synchronic with the process of colonization of and domination over the Orient. This means that knowledge and power doublet creates the regimes of truth and it is impossible to consider the objective reality of the Orient independent of the orientalist discourse. The efficiency of the orientalist discourse is its capability of creating subjective experiences of the colonized and the colonizer and its objects of knowledge.

¹⁴⁸ Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 129.

¹⁴⁹ Gyan Prakash, “Orientalism Now”, *History and Theory*, Vol. 34, No. 3, (Oct., 1995), pp. 206-207.

In other words, the referent is intrinsic to the discourse; it is not precedent to language and discourse.¹⁵⁰

Michel Foucault's concept of "problematization" may be useful to explain this reality-representation issue:

"[Problematization] is neither the representation of a pre-existing object [in the discourse] nor the creation by a discourse of an object that does not exist [in reality]. It is the totality of discursive and non-discursive practices that introduce into the games of truth and makes it an object of thought."¹⁵¹

Therefore, discourse is a combination of discursive and non-discursive practices which make something an object of knowledge. Foucault had already discussed how sex was made an object of knowledge with discursive (psychiatry, pedagogy, biology...) and non-discursive (schools, clinics, family...) practices. With the games of truth, sex was articulated with a discourse and conceptualized as an object of thought. This process of games of truth (in this case articulation of sex with a discourse) contains three major axes: The first one is the development of diverse fields of knowledge (for instance, psychiatry). The second point is the establishment of a set of rules and norms, the field of power (i.e. religious, legal, medical, pedagogical and educational supports for sexual discourses). The third axis is the changes in the way individuals assign value and meaning to their behavior, the field of subjectivity (i.e. experiences of sexuality).¹⁵²

The colonial discourse may also be defined in a similar vein to Foucault's notion of problematization. The colonial games of truth articulated practices, features, behaviors, sexes of Orient with a discourse and made the Orient an object of thought. This colonial discourse also contains discursive (anthropology, oriental studies, Western heterosexual discourse...) and non discursive elements (colonial institutions, political and military existence of the West, university system, Oriental Institutes...) in itself and three axes of the process of articulation. The discursive practices correspond to the field of the production of knowledge about the Orient by the West and the non-discursive practices correspond to the field of power, Western domination over Orient.

¹⁵⁰ Melda Yeğenoğlu, *Sömürgeci Fantaziler*, pp. 27-30.

¹⁵¹ Michel Foucault, "Hakikat Kaygısı" in, *Michel Foucault: Özne ve İktidar*, (Seçme Yazılar 2), Ferda Keskin, ed., (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2005), p. 86.

¹⁵² Michel Foucault, *The Use of Pleasures: The History of Sexuality, Volume 2*, trans. Robert Hurley, (England: Penguin Books, 1992), pp. 3-13.

Finally, all these discursive and non-discursive practices and combination of the fields of knowledge - production and power construct the subjective experiences of the colonizer such as travelers with their conscious or unconscious notions of empire and the experiences of the colonized subjects.

In Foucauldian sense, a discourse is both constitutive of the subjective experiences and the objects of knowledge. My position to the Ottoman narratives used in this thesis is similar to Said's first qualification on orientalism. I am not interested in the correspondence between the Ottoman representations of the non-European world and the Arab and African provinces and what they correspond to in reality. These representations were ideas of the Ottoman elite concerning these lands despite and beyond any correspondence. The Ottoman authors, for instance, constructed an imagined picture of the imperial center in contrast to the non-European world and the Ottoman periphery and exaggerated the civilized and modern status and appearance of the city although it did not correspond to real Istanbul in that degree. My point is not to discover the correspondence between their narratives and reality, but to discover why they imagined the center as such despite and beyond any correspondence. Another importance of the Ottoman sources is that they show us the constitutive character of the colonial discourses. I will try to demonstrate in the following chapters that the late Ottoman elite's subjective experiences and perceptions regarding the non-European world and the Ottoman periphery were shaped and structured by the colonial discourses. The Ottoman elite internalized many aspects of orientalism. This is an evidence for the constitutive nature of the orientalist discourse.

Gilles Deleuze presents us four dimensions of a proposition. The first one is denotation which is the relation of the proposition to an external state of affairs. (The correspondence theory of truth is a matter of denotation). The second one is manifestation that concerns the relation of the proposition to the person who speaks and expresses himself. The third one is signification that is the implication of propositions or what follows from a proposition or a group of propositions. This one is intralinguistic realm. All logical demonstrations and material inferences (I infer from the proposition "the chair is brown" that the chair is colored") are examples of signification. A proposition, a speaker, a state of affairs and signification form the representational world of language in which the common sense reign supreme and

stable linguistic identities are coordinated among themselves and in relation to both speaker and world.¹⁵³ However, for Deleuze, there is a fourth dimension to language: “sense”; “the expressed of the proposition”. This happens at the point which language and the world meet and a particular proposition comes in contact with the world.¹⁵⁴ But it is not denotation, correspondence or reference. Todd May illustrates this as follows:

“A man walks into a bank. He pulls out a gun and says, "This is a stickup." His words denote that the bank is being robbed. They manifest his intention. They signify, among other things, that the man holding gun is not a security guard. But the words do something else as well. They intersect with the situation in order to create something that was not there before.”¹⁵⁵

In this regard, sense is an event that produces new lines of becoming, is something that happens to the world. The customers may automatically lie down the floor. One of the bank clerks may attempt to push the alarm button. The robber may direct the bank manager into the safe after his statement. We can adapt this example to the colonial discourse. When an orientalist expresses that the Arab peoples are lazy, peoples without history, racially inferior, primitive, these statements imply that these peoples are being colonized or are ready to be colonized. Orientalism was a store for discursive guns of the colonial power and Orientalist statements imply that this is indeed a stickup.

2.2. Question of Causality and Motivations

J.J. Clarke in his work *Oriental Enlightenment* begins with an epigraph that compares Johann Wolfgang von Goethe who claims that the east and the west cannot be separated and Rudyard Kipling who argues that east is east and west is west and they shall never meet. “On the one hand a source of inspiration, fount of an ancient wisdom a culturally rich civilization on the other hand an alien region of looming threat and impenetrable mystery long locked in its stagnant past until rudely awakened by the modernizing impact of the west” These opposing and complementary views on the

¹⁵³ Todd May, *Gilles Deleuze. An Introduction*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 97-99.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

relation between the east and the west represents the long history of the essentializing of the East and the West into two simple and contrastive categories.¹⁵⁶

Clarke contends that the integration of the Eastern thought onto the Western one cannot be fully understood in terms of power and domination. Although he does not totally reject Said, he analyzes orientalism as a more open textured and more reciprocal relation than Said's. For him, orientalism is more than a servant of the rationalization of the colonial domination so that he does not equate orientalism with the ruling imperialist ideology. He hopes for a more pluralistic and heterogeneous approach to orientalism and seeks for counter movements within the orientalist discourse instead of a unified, coherent and consciously organized discourse, because there are various devices for reducing endless complexities and diversities into manageable and falsifying unities.¹⁵⁷

Clarke wonders about the motivations behind the western interest and fascination in the east. He discusses Saidian answer which depicts orientalism as a colonizing knowledge, as the expression and the justification of the global authority of the modern west. While Said maintains that all knowledge about the Orient is shaped in the final analysis by overarching imperialist motivations, Clarke regarded imperial domination as just one factor among others. He also explores the alternative motivations behind orientalism.¹⁵⁸ For instance, he questions the validity of orientalism as an escapist strategy. For romantics, the east represented a tendency to escape from the current ills of the West to the home of adventures, the East as the symbol of exotic, remote and fantastic other. However, the East was also conceived as a means of confronting some of the West's most pressing and immediate problems. Although orientalism from the perspectives of romantics can be described as retreat from the modern world into irrationalism, a flight from reason and enlightenment project, there were also counter tendencies that focused on the perceived irrationalism of the European ideologies and institutions. For some, the discovery of Buddhism in Victorian era was the discovery of a religion compatible with science unlike Christianity.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ J.J. Clarke, *Oriental Enlightenment: The Encounter between Asian and Western thought*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 3.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21.

Clarke also understands orientalism as a corrective mirror in which eastern ideas was used as an instrument for self criticism and self renewal. During the enlightenment period the representations of foreign societies were deployed to criticize the follies and inadequacies of the European civilization. The east was an external reference point from which the west questioned its own traditions and belief systems. It was very popular to look the east for understanding the west better for hopes of therapy and cure.¹⁶⁰ Clarke aims to determine the role of eastern thought within western intellectual traditions and debates. For him, the representations of the east by the western thinkers tell us more about the westerners. This intellectual exploration into the Orient was directly related to the internal transformations and crises of the West. In the post-Renaissance era, traumatic transformations combined with the global expansion of European colonialism such as the Renaissance, the Protestant reformation, the Scientific Revolution, the birth of the modern epistemology, the emergence of nations led to a cultural instability, search for new paradigms, an ambivalent self image of Europe and an unprecedented degree of anxiety and self doubt. Clarke assessed these processes of destabilization and its accompanying anxieties as seeds of nihilism.¹⁶¹

Marshall Berman defines modernism as the culmination of experiences; it was to be part of a world in which all solid melts into air. He lists scientific and technological developments, industrialization, demographic collapses, urbanization, and the rise of mass communication, nation state, mass political movements and capitalist world market as sources of modernity. Modernism for him included the project of making people subjects as well as objects of modernization. Two significant modernists of the 19th century, Bermann claims, were Karl Marx and Frederick Nietzsche. They use similar vocabularies to speak of the modern life experiences. Marx's symbols are abysses, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and crushing pressure while Nietzsche uses the symbols of wild forest, tropic rhythm, terror, destruction and self destruction and danger. They all saw a contradiction on the very basis of life in which everything is pregnant to its opposite. Both Nietzsche and Marx shared a world in which all solid melts into air. New peoples, new machines, the death of god, nihilism, secularization were all parts of this world. Marx and Nietzsche criticized and condemned the modern life with respect to own values of modernity. Nietzsche's

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 27-29.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 30-34.

concept of nihilism is an evidence for this melting world of modernity and his transference of his critical words concerning the modern society through the mouth of Zoroaster –as an Eastern character- was an example of conceptualizing the east as a corrective mirror in the Western intellectual tradition.¹⁶²

Clarke's thesis implies the possibility of an orientalist discourse without imperialistic motivations and negative images of the Oriental cultures. His thesis may also have many implications to consider the motivations of the Ottoman travelers. Most of them began their journeys with official duties. However, what were their motivations behind writing travel accounts? Are there any evidence of corrective mirror approach to the non-Ottoman lands and the Ottoman peripheries in their accounts? Are there any Ottoman travelers whose voyage motivated by an escapist strategy rather than an official duty? The conception of the Orient as a corrective mirror by the westerners was a reflection of internal crises and sudden transformations of the western societies. The late Ottoman elite were also a part of modernity in which all solid melts into air. Therefore, many of their attitudes in the non-Ottoman world are a reflection of the internal crises and transformations.

2.3. Question of Change: Continuities and Discontinuities

Ali Behdad in his work *Belated Travelers* disagrees with Said because of his monolithic notion of orientalism. Despite some efforts of Said to heterogenize the orientalist discourse, he left little room for the possibility of differences among the various modes of the orientalist representations and in the field of power relations. Said's insistence on the coherence of the orientalist discourse and his inadequate attention to the complexities of power relations led him to mimic what he criticizes as essentialism. Said essentializes the west and assumes a unified European Western identity and a continuous European literary tradition whose origins go back to ancient Greece. Behdad takes our attention to the dispersed network of representations with strategic irregularities, historical discontinuities and discursive heterogeneity. His conception of orientalism is characterized by difference, ambivalence, heterogeneity, multiplication and dispersion of statements instead of discursive consistency and

¹⁶² Marshall Berman, *Katı Olan Her Şey Buharlaşıyor*, trans. Ümit Altuğ & Bülent Peker, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2000), pp. 32-38.

monolithic systems of internal reproductions. Behdad asserts that Orientalism's ability to adapt and incorporate heterogeneous elements made it valid in various epistemological and power domains.¹⁶³

Despite his insistence on a continuous literary western tradition since ancient Greece, throughout his book, Said locates into the 18th century orientalist discourse a significant rupture that represents the emergence of the modern orientalism. Since the 18th century, two crucial transformations stamped the development of the modern orientalism. The first one was the systematic rise of knowledge about the Orient. The second one was the consolidation of European colonial authority over the Orient. The Islamic threat represented by the Ottoman Empire declined in the 18th century, but the Islamic societies maintained their resistance against the European expansion and they remained as a source of anxiety due to their proximity to the West. While the Orient had been perceived as a composition of Islam, Arabs and Ottomans until the 18th century, the scope of orientalism extended throughout the 19th century. From the 18th century onwards the irrational, foolish, childish image of the east contrasted with the reasonable, virtuous, mature and normal image of the west. The Orientals were judged, described, investigated, observed, controlled, and displayed by the westerners. The West played the role of judge, author, painter, prison director, physician and scientist opposed to the Orientals.¹⁶⁴

Said himself admits the various stages of the material, cultural and intellectual relations between the East and the West and different forms of the orientalist thought. At the end of the 18th century and early 19th century the fascination with the East (interest in Sanskrit, Zend and Arabic) grew enormously. In addition, orientalism as a set of knowledge was modernized through its articulation with the modern forms of knowledge such as philology, positivism, historicism, racism, and Darwinism and through the institutionalization of its own research paradigms. During the 19th century, the orientalist publications and staffs grew enormously in accordance with institutionalization.¹⁶⁵ According to Said, the foundations of the modern orientalism in the 18th century were the colonial expansion, the historical comparisons between ancient and modern societies, the sympathy and fascination with the Orient (the rise of

¹⁶³ Ali Behdad, *Belated Traveler*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁶⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 39-42.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-44.

popular orientalism), the secularization (interest in historical events and figures rather than religious ones) and the new classificatory schemes for nature and human societies ranging from race to color (a tendency to exaggerate the general properties and ordering a multiplicity of objects into desirable typologies).¹⁶⁶

The second transformation of the orientalist discourse occurred, according to Said, in the late 19th and early 20th century. Orientalism shifted from a research discourse to an imperial discourse. The scope of orientalism was fully intersected with the scope of empire. The textual approach to the Orient turned into an administrative, military and economic consciousness. The Orient itself turned from an alien space to a colonial space. The actual experiences of the Orient came closer to the knowledge about the Orient. In the second half of the 19th century, the point was not whether the Europeans had enough power to penetrate into the Orient, rather the debate turned around the method of the penetration. In this era, the orientalist was transformed into a special agent of the western colonial power who develops politics peculiar to the Orient.¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, Said does not lose his belief in the continuities of the orientalist discourse despite all these ruptures and he maintains that old religious discursive matrix redistributed in a more secularized way in modern age via the contributions of the fathers of modern orientalism, Sacy and Renan thanks to their scientific and rational concerns.¹⁶⁸

Ali Behdad presents a more heterogeneous picture of the transformations of the late 19th century. The belated travel writers of the mid and late 19th century adapted an exotic project marked by an anxiety of coming after what had come before. The new accelerated phase of European colonial expansion and the rise of tourism had turned the exotic and alien Orient into the familiar sign of the western hegemony. For Behdad, these changes resulted in a sense of disorientation and loss among travelers and an obsession for vanishing authenticity of the Other. Flaubert, Nerval and Isabelle Eberhardt were major representatives of the belated travelers that lost themselves in a search for nostalgia. The influence of colonial hegemony and responses to it were complex and contradictory, both affirming and opposing.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 116-120.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 221-225.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 122.

¹⁶⁹ Ali Behdad, *Belated Traveler*, pp. 13-14.

The shift of orientalist writing from travelogue to tourist guide in the mid 19th century illustrates us the transformational possibilities of the desire for the Orient. The reading subject was constructed as a potential traveler in the tourist discourse. The tourist industry made the Orient a commodity for the western consumption. For the sake of this industry, the scholarly fieldwork of the orientalists was replaced by the leisurely tour of exoticism. Moreover, the belated travelers' search for a nostalgic and exotic Orient as a response to the shocks of modernity appropriated by the tourism discourse to present consumers a more sympathetic representation of the Orient. Behdad argues that the efficiency of orientalism lies in its capacity to utilize even the voices of dissent and discontent and to bring into contact a plurality of subject and ideological positions. Therefore, it is important to take attention to the changing conditions of the power relations in order to grasp the shifting and transformational character of the orientalist discourse.¹⁷⁰

2.4. Question of Homogeneity and Heterogeneity: Difference and Unity:

Said argues that that the Orient was vacillated between the two poles; “the West’s contempt for the familiar and its shivers of delight in novelty”.¹⁷¹ In this statement Said applies to huge generalizations such as Western despise for the familiar and desire for the unfamiliar. Such statements of Said make him vulnerable to critics. James Clifford, who claims that *Orientalism* sometimes appears to mimic the essentializing discourse it attacks¹⁷², represents the general critics which argue that Said uses concepts such as West, Western culture as a totality and a homogenous entity. Moreover, these critics mark that Said’s Orientalist discourse is too tight, and leaves little room for variation, change, ambivalence, so they conclude that Said himself essentialized Orientalism and the Orientalists. Said replies those critics in his article: “*Orientalism Reconsidered*” in which he redefines Orientalism as several overlapping domains which allow room for change:

As a department of thought and expertise orientalism of course refers to several overlapping domains: firstly, the changing historical cultural relationship between Europe and Asia, a relationship with a 4000 year old history; secondly,

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 15-17.

¹⁷¹ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 59.

¹⁷² James Clifford, “Orientalism by Edward W. Said”, *History and Theory*, Vol. 19, No. 2, (Feb., 1980), pp: 204-223.

the scientific discipline in the west according to which beginning in the early 19th century one specialized in the study of various Oriental cultures and traditions; and, thirdly, the ideological suppositions, images, and fantasies about a currently important and politically urgent region of the world called the Orient. The relatively common denominator between these three aspects of orientalism is the line separating Occident from Orient, and this, I have argued, is less a fact of nature than it is a fact of human production which I have called imaginative geography. This, however, neither to say that the division between Orient and Occident is unchanging nor is it says that it is simply fictional.¹⁷³

Aijaz Ahmad also criticizes Said in a similar vein. According to him, Said attributes a fixed and unchanging identity to Europe and establishes an integral relationship with ancient Greece and modern Europe so that he is insensitive to the internal divisions of Europe over time and treats it as a geographical, cultural and political identity existing from Homer with locating the origins of orientalism in the period of antiquity.¹⁷⁴

Said himself discusses the methodological tension between the general and the particular, distortion and incomplete expression, extremely dogmatic generalization and extremely positivist factuality. Inevitably, he restricts a huge mass of orientalist archive in order to reduce them into a manageable size. In this regard, he concentrates on only the British and French orientalisms and gets rid of the German and other orientalisms.¹⁷⁵ Despite all the differences among British and French orientalisms, he prefers to consider on the commonalities between the two. Both the British and French orientalisms, for Said, share a similar form of intellectual authority. Nevertheless, in some points, he attempts to discuss the differences between the British and French experiences of the Orient. While the British traveler had a strong sense of imperial consciousness throughout his journey, the French traveled through the Orient with a sense of loss and experienced an orient that was not under French hegemony. For Said, this is the reason behind why French travelers such as Nerval and Flaubert followed the exotic and attractive realities in the Orient instead of scientific and objective realities. In the second half of the 19th century, the British colonial discourse described France as a seductive power for the poor Orientals. Lord Cromer referred to the appeal of the French civilization for the Asians because of the easy imitation of the French civilization and the preference of the irrational and intellectually inferior Egyptians on

¹⁷³ Said Edward W., "Orientalism Reconsidered", p. 90.

¹⁷⁴ A.L. Macfie, *Orientalism*, pp. 123-127.

¹⁷⁵ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 15-19.

superficial brilliance of France. In the British image, France performed the role of a sweet girl whereas Britain was playing the role of serious governess.¹⁷⁶

Irvin Cemil Schick in his work *The Erotic Margin: Sexuality and Spatiality in Alterist Discourse* discusses the internal inconsistencies of Orientalism and the contradictions of the Orientalist texts with each other. Although such contradictions make any claims on correspondence between texts and reality and on the hegemonic and unified character of the Orientalist discourse very problematic, he retains that they were still in the service of colonialism. He scrutinises the role of gender and sexuality in the colonial project and investigates the erotic and porno-ethnographic literature.¹⁷⁷ He gives evidence from this literature for the widespread use of sexuality in the spatial representations of the Orient. Then, he focuses on the inconsistencies and contradictions of those literatures opposed to the assumed unified and homogenous character of the Orientalist discourse. He classifies different sexual representations of the non-Western world which contradict with each other. These are the representations of foreign land as a woman that will be conquered by the West, of foreign land as sexual heaven, of other as a sex addict, of female other as a threat, of male other as ravisher, of female other as the victim of rape, of male other who violates women, of other as homosexual, of other with primitive sexuality.¹⁷⁸

Schick alleges that the important point is not the homogeneity of the discursive representations, but the systematic spreading and dissemination. This is a similar point of view with Foucault on sexuality. Foucault also mentions different centers that produce the non-unified, heterogeneous sexual discourses, but nevertheless managed to establish a field of knowledge, of power and of subjective experience.¹⁷⁹ This plurality

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 211-213.

¹⁷⁷ Irvin Cemil Schick, *Batının Cinsel Kıyısı: Başkalıkçı Söylemde Cinsellik ve Mekansallık*, trans. Savaş Kılıç & Gamze Sarı (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001), pp. 17-67.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 67-159.

¹⁷⁹ According to Foucault, the repression of infant sexuality may be related to the needs of industrial capitalism for the preservation of human body as a source of labor power. However, Foucault claims that it was also possible for the bourgeoisie to legitimize the opposite practices and to discount the inspection of sexuality in general and infant sexuality in particular. The bourgeoisie may have found sexual education and early sexual development desirable to constitute an army of labor power since they believed that there is no optimum limit to labor force with respect to dominant economic paradigms of the era. What was beneficial for the bourgeoisie was not the exclusion of the mads, sexually perverts or the repression of infant sexuality and surveillance of masturbation, rather it was the techniques and mechanisms of

of representations made these representations applicable to different problems of the colonial project in different times and spaces. Each colonial relation created its own peculiar narrative suitable with his own space and temporality.¹⁸⁰ For instance, the representation of the other as the victim of the colonizer was a means of the British colonialism and was developed to blame the brutality of Spanish and Portuguese colonizers and to praise their own relative tolerance and lack of violence. Therefore, the success of the colonial discourse was to be seemed as the truth itself despite its contradictory judgments.¹⁸¹

The constructivist turn of Said influenced a variety of scholars who worked on the Balkans and they began to apply similar approach of Said and studied the expressions and manifestations of eurocentricism for the Balkans. Maria Todorova in *Imagining the Balkans* and Larry Wolff in *Inventing Eastern Europe* discuss the construction of the others of Europe within Europe itself. Todorova defines Orientalism as a system of thought which approaches a heterogeneous, dynamic and complex human reality from an uncritically essentialist standpoint. Todorova questions whether Balkanism (reductionism and stereotyping regarding the Balkans) is a variation of orientalism.¹⁸²

According to Larry Wolff, the conventional division of Europe into east and west was an Enlightenment invention. In the 18th century, east-west axis replaced north-south axis because of a shift in centers of power and culture. In ancient Greece, although the orient was identified with the barbarity, the Persians were the quasi-civilized Other compared to the northern peoples of Scythians.¹⁸³ Therefore, the separating line for the ancient Greek conception of the otherness was not limited to Orient-Occident axis contrary to Said's assumptions. In Roman times, the empire was divided administratively into two. Anatolia and Egypt were regarded as the east. In medieval period, the East was characterized by the Orthodox Christianity and Islam. In the 18th century, Europe witnessed a conceptual reorientation and transformed these

surveillance and exclusion. See: Michel Foucault, *Toplumun Savunmak Gerekir*, trans. Şehsuvar Aktaş, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008), pp: 45-46.

¹⁸⁰ Irvin Cemil Schik, *Batının Cinsel Kıyısı*, pp. 84-91.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-6.

¹⁸² Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁸³ For a detailed discussion of the ancient Greek conceptions of the world, see: François Hartog, *Herodotus'un Aynası*, trans. Emin Özcan, (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 1997).

past divisions. At the end, Eastern Europe was constructed as a paradox of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion. It was constituted as the nearest other of Europe.¹⁸⁴ According to Todorova, the Balkans was the middle other of Europe while the Orient was the fullest other of Europe. The transitory status of the Balkans was the most distinguishing character of the Balkanist discourse. Whereas the West and the Orient were contrasted as anti worlds, the image of Balkans was a bridge or crossroads, between the stages of growth.¹⁸⁵

The debates around change and unity emphasize that orientalism is not a unified discourse both synchronically and diachronically. In diachronic terms, power-knowledge relations of the orientalist discourse were open to change over time. In synchronic terms there are multiple and contradictory themes within a single domain of the orientalist discourse in a given time period. These debates have important implications for our purposes, because the Ottoman gaze around Europe and the non-European world was generally regarded by the scholars different than European gaze since it was not a unified discourse unlike orientalism. However, the debates above have demonstrated us that this was an easy conclusion and orientalism was beyond being a unified discourse and the comparison between the Ottoman and European gazes around the world is more complex than this issue of unity.

2.5. Question of Agency vs. Structure: Power and Resistance

At a fundamental level, Said proposes two major types of orientalism: One is academic orientalism and the other one is popular (or imaginary) orientalism. Orientalism is both a systematic knowledge production about the Orient and a sum of unconscious desires and fantasies on the Orient. Despite the differences between two types, both informational and imaginary orientalism had a limited autonomy. For Said, there are not unlimited opportunities for any kind of literary work in a given culture due to the authority of predecessors and existing discourses.¹⁸⁶ Homi Bhabha calls the blurring of the border between home and the world, private and public as unhomely lives. He attempts to make visible the forgetting of the unhomely moment in civil

¹⁸⁴ Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, (California: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp. 4-15.

¹⁸⁵ Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, pp. 15-16.

¹⁸⁶ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 2-3.

society with redrawing the domestic space as the space of the normalizing, pastorilizing and individuating techniques of modern power and police. Because of this redrawing of the domestic space in modernity, the personal is the political, the world in home. Bhabha argues that unhomely moment relates the traumatic ambivalences of a personal psychic history to the wider disjunctions of political existence.¹⁸⁷

Said classifies the orientalist travelers in terms of the degree of unhomely lives i.e. relative weights of individuality and of structure in their texts. He sets three types of authorship: those who had traveled to the Orient as a form of scientific observation, those who had attempted to reach this scientific position via the intensification of individual consciousness and via travel to the Orient, and those who had traveled to the Orient because of individual aesthetic concerns. The prime example of the first typology was William Edward Lane. François Rene de Chateaubriand and Richard Burton were major examples of the second case. Gerard de Nerval, Gustave Flaubert and Alphonse de Lamartine were the representatives of third type of travelers. What is common to all these travelers was a Eurocentric consciousness of not belonging to the Orient, and their privileged lives in the Orient because of their European identity.¹⁸⁸

Lane submitted his identity as author to orientalism and attempted to give an impression of impartiality and directness. His objective was to collect useful information for the West. Chateaubriand, in spite of his highly personalized style, displayed the conventions of the orientalist discourse. He found in the Nile delta the traces of his glorious country and its genius civilization. He presented the Orientals as barbarous and contradictory people who deserve to be conquered by the Europeans. The conquest of the Orient by the west was equated by him with the liberalization of the Orient.¹⁸⁹ For Said, Chateaubriand acted as the author who forces the silent desert to speak to his audiences. Lamartine in his journey to the Orient in 1833 found himself the right to talk about Arabic poetry without knowing Arabic and like Chateaubriand he referred to the right of the West to conquest. Nerval and Flaubert's journeys to the Orient were the result of their aesthetic concerns and personal searches for aesthetic fountains of images, woman typologies and sexuality. In their texts the Orient was identified with an unforgettable lack and loss. Flaubert inferred from his experiences

¹⁸⁷ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 9-13.

¹⁸⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 157-158.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-166.

with a prostitute some generalized judgments about the Oriental woman. He claimed that Oriental woman is nothing more than a machine, which does not make any distinction among men.¹⁹⁰

Said's distinction between academic and imaginary orientalism corresponds to his another distinction made between manifest and latent orientalism. Latent orientalism is unconscious side of orientalism which is the private domain of fantasies, fears, dreams and desires. Manifest orientalism is conscious side of orientalism that is the public domain of the systematic knowledge production on languages, literature, history and sociology of the oriental peoples. The latent one displayed a continuous stability in its content despite the differences in the form. This stability reflects the orientalist agreement on the exoticism, eccentricism, backwardness, silence of the Orient and its feminine vulnerability to the penetration and indolent submission to the West. All in all, the Orient is both an object of knowledge and of desire.¹⁹¹

Homi Bhabha disclaims Said for his unequivocal intention on the part of the West. This Saidian assumption on the unified intentionality and unidirectionality of the colonial power presents the subject of the colonial enunciation as a unified agent.¹⁹² This means that Said assigns a single motivation behind orientalism i.e. colonialism and he is insensitive to the changes, variations, heterogeneities, pluralities of the orientalist discourse and to the responses to it by the non-European peoples. Although Bhabha acknowledges that the colonial discourse is depended on the concept of fixity and stereotyping in the ideological construction of otherness, this was a very complex, heterogeneous and contradictory process that resists constructing clear cut separations between orientalism as an academic area of research and orientalism full of unconscious fantasies, dreams fears and desires. The representations of the Orient regardless of their academic or unconscious quality were full of sexual images, and all kinds of unconscious components. Academic orientalism was also full of fantasies, dreams, fears and desires.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 166-197.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 205-206.

¹⁹² Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p.72.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 71

Bhabha blurs the Saidian distinctions between academic and popular or manifest and latent orientalism and takes our attention to the multiple and perverted forms of the representations of the Orient and the productive diversity of the cultural discourse. A constitutive ambivalence that is based on simultaneous attraction toward and repulsion from an object, person, or action was the most salient character of the colonial discourse.¹⁹⁴ The coexistence of attraction and repulsion with regard to the Orient prevented the subject of the colonial discourse to be a unified agent. In addition to the ambivalences of the colonial discourse and the attitudes of the colonizer, the non-European responses to the colonial discourse and the attitudes of the colonized were also very ambivalent and far away from being unified. The European colonial discourse decentralized from its position of power and authority according to Robert Young, when authority became hybridized in a colonial context.¹⁹⁵ Bhabha exemplifies a Christian missionary who attempts to teach the Indian Hindus about the communion service and vegetarian Hindus who reacts with horror to the idea of eating Christ's body and drinking his blood. In this position, the white European missionary finds himself as a cannibalistic vampire in the eyes of the Hindus.¹⁹⁶

Homi Bhabha reads the stereotypes of the colonial discourse in terms of fetishism defined as the disavowal of difference. Psychoanalytically, fetishism is inability to cope with the recognition of sexual difference and its disavowal by the fixation of an object that masks the difference and restores an original presence. The notion of fetishism is a play or vacillation between the archaic affirmation of wholeness / similarity (this archaic affirmation is imaginary according to Lacan) and the anxiety associated with lack (of mother's penis) and fear of castration (sexual difference). In a nutshell, the fetish masks the difference and registers the perceived lack. It is a contradictory belief since it is both the recognition of difference and the disavowal of it.¹⁹⁷

Bhabha claims that the fetishistic stereotyping is the primary point of subjectification in the colonial discourse both for the colonizer and the colonized.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 66-67.

¹⁹⁵ Robert Young, "Colonialism and the Desiring Machine" in *Postcolonial Discourses: An Anthology*, Gregory Castle, ed., (Oxford: Blackwell: 2001), p. 76.

¹⁹⁶ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, pp. 102-122.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 74.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 75.

The colonizer defines himself with respect to the representations of the fetish Orient and secures his unity as the contrasting image of the Orient, so that the West fixes itself via the fixation of the East. The colonial discourse constitutes the East and the West as two separate substances in regardless of the differences within the west and the east and of interaction and hybrid cases between the two.

Since the fetish is a return to the imaginary phase of human development, two characteristic of this phase is also valid for fetishism: narcissism and aggression. Bhabha himself mentions the problems of translating the sexual metaphors into race, skin and color. First of all, the fetish of colonial discourse is not a secret (visibility of color of the skin) unlike the psychological fetish. Secondly, while the sexual fetish is a good object, the fetish of colonialism is an object of hate.¹⁹⁹ However, we have seen that the Orient was also a corrective mirror for the West and we will see below that the idealization and aesthetization of the colonized were also parts of the colonial discourse as well as defilement and filth of the colonized.

The fetish theory of Bhabha is suitable with our definition of Orientalism as the reduction of differences (disavowal of difference in Bhabha's term). However it is crucial to understand that it is both the recognition of difference and the disavowal of it via binary dichotomies and essentialisms. This contradiction of the colonial discourse is the constitutive of the subjectivity of the colonizer. The colonizer made the Orient both an object of desire and fear, and object of knowledge and object of desire. Said also accepts that the orient is both object of knowledge and of desire in the orientalist discourse, however he regards them two separate domains within the discourse. Contrary, Bhabha claims that these opposite feelings may be enunciation of the same subject.

Robert Young gives us an example for this coexistence of the recognition and the disavowal and reminds us that there were endless discussions on the question of racial miscegenation, an obsessive interest in traces of miscegenation, and a taxonomic fervor for different combinations of the white and black in the 19th century although the offspring of the White and the Black is regarded as the Black today. The fear of the Europeans throughout the 19th century was the threatening phenomena of being

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 76-78.

degraded from a civilized condition by a process of decivilization.²⁰⁰ The reproduction of Tschudi's table in a book on race in the second half of the 19th century was an evidence for this obsession of racial mixtures. This table was designed for naming the possible racial combinations. The table was organized as follows: "children of white father and negro mother called Mulatto, white father and Indian mother Mestiza, Indian father and negro mother Chino, white father and mulatto mother Cuarteron, white father and mestiza mother Creole..." The table extended in this way and South America was regarded as the prime example of the degenerative results of racial hybridization.²⁰¹ In this table there was no place for the coupling of any Negro father with a white mother. This indicates the preservation of the essential distinctions despite the variations.

Robert Young asserts that this obsession with the theories of racial difference as degeneration was parallel to increasing pessimism of the late 19th century and Victorian era's obsession with race and sex. There were even arguments for decolonization due to the fear of racial fusion. The 19th century racialism operated both according to the same-other model and through the computation of normalities and degrees of deviance from the white norm. The desire of the white for the non-white led to an immense blow to the boundaries. This obsession with racial differences was recognition of differences. Nevertheless, with fears of degeneration, they reduced all these hybrid cases into binary dichotomies between the white and non-white to protect the superiority of the White man. In this second sense, it was a disavowal of the difference. In the 19th century there were both essentializations of racial differences between the self and the other and a fascination with racial differences.²⁰²

In "The Subject and Power", Michel Foucault proposes a way of investigation of power relations, a method which is more empirical and implies more relations between theory and practice:

"It consists of taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point rather than analyzing power from the point of view of its internal rationality, it consists of analyzing power relations through the antagonism of strategies"... For example, to find out what our society means by sanity, perhaps

²⁰⁰ Robert Young, "Colonialism and the Desiring Machine", pp. 86-87.

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 88.

²⁰² Ibid., pp. 88-99.

we should investigate what is happening in the field of insanity. And what we mean by legality in the field of illegality. And in order to understand what power relations are about, perhaps we should investigate the forms of resistance and attempts made to dissociate these relations.”²⁰³

We can analyze power relations by focusing on the carefully defined institutions, shortly analyzing power relations from the stand point of the institutions. The first problem of this method is to read power relations through the lens of the specific institutions and its reproductive mechanisms. The second problem is to seek the explanation and the origin of power relations in the institutions. That is to explain power to power. Thirdly, since institutions consist of two elements of rules and apparatus, an institutional analysis carries the risk to see power relations as forms of either law or coercion. Foucault explains his aim not to deny the importance of institutions on the establishment of power relations.²⁰⁴ Instead,

“I wish to suggest that one must analyze institutions from the standpoint of power relations, rather than vice versa, and that the fundamental point of anchorage of the relationships, even if they are embodied and crystallized in an institution is to be found outside the institution. Let us come back to the definition of the exercise of power as a way in which certain actions may structure the field of other possible actions. What therefore would be proper to a relationship of power is that it be a mode of action upon actions. That is to say, power relations are rooted deep in social nexus, not reconstituted “above” society as a supplementary structure whose radical effacement one could perhaps dream of.”²⁰⁵

This is an appropriate theoretical standpoint to grasp the power of the Orientalist discourse and the resistance to it. We have defined orientalism as a discourse comprising both discursive and non discursive practices; it is not enough to analyze the internal rationality and consistency of discursive practices and colonial and academic institutional context of non-discursive practices of orientalism in order to understand the power of it. If power is a mode of action (of the West) upon actions (of the Orient), we should also search for how Orientalist discourse structured the actions of so called Orientals and how they reacted it. These two questions correspond to two most general

²⁰³ Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power”, in *Michel Foucault, beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*, Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1983), p.221.

²⁰⁴ Ibid. pp. 222-223.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 222.

responses to the oriental discourse: the internalization of and the resistance to some aspects of it.

We can conclude that the colonial discourses were constitutive practices for the subjectivity of both the colonized and the colonizer. It is significant to investigate the possibility of counter knowledges and histories of the excluded. There was always a gap between the projections of imperialism in the colonial discourses and their actual performances and experiences in a colonial context. We should also be sensitive to the failures and discontinuous and ruptures of the colonial projects and differences among these projects. The colonial projects were received by the local peoples in various ways and transformed, adapted, redefined, internalized, or resisted by these people so that we cannot consider the category of the colonized as a static and subjugated individuality. Similar arguments are also valid for the subjectivity of the colonizer. It is not a unified subjectivity rather; it is composed of contradictions and complexities. The colonial discourse made the colonizer both a subject with an authority over the Orient and an individual subject to the hegemony of the colonial discourse. The colonizer had feelings of desire and fear, recognition and disavowal, and attraction and repulsion.

According to Mary Louise Pratt, redundancy, discontinuity and unreality were chief coordinates of the text of euro imperialism and of its power to constitute the everyday with neutrality, spontaneity and numbing repetition. The postcolonial studies attempts to decolonize knowledge with an emphasis on contestant expressions from the site of imperial intervention, the critiques of empire, the counter knowledge and histories, those ignored in the metropolis for a long time. These efforts entail a shift from positivist reading to interpretive studies and from Eurocentric elitism to postcolonial pluralism according to Pratt. She proposes new notions to read pluralism of colonialism and its discourses.²⁰⁶

Arif Dirlik opposed to Said for his claim that Orientalism is a construction of the West. Orientalism is defined by Said as a discourse that implies power relations in which the West holds the right and power to speak for the other. However, Dirlik, contrary to Said's assumption, proposes that the Asians participated in the construction

²⁰⁶ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 2-4.

of the Orient and Orientalism; therefore orientalism should be viewed as a problem in the Asian modernities as well. For Dirlik, Orientalism is valid, but not where Said has located it. Dirlik interrogates whether orientalism is a thing or relationship, a discourse and epistemology of power integral to the Euro-American cultural consciousness or not. Dirlik defines a variety of Orientalism called "self-orientalism" as orientalism of the Orientals. Since the Asian societies and intellectuals contributed to the development of orientalism, he defines Orientalism as a relationship. In the light of his evidences from the Chinese and Indian history, Dirlik claims that the Orientals participated in the unfolding of this discourse on the Orient.²⁰⁷ Thus, he locates orientalism to a different space than Said did. Dirlik adopts the concept of the "contact zones" proposed by Mary Louise Pratt, who defines it as social spaces,

"where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination,²⁰⁸ It is the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and established ongoing relations, usually involving coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict."²⁰⁹

Transculturation as phenomena of the contact zone is another notion of Pratt to describe how the subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture. Although the subjugated peoples cannot readily control what emanates from the dominant culture, they determine to varying extents what they absorb into their own and what they use it for.²¹⁰ The questions of Pratt are also valid for our purposes:

"How are metropolitan modes of representations received and appropriated on the periphery? With respect to transculturation, how does one speak of transculturation from the colonies to the metropolis? How have Europe's constructions of subordinated others been shaped by those others, by the construction of themselves and their habitats that they presented to the Europeans?"²¹¹

²⁰⁷ Arif Dirlik, "Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism", *History and Theory*, Vol. 35, No. 4, Thema Issue 35: Chinese Historiography in Comparative Perspective, (Dec., 1996), pp. 96-118.

²⁰⁸ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 4

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Pratt approaches to the question of colonial encounter not in terms of conquest and domination but in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking perceptions and practices, and hybrid cases. Therefore, she reaches one of the most common definitions of the post-colonial studies: "An attempt to invoke spatial and temporal co-presence of the subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjuncture and whose trajectories now intersect."²¹²

In this respect, James Carrier defines various types of orientalisms and occidentalisms. Ethno orientalism is the essentialist self-interpretation of the non-Western peoples. Ethno-occidentalism is the essentialist conception of the West by the non-western peoples. Occidentalism is the essentialist conceptions of the West by the westerners themselves.²¹³ Pratt's notion of auto-ethnography and auto-ethnographic expression (ethno-orientalism in terms of Carrier) is crucial for this thesis. She defines it as "instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizer's own terms."²¹⁴

Many questions and notions above are applicable to the Ottoman case with slight modifications. First of all, the majority of notions and questions above are related to the relation between the colonies and the metropolis. However, the late Ottoman Empire was neither a colony nor a metropolis. It had an in-between status. It was neither a full-fledged colonizer nor a full-fledged colonized. Its core lands had never been colonized, but many of its provinces in the Balkans and Africa were subjected to the colonization. In addition, the Ottoman elite had a sense of belonging to an empire with an obsession of saving this threatened empire from the aggressive western imperialist powers. As a part of this imperial consciousness, they adopted many imperial practices. They internalized many aspects of the colonial discourses.

The in-between status of the Ottoman Empire makes the questions and notions above more interesting since the Ottoman Empire presents a significant case to investigate how these colonial discourses functioned and responded in an intermediary political structure. The following two chapters will deal how the late Ottoman elite received the colonial discourses in the context of their periphery and the non-European

²¹² Ibid., p. 7.

²¹³ James Carrier, "Oksidentalizm", pp. 470-474.

²¹⁴ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 7.

world and how they transformed, adapted, redefined, internalized and resisted to them. The Ottoman responses to the West and its colonial discourses in general may be defined in terms of the notion of fetishism. On the one hand, it was the recognition of the difference between the Ottoman Empire and the West. Attempts at the preservation of Islamic culture and the dichotomy between the morally superior Ottoman culture and the materially superior Western civilization were ways of recognizing and preserving the difference. On the other hand, it was the disavowal of difference between Europe and the Ottoman Empire or at least an attempt to be seen as modern and civilized as Europe. Attempts at westernization are evidences both for the recognition and the disavowal of the difference. They imply that the Ottomans are different, backward and inferior compared to the West and has to adopt the western practices and also it is a desire to catch the western level of development and to lessen the distance between the empire and the West. The Ottoman responses to the West were a combination of love and hate, desire and fear and attraction and repulsion.

3. The Rhetorical Modalities of the Colonial Discourses

David Spurr in his work *The Rhetoric of Empire* identifies the basic rhetorical features of the colonial discourse. For him, colonial discourse was neither a monolithic system nor a finite set of texts. There were a series of colonizing rhetorical tools each of which is adaptable to specific historical conditions. His sources are literary and popular journalism, travel writing and memoirs of colonial officials.²¹⁵ After scanning those sources he classifies twelve rhetorical modalities. I will use throughout this thesis a modified version of these modalities. These modified modalities are surveillance (under western eyes), appropriation (inheriting the earth), affirmation (civilizing mission or the white man's burden), classificatory systems (racism, social Darwinism, evolutionism, comparative philology), anthropological gaze (the denial of coevalness), naturalization, exoticism, aestheticization and idealization, debasement (filth and defilement) and negation (areas of darkness), insubstantialization (seeing as in dream) and eroticization (harems of the west).

²¹⁵ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration*, (London: Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 1-2.

There are of course some overlapping categories among these rhetorical modes. For example, a rhetorical strategy of debasement is a form of negation in the sense that it negates the value of the other. Likewise, the trope of idealization in practice often merges with aesthetization, just as the figure of the noble savage represents both a philosophical and an aesthetic ideal.²¹⁶ Furthermore, all is interconnected with each other. For instance, exoticism may be regarded as a natural and universal tendency of all travelers. Nevertheless, the point is the articulation of exoticism with other rhetorical modes. This articulation gives exoticism its particular meaning within the colonial discourse. The remoteness and unfamiliarity of landscape easily led the colonizer to declare temporal distance of this same place.

3.1. Surveillance: The Knowledge- Power Relations

The colonizer was equipped with the power implied by the gaze. The Europeans had the privilege of visual observation, inspecting, examining and looking at. Their commanding view gave them a sense of mastery over what they surveyed, over the unknown, strange and bizarre. Although colonial author or observer located at the center of the things, he also managed to remain apart from them.²¹⁷ Spurr analyzes the rhetorical modality of surveillance under three headings: surveillance of landscape, interiors, and bodies. For Pratt, the landscape is first aestheticized, then it is invested with a density of meaning intended to convey its material and symbolic richness and finally it is described so as to subordinate it to the power of the speaker.²¹⁸ In the context of interiors, Spurr refers to Rudyard Kipling's visit to the dark underside of Calcutta accompanying the police. The searching and controlling gaze of the police was Kipling's as well. This was penetrating inspection of the western eye which filtered the reality for the sake of Western interests.²¹⁹ The body of primitive was evaluated as the sign that reflects its essential nature and character. It was the body rather than speech, law, history to define the essential characteristics of the primitives, because the primitives were considered to live in their bodies and in their nature. Therefore, their body was not worth of being located into a political and historical time. Their bodies

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

²¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 13-17.

²¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 17-18.

²¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 20-21.

invested under western eyes with scientific, artistic, moral, aesthetic, racial and erotic values.²²⁰

The surveillance provided the West necessary knowledge about the non-western worlds and this accumulated knowledge in turn secured the Western power. Said summarizes Arthur James Balfour's speech in the House of Commons on Egypt as the following formula: Britain knows Egypt. Egypt is a known thing for Britain. Britain also knows that Egypt is unable to govern itself. Britain should conquer and govern Egypt. Lord Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer) shared a similar worldview with Balfour. It was also necessary for him to know the limits of the Orientals to govern them. The subjugated races of the Orient were devoid of knowledge of self government except despotism. It was the mission of Britain to bring them a liberal government.²²¹ Thierry Henstch takes our attention to parallel developments of European expansion and academic orientalism. Comte de Volney's travel account on Egypt in 1787 discussed the possible difficulties of a prospective expedition to Egypt a decade before Napoleon's invasion of Egypt.²²²

3.2. Appropriation: The Rhetoric of Empty Lands

British explorer and colonial administrator Frederick Lugard declared that "The tropics are the heritage of mankind, and neither ... has the suzerain power a right to their exclusive exploitation, nor have the races which inhabit them a right to deny their bounties to those who need them."²²³ In short, the territory surveyed as the colonizer's own. The Europeans could not bear up the appeal of the non European lands and people. They considered the preservation of the colonial rule and exploitation as a moral imperative. A colonial governor Albert Sarraut believed that nature has a double abundance composed of intellectual and material abundance. For him, colonization was an effort to combine the intellectual and moral qualities of Europe with the material wealth of the tropics.²²⁴ Famous explorer Henry Morton Stanley in 1871 constructed out of scene of landscape that he traveled an English country village adding this note:

²²⁰ Ibid., pp. 22-23.

²²¹ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 31-38.

²²² Thierry Henstch, *Hayali Doğu: Batı'nın Akdenizli Doğu'ya Politik Bakışı*, trans. Aysel Bora, (İstanbul: Metis, 1996), pp. 158-172.

²²³ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, p. 28.

²²⁴ Ibid., p. 29.

“How much better would be such a state this valley, rather than its present wild and deserted aspect!”²²⁵ John Buchan in South Africa in 1901-03 imagined his future country house in this land. He was selling South Africa to the prospective European immigrants.²²⁶ For these travelers and administrators, the landscape had already prepared itself for the marriage with civilization. The non-settled and non-colonized portions of the world immediately called for the colonizer so as to bring civil order, commerce, agriculture, family life and religion. In the non-Western areas of the world, they had never hesitated to imagine the imposition of a series of European institutions on the landscape. The land and its resources were considered, according to the colonizing imagination, to belong to those who are best able to exploit them.²²⁷

There is a paradox of the colonial discourse: on the one hand it emphasized the racial and cultural difference of the West in order to demonstrate its superior civilization. On the other hand, there is a demand to lessen the difference and to bring them the benefits of their civilization. It was domination by inclusion and domestication rather than recognition of independent identity of the other.²²⁸ The colonial discourse justified the colonizing mission in the name of a common humanity. It was always presented as the imposition of civilized manners, restoration of a harmonious order, an end to war, massacre and slavery. For Spurr, the colonial intervention was a response to threefold calling: “that of nature which call for the wise use of its resources, that of humanity which calls for universal betterment, that of the colonized who call for protection from their own ignorance and violence”.²²⁹

The Oriental studies were a responsibility and an instrument of empire according to both Lord Cromer and Lord Curzon. The rise of geographical societies was a good illustration of this intersection of knowledge and power. These societies were closely related to the western demand for the new territories. The passion of Conrad's Marlow for maps and his desire to explore blank spaces in maps exemplifies this proprietary vision:

²²⁵ Ibid., pp. 29-30.

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 30.

²²⁷ Ibid., p. 31.

²²⁸ Ibid., p. 32.

²²⁹ Ibid., p. 34.

“Now when I was a little chap I had a passion for maps. I would look for hours at South America, or Africa, or Australia, and lose myself in all the glories of exploration. At that time there were many blank spaces on the earth, and when I saw one that looked particularly inviting on a map (but they all look that) I would put my finger on it and say, ‘When I grow up I will go there.’”²³⁰

An army of scholars contributed to Napoleon's expedition to Egypt and they observed, collected, described, registered and investigated all aspects of Egypt. These efforts resulted in a 23 volume book *Description of Egypt*. In its preface, Egypt was described as a natural source of power. The role played by Egypt in the world history was to become an historical scene for significant events. Its destiny was related to the conquest. The Orient was perceived as a field of action for the West in which they could plant, plow, and harvest the Orient.²³¹ The process of the colonization was expressed in sexual terms. The colonial discourse related colonialism to the reproductive functions; it was the extension of productive activities of the West into the feminine Orient.

3.3. Affirmation: The Civilizing Mission as the White Man's Burden

In the preface of *Description of Egypt*, the benefits of the expedition for the Orient listed as follows: to present a useful European example to the Orient, to distribute favors of an excellent civilization to local peoples, to make their daily lives easier, to bring Egypt's ancient splendor to life in place of the current barbarity of Egypt, to provide a Western style education for the sake of Egyptians.²³² The knowledge on the Orient was followed by the conquest of the Orient and in turn this was succeeded by the recreation of the Orient via transformation from an enemy into a loyal subject. This processes of knowledge, conquest and recreation corresponds to the surveillance, appropriation and affirmation. “To affirm” means to make firm and to strengthen and supporting. The colonial discourse affirmed colonialism in the name of civilization, humanity, science and progress. There were also moral justifications that contrasted the moral superiority of the White man as the supreme judge of his own conducts with the low morality of savages.²³³

²³⁰ Joseph Conrad, *The Heart of Darkness*, p. 11.

²³¹ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 84-85.

²³² *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

²³³ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, p. 110.

The notion of the white man's burden was a metaphor for the civilizing mission. It was used by Rudyard Kipling in a poem in 1889 in order to call for America to adapt the British style of colonial administration in the Philippine islands. This burden entailed the authority over and responsibility for the silent and sullen peoples. The presentation of the non-western people in silence was a popular theme opposed to the speaking power of the West and his authority to speak in the name of the Orient. In the *Heart of Darkness*, for Marlow, Kurtz's power resides in his ability to talk, in his words' power. This was an affirmation of the colonial presence against a background of overwhelming silence.²³⁴ In addition to their inability in language, non western people were considered not able to govern themselves; therefore colonial rule was necessary for their benefit. After his journey to Egypt and Syria, Volney also diagnosed the illness of the Orient as despotism and pain of a nation that is crushed by the caprices of their masters. He gave the mission of bringing civilization to those lands to Napoleon after his invasion of Egypt. However, this was the salvation of Egypt from a despotic political system and the introduction and dissemination of the impacts of the Revolution rather than invasion of the Egypt.²³⁵

3.3.Classificatory Systems: Racism, Evolutionism, Social Darwinism and Comparative Philology

According to Spurr, every discourse is composed of a system of classification which functions for the regulation and policing. Since the nature of systems of classification is open to change, Spurr draws a genealogy of classificatory systems with reference to Foucault. The natural history of the 17th and 18th centuries was based on the arrangement of things in a table; it was a spatialized organization of things. At the end of the 18th century, the classification was no longer the arrangement of the visible in a table. The natural history was replaced by the modern biology that attempted to relate the visible to the invisible, its deeper cause. The hierarchy of characters depended on the complexity of organic structures and functions. There was still an order given by God in the tables of natural historians who thought that every elements in table had

²³⁴ Ibid., pp. 113-114.

²³⁵ Thierry Henstch, *Hayali Doğu*, pp.164-165.

placed there by God at the very beginning, therefore the connection between elements in table was not part of an evolutionary schema.²³⁶

The development of the idea of evolutionism was not restricted to the modern biology. There were adaptations of the Darwinian Theory to the social world. The notion of the survival of the fittest was considered as applicable to nations, races and all kind of human groups. Darwin himself in this regard was not immune from this Social Darwinism. His *Journal of Researches* was written during a voyage in 1839 was a combination of travel writing, scientific observation and natural philosophy. Darwin's descriptions of Fuegi Indians shifted from their visible signs to invisible characteristics. Darwin did not hesitate to utter his doubts on their domestic affection, experience of pleasure in life, capacity for imagination, reason to compare and judgment to decide. He compared their technical skills with the instincts of animals. For him, higher levels of technology and government meant a greater capacity for reason and human feeling.²³⁷

The 19th century was an era of debate over race and evolution and there was a tension between the essentialist and the historical views. The former one was represented by Comte de Gobineau in his *Essay on Inequality of Human Races* written in 1854. In his theory, the white race had never existed in the purely primitive state unlike Darwin's historical view of evolution. However, both positions, Spurr says, were suitable to be appropriated by the ideology of colonialism. Darwin's theory was more easily integrated with the civilizing mission while Gobineau's theory was used to emphasize the essential superiority of the European colonizers. These classificatory terminologies also reflected in the writings of the colonial administrators.²³⁸ John Buchan claimed that we can read the nature of society in the case of the savage nations via an individual case, while in the complex societies the society is more than the sum of its individual members like chemical processes in which the new product is different from its ingredients.²³⁹ Frederick Lugard divided the natives of tropical Africa into three classes: the primitive tribes, the more advanced communities and the

²³⁶ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, p. 63.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

Europeanized Africans and proposed different administrative tactics for each category.²⁴⁰

The 19th century was also an era of comparative studies on language. Orientalism was articulated with the new developments in philology. Renan applied modern philological methods to the oriental languages. The modern philology was a rejection of sacred origins of some languages and treated language as a human phenomenon. Therefore, the interest in roots of language was in decline in the 19th century thanks to works of two linguists William Jones and Franz Bopp. The language was no longer conceived as a capability given by God to the humans in the Heaven, so that language began to be considered as a convention created by human groups rather than a dialogue between the speaking human being and an external power. The notion of the preliminary-language replaced the notion of the original language. They considered that it was not necessary for preliminary language to correspond a real language. It was a product of the philological process. Renan acknowledged that the Semites and Semitic language is a creation of the philological researches. He combined philological method with racial, organist and evolutionary theories of his time. He regarded the Semite people as the representatives of an inferior stage of human development. He contrasted the Indo-European languages, which progresses in a biological and productive process, with the Semite language which is regarded as frozen, static, inorganic and unproductive. The Semite language was a frozen language which imprisoned in its stage of childhood.²⁴¹

3.5. Anthropological Gaze: “The Denial of Coevalness”

Johannes Fabian in his work *Time and Other: how anthropology made its objects* attempts to show that anthropology's claim to power locates at its root, at the heart of discipline. He adapts a Saidian target which aims to reveal the relations between power and knowledge, in Fabian case, the relations between the oppressive uses of Time by anthropology to constitute its own objects and colonialism. He relates the geopolitics of imperialism to the chronopolitics of Time.²⁴² The temporal discourse

²⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 68-69.

²⁴¹ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 130-148.

²⁴² Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its object*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), pp. 1-2.

of anthropology was linked to the paradigm of evolutionism and the conception of Time that was secularized, naturalized and spatialized during the Enlightenment. The faith in salvation replaced with belief in progress and industry. The Enlightenment thought represents a break from the Christian view of Time based on salvational Time. The medieval paradigm was founded on an ideology of conversion so that premodern time / space were inclusive and incorporative. After naturalization and secularization of Time, the nature of temporal relations transformed from incorporation to distancing. In modern time / space there was both a spatial and temporal distance between the civilized and the savage society. The savage society was both there and then; it was not here and now.²⁴³

What made the savages significant to the evolutionist's Time is that he lives in another Time. Fabian argues that the referent of the anthropological discourse was not an object or class of objects but a relationship between cultures and societies in general and between the West and the rest in particular. He refers to three major uses of Time: the first one is physical Time that is not subjected to cultural variation; it was objective, non-cultural Time. The second one is mundane time (grand scale periodizing to devise ages and stages) and typological time (which is measured in terms of socio-culturally meaningful events such traditional and modern). The third one is intersubjective Time (of communication). The physical time is seldom used in its naked chronological form by anthropology. Generally, it is assigned to the conquered populations a different time: mundane or typological. They were archaic, primitive, savage, tribal, mythical, illiterate.... The construction of temporal distances was the essential role of anthropology. The intersubjective or communicative Time assumed that the participants involved are coeval and share the same Time despite a slight temporal distance between the sender and the receiver. The ethnographic field work assumes the existence of intersubjective Time in order to collect information from other culture.²⁴⁴ The anthropological discourse in the form of description, analysis and theoretical conclusions rejects the ethnographer's experience of coevalness with the people they studied. The anthropological discourse is both the recognition of coevalness in the ethnographic research and the denial of coevalness in the anthropological theorizing.

²⁴³ Ibid., pp. 26-27.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 27-30.

There is a persistent and systematic tendency of anthropology to place its referents in a Time other than the present of the producer of the anthropological discourse.²⁴⁵

Anthropology contributed to the intellectual justification of the colonial enterprise. Zeynep Çelik deals with how this anthropological gaze shaped the design of universal expositions. She defines anthropology as a science of other peoples living in other times. The displays of the local peoples in these expositions reflected the frozen states of the non-western cultures and societies. The authentic decorations, costumes, and craftsmen strengthened this image of frozenness. The site plans of the expositions signified the existing power relations graphically and reflected racial, social, national hierarchies among different peoples. These expositions were microcosms of existing power relations. The architecture of the most expositions composed of two main components: at the center principle buildings designed for industrial and civilized products of the Western nations and at the periphery, the non-western societies' pavilions with their mystical, exotic, non-historical, frozen, and unsystematic outlook.²⁴⁶ In 1889 and 1900 Paris expositions, the pavilions of the French colonies were located between Trocadero Palace and the Eiffel Tower and their unhistorical design contrasted with the embodiments of industrial progress of France.²⁴⁷

3.6. Naturalization

In the colonial discourse, the dichotomy between nature and culture/civilization and the naturalization of the peoples of colonies played an immense role in the justification for the conquest. On the one hand nature and the primitives in a state of nature were devalued in contrast to culture and the societies of civilization; on the other hand the liberal western thought founded itself on the natural rights and laws. According to Levi Strauss, naturalization is interpreting the humans in terms of natural species and natural phenomena.²⁴⁸ J. J. Rousseau in his essay *The Origins of Language* linked characters of the primitives living in a state of nature to the natural and climatic conditions. Their passion, idleness, and moral inferiority were shaped by the natural

²⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 31-35.

²⁴⁶ Zeynep Çelik, *Şarkın Sergilenişi*, pp. 20-40.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 76-7, 96.

²⁴⁸ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, pp. 156-157.

surrounding.²⁴⁹ In literary theory naturalization is the operation by which what happens in a novel, play or poem is made intelligible and plausible. The colonial discourse used naturalization in double sense of the word. It was both the identification of the colonized with natural world and the efforts to make this identification natural.²⁵⁰

The transformation of views on nature played a determinant role in the colonial discourse. While natural world was assumed as the world of the Divine creator, devoid of an independent intelligence and life in the Renaissance, the modern view grasped the natural world as a great organism with a life of its own. The shift from premodern to modern view of nature also transformed the human-nature relations. The modern thought was also the invention of man as a subject apart from nature. Human history separated from natural history.²⁵¹ John Stuart Mill evaluated human progress as a victory over nature. History was conceived as a struggle between opposing forces of nature and culture, instinct and reason. This understanding of the human–nature relation gave an opportunity for the colonial discourse to constitute a series of oppositions between the civilized, rational Europeans and the natural, instinctual Orientals. The notion of the transformation of nature towards the civilized ends as human progress and the notion of the primitives living in a state of nature implied a justification for the colonizing mission. The colonization was to bring the primitives living in a state of nature into the civilized ends. Therefore, the ideology of colonialism was related to the conquest of nature. The 19th century social Darwinist ideas (the extinction of some human races, greater adaptability of civilized nations) also supported the conception of the colonization as a natural evolution.²⁵²

3.7.Exoticism

The Orient in the colonial discourse was a destination for the westerners. From the 18th century onwards, the volume of travels to the Orient grew enormously and the Orient had come closer to the West. A sense of superiority of the Western culture and a passion for the strange and bizarre things always accompanied the western travelers. At the end of the 18th century, early colonial travel accounts based on textually were

²⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 157.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 156-157.

²⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 158-159.

²⁵² Ibid., pp. 159- 161.

replaced by the accounts with visual observation. The picturesque journeys pursued for scenes being worth of depicting and searched for a romantic beauty. In the domain of literature, the traveler who writes his accounts transformed into the author who travels. The Western artists began to flow into the Orient for feeding their imagination. G. Nerval, G. Flaubert, Theophile Gautier and others were disappointed when their actual experiences of the Orient run counter against their imaginations. However, according to Said, they learned to separate their general Oriental images from their particular experiences, so that they managed to impose an all encompassing exoticism on the Orient. For them, the Orient was a lived table of strangeness and this made it desirable for seeing. The tourism sector also used the exoticism and strangeness of the Orient to appeal the prospective tourists. Posters and advertisements of the tourism industry attempted to represent the Orient as an exotic destination. This image was generally given by the contrast between the traditional and the modern. A Bedouin and a train, the local peoples of the colony and the white men playing golf were ordinary images in those posters for contrasting the two.²⁵³

3.8. Aestheticization and Idealization:

The picturesque and the melodramatic depictions of the Orient displaced the historical dimension and the political-economic context. The travel accounts published in the popular press generally evoked and tamed violence and atavism of the Orient for the prospective tourist to create an authenticity. David Spurr takes our attention to the bulletins of the geographical societies of the 19th century. Their effect was to distance the reader from social reality, to homogenize the western experience of the 3rd world, to neutralize the disturbing aspects of social reality, to minimize the importance of relations of power in creating the conditions under which people live.²⁵⁴

Idealization in general was a strategy for escaping from the Western society or a corrective and self criticizing strategy for the Western authors. According to Spurr, it was the Western culture's dialogue with itself. For instance, he demonstrates Herman Melville's novel *Typee* (1846) as a romantic revolt against the utilitarian ideology of the industrial middle class, an idealization of the savages for their perfect freedom from

²⁵³ Edhem Eldem, *Doğuyu Tüketmek*, pp. 16-21.

²⁵⁴ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, p. 51.

care and anxiety and for their honesty, chastity, nobility and justice. This idealization was a dialogue with his American society that was characterized by the male dominated, repressed sexuality, the profit motivated economy and the systematic destruction of native peoples and natural landscape.²⁵⁵ His savages were a corrective mirror and instrument of critique with their free and natural sexuality, marriage based on female desire and harmony with nature.

The early 20th century witnessed the rationalization of human experience in general; this was a shift towards more utilitarian logic of instrumentality and quantification. The cultural other domesticated and commodified for the tourist. This rationalization in general also resulted in rationalization of the 3rd world. However, paradoxically, this led to the reinforcement of the exotic and idealized qualities of the other. For Lawrence, the significant point was instrumental value of the Arabs for the British colonial policies in the Middle East, but this rationalized language went hand in hand with idealization of the Arab characteristics. For instance, he idealized them Arabs for their self sacrifice to motivate them for a national cause.²⁵⁶

3.9. Debasement: Filth and defilement

Every individual weakness had its political counterpart and every social problem was related to the individual filth, indolence and sexual promiscuity according to the colonial discourse based on the debasement of the non-western societies.²⁵⁷ The sense of superiority of the West in all aspects of life was a creation of the 18th century. Nevertheless, according to Spurr, rhetorical debasement was also inspired by fear, loathing, crisis of civilization and reason. The horror of the Other was related to the possibility of collapsing into a chaos of indifference (lack of difference between self and other).²⁵⁸

The other was not merely an object of domination but also an object of desire. On the one hand the colonizing mission emphasized the inferior nature of other peoples. On the other hand it adapted a mission to bring them into civilized ends. It was both an attempt at exclusion and inclusion. The Europeans were afraid of losing their

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 127.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 129-130.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 76.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 81.

will, of yielding to the forces of a wild and rank human nature in Africa and Asia. These constant threats to the boundaries of the Western culture led to the debasement and defilement of the Other and the resistance to the desire for the Other. Kurtz of *Heart of Darkness* represents the fear that white race could lose itself and the distinction between reason and passion, mind and foulness, public and private, work and pleasure in the darker areas.²⁵⁹ There was an immense fear of European degeneration in the presence of the primitives as we have mentioned above by reference to Robert Young.

In addition to fear of degeneration and of terrifying desire for the other, there was also demoralizing crisis of the civilizing mission which blurs the boundaries between the east and the west. The mimicry of the western norms and manners by the colonized created anxiety about the maintenance of necessary exclusion.²⁶⁰ Kipling found the debates around the constitution in India meaningless while Calcutta had a disgusting smell. The colonized people was looked down for their lack of civility, praised for their willingness to adapt this civility and ridiculed when they have acquired it too much.²⁶¹

3.10. Negation: The Rhetoric of Areas of Darkness

In the colonial discourse, the unexplored territory was designated as a wide enormous blank and specifically Africa represented as an essential nothingness. The rhetorical mode of describing the other as absence, emptiness, nothingness or death was a popular rhetorical modality of the colonial discourse. Spurr discusses these negations in there domains: space, history and language.²⁶²

The American writer, Richard Harding Davis says that, after his trip to Congo, “One must write of the Congo always in the negative”.²⁶³ Darwin in 1839 described Patagonia as a vast empty plain.²⁶⁴ Conrad's Marlow announced his passion for the blank spaces on the maps. Especially, Africa was depicted as a place out of time and

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 80.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 84. For a detailed analysis of mimicry see: Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, pp. 85-93.

²⁶¹ Ibid., p. 85.

²⁶² Ibid., pp. 92-93.

²⁶³ Ibid., p. 96.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 93.

space, and a space of darkness and nothingness. This negative ground, Spurr argues, was a calling for the positive exercise of the western power. It was the colonizing power that brings Africa into being from its original nullity.²⁶⁵

Hegel described the non-western primitive societies as “people without history”. They were not able to make history their own. They needed the mediation of the western powers to be included in historical processes. The Oriental societies had a history but only in negative terms. It was not linear progressive history of the west, but a circular history without a destiny and movement, only are there empires in rise and decline.²⁶⁶ Marx also denied history for Africa and Asia:

“England, it is true, in causing a social revolution in Hindustan, was actuated only by the vilest interests, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them. But that is not the question. The question is, can mankind fulfill its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia? If not, whatever may have been the crimes of England she was the unconscious tool of history in bringing about the revolution.”²⁶⁷

The history of India was given by Britain via its integration to the world economy. The British rule was beneficial for the Indians since it brought an end to the isolation and stagnation of economy and Oriental despotism of politics. It was also widespread in the colonial posters and tourist guidebooks to give an unhistorical atmosphere. Therefore, these unchanged societies imply that the sole power to bring them into progress was the colonial administration. There was an attempt to erase traces of change and emphasize the constant nature of the Orient. Baedeker's guidebook on Egypt claimed that the character of the Egyptians had remained unchanged since the era of pharaohs, and then he reached a more generalized conclusion that it is possible to observe similar stagnant characters in all other Orientals.²⁶⁸

The quality of language was related to the complexity, the refinement from mere cry and gesture, the capacity to distinct, the multiplicity of names and abstraction in the colonial era according to Spurr. The colonial discourse negated that the other cultures had a civilized language which is purified from incoherence of the non-western

²⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 97.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 98.

²⁶⁷ A. L. Macfie, ed., *Orientalism. A Reader*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 17.

²⁶⁸ Edhem Eldem, *Doğuyu Tüketmek*, p. 188.

languages. Their incapability in language had a counterpart in politics and social order as degradation.²⁶⁹

3.11. Insubstantialization and Eroticization

Nerval depicted the Orient as a region of the visionary imagination, a series of dreamlike sensations, and an escape from the weight of historical and material reality. The hallucinatory and dreamlike experiences in the non-western world can be evaluated as inner journeys of the Western author's to the unexplored regions of self and unconsciousness.²⁷⁰ The disguised identities of the western travelers in the Orient gave them an opportunity to experience the transgressed boundaries. This symbolic transformation of identity was regarded as calculated flirtation with the possibilities of enslavement, madness and self annihilation.²⁷¹ All these dreamlike experiences of the Orient, Spurr says, reproduced the crisis of the western subject in the non-western world.

In addition to insubstantialization, the eroticization of the colonized was a popular rhetorical mode of the colonial discourse. The repertoire of sexual metaphors in the colonial discourse was mainly about harem, polygamy and homosexuality. The non-western world was generally depicted as a feminine figure in front of a superior and penetrating West; it was a passive receiver who waits to be fertilized by the West.²⁷² The colonized nations were allegorized not only as a female figure but also a hysteric female figure especially in cases of insurrection. Kipling describes the battle of Omdurman in Sudan in 1913 as hysteria of a nervous woman filled with blood and fanaticism. In this way colonialism was naturalized as the relations between sexes in which the West represented rational man and the rest was presented as irrational hysteric woman.²⁷³

In this relation, the Orient symbolized the fertility, sexual promises, and dangers, search for unlimited lust, and creative powers according to Said. Therefore the non-western world was a site of both seduction and sexual danger. The orient was an

²⁶⁹ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, pp. 102-103.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

²⁷² Edhem Eldem, *Doğuyu Tüketmek*, p. 159.

²⁷³ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, pp. 171-172.

alternative to the western moral landscape shaped by Victorian sexual norms. The interest in Arabian Nights was an evidence for the dialogue of the orientalist authors with their own culture. The first effort to translate Arabian Nights belonged to Antoine Galland in the early 18th century. The Western audience was interested in the stories of savagery, violence, eroticism, lust and passion, intrigues and sensuality. Galland censored some inappropriate lines for his audiences.²⁷⁴ W. E. Lane retranslated Arabian Nights and also used self censorship. He wanted to give an impression of reliability so that he added explanatory notes and introduction to the chapters. If story is composed of a saloon, Arabic style furniture, letter, he gives detailed information on these issues. In one of such notes, he asserted that a European prostitute is not more obscene than an ordinary Egyptian woman.²⁷⁵

Richard Burton was another translator of the Arabian Nights. He also added his ideas to the text like Lane. He mentioned the debauched oriental woman who prefers Black man “on account of the size of their parts”.²⁷⁶ Then he states that huge parts are characteristics of both black race and African animals. Arabian Nights consolidated the promiscuous image of the Oriental woman. Burton could talk about sexuality freely only when he was talking about the Orient due to the sexual taboos of the Victorian era. Burton's close friends, Richard Monckton Milnes and Fred Hankey, were interested in pornographic collections, sexual perversity, and use of whip in intercourse.²⁷⁷ Arabian Nights was an instrument for Burton to freely write his fantasies. Burton negated the historical dimension of Arabian Nights and he evaluated it as a text independent of time. His work was full of sudden shifts from an aged old tale to the contemporary realities of Egyptian streets. He easily constructed an ethnographic continuity with a tale from the past and the current time.²⁷⁸

Other themes of the sexual discourse on the non-western world were harems and homosexuality. The colonies were regarded as harems of the west. The British colonial officers called their African mistresses as “sleeping dictionary”. They established a connection between the sexual and the lexical. The body was regarded as a text that is

²⁷⁴ Rana Kabbani, *Avrupa'nın Doğu İmajı*, pp. 34-40.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-60.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 67-8.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-84.

²⁷⁸ Edhem Eldem, *Doğuyu Tüketmek*, pp. 156-158.

read only as a series of lexical fragments without regard to history or narrative. Furthermore, it was a sleeping text that waited to be awakened by the colonizer.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁹ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, pp. 170-171.

CHAPTER 2

OTTOMAN TRAVELERS' PERCEPTIONS ON THE NON EUROPEAN WORLD

This chapter is about man in circumstances. It investigates the convergences and divergences between the Ottoman travelers' perceptions of the non-European world and the European colonial discourses. It begins with an introduction on the Ottoman travelers' identity, motivations behind traveling, narrative patterns in their travelogues and sources of information. After this introduction on the men of this chapter, it deals with encounters of the Ottoman travelers in the non-European world with different peoples, cities and cultures in the age of new imperialism. Their general relations with the local peoples and cultures and their views on the non-European cities give us significant clues on their overall vision of the non-European world before making a systematic comparison between the European and the Ottoman gazes. Then, this chapter concentrates on a detailed comparison of the Ottoman perceptions with the European perceptions of the non-European world. I will divide the rhetorical modalities that I have discussed in the previous chapter into three groups. The first one consists of the rhetorical modalities of surveillance, appropriation and affirmation. The second one comprises the rhetorical modalities of classification, anthropological gaze and naturalization. The third one is composed of the rhetorical tools of idealization, debasement, negation and eroticization. In general, my questions in this chapter are as follows: Were the European and Ottoman perceptions and mental mappings of the world around them are compatible with each other? How was the Ottoman travelers' relation with the colonial powers in these regions? Did the Ottomans and Europeans have similar points of view as to the colonized parts of the world or did the Ottomans explicitly and totally condemn it? In short what kind of gaze the Ottomans have: a hierarchical, essentialist, commanding, critical, self orientalist, otherising, occidentalist, imaginary or totalizing?

1. Ottoman Travelers and Travel Accounts

1.1. The Social Background of the Ottoman Travelers and their Motivations behind Traveling

This part gives information on travelers' views on traveling in general, motivations for their voyages, travelers' social identity, route, date and duration of journey, and publication date of travelogues. Ahmed Midhat, in his preface to Mehmed Emin's *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat* criticizes the Ottoman lack of interest in traveling and travel literature compared to Europe. The basic motivation behind the Ottoman travelling was official duties according to Midhat and those who had visited Europe generally concentrated on the entertainment life of it.²⁸⁰

Midhat establishes a close link between traveling and commerce. He is aware of the intimate connection between the European traveling and the economic and political dominance of the European powers over the world. Therefore, the lack of interest in explorations and travel literature in general is related automatically to the Ottomans' lack of commercial interests by Midhat. It is necessary for him to apply traveling to the politics. Britain is the model for him with its successful application of traveling into the politics since it managed to govern territories whose population is seven or eight times bigger than its own population. Midhat defended that it was necessary to allocate a major part of national income to the expenditures of traveling.²⁸¹

Midhat attempts to domesticate and naturalize traveling in order to render it appealing for the Ottoman society. He presents it as a basic human characteristic. He uses the rhetorical tool of discovering a hidden adventurer in human existence. He believed that the departure from our home to get rid of boredom and the visits to our neighbors are all parts of traveling. He refers to the potential expansion of our traveling circle into the biggest families of the humanity, i.e. nations.²⁸² The secularist tendency in Midhat's critique is also very interesting. Although he considers even the most basic

²⁸⁰ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, transliterated & edited by A. Muhibbe Darga, (İstanbul: Everest, 2007), pp. 2-3.

²⁸¹ Ibid. pp. 3-4.

²⁸² Ibid. pp. 5-6.

activities of humanity as a type of traveling, he omits pilgrim age as a type of traveling and emphasizes the lack of interest in traveling.²⁸³

Midhat argued that the desire to see wonders and curiosities (*acaib ve garaib*) and conditions of other nations is the basic motivation behind traveling. He takes his readers' attention to the existence of different cultural values in different nations. His example is marriage practices: monogamy in Europe, polygamy in Islamic societies, the share of one woman by the multiple brothers in India. Midhat displays a cultural relativist position with regard to the other cultures. His aim was to present traveling as a source of pleasure. He proposes to read travel accounts for those who have not enough opportunity to travel.²⁸⁴ In short, he tries to popularize both traveling and travel literature. Another implicit motivation of Midhat for traveling was the duty of the Ottoman Empire whose mission is to synthesize the advanced European civilization and the lands of Islam in need of the guide-ship of the Ottoman Empire. This is the political motivation behind traveling around Europe and other Islamic lands.²⁸⁵

The earliest travel account that is used in this chapter is written by Ömer Lütfi. He and Ebubekir Efendi were sent to South Africa on official duty. Ömer Lütfi was the nephew and a disciple of Ebubekir Efendi who was a member of Baghdad ulema. Ömer Lütfi published their experiences in Cape Town under the title of *Ümitburnu Seyahatnamesi* in 1868. They followed a route from Marseille, via Paris, London, and Liverpool to Cape Town. Ömer Lütfi had remained in Cape Town for four years. In 1866, he left Cape Town and returned to Istanbul.²⁸⁶ Their mission was to bring an end to the religious conflicts among the Muslims of Cape Town. According to Ömer Lütfi, the Muslims of Cape Town who had visited Mecca brought Islamic books in Javanese language and these books were differently interpreted by each ulema member and led to mal-practices among them. These ulema members accumulated a great amount of wealth in their hands thanks to their ability to deceive the people. They managed to monopolize *zekat* and *kurban*, and people was burdened with heavy responsibilities for

²⁸³ Christoph Herzog, Raul Motika, "Orientalism *alla Turca*", p. 151.

²⁸⁴ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, pp. 5-9.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁸⁶ Ömer Lütfi, *Ümitburnu Seyahatnamesi*, transliterated & edited by Hüseyin Yorulmaz (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2006), pp. 16-18.

the sake of ulema²⁸⁷ Ebubekir Efendi in his letter to the *Mecmua-i Fünun* periodical also summarized the events that led to their missions with a slightly different account. The conflict among Muslim community, Ebubekir Efendi claims, was between those who had visited Mecca and observed true Islam and those existing ulema members of Cape Town. When the visitors of Mecca opposed to the malpractices of ulema after their return from Haj, the imams resisted them and maintained their false and void beliefs. The Muslim community of Cape Town wrote a complaint letter to the British governor of Cape Town and demanded an authorized imam whose duty was to teach them true Islam. After this letter, the British government applied to the Ottoman government via Ottoman London embassy and demanded an Islamic scholar to terminate the conflicts and to improve the conditions of the Muslim community of Cape Town.²⁸⁸

The stories of the second and third travelogues used in this chapter are related to each other. The Ottoman government ordered Bursa and Izmir corvettes to go to the Basra harbor in 1865. Before the opening of the Suez Canal, these corvettes had to sail from the Atlantic Ocean via Cape Town to Basra. However, they lost their way in the Atlantic Ocean due to a terrible storm and found themselves on the coasts of Rio de Janeiro. This compulsory visit to Brazil resulted in two travel accounts. One, *Seyhatname-i Bahri Muhit*, is written by the engineer of the Bursa corvette Faik²⁸⁹ and the other one, *Seyhatname-i Brezilya*, is written by the imam of corvettes, Bağdatlı Abdurrahman Efendi.²⁹⁰ The common theme of both accounts is the encounter with the Muslims of Brazil. According to Faik, the imam of Bursa corvette, Abdurrahman Efendi, fled to the Muslims of Brazil with their invitation. Since the Brazilian laws allowed him to remain there, the Ottoman officials had no choice but left him in Brazil. According to Faik It was money offered by the Muslims of Brazil that made imam decide to stay in Brazil.²⁹¹ Abdurrahman himself gives a different account regarding his motives. He had already had a desire to see distant countries and he considered his

²⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 57-58.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 79, 81.

²⁸⁹ Mühendis Faik, *Seyhatname-i Bahr-i Muhit*, transliterated & edited by N. Ahmet Özalp, (İstanbul: Kitabevi,2006)

²⁹⁰ Bağdatlı Abdurrahman Efendi, *Brezilya Seyhatnamesi*, transliterated & edited by N. Ahmet Özalp, (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2006)

²⁹¹ Mühendis Faik, *Seyhatname-i Bahr-i Muhit*, pp. 47-48.

service to ignorant Muslims of Brazil as a religious duty.²⁹² Engineer Faik in their way to Basra encountered with Ebubekir Efendi in Cape Town and gives an account of his educational activities in this city.²⁹³ Faik Bey published his travelogue in Istanbul in 1868. Abdurrahman Efendi wrote his travelogue in Arabic and his account was translated by Antepi Mehmed Şerif and published in Istanbul in 1871.

The fourth traveler used in this chapter is Mehmed Emin, the author of *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vusta'ya Seyahat*. He was born in 1854 in Dagestan located in the north Caucasus region. His father was a merchant and he educated in Marseille in a French school. Then he registered *Mekteb-i Sultani*, but left the school without a certificate and then registered to *Darilfünun* for law education. He does not give any account of his motivations behind voyage into central Asia. However, his daughter Hayriye Kerimzade in her account on the life of Mehmed Emin mentions the psychological motivations behind his father's voyage. After his return from education in Paris, Mehmed Emin had had troubles with his new life in Istanbul and had some adaptation problems. The death of his mother also contributed to his depression. The physicians advised him to begin a travel for the sake of his psychological health and he left Istanbul in 1878 and began a travel around central Asia.²⁹⁴

İlber Ortaylı in his preface to the transliteration of Emin's account sees an escapist strategy in his decision to travel and makes connections between other escapist tendencies in Europe. Ortaylı asserted that his decision is similar to some lords of Britain who left the House of Lords and settled in India or South Africa for the sake of solitude and salvation, to granddukes of Russia who left Moscow and St. Petersburg and decided to settle in central Asia. Mehmed Emin Efendi left Istanbul and made a journey to his mother country in a similar vein.²⁹⁵ After his return to Istanbul he began to work in Ahmed Midhat's newspaper *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* and his travel account was serialized in this newspaper and published as a book in 1878. Then he was introduced to Abdülhamid and became one of the chamberlains of the sultan.²⁹⁶

²⁹² Bağdatlı Abdurrahman Efendi, *Brezilya Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 17, 25-6.

²⁹³ Mühendis Faik, *Seyhatname-i Bahr-i Muhit*, pp. 53-54.

²⁹⁴ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, pp. xiv-xvii.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. xliii-xlv.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

Our fifth traveler Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi was born in Sirvan, the eastern Caucasus in 1828. He moved to Istanbul and received a medrese education and became a teacher in medrese then, worked in *Encümen-i Teftiş* firstly as a member and then as the chairman. He claims that he was sent to the Islamic land Swat with an extraordinary official post (*fevkalade memuriyet*). However, he does not give any detailed information on what makes his post extraordinary.²⁹⁷ He only mentions that he was the Ottoman consul in Peshawar of Punjab Province and there were lots of national interest in his existence in Peshawar.²⁹⁸ He departed from Istanbul on summer of 1877. He traveled in India and Swat. He published his experiences in these lands in 1883. He announced that his aim is to give useful information to the sons of motherland (*vatan çocukları*). He also considers it as a service to the interests of humanity and the benefit of civilization (*cemiyet-i beşeriyenin menafii ve fevaid-i, temeddiyeye hizmet*). His model is Europe: he presents the European committees for travelling and the reports of the British officials as examples for his own account on India.²⁹⁹ Herzog and Motika found that Şirvanlı was sent to Swat and Afghanistan in order to convince the emir of Afghanistan and the Akhund of Swat to join the Ottoman-British coalition against Russian Tzar. The reason why Şirvanlı does not mention the Ottoman delegation to Swat may be the complete failure of their mission.³⁰⁰

The sixth traveler used in this chapter is Mustafa bin Mustafa who lived in Aksaray, Istanbul and worked as an investigator assistant in the Ministry of War. He visited Hejaz for hajj in 1878 and then visited Yemen for a trip after hajj. The Ottoman governor of Yemen, Mustafa Asım Paşa, appointed him as a customs official. He had held several governmental positions throughout 15 years in Yemen. In 1893, he was dismissed from his governmental position by the Ministry of Interior, and then he left the country and made a trip through the Far East including India, Indochina, Lahore, Java, China and Japan. After he returned Istanbul, he immediately published a travel account *Aksa-yı Şarkta bir Cevelan* in 1894 and dedicated it to Abdülhamid.³⁰¹

²⁹⁷ Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, transliterated & edited by Fatma Rezan Hürman, (İstanbul: Arma, 1995), p. 10.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

³⁰⁰ Christoph Herzog and Raoul Motika, "Orientalism *alla Turca*", pp. 154-5,187.

³⁰¹ Mustafa bin Mustafa, *Aksa-yı Şarkta Bir Cevelan*, transliterated & edited by Ahmet Uçar, (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2010), pp. 7-8.

The seventh traveler Ubeydullah Efendi was born in Izmir in 1858 and received his education in a *Rüşdiye* school. His father was from the ulema of Izmir. After *Rüşdiye*, he continued his education in medrese and then moved into Istanbul and registered medical school. During these years, he met with the Young Turk movement. He had imprisoned by Hamidian regime for 1.5 years. He visited Paris between 1886 and 1888. In 1883, he left from Istanbul and reached New York via Marseille, London and Liverpool.³⁰² He left the country for two purposes. The first one is his desire to escape from the despotic Hamidian regime and the second one is his desire to participate in the universal exposition of 1894 in Chicago. The second one turned into an obsession for Ubeydullah and in 1883 he deserted Istanbul.³⁰³ He published his American experiences in 1925 as a serial in *Resimli Gazete*. In 1915, Ubeydullah was appointed as extraordinary ambassador to Afghanistan to mobilize Afghan people in the name of Islam during the world war. However, he could not reach Afghanistan since he was arrested by the British officials. His adventures during this journey were published in press after his death.³⁰⁴

The eighth traveler used in this chapter is Sadık el Müeyyed who was born in Damascus and received an education in *Harbiye Mektebi*. He held various military posts throughout his career and rose to the rank of *Paşa*.³⁰⁵ In 1896, the emperor of Ethiopia sent a diplomatic delegation to Istanbul in order to guarantee the rights of Ethiopians living in Jerusalem. In return for this diplomatic enterprise, Abdülhamid decided to send an Ottoman delegation to Ethiopia in 1904. He appointed Sadık el Müeyyed to fulfill this diplomatic journey. Throughout his 3 months long journey in Ethiopia, he collected detailed information and recorded his experiences daily. After his return to Istanbul, he presented these observations to the sultan in a report and published his experiences as a travelogue, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, in 1904. Müeyyed

³⁰² Ubeydullah Efendi, *Geçirdiğim Günlerin Hesabına Dağınık Yapraklar*, ed. Ahmet Turan Alkan, (İstanbul: İletişim,1997), pp. 13-21.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

³⁰⁴ Ömer Hakan Özalp, ed., *Mehmed Ubeydullah Efendi'nin Malta, Afganistan ve İran Hatıraları*, (İstanbul: Dergah,2002), pp. 201-236.

³⁰⁵ Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahra-yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, transliterated & edited by İdris Bostan, (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2010), pp. xi-xiii.

declares that one function of his travelogue is to guide people who will visit those geographies.³⁰⁶

The ninth traveler of this chapter is Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade who was born in Eğirdir. He received his education from medrese and *Rüşdiyye school* and entered into civil service as a postal officer. He held this position in various places within the empire and at last he was dismissed from his post in the postal service due to the conflicts with his superiors. Throughout his travel account, he criticized their misuse of authority. He was sent to exile in Deir ez-Zor (*Deyrizor*), northeast Syria on coast of the Euphrates River, because of his increasing criticisms of the bureaucracy. His discontent from surveillance in exile led him to escape into the Al Jazeera desert and his long voyage began. In 1902, he traveled around Mosul, North Iraq and Tehran. In 1903 he was in Bukhara, Vienna, Paris, North Africa and Egypt. In 1904, he traveled to India, Singapore and China. In 1906, he arrived in Russia via the Silk Road. He spent 8 months in Tehran, 10 months in Egypt, and 8-10 months in India and China. He published his travel account, *Seyahat-ül Kübra* from the printing house of Abdürreşid İbrahim in St. Petersburg.³⁰⁷ He regards his travels around the world as a contribution for awakening of the Islamic community. For him, the interest in travel literature is an indication of civilisational quality of a nation. Similar to Ahmed Midhat, he complains the scarcity of travel accounts in the Ottoman Empire in spite of its attempts at progress and civilization.³⁰⁸

The tenth traveler used in this chapter is Halil Halid who was born in 1869 in Ankara. He was brought into Istanbul by his uncle and registered to law school. After increasing spy surveillance, he fled into Britain and worked in Cambridge University as a professor of Turkish between 1897 and 1911.³⁰⁹ He defines himself as a person who left healthy and brilliant light of the Orient and went to the humidity and fog of Great Britain. According to his own account, his university decided to send him to Algeria for the congress of Orientalists although initially his selection process witnessed great

³⁰⁶ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, transliterated & edited by Mustafa Baydemir, (İstanbul: Kaknüs, 1999), pp. 13-14.

³⁰⁷ Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, transliterated & edited by Salih Şapçı, (Eğirdir, Eğirdir Belediyesi, 2005), pp. 10-16.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

³⁰⁹ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, transliterated by Selman Öksüzler & edited by Abdullah Er, (İstanbul: Bedir, 2007), pp. 5-11.

controversy among the members of the university council because of British hostility to the foreigners and their unwillingness to assign a task to a foreigner instead of a British who is able to carry out same duty. However, he was selected at the end and was sent to Algeria.³¹⁰ His aim was to record valuable memories in a territory that had governed by the Ottomans for 300 years. He did not aim to give geographical and historical knowledge on Algeria or to prepare a detailed Algerian travelogue.³¹¹ His Algerian memoirs were published in 1906.

The eleventh traveler Mehmed Fazlı, the author of *Resimli Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, was a member of an Ottoman unofficial delegation to Afghanistan. He and his friends; Hüseyin Hüsni, Ali Server, Mehmed Efendi, Ali Münir İzzet, were the Young Turks and were in exile in Egypt before their voyages. In 1906, his friend Hüsni Bey in a meeting told his life story in which he portrayed himself as a patriotic person. One person who had heard the speech advised him and his friends to go Afghanistan as a consultant committee for the emir of Afghanistan. Hüsni Bey wrote a request letter to the Afghan government. After the correspondence between the two sides, the Afghan government sent them necessary travel expenditures for reaching Kabil. In 1907, they set off their journey into Afghanistan.³¹²

The twelfth traveler Mehmed Mihri, the author of *Sudan Seyahatnamesi* was in the service of the Khedivial family from the beginning of the 1880s until the 1st World War. He accompanied the prince Yusuf Kamal on a big-game hunting trip up the Nile valley deep into Sudan. He claims that his travel account was different compared to the previously written Ottoman travelogues because of their certain limits. One possible defect of previous ones was because they were the translations from European travel accounts whose perspectives reflected the interests, aspirations and patriotism of the western travelers' respective home countries. Another possible defect was resulted from the despotic and tyrannical policies of the former government, Hamidian regime. The existence of censorship and political oppression was not sufficient to provide the ideal conditions to be expected from a voyage. This led to a lack of quality in the Ottoman travelogues. Although he criticized the translations from European travel accounts, the

³¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 20-21.

³¹¹ Ibid., p. 30.

³¹² Mehmed Fazlı, *Resimli Afgan Seyahatnamesi*, transliterated & edited by Ali Ahmetbeyoğlu, (İstanbul: Selis Kitaplar, 2008), pp. 25-29.

European sciences, claims for objectivity and will to truth are remained the decisive model for would-be Ottoman travelogues. He does not hesitate to imitate the European models of collecting and recording data and exploit European travel literature. However, he advocated using these data for the geo-political ends of the Ottoman Empire.³¹³

The thirteenth source used in this chapter Abdürreşid İbrahim, the author of *Alem-i İslam*, was a Siberian Tatar. He came to Istanbul in 1879 and received a five year education in Medina. He returned to Istanbul in 1884. Then, he returned to his mother country and he brought children from his country to Istanbul for educative purposes.³¹⁴ He struggled against the Russian imperialism and was highly critical of the British imperialism. His principle political idea was based on the unity of Islamic societies and an alliance among the Oriental societies. He also worked for the liberation of the Turks living under the dominance of Russia. In those respects, panislamism is a universal ideology, while panturkism is a nationalist ideology for Abdürreşid İbrahim according to Selçuk Esenbel.³¹⁵ After growing oppression in Russia, he decided to begin a long journey at the end of 1907. He traveled around Turkestan, Siberia, Mongolia, Manchuria, Japan, Singapore, China, and India and arrived in the Hejaz at the end of 1909. His activities intensified in Japan to spread Islam and he found supporters among the Japanese elite and managed to constitute an Islamic society. İbrahim himself declares that his whole interest was in the education of the Muslims.³¹⁶ When he talked with Prince Ito in Japan, he was asked why he started this difficult journey. In his response, he described the Tatars as an unjustly treated nation and his journey was a search of a remedy for a sick nation. He sought for cure in Japan. One of the most frequently asked question by İbrahim in his conversations with the Japanese elite was about the rapid progress of Japan.³¹⁷

The fourteenth traveler, Samizade Süreyya, the author of *Büyük Japonya*, was born in Istanbul in 1869. He received his education from Gallipoli *Rüşdiye* School and

³¹³ Christoph Herzog and Raoul Motika, "Orientalism *alla Turca*", pp. 152-154.

³¹⁴ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam ve Japonya'da İntişar-ı İslamiyet*, 2 cilt, transliterated & edited by Ertuğrul Özalp, (İstanbul: İşaret, 2003), pp. 23-29.

³¹⁵ Selçuk Esenbel, "İslam Dünyasında Japonya İmgesi: Abdürreşid İbrahim ve Geç Meiji Dönemi Japonları", *Toplumsal Tarih*, Sayı 19, Cilt: 4, (Temmuz, 1995), p. 20.

³¹⁶ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, p. 214.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 401-402.

then worked as a clerk in various places. He wrote for newspapers *Sabah* and *İkdam*. He presents his purpose of travel to Japan similar to Abdürreşid İbrahim. His aim was to investigate the rapid progress of Japan and how a nation sentenced to death rescued and rose in the ranks of progress.³¹⁸

Our last traveler Habibzade Ahmed Kemal was born in Rhodes in 1889. His father was a merchant. He received his education from medrese that was established by Ahmet Midhat while he was in exile in Rhodes. He established close relations with the people who were in exile there. He became a teacher in Rhodes and had an appeal for Turkism. He moved to Istanbul in 1911 and worked in a school that was opened by the Young Turks. He wrote for newspapers in Istanbul and he was sent to Kashgar in 1914 with an official mission. He was informed by Talat Bey and Ziya Gökalp on his mission. It was to constitute a school to educate his brothers, the Turks, captivated by the oppressive governments of China and Russia. Talat Bey and Ziya Gökalp gave him nationalist patriotic speeches based on the greatness of their lineage and race. He was sent there to eliminate the ignorance of the people in his original and ancestral lands. They considered such an attempt to illuminate the ignorant brothers of central Asia as a national responsibility. Talat mentioned the difficulties and dangers of his mission with rhetoric of sacrifice for the nation. Ziya Gökalp described his duty as the conquest of the hearts and minds.³¹⁹

1.2. The Literary Qualities of the Ottoman Travelogues

This part discusses the narrative patterns of the Ottoman travel accounts and the place of travelogues in the literary works. According to Herzog and Motika, the European scientific traveler and travel account was the model for the Ottoman travelers. The Ottomans also saw the intimate link between traveling, collecting data and writing travel accounts and the dissemination of knowledge by reading these works. However, there are also fictional travels in the Ottoman travel literature. Ahmed İhsan published, in 1890, *Asya-yı Şarki'ye Seyahat* whose fictitious hero Kami traveled from Siberia to Vladivostok. He referred to European authors such as Jules Verne who created invented

³¹⁸ Samizade Süreyya, *Büyük Japonya*, transliterated & edited by. Ali Ergun Çınar, (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2002), p. 21.

³¹⁹ Ahmet Kemal İlkul, *Çin-Türkistan Hatıraları*, transliterated & edited by. Yusuf Gedikli, (İstanbul: Ötüken, 1999), pp. 9-18.

travels. Ahmed Midhat published a novel, *Rikalda yahud Amerika'da Vahşet Alemleri*, in 1890 and narrated an imaginary voyage through America. Therefore, the link between actual travel and writing travelogue is not as tight as implied by the notion of "scientific traveler".³²⁰

Despite their claims on the objectivity and the actuality of their experiences, there are always gaps between the actual experiences of traveler during voyage and the process of recording these experiences. Authors (or editors) had a tendency to overestimate the importance and extraordinary character of their experiences and observations (publications for editors). Ahmed Midhat, for example, as the publisher of Mehmed Emin's travel account, presented it as the beginning of the Ottoman travel literature. On the other hand, Mehmed Mihri emphasized the uniqueness of his own account compared to the previously published travelogues. There may also be two different versions of the same event as the case of Abdurrahman Efendi has just shown us. While engineer Faik considered money offered by the Muslims as the basic motivation behind Abdurrahman's escape from their ship, for Abdurrahman himself, it was his religious duty.³²¹ There may also be a time gap between the date of travel and its recording. Ubeydullah Efendi warns his readers that he was writing what he is remembering and might forget some details since these events had passed 30 years ago. He apologizes since he cannot remember and write exactly when he was where.³²²

Herzog and Motika describe travel as a social activity and regard travelogues as a literary genre. They accept that any narrative travelogue which reports narrator's voyage may be evaluated as a subgenre of the autobiographical writing.³²³ There are also some memoirs published by the Ottomans which may be easily evaluated as travel accounts. Halil Halid in his *Cezayir Hatıratı* explicitly states that he did not aim to write his experiences in an Ahmed Midhat style of accounting and warns his readers that he would not scientifically explain how steamers and trains moves. His reaction is against the over-descriptive aspects of Midhat's travel accounts.³²⁴

³²⁰ Christoph Herzog and Raoul Motika, "Orientalism *alla Turca*", pp. 157-158.

³²¹ Ibid., pp. 158-160.

³²² Ubeydullah Efendi, *Geçirdiğim Günlerin Hesabına Dağınık Yapraklar*, pp. 167-168.

³²³ Christoph Herzog and Raoul Motika, "Orientalism *alla Turca*", pp. 157-158.

³²⁴ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, p. 22.

Herzog and Motika make a separation between narrative travelogue and descriptive travelogue (which lacks a narrative). Many Ottoman travel accounts were written by travelers of necessity (officials on governmental missions) and this bureaucratic perspective may be a factor behind the over-descriptive aspects of some travel accounts. For instance, Mehmed Hurşid's *Seyhatname-i Hudud*, which was printed in 1862, was an extreme example of descriptive travelogues; it was rather a geographical handbook of the Ottoman-Iranian frontier, comprising statistical data. Although this work is a result of extensive travels, it contains few narrative references to the travels of the author. Another factor behind the over-descriptive travelogues is the existence of armchair travelogues. For instance, Selanikli Tevfik, as the author of *Musavver Hindistan Seyahatnamesi*, gives information on India despite the fact that he had never been to India. He collected information from other travelogues. Şirvanlı Hamdi's account contains information about Afghanistan although the author had never visited it.³²⁵

Some authors contemplated on the travel literature and compared it with the other fields of knowledge. Şirvanlı makes a distinction between travelogues and historiographical narratives. He claims that some wonders and curiosities of this world was related to history and was written by the historians to transfer the experiences of past generations and give lessons and examples for the future generations. The remaining wonders and curiosities were related to the morality, tradition, works and lives of nations living in distant lands. This kind of wonders and curiosities was written by the travelers in order to give useful information for the sons of the motherland.³²⁶ Clearly, Şirvanlı's definition of travelogues bears ethnographic overtones. Karçınzade refers to the necessity to enlighten the darkness of future via lessons taking from the past. He considers historiographical accounts as a translator of the past. For him, it was significant to interpret history since it is a guide for reason. After this Hegelian interpretation, he presents travel accounts as a source for the historians and geographers. While he emphasizes the curiosity of the civilized nations for travelogues, he complains about insufficient amount of travelogues in the Ottoman Empire.³²⁷

³²⁵ Christoph Herzog and Raoul Motika, "Orientalism *alla Turca*", pp. 161-164.

³²⁶ Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 9-10.

³²⁷ Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, pp. 27-28.

1.3. Ottoman Travelers' Sources of Information

Ottoman travelers' sources of information and ways of collecting data are another topic worth of discussing. They were dependent upon the European sources of information. Şirvanlı implicitly refers to the European travelers with such phrases "a person who had traveled in Calcutta", "a traveler who had gone to Benares" or explicitly uses such phrase "a European traveler". He advises to read Tavernier and Pernier's accounts to learn about the ancient splendor of the fortress of Delhi.³²⁸ In general the most frequently referred western traveler was Vambery. Ubeydullah in his Iran memoirs refers to Vambery who traveled in disguise in central Asia.³²⁹ Sadık el Müeyyed tells a story that he had listened from Vambery about the respect of the central Asian people for the Ottoman Empire.³³⁰ The Khan of Khive asks Mehmed Emin about the reliability of Vambery's thesis that Magyars had Turkic origins.³³¹

The Muslim merchants and elites were other sources of information for the Ottoman travelers. Sadık el Müeyyed takes information from two Muslim merchants, İskender Galip and Beşer Galip Efendi, about Somalia and Djibouti. Müeyyed's visitors especially ambassadors of the great powers were another significant source of information.³³² Some Ottoman travelers are very uncertain about their sources of information. Mustafa bin Mustafa takes information on the *Banyans* from a *Banyan* friend of a friend.³³³ Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade gives his sources with such phrases: "trustworthy individuals", or "reliable sources". He also mentions two French travelers who had visited Delhi in the reign of Shah Cihan. In addition to his uncertain sources, he also refers to many legendary and supernatural incidents.³³⁴ Another possible source of information was the European guidebooks, but the majority of the Ottoman travelers do not explicitly refer to use of them. However, Halil Halid says that he travelled around Algeria with a guidebook.³³⁵

³²⁸ For Şirvanlı's source of information see: Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 30, 40, 57, 71, 172.

³²⁹ Ubeydullah Efendi, *Geçirdiğim Günlerin Hesabına Dağınık Yapraklar*, p. 237.

³³⁰ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, p. 186.

³³¹ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, pp. 171-172.

³³² Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, p. 66.

³³³ Mustafa bin Mustafa, *Aksa-yı Şarkta Bir Cevelan*, p. 59.

³³⁴ For Karçınzade's sources of information see: Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, pp. 204, 283, 455-6.

³³⁵ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Haturatı*, p. 74.

Some other Ottoman travelers are more explicit about their sources. Abdürreşid İbrahim quotes from Russian author *Çokmaldin*, gives references to *Şibonin*, orientalist *Yaderinçef*, historian *Molyer*. He reads the European authors who studied on the Chinese Muslims. He also gives their name as follows: *Brofiski, Latigin and Patanin*. He bought a guidebook on Siberian railroad. He knew İbn Battuta and discovered the Turkish elements in China with respect to Battuta's travelogue.³³⁶ His work, *Alem-i İslam* is full with dialogues and conversations and even complete texts of his and Japanese elites' speeches. Since many of these speeches or conversation followed by the Japanese journalists and published in newspapers, he could easily keep these records. After chapters regarding Japan he wants to finish that chapter with his personal ideas and conclusions. In this regard he concedes that he imitated the ethnographic and anthropological books.³³⁷ This is another evidence for European intellectual influence and a parallelism constructed by İbrahim himself between his work and ethnographic works. Samizade Süreyya gives bibliography in each chapter of his work on Japan. He is very knowledgeable on the Western sources of information about Japan and frequently quotes from the western travelers' views.³³⁸

Cami Bey's book shows the relation between the Ottoman travelers and the European sources of information. He refers to the writings of famous explorers Gerhard Rohlfs:

Rohlfs, who in a time when Central Asia was concealed behind a dark veil of mystery from the civilized world (*alem-i medeniyet*), was one of those famous travelers who dared to lift the veil and cast himself upon the frightful depth of the Sahara to explore what was behind the curtain.³³⁹

This quotation from Cami Bey's travelogue reveals that how much he internalized the metaphors used for the African continent by the Western travelers. He does not refer to Rohlfs in neutral and descriptive terms, but with affirming and approving his metaphors such as dark veil of mystery, frightful depth of Sahara and behind the curtain. Herzog and Motika claim that the transmission of information went in both directions. Cami Bey's travelling companion Hanns Vischer admitted in his travelogue that he

³³⁶ For Abdürreşid's sources of information see: Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, pp. 44, 57, 60, 73, 102, 103, 127, 132-3.

³³⁷ Ibid. p. 648.

³³⁸ Samizade Süreyya, *Büyük Japonya*, pp. 40, 50,

³³⁹ Christoph Herzog and Raoul Motika, "Orientalism *alla Turca*", p. 166.

penetrated into the more intimate life of the desert people thanks to Cami Bey's help without that it was a closed book to him.³⁴⁰

2. Encounters with Peoples, Cities and Cultures

Before a systematic comparison between the Ottoman perceptions of the non-European world and the European colonial discourses, it is important to look at encounters of the Ottoman travelers with the non-European peoples, cities and cultures. These three types of encounters give us significant insights on the overall picture of the Ottoman gaze around the non-European world. Their contacts with the local populations, the responses of the local people to the Ottoman travelers, their relation to the colonial agents, and the degree of their adaptation to everyday life of other culture are discussed under the title of "encounters with peoples". Their units of evaluation with regard to the non-European cities, their expectations from a city under the colonial rule, their expectations from a city under the non-colonial rule, and the notions of the European and Oriental city are discussed under the title of "encounters with cities". Under the title of "encounters with cultures", their overall views on the western and non-western cultures will be discussed. This investigation will enable us to make a comparison between the Ottoman travelers' gaze around Europe and around non-Europe.

2.1. Encounters with peoples: The Adaptations to the local conditions and agents

The Ottoman travelers in this part are evaluated in terms of their relation to the local Muslims and the colonial agents. The love and respect of the local Muslims to the Ottoman travelers and the caliph-sultan is one of the most frequently mentioned types of encounters with peoples. The prays for the Ottoman Empire and the caliph-sultan, the welcoming ceremonies and demonstrations for the representatives of the caliph-sultan or any ordinary Ottoman group of visitors, and the willingness of the local Muslims to hear about the Ottoman Empire are most popular themes in the Ottoman travel accounts. The degree and frequency of the Ottoman travelers' contact with the local agents is also a significant theme in the Ottoman travelogues.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 166.

Other themes are related to the adaptation and reception issues. In general, there are exceptional cases for a successful and desirable adaptation to the local conditions. Ubeydullah's travel in America was a unique adaptation to everyday life of another culture. However, this was an adaptation to a western life style. In the non-western context, it is difficult to see such an adaptation. In general, they preferred to preserve a certain distance to the local conditions. Abdürreşid Ibrahim and Ahmed Kemal's adaptations to the local condition in Japan and Kasghar respectively were also results of the political considerations. Although Abdurrahman Efendi had been Brazil for a long time, there was no indication of an adaptation to local conditions. Contrary, he had troubles to cope with false Islamic practices. According to Faik, Ebubekir Efendi had similar troubles in Cape Town. It is also difficult to evaluate Mehmed Emin Efendi's travels in central Asia as a successful adaptation although these lands are his homeland. He had only a sense of empathy regarding their life styles. The reception of colonialism and its discourses by the local people is another interesting topic but a rarely mentioned topic in the Ottoman travelogues.

Many travelers emphasize the concern and attention of the local Muslims to the representatives of the Ottoman Empire and the caliph-sultan. The welcoming ceremony of the Muslim people and the visits of the Muslims are the most frequently mentioned type of encounters in the Ottoman travel literature. The majority of travelers link this interest to the Muslims' respect for the Ottoman caliph-sultan. Ebubekir Efendi was welcomed by the Muslim inhabitants of Cape Town and the Ottoman envoy Monseur Robbins. Ebubekir and Ömer Lütfi visited members of the local Muslim ulema during their residence in Cape Town. When the Muslims of Cape town had heard that an Ottoman ship approached their harbor, they immediately demonstrated their joy for seeing an Ottoman ship.³⁴¹ Engineer Faik mentions the appeal, respect and esteem of Algerian Muslims for the Ottoman banner undulating in corvettes and considers it as a patriotic responsibility of the local Muslims. This expectation from the local people of Algeria is a result of the former status of Algeria as an Ottoman province.³⁴²

³⁴¹For Ömer Lütfi and Ebubekir Efendi's relations with the local Muslims see: Ömer Lütfi, *Ümitburnu Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 47-8, 61, 63, 80.

³⁴²Mühendis Faik, *Seyhatname-i Bahr-i Muhit*, pp. 18-19.

Mehmed Emin during his voyage into central Asia encountered with the people asking for Russo-Ottoman war and praying for the maintenance of the empire.³⁴³ Mustafa bin Mustafa encountered with a respectful Muslim merchant, Hacı Abdül Hüseyini in Bombay (Mumbai). In Calcutta, Hong Kong and Canton, Mustafa Efendi continued to be welcomed by the agents of this merchant. Wherever he went, he easily encountered with a hospitable Muslim. In Wickham Island (*Filikham Adası*), he asked a Muslim about his concern and hospitality for a foreign man and was answered as such: “We love Turks as we love ourselves”. He established a connection even with the ruler of Lahore Ebubekir Han and he had remained in Lahore for 12 months under the protection of Ebubekir.³⁴⁴ He could easily meet with the highest level authorities thanks to his Ottoman identity. Sadık el Müeyyed encountered a wide range of peoples throughout his journey. He was introduced by the employee of travel agency to the inspector of company and the police officer of the ship. His table companions in the ship were two German merchants and the company inspector. Before his journey to Djibouti, he visited the French consulate and took recommendation letters. When he arrived at Djibouti, he met with the governor of the city, and Ethiopian ambassador in Djibouti. Many Muslim chiefs visited his residence and delivered prays for the caliph. Throughout his journey, he conversed with the representatives of the great powers in Ethiopia. In Harar and capital city, Addis Ababa, the people welcomed them with the enthusiastic demonstrations. In Addis Ababa, an official meeting ceremony was conducted for the Ottoman delegation. Although he met with the emperor, he does not give detailed information regarding the content of their conversation.³⁴⁵

Ebubekir Efendi of *Ümitburnu Seyahatnamesi* sent informative letters to Istanbul for *Mecmua-i Fünun*. One of these letters was about the dispute between two local imams and his appointment as a consultative expert by the local government. He emphasized the reliance of the courts on him concerning the disputes among Muslims. Then, he continued to give information on the policies of the local government which banned some harmful societies and religious orders. He had a strong belief that he could influence the local government against those who had practices opposed to sharia. However, he did not demand such requests in order not to attract the hostility of

³⁴³ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, pp. 38-39.

³⁴⁴ Mustafa bin Mustafa, *Aksa-yı Şarkta Bir Cevelan*, pp. 75-78.

³⁴⁵ For Sadık el Müeyyed's encounters with various people see: Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 24-8, 38, 44, 72, 79-81, 170, 203-14.

the common people.³⁴⁶ Although there were differences in beliefs between the British officials and Ebubekir Efendi, he found, in many issues, the British government much closer to him than the local common people. Ebubekir Efendi informs that he sent a telegraph to the British governor of South Africa in order to rescue a few Muslims of Zanzibar island that were captured by Britain 4 years ago. They were set free with the efforts of Ebubekir.³⁴⁷ Despite this fact, Ebubekir did not consider this captivation as an indicator of the British cruelty or oppression; rather he presented it as a mistakenly made application. In a nutshell, Ebubekir Efendi could not reconcile an unjust and oppressive application with the British rule; he claims in his travelogue that it was a mistake. He saw an incompatibility between a conscious oppression and the British rule. For the latter authors of the Ottoman travel literature especially those who had written their accounts after 1905, such an event is significant opportunity to blame the British rule on its cruelty to the local peoples.

Şirvanlı met with the British officials and agent politic Mr. Shaw in the steamer going through Bombay. They encountered with the Muslim peoples' demonstrations and meeting ceremony which accompanied by prays for the sultan-caliph. Şirvanlı contends that they rushed out into the streets for their future. However, the Ottoman delegation was more sensitive to the concerns of the British government rather than the hopes of the Muslim community. The number of the received visitors was limited by the delegation due to the abundance of visitors, because they thought that this amount of crowd might lead to the discontent of the local British government. They decided to participate in Friday prayer and once again met with the enthusiastic Muslims, so that they returned to their residence in their own will in order not to offend the local government. Nevertheless, the British government decided to appoint a government agent Colonel Desborough to guide the Ottoman delegation. However, on their way from Bombay to Jabalpur, the demonstrations of the Muslims in favor of the Ottoman delegation continued, but after Jabalpur they did not encounter with such crowds and demonstrations.³⁴⁸ In Punjab, they participated in the opening of a mosque and witnessed prays of the Muslims for the caliph-sultan and the queen.³⁴⁹ His friend Mr.

³⁴⁶ Ömer Lütü, *Ümitburnu Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 76, 95, 99.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³⁴⁸ For Şirvanlı's observations on the local Muslims' demonstrations, see: Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 11, 14-5, 36.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

Shaw, the Muslim community and the British officials showed their kind regards to the delegation throughout their journey and they were not willing to let the delegation to return to Istanbul. Furthermore, after their decision of departure, Şirvanlı received a letter from his friend agent politic Mr. Christie whom he met in Peşhavar. In his letter, he expresses that he longed for their friendly conversations.³⁵⁰ The sensitivity of Şirvanlı to the British governmental concerns, his close relations with the British officials, prays for both the queen and the caliph confirms the claims of Herzog and Motika who argue that Şirvanlı was sent to Swat and Afghanistan to convince Afghan and Swat rulers to join an Otto-British alliance against Russia.

In addition to encounters with the Muslims, there are some other interesting encounters. For instance, the emperor of Brazil visited the Ottoman corvettes. The whole inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro interested in the visit of their emperor. The Ottomans became an object of spectacle since the local people had never seen any Ottoman before.³⁵¹ Another most interesting encounter in *Seyhatname-i Bahr-i Muhit* was between engineer Faik and Ebubekir Efendi of *Ümitburnu Seyhatnamesi*. In their way to Basra, Faik's corvette visited Cape Town and he conversed with Ebubekir Efendi and observed that he could not get on well with the local people. Furthermore, Ebubekir, Faik claims, demanded from the Ottoman government his removal from the mission.³⁵²

In latter travel accounts, especially published after 1905, the frequency of conflicts with the local agents or the negative image of the colonial officials increases. For instance, Abdürreşid İbrahim quarrels with the director of the Calcutta police department while discussing the poverty of the local communities in Calcutta.³⁵³ Halil Halid participates in the congress of orientalists in Algeria. Although he does not give a talk, he expresses his ideas on the Orientalists and their distorted ideas on Islam and the Ottoman Empire.³⁵⁴ Mehmed Fazlı mentions the cruelties of Russian police and their brutal and vulgar surveillance and inspections. He considers that it was difficult to encounter with this kind of treatment in the most oppressive and tyrannical government

³⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 162.

³⁵¹ Mühendis Faik, *Seyhatname-i Bahr-i Muhit*, pp. 44-45.

³⁵² Ibid. p. 54.

³⁵³ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 2. Cilt, pp. 295-298.

³⁵⁴ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, pp. 77-82.

in the world.³⁵⁵ In Iran, they were attacked by the local Muslims since they supposed that Mehmed Fazlı and his team were Christians and violated the boundaries of the Muslim sphere. They were rescued by police in return for bribery. The owner of their residence in Iran admitted that the inhabitants of the city were the savages. In Herat of Afghanistan, they were met by the great attention of the inhabitants; however, Fazlı did not link this concern and interest to their Ottoman and Muslim identity. He argues that it was because the inhabitants were not accustomed to see foreigners.³⁵⁶

One of the most successful adaptations to the foreign culture and life styles are Ubeydullah's experiences in America. He is proud of making a living in America for two years without anyone's financial support. Throughout the universal exposition of Chicago he worked as a journalist for the Ottoman exposition newspaper and benefited from his job in his love affair since it provided him lots of opportunity to participate in many entertainment activities and feasts. He invited his girl friend Miss Eenni Mason (*Anna Meysin*) to accompany him in these activities. One day, when they talked about love affairs, Mason asked him whether he had ever fallen in love with someone. Ubeydullah replied that he could show her a small mug shot of his beloved. When Mason heard this suggestion, she was sorrowed. However, Ubeydulah gave her a small mirror to express his love for Miss Mason. Nevertheless, he evaluated these close relations with Mason as an impossible love affair. In his own terms, she was a fairy of the British lands while he himself was a vagrant. After the closure of the exposition, Mason returned to her mother country, while Ubeydullah remained in America and sought ways for making a livelihood in America.³⁵⁷ Two things in Turkish pavilion of the exposition caught his attention. One was the panoramic displays of Istanbul and the other one was silk candy (*keten helva*). At the end of exposition, he bought both apparatuses of panoramic displays and the equipments for making silk candy. He preferred to sell silk candy and participated in two candy fairs. In addition, he learned making necklaces embroidered with names and became a street vendor. In Cuba, he began to sell his products in a wholesale food market, but he was attacked by other sellers, thrown by various kinds of vegetables and forced to leave market.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁵ Mehmed Fazlı, *Resimli Afgan Seyahatnamesi*, p. 39.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³⁵⁷ Ubeydullah Efendi, *Geçirdiğim Günlerin Hesabına Dağınık Yapraklar*, pp. 194-200.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 218-224.

Immediately after his arrival, Habibzade Ahmet Kemal began his negotiations with the local elites for the opening of a school in Kashgar. He discussed with young men who complained about current conditions of their motherland. These were young people whose minds and capabilities are imprisoned by the darkness of ignorance according to Ahmet Kemal. He considered his duty as an order given by his Turkishness. At the end, he managed to open a school and constitute an Islamic society. His aim was to educate young men with patriotic and reformist ideas for the sake of happiness and salvation of the Turkic ethnicity. However, there were also oppositional forces against his educational activities among the Kashgar society. While one notable Bahaddin Bay was in favor of the new education system, other notable Ömer Bay opposed to the reforms conducted by Ahmet Kemal. Ömer Bay used Islam as an instrument to criticize the educational reforms. Another instrument of Ömer Bay to prevent the reforms was his petitions of complaint delivered to the Russian consulate. Bahaddin Bay was accused by Ömer Bay of creating conflicts and cleavages among the society, of spreading the revolutionary ideas for the independence of Turks. Ahmet Kemal imprisoned by the Chinese government with the demand of the Russian consulate.³⁵⁹ In response to this attack, Ahmet Kemal applied to the German consulate for help and regarded the Germans as the protector of the Turks in China.³⁶⁰ Ahmet Kemal claims that this conflict between Bahaddin Bay and Ömer Bay was not an ideological or religious conflict; rather it was resulted from conflicts of private interests, individual hostilities and competition.³⁶¹ What is interesting in Ahmet Kemal's account of events is Ömer Bay's use of colonial fears in favor of his private interests. This shows us how the colonial discourses and practices received differently and creatively by the colonized subjects.

2.2. Encounters with cities: The Expected non-European city

The basic method of evaluating a foreign city is to compare it the familiar. What was the familiar for the Ottoman travelers? There were two criteria that determine their interpretations and feelings on the non-European non-Ottoman cities. The first factor was based on a comparison with the European civilization. The second one was questioning whether that city is dominantly an Islamic city or not. Mehmed Fazlı's

³⁵⁹ Ahmet Kemal İlkul, *Çin-Türkistan Hatıraları*, pp. 95-102, 121-9.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

travelogue shows the hierarchies among the minds of the Ottoman intellectuals. He regarded Trieste as a city full with civilization: well ordered and very clean streets, beautiful gardens. In Budapest, he first saw the works of civilization such as wide and clean streets, splendid and excellent buildings, tramways, coffeehouses, suspension bridges, modern fine arts. This new city with its all civilized works was resembled by Mehmed Fazlı a sample of Paris. The Danube River reminded him of the Sen River. When he arrived at Baku, he witnessed small Circassian villages which pleased his Islamic sensations. Although Iran is an Islamic country, Mehmed Fazlı talks about Iranian cities with very negative images. Most probably its Shiite character negatively influenced the Ottoman travelers, because none of our sources found a positive image in Iran. Fazlı was disappointed from the civilisational level of sacred Mashhad. He described their hotel as the house of melancholy, found dinner disgusting. Fazlı and his group had troubles with meals spread out on the floor and use of single glass, and lack of spoon in the ground table. After Mashhad, he remarks that, a life without spoon was introduced to them, this new life regarded by them as a primitive life. Thus Mehmed Fazlı adopted a separating line between the civilized and the primitive world.³⁶²

Ömer Lütfi talks about markets, shops, streets, esplanades, squares, pools, statues of Marseille The most frequent attributions used to describe these components of the European cities are regularity, uniformity, orderliness, cleanliness, and greatness. He visited gardens and palaces. He was bewildered with the abundance of bridges, wideness of roads, pavements, squares and statues. He described Paris as a beautiful and beloved city. The illumination systems of Paris and London and the use of trained dogs as apprentices by the small or medium sized shops in London influenced him very much. London was described as a dark and foggy country due to the over-consumption of coal so that it was necessary to change your clothes twice a day.³⁶³ Liverpool and Cape Town were also described by their wide and well ordered streets. Alexandria was a sample of London.³⁶⁴ Lütfi observes that although Aden was under British dominance, there was not such well ordered buildings and clean streets and the settlement was based on primitive huts whose walls was made of mud and roofs was

³⁶² Mehmed Fazlı, *Resimli Afgan Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 32-49.

³⁶³ Ömer Lütfi, *Ümitburnu Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 31-46.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 61.

covered by reeds. The city was full of wretched men, dirty places, and meals with terrible smells.³⁶⁵

There are certain expectations of Ottoman travelers from a city under the British dominance. Britain was considered as the carrier of civilization for many Ottoman intellectuals. The orderliness, cleanliness, greatness and regularity are regarded as byproducts of the British rule. When the actual experiences did not satisfy their expectations, they got surprised and did not adopt a critical standpoint against this unexpected situation. Anyway, as we have seen in the introduction on the Ottoman travelers who had visited Europe, there had a tendency to bypass the back streets of the European cities. In a similar vein some Ottoman travelers who had visited the non-European non-Ottoman geographies bypassed the back streets of the colonized cities.

Engineer Faik found the cleanliness of streets in Rio de Janeiro inadequate and encountered with a terrible smell due to the existence of swamps. The cities in Brazil were in ruins and were not well ordered according to Faik. The buildings were ruined and streets were narrow.³⁶⁶ Indeed, Abdurrahman Efendi notes that Brazil had not yet reached the civilisational level of Europe.³⁶⁷ There were standard parameters of civilization such as wide and clean streets, well ordered buildings for the majority of the Ottoman travelers. When they arrived at a city, the first things they looked at were these parameters of a civilized city and their reference point was the European cities and sought for characteristics of the European cities. Mehmed Emin makes a separation between his observations in Europe and in Asian deserts. His dreams in Europe turned into the groundless worries in the Asian deserts. He points out that while Paris and London were magnificent and grand cities, central Asia was nothing more than an ocean of sand. It was a desert of untouched wilderness without any traces of the prosperous works. Therefore, he repeats dichotomies of the colonial discourse: the civilized, developed, prosperous Europe and the non-civilized, savage and underdeveloped Asia.³⁶⁸ Şirvanlı's reference point was also the European cities and sources. He remarks that Ajmer was Frankfurt of India in which many wealthy merchant like Rochild Rotschid competed with each other. He states that the Europeans

³⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 72, 74.

³⁶⁶ Mühendis Faik, *Seyhatname-i Bahr-i Muhit*, pp. 36-37.

³⁶⁷ Bağdatlı Abdurrahman Efendi, *Brezilya Seyahatnamesi*, p. 47.

³⁶⁸ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, p. 106.

established a similarity between Benares (Varanasi) and Naples. In his depictions of Bombay, he contrasted the embellished hotels, music hall, quest-houses, national parks, Victoria garden, wide streets and regularity of shops with terrible smells due to burning of corpses by the worshipers of fire and the beauties of the landscape. On the one hand civilization and prosperous city of Britain, on the other hand Bombay of nature.³⁶⁹

Sadık el Müeyyed's position with regard to the European cities was not different than other travelers. His soul was pleased for the beauty of illuminated Naples. He encountered with a waiter who unfurls the sun-awning in a cloudy day since his job was unfurling this awning on the same hour every day. He called him “automatic waiter”. This event reminds him of an event which he witnessed in Berlin 14 years ago. He encountered with a staff of the municipality who watered the streets in a rainy day. When he was questioned by Müeyyed, he was answered by someone else saying that he was doing his job.³⁷⁰ It is difficult to determine Müeyyed's actual intention of narrating these events. There is a certain tone of sarcasm pertaining to his account. He ridicules the exaggerated sides of civilization, over-attachment to job responsibilities. This may be a critique of strict work discipline and the automaticization of life in Europe due to developing technology. However, the remaining part of his travelogue is not about Europe so that it is not easy to determine his exact attitudes towards Europe. Nevertheless, he is easily depicted as a Francophone by Herzog and Motika.³⁷¹

Although Müeyyed shares many aspects of the previously written travelogues in the context of European civilization, he had a self confidence to ridicule the European practices pertaining to civilization. Many Ottoman travelers who had visited Europe made a distinction between the material and the spiritual aspects of the European civilization. This distinction corresponds to the separation between *hars* and *medeniyet* made by Ziya Gökalp. The spiritual aspect of it (*hars*) was rejected by the majority of the Ottoman intellectuals, while the material aspects of it (*medeniyet*) uncritically affirmed by them. In the early 20th century, the Ottoman accounts on the European and non-European world, we can also witness a critique of civilization and material aspects of the European modernity. Although Müeyyed had not directed harsh critiques towards the European civilization, he did not hesitate to declare absurd aspects of it.

³⁶⁹ Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 13-22.

³⁷⁰ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 23-24.

³⁷¹ Christoph Herzog and Raoul Motika, "Orientalism *alla Turca*", p. 170.

On the other hand Müeyyed shares many prejudices of the colonial and orientalist discourse. He depicted Djibouti which is under the French rule as a city in progress. He argued that the French government even banned the construction of primitive huts there.³⁷² He encountered with dirty roads and brooks when he came to Harar. However, he forgets that he was in Harar when he saw the orderliness and cleanliness of the foreign consulate buildings.³⁷³ In Addis Ababa he was a guest in Hacı Ahmed Efendi's residence. This host had a gramophone in his household. The local visitors of Müeyyed were bewildered by this instrument and had troubles in understanding how a human fit into this very small instrument. Müeyyed's bewilderment was different than the inhabitants of the capital city. He was surprised of encountering with a gramophone in Addis Ababa.³⁷⁴ This is an example of the Ottoman prejudices regarding the non-European non-colonized countries. While Ömer Lütfi was amazed by the lack of civilisational elements in Aden, a city under the British rule, Müeyyed was astonished by the existence of the civilized instruments in Addis Ababa, an independent non-European city in Africa. There were certain absences that were automatically expected from a non-European non-colonized country. Müeyyed notes that that he desired to return Dire Dawa as far as possible in order to sleep in a well ordered room with a roof, in short to benefit from the easiness and rests given by civilization. When he saw the train station of Dire Dawa, he felt that he arrived at the world he was accustomed to.³⁷⁵

Karçinzade found no corner to be loved in Zanzan (*Zincan*) of Iran, but only narrow streets with terrible smells and without pavements. In Tehran, he could not see any place that has even a little similarity with Europe. He depicted Tehran in terms of absences: scarcity of teacher and students, a capital at the middle of a country without railroads and paved roads. Nevertheless, he alleges that Tehran was a new city which might be loved by those who were accustomed to the Oriental life styles. In Shemiran (*Şamran*) region of Iran, he observes that there were small summer houses pertaining to the Orient and a natural beauty.³⁷⁶ For Karçinzade, there is an Oriental city which is defined as the mirror image of the Western city which lacks many works of civilization.

³⁷² Ibid., pp. 48-50.

³⁷³ Ibid., pp. 82-5, 87.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 166-167.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 253-254.

³⁷⁶ For Karçinzade's impressions of the Iranian cities, see: Süleyman Şükrü Karçinzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, pp. 165, 173-4, 178-9.

There are also certain characteristics and absences that Karçınzade had expected from an Oriental city. He adopts similar dividing lines with the orientalist and the colonialist discourse although he also directs harsh criticisms against the colonial practices and discourses in many parts of his travelogue.

Another author who had a notion of Oriental city was Halil Halid. He could not find too much thing that reminded the Orient in the general landscape of Philippe-ville of Algeria, rather it seemed to him like an inferior Western city and the charm of this western city gave him feelings of boredom and tiredness after one day.³⁷⁷ There were certain characteristics that make the Orient Oriental and in general these characteristics were described by the Ottoman travelers as the reversed image of Europe. What is interesting in his account is his distaste from an Oriental city which resembles the Western cities. Both Karçızade and Halid Halid make the European civilization and the imperial cruelties an object of criticism contrary to the previously written travelogues. In addition, Halil Halid argues that his travel to Algeria was an escape from foggy weather in London and his desire was not to visit a Western style city but to see the Oriental things.³⁷⁸ In this regard his altitude is similar to the belated travelers.

Civilization and culture, for Karçınzade, brings an end to the humanity's living in a state of savagery. The non-European neighborhoods of Tien Jin of China were found disordered and dirty by him. He claims that China had not a culture appropriate to the norms of that century. He gives a very negative image of China full with poverty and filth. He contends that there was no ability and desire to awaken in the Chinese people whom he could not see any sublimity in their soul, life in their hearts, nobility in their blood, taste of culture in their minds, will to progress in their ideas, contemplation in their personality, desire to learn sublime knowledge in their temperament. Their belief systems were away from reality and civilization. He defines that the Chinese people were an incompetent community that hated from civilization and culture. Karçınzade has no hope for their progress. He did not encounter with any single clean and well ordered street in Peking. He continues his criticisms by saying that their government was incompetent with regard to the penetration of the great powers and their bureaucrats were addicted to opium and docile to the foreign influences. There is a

³⁷⁷ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, pp. 23-25.

³⁷⁸ *İbid.*, p. 22.

direct relation between civilization and progress in Karçinzade's account. There were certain costs of not having a civilization. The most determinate cost was becoming vulnerable to the dominance and penetration of the foreign powers. Nevertheless, his bypass to the ancient Chinese civilization may be related to the perceived image of China as a country with a false and non-civilized belief system.³⁷⁹ In general, the Ottoman travelers had a tendency to see the positive aspects of the Islamic countries despite the existence of certain non-civilized elements in these countries. Mustafa bin Mustafa gives a more positive account of Lahore. He emphasizes the beauties of its cities, the productivity of its lands, and beautiful temperament and customs while he says that he saw in Canton of China only extreme poverty.³⁸⁰

Abdürreşid İbrahim's first questions to be acquainted with a new place were as follows: "Does the community recognize the significance of education? Is there any desire among people for learning? Are there any students sent into Europe for education? Are there any groups of people who complain about the cruelties of the government? What is the degree of desire for manufacturing? How is the spiritual state of the nation?"³⁸¹ İbrahim was more sensitive to the differences within a city than the earlier travelers. In Tashkent, he made a difference between the Russian and the Muslim neighborhoods. He underscores that while the Russian ones were a sample of Europe with its orderly civilized works, the Muslim Tashkent was what it was 500 years ago with its muddy roads. He criticizes this gap between two neighborhoods and claims that the Russian one was constructed thanks to the taxes collected from the Muslims. He complained about the fact that the oldness of the Muslim neighborhood was presented to the foreign visitors as a sample of the Muslim incapability and the result of Islamic manners, and all shortcomings of the Muslim neighborhoods were attributed to Islam rather than the Russian unjust uses of the Muslim taxes. İbrahim's blame on the Russian rule was also a response to the accusations of the colonial and orientalist discourse on Islam. Opposed to this accusation, he developed a contra-argument which condemns the Russian colonial practices.³⁸²

³⁷⁹ Süleyman Şükrü Karçinzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, pp. 582-588.

³⁸⁰ Mustafa bin Mustafa, *Aksa-yı Şarkta Bir Cevelan*, pp. 78-80.

³⁸¹ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, p. 340.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

It is difficult to say that Abdürreşid's account is a total critique of imperialism; rather it is blame on false applications of the colonizing mission. Throughout his work *Alem-i İslam*, İbrahim attempted to show the contradictions of the colonial-orientalist discourse with emphasizing the gap between the colonial discourse and the actual applications of it. He compares the Chinese postal officers' politeness with their Russian colleagues' rudeness. While the Chinese officer accompanies İbrahim to the door of post office, the Russian officers force him to take off his *kalpak*. He reverses the perceived dichotomy between the "savage" Chinese people and the "civilized" Russian people with his contra-cases. He criticizes the European discourses that regarded the Chinese people as savages due to their long clothes and hair. He claims that despite their humane behavior, the Chinese were regarded as savages, while Russians under the western clothes were regarded as civilized despite their barbarous behaviors.³⁸³

İbrahim tries to show his readers the hypocrisy of the Western civilization throughout his travel account. In Russian city, Vladivostok, he witnessed a country of dirtiness. He complains that if such a dirty city was belonged to an Islamic country, the Christian authors would not hesitate to attribute this dirtiness to Islam. İbrahim had a reflexive tendency to respond to the attacks on Islam. In Korea, he turned his observations on the miserable Koreans into an opportunity for the critique of hypocritical civilization. He stresses that although the civilized people had a compassion for dogs, they did not display same amount of compassion for their own kinds. He comments that the temperament of the Oriental peoples was based on mercy for human kinds while so called civilized Europe treated others as though they were donkeys. According to the witness of a Korean carrier, the people changed their religion in return for food offered by the Christian missionaries.³⁸⁴

Abdürreşid İbrahim presents Japan as an alternative civilization to the West. The Japanese civilization is even better and preferable than the Western one. In his account on Japan, he emphasizes these positive aspects of Japan compared to Europe: He claims that there was no money for arrival in harbor, no additional fee for transportation from steamer to harbor, no control for passport. He encountered in the

³⁸³ Ibid., pp. 232-233.

³⁸⁴ Ibid. pp. 251-255.

smallest village of Japan with telephone lines, telegraph, post office and school. He argues that it was impossible to encounter with an idle man, the Japanese nation was a very industrious and active people, they worked much harder and longer in festival days instead of taking a vacation, spending their time for leisure and drinking as Europeans do during their festival days. Although İbrahim narrates his views on Japan with a joy of finding an alternative to the Western civilization, he also takes his readers' attention to the oriental elements in Japan. Narrow streets and adjacent buildings were enough to attribute the adjective "Oriental". İbrahim admits that if Yokohama had not been a nice city, he would easily define it as one of the Oriental cities, because there were elements that reminded him the Orient such as narrow streets, simple buildings, and good manners and morality of the people.³⁸⁵ He reproduces the dichotomy between materially superior and morally inferior Europe constructed by the previous Ottoman authors. This morally superior Orient is a frequently used theme by Abdürreşid İbrahim. Honesty is regarded one of the most crucial virtues of the Orient. A Korean boatman searched for İbrahim all around the city in order not to shortchange him in spite of insignificant amount of money. Abdürreşid contrasted this Oriental honesty with perceived barbarity and savagery of the Orient. The Korean boatman said that the Europeans supposed them savages; nevertheless the Koreans knew their self esteem and he claimed that the actual civilization belonged to them.³⁸⁶ For the Ottomans, there were some values that had lost by the West a long time ago, but preserved with a great care by the Easterners. The certain characteristics which make something Oriental in the eyes of the Ottomans are generally defined contrary to an imagined West. The largeness, greatness, and orderliness were assumed as an attribute of the West and smallness, simplicity, good manners and morality and disorder marked as the characteristics which make something Oriental.

İbrahim had also sympathy to the Muslim countries and people. Throughout his account, he did not miss any chance to praise the Muslims and to debase the Russians. He compares Muslim villages and Russian villages and observes that there was neither church nor schools in the majority of the Russian villages, while there was either a school or a mosque even in the smallest Muslim villages.³⁸⁷ In Lahore, he witnessed a

³⁸⁵ Ibid. pp. 274-290.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 2. Cilt, p. 17.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 1. Cilt, p. 159.

civilized country with its own railways, postal services, and steamers.³⁸⁸ Lahore was an independent Muslim country so that it deserved praise in the evaluatory schemes of the Ottoman travelers because of its Muslim identity and of its level of civilization as an independent country at the midst of the colonial powers. In Calcutta, Abdürreşid emphasized the newness of the city and found its current state competitive with the European cities. Since it was constructed by Britain, what bewildered him was not the city's development, but rather the abundance of narrow, disordered, dirty and dead end streets side by side with the civilized ones.³⁸⁹ The expectations from a city under the British rule are still same in İbrahim's account: civilized works, order and progress. However, there appeared among some Ottoman travelers such as Karçinzade, Halil Halid and also Abdürreşid İbrahim an intention to make a comparison between the expectations and the reality. This intention led the Ottoman travelers to turn their eyes into the back streets of the colonized cities.

The ignorance of the local inhabitants in Calcutta, the nakedness of the poor Indians and their living in the streets were the objects of critique against the British rule in India for İbrahim. He questioned the reasons behind this kind of poverty. He did not consider overpopulation as the major cause of it. He directly blamed the British government which does not invest for the poor Indians. He argues that although India was the major source of wealth for the most progressive and richest country of the world, Britain did not undertake philanthropic activities for the poor of Indian. İbrahim criticized the European visitors of India because of their silence about and blindness on the British insensitivity with regard to the poor. He alleges that they preferred to attribute the poverty to the local peoples' religion. They attributed beautiful streets to the benevolence of the British government, while all shortcomings attributed to Islam. Moreover, the claims of these European visitors were considered as the truth.³⁹⁰ İbrahim continues similar critiques in Bombay. He observes that the European appearance, order and grand streets were peculiar to the European neighborhoods of the city. He observed disorder, narrow streets, and dirtiness, in the other side of the city.³⁹¹ He also mentions insufficiency of education for the local people in India. He claims that the Europeans did not give their complete knowledge to the non-Europeans so that

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 2. Cilt, p. 245.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 266-267.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 270-272.

³⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 275-276.

people, who educated in foreign language, could not manage to become as successful as a European. In addition to this incomplete education, education in Britain resulted in a moral degeneration among the 90 percentage of students.³⁹² Ibrahim's critique of the British rule in India is a critique from within the colonial discourse. His critique of the British rule does not reach a level of total critique of imperialism. He blames on the British government since it does not perform its responsibilities with regard to the Indians.

In Ahmet Kemal's travelogues there appears an additional criterion of evaluating the non-European non-Ottoman cities: Turkish element as well as Islamic identity and European references. He described Kashgar as a city in ruins. There was an old *medrese* with an outmoded curriculum. Despite the ruined character of city, Kemal could idealize and aestheticize the city because of Turkic elements within the city. Kaşghar with its pure weather, perfumed soil, young girls with their red clothes in which they resemble living Turkish flags offered Ahmet Kemal a sublime scenery and national enthusiasm. The faithful and hospitable Turkish nation turned Turkestan into a paradise for Ahmet Kemal.³⁹³ He harshly criticized the Chinese government due to its cruelties to the Turks and described the Chinese people as masses with bloodless faces and lifeless moves. He claims that their coffeehouses were more ordered than government departments. The Chinese city, Urumqi, was full of opium addicts, prostitutes and dirty neighborhoods. The Chinese people in the eyes of Ahmet Kemal were lifeless miserable masses devoid of a social life.³⁹⁴ The town *Kumidi* which is a ruined district gained a new vitality after he encountered with young men with national harmony. When he did not encounter with sons of Oguz Han, the sunlight turned into the darkness of the night in the eyes of Ahmed Kemal.³⁹⁵

2.3. Encounters with Cultures: Tradition, Westernization and Progress

In the introduction part we have discussed the Ottoman responses to the West and the dichotomy between the materially superior West and the morally superior East. The Ottoman travelers in the age of new imperialism encountered with the Western

³⁹² Ibid., p. 450.

³⁹³ Ahmet Kemal İlkul, *Çin-Türkistan Hatıraları*, pp. 88-95.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 221-222.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 236.

colonial agents and practices in every corner of the world. Therefore, it is not surprising to encounter with the same dichotomy in the non-European context. The tension between attempts at westernization and the preservation of traditional culture was also a major part of the Ottoman travel accounts on the non-European world. The internal debates around the right dosage of westernization and traditionalism reflected in these travelogues. They reproduced the paradox of 3rd world nationalisms in their accounts. This was the resistance to the colonial discourses while internalizing many crucial aspects of them. In these circumstances, Japan appeared as an alternative modernity in the eyes of the Ottoman travelers and they were interested in its line of development and progress. The most striking and salient characteristic of this country was regarded as its successful progress while preserving its own culture.

Ömer Lütfi criticizes the dressing codes of the local women, the togetherness of woman and man in public life, the marriage ceremonies conducted in mosques due to their similarity to the Christian customs and manners and considered them as practices contrary to Islam. He drew the boundaries of the Islamic culture and opposes to the adaptation of the western and Christian traditions.³⁹⁶ Mustafa bin Mustafa in India praised the owner of a coffeehouse in which he used different cups for the Muslims and the Christians.³⁹⁷ These two travelers indicate the existence of a perceived strict line separating the Christian and the Islamic cultures. Despite this imagined boundaries, there are some travel accounts which prove the complexities of the colonial encounters. The colonizers as well as the colonized people felt themselves obliged to adopt some local customs in order to establish an efficient administration and work discipline. For instance, engineer Faik described a sugar cane factory in which the British owners allowed the workers to perform their superstitious religious practices at the midst of the factory.³⁹⁸ Karçınzade exemplifies how the religion of the colonized received differently by a Brahman. This Buddhist considered that the Christians worshiped a four forked tree and their god was born from a mother without father, and then he rose to the sky, to his ancestor. He depicted crucifix as a four forked tree and considered Christians as worshipers of a tree.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ Ömer Lütfi, *Ümitburnu Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 55-56.

³⁹⁷ Mustafa bin Mustafa, *Aksa-yı Şarkta Bir Cevelan*, pp. 56-75.

³⁹⁸ Mühendis Faik, *Seyhatname-i Bahr-i Muhit*, pp. 64-65.

³⁹⁹ Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade, *Seyhat-ül Kübra*, p. 591.

The foremost sign of civilization was external cleanliness and magnificence according to Ubeydullah Efendi. He encountered with a civilized group of people gathered in the steamer that goes from Liverpool through New York. The distinguishing characters of this assembly of passengers are cleanliness, well ordered and classified adornment and magnificence, politeness, refinement, blindness to individual faults, and lack of despising treatments.⁴⁰⁰ However, this kind of civilization had only an outward charm and a superficial magnificence, its internal content was disgusting according to Ubeydullah. He says that the exterior side of civilization functioned as a magnet and attracted peoples like the Ottomans who sunk into the depths of ignorance. He resembled this attraction to the relation between a brilliant lamb and a moth flying in the darkness. Ubeydullah claims that civilization was in danger and the civilized nations were not aware of the peril. When the danger will be eliminated, he predicts that the Muslims would reign supreme. Their responsibility was, Ubeydullah thinks, to pursue the light in order to get rid of darkness without questioning whether this light is hell fire or halo. Most probably, Ubeydullah repeats the dichotomy between the materially superior and the morally inferior European civilization in his own terms. In the subsequent pages, Ubeydullah makes evaluations implying the moral degradation in the West. He marks that there was no value of promises in America in terms of morality but only in terms of law, legal pacts and self interest.⁴⁰¹

On one night, the passengers demanded from Ubeydullah a speech. He felt himself incapable of talking in such a civilized social circumstance and said that Turks had not a place in this world of civilization. After insistence of the passengers, he gave a speech. He defined himself as a Turk from Asia. He was aware of his country's perception in the eyes of the civilized nations: It was a backward underdeveloped country in terms of education and industry. He remarked that he encountered with different aspects of civilization and what he saw made him suspicious with regard to civilization. He continued by saying that the community in that steamer showed him what the actual civilization was. He admired for the absences of the class and national differences and sectarian conflicts in this community. He hoped for the validity of this harmony in every corner of the world. He asked why this harmony among passengers

⁴⁰⁰ Ubeydullah Efendi, *Geçirdiğim Günlerin Hesabına Dağınık Yapraklar*, p. 122.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-133.

cannot reign supreme for all humanity. These ideas give evidence that his trouble with civilization was the lack of universality of its ideals: its perceived particularity to Europe and to privileged classes and nations.⁴⁰²

Ubeydullah's memoirs are also a fertile ground for discussing the tensions between westernization and the preservation of tradition and culture. An impaired elevator in the universal exposition of Chicago gave him an opportunity to ridicule both civilization and western imitators. This impaired elevator and the people who were stuck in it was a sign of civilization's mistaken sense of superiority over nature. Indeed, it was incapable in front of nature. This impaired elevator reminded him an event he witnessed in Balıkpazarı in Istanbul. A man with his francophone tuxedo who goes to a party slipped and rolled along the road with an olive barrel.⁴⁰³ Why Ubeydullah connected these two separate events to each other? Why an impaired elevator in the exposition reminded him an Ottoman fop? Can we consider this parallelism as a critique of westernization or as an anti-Bihruz strand? Most probably, Ubeydullah implies that the western imitator is nothing more than an impaired, deficient, and flawed adaptation of the west.

Despite the fact that his experiences in America was one of the most successful adaptations to the western everyday life, Ubeydullah also felt a sense of alienation, because he acknowledges that he was among peoples whose customs, manners, languages, morals were different than his. However, he contends that he learned how to behave in a civilized meeting. His friends in the steamer demanded from him to sing a song in a ball. He sang an *alla-Turca* song where the listeners are accustomed to *alla-franga* music. A passenger after his song concluded that he was drunk. Many others reacted to it with jokes and laughs. Ubeydullah responded that they had European minds and only the Orientals could understand this kind of music. Despite his strict dividing line between the Orient and the Occident in terms of music, he does not shut down the channels of communication between two cultures totally. He believes that there may be *alla turca* songs appropriate for singing in an *alla franga* meeting. The

⁴⁰² Ibid., pp. 146-148.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., p. 239.

precondition for finding suitable songs, Ubeydullah advises, requires a good degree of knowledge about both *allla turca* and *alla franga* music.⁴⁰⁴

Ubeydullah also mentions the false recognition of the West in the Ottoman intellectual circles. He does not consider westernization as the abandonment of his own religion and culture. He tries to correct the belief that the enlightened people do not pronounce their thanks to God. When he witnessed that the captain of their steamer prayed for God before dinner, he was bewildered. He also tells another story on *besmele* issue. Once, he was a member of the Ottoman delegation to London comprising Talat Bey, Ebuziyya Tevfik, Dr. Feylosof Rıza Tevfik, and Babanzade İsmail Hakkı. They were received by the king. The majority of the Ottoman delegation had not known English. However, Ubeydullah could talk with the king in English. In a feast given by the mayor of London, the mayor said that "God! Bless what we are about receiving". Ubeydullah translated his words into Turkish for his friends. Rıza Tevfik did not believe that mayor uttered these words. Babanzade confessed that how much they had incorrectly recognized Europe.⁴⁰⁵

Karçınzade claims that the Europeans progressed only in terms of industry, but they maintained their old fanaticism and jealousy with regard to Islam. Their misleading views on civilization and humanity were nothing more than wolf stories. They were devoid of morality and honor.⁴⁰⁶ This is the classical rhetoric of the morally degenerated Europe. He criticized the colonial practices which damaged tradition. He described the western life style based on alcohol, gambling, dancing, theater, and prostitution. He found their life style contrary to reason, wisdom and health. It was an infinite debauchery. This is also a reversal of the orientalist discourse on the Oriental lifestyle which defines the Orient as a source of dissipation and pleasure. Karçınzade argues that growing commercial relations led to the practices contrary to *Mecusi* customs in India. Although they did not eat meat, the amount of animal slaughters enormously grew after the British rule.⁴⁰⁷ In the opening of a school, he gave a speech based on the enlightenment of the people for the sake and preservation of nation with using religious references. However, he found the program of school insufficient in

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 136-138.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 126-130.

⁴⁰⁶ Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, p. 291.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 401.

terms of science. For him, the western science was not contrary to the preservation of culture and tradition. He reproduced the paradox of 3rd world nationalism in his own terms.

Abdürreşid İbrahim also mentions the morally degrading image of the West. Although he considered the Russian schools in *Yeditaş* useful for the people, he did not conceive them as the solution to the moral disorder. The common consequence of the Russian invasion in every country, he claims, was the collapse of morality and increase in alcoholism. The Christians carried with them the seeds of corruption. Every encounter with the Russians resulted in moral disorder. The rhetoric of travelers before him who sincerely believed the civilizing mission of the West turned into an image of the West as the carrier of moral debris.⁴⁰⁸ He refers to the moral regression among geishas after their encounters with the Europeans.⁴⁰⁹ A Japanese person who had traveled in China claimed that the people who changed their religion into Christianity weakened in terms of morality.⁴¹⁰

Abdürreşid İbrahim tries to draw the boundaries of westernization and modernization. While the Chinese people were depicted by him with an extreme devotion to their tradition, the Japanese people marked as the most successful adaptation to the modern life. He says that the Chinese as a result of their temperament had no tendency to change their condition unless they encountered with a disaster. They did not accept any aspect of foreign culture and they did not even understand it. He claims that the Chinese people in the service of the Russians feared from the Europeans like wild animals. İbrahim defends that they were in need of science, technology and education.⁴¹¹ Nevertheless, the preservation of morality in China is enough for Abdürreşid to keep his hopes for China's future independence from Britain. According to his model, it is important to take what it is necessary from Europe and leave them alone with their collapsed morality. When he compared China with India, Abdürreşid discovered in China a tradition of being a dominant nation and a habit of being accustomed to the captivity and conviction in India. He accused of the Oriental societies for their over-reliance to the West. There were certain limits to education

⁴⁰⁸ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, pp. 72, 129, 165.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 576.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., p. 538.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., pp. 244-246.

provided by Europe since they did not give an ideological education to the Orientals. He claims that there was no independent idea pertaining to the Orientals. The only exception to this principle was the Japanese nation which appropriated and modified the European ideas with respect to their own temperament.⁴¹²

It was crucial for Ibrahim to find a balance between modernization and tradition. His model was Japan. This nation managed to progress with preserving its own culture and national morality. The journalist Tokatami talked with Abdürreşid about the Japanese encounters with the West. He said that the Japanese people flowed into Europe for their scientific and educational needs. In there, they encountered with an artificial and splendid civilization and brilliant words of the Europeans. In this regard, he confessed that, they forgot to deal with their blood brothers Tatars.⁴¹³

Abdürreşid felt a spiritual attraction to the Japanese nation. He admired for their devotion to national customs and manners. Their schools' instrument of language was in Japanese. In their theaters they did not stage the European plays, but only their traditional plays. He found in the temperament of the Japanese people an excellent morality.⁴¹⁴ In this regard, they were inclined to Islam by nature in his own terms. In a speech given by Abdürreşid for the opening of a school, he explained his formula for the maintenance of a nation. This was a combination of a good education system and the preservation of national morality and patriotism.⁴¹⁵ One of the Japanese elite expressed his views on westernization and told that if they imitated the western life style, they would fall down as quick as their ascendancy.⁴¹⁶ Miyaki emphasized their self sufficiency and self adequacy and their independence from the Europeans. He argued that Japan made a huge progress and these reforms, that had taken 200 years in the West, realized within only 35 years in Japan.⁴¹⁷ Abdürreşid's account on Hicikata's garden has a symbolic meaning which reflects his views on westernization. Hicikata's garden was contrasted with the garden of the minister of finance. Hicikata left his garden to its own devices, without any regulation except provided by nature, while minister of finance tried to regulate and improve his garden with artificial devices. At

⁴¹² Ibid., 2. Cilt, pp. 204-206.

⁴¹³ Ibid., 1. Cilt, 298-999.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 329-331.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., p. 358.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., p. 591.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., p. 560.

the end, the external regulation and improvement made minister's plants and trees more short lived, while Hicikata's garden gained a much nicer appearance.⁴¹⁸

Ahmet Kemal discussed with the imam of Kuchar (*Kuçar*), a region in the east of Kashgar, on the meaning of newness. He defined it as being a man of contemporary age and becoming new. For him, new schools was meant to raise children who are proper for the contemporary age and searches solutions for the salvation of patrie from bloody grips and for the preservation of religion. He said that, while the Christians managed to fly, the Muslims were unable to walk properly in land. Europe used opportunities provided by the earth more effectively than other nations. He claimed that nation and religion could not be enduring with ignorance and inactivity. His desire was to introduce new life to the sons of the patrie. He believed that it was necessary to be a supporter of newness in order not to be oppressed by bloody governments. Therefore, he presented modernization and civilization as an instrument of rescuing from colonization and of preserving national morality and culture. For him, the adaptation of the civilized ends is not a deviation from tradition or culture; rather it is a way of preserving them.⁴¹⁹

Japan was an opportunity for the Ottoman travelers to talk about progress in general and the causes and ways of progress in particular. Mustafa bin Mustafa was bewildered by lifeless and static state of China with 400 million people in front of other nations. He briefly discusses the reasons behind the Chinese underdevelopment and Japanese progress. He asserted that the factor behind the Chinese underdevelopment was over-pride of the Chinese emperor because of his country's overpopulation. Since he had a confidence on his enormous amount of population, he did not establish any connection with other states. The Chinese military and technology remained backward and was disintegrated by smaller nations which had science and technology. Contrary to China, the Japanese emperor Mikado, Mustafa Efendi tells, sent students and intellectuals to other countries and followed progresses in these countries. They managed to make a huge progress within a short time thanks to their industriousness and intelligence.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 428-429.

⁴¹⁹ Ahmet Kemal İlkul, *Çin-Türkistan Hatıraları*, pp. 176-177.

⁴²⁰ Mustafa bin Mustafa, *Aksa-yı Şarkta Bir Cevelan*, pp. 125, 130.

Samizade Süreyya also discusses the factors behind the Japanese development and progress. He explains that it is necessary to study the Japanese experiences since the current state of the Ottoman Empire resembles to the earlier stages of Japan in their way of progress. Süreyya lists several factors behind the Japanese progress.⁴²¹ First of all, the Japanese people are patriotic peoples from birth. They rise up with patriotic feelings thanks to their parents. Secondly, they are very industrious and hatred of idleness. Third factor is their simple and modest lifestyle. They are devoted to their customs. They preferred to go to the national restaurants instead of *alla franga* ones. Fourthly, they enjoy from nature. Their entertainment is simple and modest and they have close connections with nature. They do not spend too much money for operas and concerts. This interpretation is very interesting and contrary to the colonial discourse which constructs a dichotomy between culture-civilization and nature. However, Süreyya says that inspiration of nature helped Japan in their progress. Fifthly, the religious class supported the reforms and new civilization. Modernization was not encountered with any religious fanaticism. Even the religious class praised this new civilization. They do not defend any of their customs and manners without any logical evidence. Abdürreşid makes similar interpretations on the role of religious scholars on reform movement. They were sent by government to the countryside to popularize reforms there. Sixthly, they added what they found useful to their social life. However, they did not attempt to imitate and adopt every aspects of the West. They tried to understand the essence of the Western civilization and to preserve their own national customs. They did not show any inclination towards the outward appearances of the West. For instance, they kept their traditional clothes. At the outset, they took know-how support from Europe and in short time they became a self sufficient country. Abdürreşid, in this regard, gives example of the legal reforms. Japan established a committee for the investigation of the European constitutions. This committee was assigned to apply these laws to nature and morality of the Japanese nation. Seventhly, the encouragement and incentive system of the government positively contributed to the development of Japan.

⁴²¹ Samizade Süreyya, *Büyük Japonya*, pp. 52-59.

3. Ottoman Travelers and the Rhetorical Modalities of the Colonial Discourses: Surveillance, Appropriation and Affirmation

The rhetorical tools of the colonial discourses are discussed by David Spur as though there are no connections among them. Although he lists 12 significant rhetorical instruments, he does not attempt at grouping among them. This lack of connections and groupings make his list arbitrary. I have emphasized in the first chapter the connections among the rhetorical modalities of surveillance, appropriation and affirmation. The rhetoric of surveillance was connected to the European knowledge production on the non-European world. The rhetoric of appropriation is related to the European colonization and invasions. In general, two rhetorical modalities are directly related to the European power - knowledge relations. The European expansionism of the late 19th century coincided with the rise of knowledge production on the non-European world. The European surveillance and proprietary vision which led to the colonization of the world are justified and affirmed by the rhetoric of recreation of the non-European world as a result of the benevolence of the European colonizing mission.

This part begins with the Ottoman visions on the European relations of power – knowledge. They were aware of the strong relation between knowledge and power. Then, it continues by investigating the nature of the Ottoman gaze around the world. It questions whether it was a commanding, proprietary or superior gaze over the non-European world. In this regard, it deals with the impact of the institution of the caliphate and panislamist policies on the Ottoman visions of the non-European world. Then, it discusses how much the Ottoman travelers internalized the rhetoric of appropriation and of empty lands. Finally, it discusses the Ottoman responses to the rhetoric of affirmation in general and the civilizing mission in particular.

3.1. Knowledge and Power

3.1.1. Ottoman Travelers on the European Power and Knowledge

As we have seen in previous chapter, the colonial and orientalist discourse were closely related to the colonial power. The formula was to know in order to govern. Şirvanlı was aware of the link between the British colonial power and commanding view of the Europeans in India. He states that idolaters paid no attention to the

existence of those who deny their beliefs in their places of worship. They allowed the protestant missionaries' activities during their worship. While they were worshipping, the missionaries warned a group of Hindu because of their false beliefs. He says that nobody disturbed a missionary who harshly criticizes idolatry. He relates this courage of the protestant missionaries to the British influence and penetration over India. Despite the British power behind them, they were not successful to convert religion of the local peoples. Nevertheless, they continued their activities thanks to the financial support provided by the missionary companies.⁴²²

Many Ottoman travelers emphasized the the role of knowledge-production, education, and ideas on the European colonial power and commanding views over the non-European world. Şirvanlı refers to some types of the colonial knowledge. A British officer presented to him an album about the Indians' entertainments during their religious festivals. Another example of the colonial observation and collecting and recording data was the British officers' annual reports and the collection of these reports in statistical registers.⁴²³ These reports became a model for his travel account. This will to knowledge was a part of will to govern. Karçinzade also exemplifies how the colonial powers used knowledge about ignorant and superstitious beliefs of the colonized in favor of their policies. In China, the colonial government decided to demolish a temple of idolaters, but feared the reaction of the people. They secretly threw the idol of temple to the river and announced that the idol itself had jumped into it due to its anger to its location and they had to demolish this place that was not wished by the idol.⁴²⁴

Some Ottoman travelers established a relation between ignorance and captivity. According to Karçinzade, the Iranian deputies gave consent to every proposal of the foreigners, and became bound to Russia in their own hands. This was due to their ignorance in political affairs.⁴²⁵ This is an implicit acceptance that the Europeans govern since they know and we are captivated by the colonial power, since we do not know. The message was that “we can be rescued from colonial power if we know too”. Abdürreşid İbrahim makes connections among insufficient numbers of schools,

⁴²² Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, p. 41.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-151.

⁴²⁴ Süleyman Şükrü Karçinzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, p. 507.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

ignorance and moral degeneration. He frequently uses the metaphor of death to describe the subjected nations with an insufficient amount of schooling. The foremost connotation of education is life and vitality for Abdürreşid. He claims that colonized nations were sentenced to captivity due to ignorance.⁴²⁶

Abdürreşid alleges that contemporary age was not an era of conquest by sword but an era of political conquest. The conflict between the west and the east had been there for a long time. However, recent times the victory of the west was not based on sword but rather on ideas. According to Abdürreşid, existing instruments for war today was indeed not for war, but for the reinforcement of the European ideas to fear opposite ideas.⁴²⁷ The implicit assumption in these ideas is that knowledge about the non-European world can be considered as a tool of conquest and instrument of empire.

Abdürreşid talked with an imam from Singapore about the scholarly works written in English. The imam praised works in English since he found significant issues in these books not in Islamic works. He admitted that they were receiving knowledge about India from the British people and learning what India is and even they were applying to the foreign works to learn about even their own religion. Although Abdürreşid found these statements over-exaggerated, he acknowledged these arguments to some extent.⁴²⁸ The current ideological backwardness of the Orient was, Abdürreşid claims, the basic factor which contributed to the dreams of the West. The solution for Abdürreşid was the adaptation of the Islamic philosophy as the guide of the Orient. This was a way of resistance to captivity.⁴²⁹ He takes his readers' attention to the limits of education given by the British schools for the non-Europeans since they did not give an ideological education. He claims that there was not any autonomous idea in the oriental societies except the Japanese people.⁴³⁰ All in all, the Ottoman travelers were aware of the power of ideas and knowledge.

There are also more critical and resistant voices with regard to the European knowledge-power over the non-Western world. Karçınzade's interpretations on statues of Queen Victoria in India show that he was aware of the power messages given by

⁴²⁶ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, p. 46.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 2. Cilt, pp. 235-236.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 204-206.

these statues. In one statue, Victoria holds a globe in her left hand. A military general locates above the globe. The queen holds a scepter in her right hand. She fixes her eyes on India on the surface the globe. There are also statues of cavalrymen and engineers who investigates strategic maps with their compasses and other geometrical tools right beside the statue of Victoria. Another group of statues consist of a British cavalryman who is killing a dragon with his modern gun and ancient Indian sovereigns who view these pathetic changes of the world with sadness. Although he was aware of the power messages of statues, Karçinzade contends that the British rule in India was not a result of the conquest.⁴³¹ Karçinzade in his work discusses the colonial ceremonies and the demonstrations of power in Tunisia and criticized the Frenchmen since they treated in a manner of the conqueror in Tunisia. He implies that their rule in Tunisia was nothing more than daily demonstrations of power. The daily parades of the French soldiers in every corner of the city were a sign of their ephemeral existence in Tunisia. According to Karçinzade, the amount of their military existence in Tunisia was not very much.⁴³² In another place in his travelogue he says that a hundred millions of Chinese people became the captives and bites of 3 or 5 coward people.⁴³³

Halil Halid in his memoirs expresses his views on the orientalists and accentuates that they were not objective and neutral people. He mentions an Orientalist who talked about Algeria at the congress of the Orientalists with his broken Arabic. According to Halid, the aim of this man was not to reason over the methods and eloquence of Arabic language, but to attack on Islam.⁴³⁴ An Egyptian critic at the Congress claimed that even the most well-informed Orientalist who studies for finding the shortcomings of Quran was unable to write a few lines of arabic without mistake.⁴³⁵ Halid continues his critical comments on Orientalism by saying that the Westerners attribute a melancholic harmony to the orietnal music as its essential characteristic. The West assumes that there exists “a unified life and sameness of all conditions in the wide countries ranging from the West to the eastern Asia”. However, Halid emphasizes the

⁴³¹ Süleyman Şükrü Karçinzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, pp. 476-477.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, pp. 284-285.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, p. 420.

⁴³⁴ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, pp.78-79.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

sui generis character of the Ottoman music and its various roots. He defines it as the national music whose some aspects were also received by the West.⁴³⁶

Abdürreşid talked with his Japanese friends, Sasaki and Miyaki, about the constant and unchangeable glances of the west all around the world. The Japanese progress did not lead to a change in the image of Japan according to them. Sasaki highlighted the insufficiencies of the Japanese diplomats in the diplomatic negotiations with the West despite the fact that they were the most progressed nation of the Orient. He argued that while the Orient was docile, the Occident was greedy. His statements imply that Japan had still regarded as inferior side in the diplomatic negotiations with the West.⁴³⁷ Miyaki insisted that the West does not change the ‘savage’ perception of the Orient in general and Japan in particular, even though the the Japanese mimics their clothing codes and customs.⁴³⁸ Abdürreşid read many works on China written by the European authors. However, he remarks that what he had read about China and what he observed in there were incompatible.⁴³⁹

Despite these critical standpoints regarding the Orientalist and colonial discourse, Halid’s discussion with an Armenian on the Ottoman-Armenian conflict shows that he internalized the existence of a separating line between the east and the west. The Armenian accused of the Ottoman government because of the massacre of the Armenians. Halil Halid immediately situated conflict into a colonial context. He stressed that the conflict between the Turks and the Armenians was a result of the foreign intervention and manipulation. The Armenian community was deceived by the tricky plays of the Europeans. He regarded the Armenians as Oriental people like Turks. Therefore, he conceived of the Europeans as much alien to the Armenians as to the Turks.⁴⁴⁰

3.1.2. A Commanding Gaze or a Superior Gaze?

It is difficult to say that the Ottoman gaze around the non-Ottoman non-European geographies was in general a commanding view like the European gaze. First

⁴³⁶ Ibid., pp. 102-103.

⁴³⁷ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, pp. 543-544.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., p. 560.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 2. Cilt, p. 127.

⁴⁴⁰ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, pp. 95-96.

of all, this commanding view was directly related to the colonial power. The Ottoman travelers were not burdened with a colonial consciousness in the western sense of the word or a sense of belonging to an overseas colonial empire. However, they were in dialogue with the European colonial consciousness. Furthermore, they themselves were parts of a long lasting land empire that had still had a variety of populations and huge territories. Sometimes, their views on the non-European world were a derivative gaze transferred from the European gazes. Sometimes, it was a critical gaze or an alternative gaze to this orientalist and colonialist gaze. For instance, Karçınzade, Halil Halid and Abdürreşid İbrahim looked with more critical eyes while internalizing many aspects of the colonial discourses. That is to say, although it was a quite different gaze in many respects from the European one, it was also almost similar to the European gaze and it could reach similar conclusions with it despite the differences.

The most significant missing part in the Ottoman gaze around the world was its institutional component. The links among knowledge about the non-European world, the institutionalization of this knowledge and the colonial power were not as profound as European one. What I mean institutional part is a combination of the Oriental Institutes, geographical societies, missionary activities, colonial administrative units and a constant and enormous knowledge production on the non-European world. Therefore, it is difficult to mention the existence of Ottoman orientalism in Saidian terms, because these institutional and power relations are intrinsic to the orientalist discourse. It is directly related to the European Atlantic power all over the world. However, as we have seen in the first chapter, Saidian definition of orientalism is not an absolute one, there are many significant contributions to his works that made his work more flexible and applicable to the hybrid cases such as the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Empire can be regarded neither a full-fledged colonized nor a full-fledged colonizer country. My aim is to investigate how the Ottoman elite as members of this in-between empire looked at the world around them. I wonder about the relationship between European colonial gaze and Ottoman gaze around non European world and how much they adopted, rejected, affirmed or modified colonialist gaze. They were aware of European commanding view and they entered into a dialogue with this view and they were constantly benefited from European knowledge production on

the non European world. My claim is that there are various similarities between two gazes despite the power discrepancies between the two.

The visual observation, inspecting, examining and looking at were not only the privileges pertaining to the Western colonial powers. The Ottomans who had traveled with the modern instruments of visual observation, inspection and recording could easily adopt a sense of mastery over the non-European peoples. The local peoples in front of these modern technological instruments were ridiculed by the Ottoman travelers. Sadık el Müeyyed narrates the interpretations of the Ethiopians on gramophone with a derisive language. Some people asked how the person in this gramophone fits into this device. They were amazed by the high volume of this person inside the gramophone despite its smallness. Some naive Ethiopians claimed that a devil was placed inside the machine by the Europeans.⁴⁴¹ When he traveled from Djibouti to Dire Dawa via train, he wanted to take a photo of the local children, however their fathers begged him not to take it since they were afraid of death of their children due to camera.⁴⁴² The local Ethiopians were scared of modern technology for observation, recording and surveillance. Therefore, a camera or a gramophone could easily give an Ottoman traveler a sense of superiority. Therefore, although it was not always a commanding gaze, the Ottomans adopted a feeling of superiority over the non-European peoples.

The majority of the British orientalists in India were either jurists or physicians with strong missionary tendencies. Early academic orientalists performed two roles in dealing with the contemporary Orientals: they were either judges or physicians according to Edward Said. Edgar Quinet claims that Asia was soothsayer, whereas Europe was physician. Wifrid Thesiger walks around among Arab people as though he is a medical scientist. He even circumcised the Arab children in the camps that he passed.⁴⁴³ Kabbani marks that this attitude can be seen in Burton and Doughty as well.⁴⁴⁴ Sadık el Müeyyed performed the role of a physician in his travels around Ethiopia. The person in his company who is responsible from mules felt ill most probably due to over-consumption of raw meat and grease. Müeyyed managed to stop

⁴⁴¹ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 166-7, 172.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 37-8, 55.

⁴⁴³ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 79.

⁴⁴⁴ Rana Kabbani, *Avrupa'nın Doğu İmajı*, p. 145.

his diarrhea thanks to his anti-dysentery pills. Müeyyed claims that the inhabitants of Ethiopia applied to the White man for their various kinds of illness. In the eyes of these people, the Whites were doctors, surgeons, and as people who are capable of doing everything. He says that his Ethiopian servants sought help from him for their health problems thanks to his indisputable skills in medicine. He also cured the mules in their company. In Müeyyed's own words he was the surgeon of their convoy.⁴⁴⁵ This performance of physicianship gave him a sense of superiority and mastery over the non-European peoples.

There are several examples for the Ottoman sense of superiority. Ahmed Midhat emphasized the developmental gap between Turkestan and the Ottoman Empire in favor of the Ottomans. While the Ottomans managed to change, the Turcomans steadily maintained their old conditions. Although Ahmed Midhat mentioned the sacredness of central Asia as the original land of the Ottomans, he was not able to refrain himself from contrasting its backwardness with the developing Ottoman Empire.⁴⁴⁶ Halil Halid criticized the Arabs of Algeria since they did not ban walking with shoes in the mosque. Then, he concluded that it was the Turks instead of the Arabs who displayed the greatest esteem to the mosques. He could not find the Arab mosques as well-ordered and clean as the Turkish mosques. When he compared the Algerian ones with the Egyptian ones, he found the Algerian ones cleaner than the Egyptian ones.⁴⁴⁷ Şirvanlı had written a preface to work of a Muslim Indian whose book was on Urdu, Persian, Turkish and Arabic languages. Şirvanlı made a comparison between the Indian and Ottoman Turkish literature and discovered that the Indian literature was not decorated with the brilliant words peculiar to Turkish vocabulary (*Elfaz-ı Türkiyye*) and the beauties of the lovely Oriental literature remained secret and hidden for the Indian authors.⁴⁴⁸ Sadık el Müeyyed recognized a shadow above him while he was taking bath in a valley. When he looked at the top of hill, he recognized a half naked Ethiopian who tries to protect him from sun. Immediately he adopted a feeling of master and called this Ethiopian “living umbrella”.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁵ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 106, 124-5.

⁴⁴⁶ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vusta'ya Seyahat*, p. 11.

⁴⁴⁷ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, p. 36.

⁴⁴⁸ Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, p. 155.

⁴⁴⁹ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, p.157.

All these four cases exemplify that the Ottomans had a certain sense of superiority over the non-Ottoman Muslims and Turks and the non-Ottoman non-Muslims. In addition to the non-Ottoman Muslims and non-Muslims, many Ottomans had even a feeling of superiority over the Western imperial powers. Karçinzade says that he understood the value of his own state better after his encounters with the British immorality and inhumanity. Karçinzade expresses that the Europeans regarded themselves as privileged people whom the wealth and prosperity were only their own rights. Karçinzade contrasted the ignoble British rule and with the just and impartial Ottoman one. His emphasis was on the Islamic mercy with regard to the non-Muslim communities and the representational rights of the non-Muslims and their positions in the bureaucratic posts. In general, the Ottoman superiority over the Europeans was uttered in terms of the moral issues such as Islamic mercy and British immorality.

3.1.3. The Institution of the Caliphate and the Role of Leadership

Mehmed Emin's some experiences and feelings are the closest view to European commanding view among our sources. He viewed Krisnovodiska at the top of a rock in a hill and directed his thoughts into the city. He felt himself as the sovereign of the desert in his journey through the central Asian plains.⁴⁵⁰ In his preface to Mehmed Emin's travelogue, Ahmed Midhat presented the Ottomans as the guide of the non-Ottoman Muslims.⁴⁵¹ Mehmed Emin also used a panislamic language in his account. The sense of belonging to the empire of the caliph-sultan gave many Ottomans a sense of superiority and sometimes a role of leadership over the non-Ottoman Muslims. Therefore, although I find the institutional component relatively missing in the Ottoman case, it is clear that the caliphate was the most significant institution that shaped the perceptions and acts of the Ottoman travelers in the non-European world.

Şirvanlı acquired a letter concerning the collection of donation by the Indian Muslims for the wounded Ottoman soldiers and war orphans during the Serbian revolt. According to Şirvanlı's account, even an idolater contributed to the philanthropic activities of the Muslims for the Ottoman Empire. This contribution of an idolater encouraged the Muslims more and more. They established associations and sent

⁴⁵⁰ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, pp. 33, 79.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

collective petitions to the queen, and organized demonstrations and gatherings.⁴⁵² Sadık el Müeyyed encountered with the interests of the local Muslims, they were very willing to see the delegation sent by the caliph. When the Ethiopians recognized that Müeyyed was sent by the Caliph, they displayed a great amount of enthusiasm. In Friday prayer, Müeyyed's eyes were filled with tears after prays and *hutbe* for the caliph. He claims that this natural situation could be observed in all Islamic countries thanks to the strength of religious ties.⁴⁵³ Abdürreşid mentioned the strength of spiritual ties with the caliph, but also the weakness of material ties.⁴⁵⁴ He narrates the attachment of a book merchant, Ebubekir Medeni, to the Ottoman state in Singapore. He published photographs of the caliph with his own devices and distributed them free of charge to his customers.⁴⁵⁵

The institution of the caliphate was the source of inspiration for political discourses and dreams of panIslamism. The abandonment of the conflicts among society and the union of whole Muslims were necessary in Asia to resist to the Russian expansionism according to Mehmed Emin. Nur Verdi Khan expressed his obedience to any initiative carried out by the caliph. Mehmed Emin posited this as evidence for the sublimity of the caliph in the eyes of Islamic nations.⁴⁵⁶ Mehmed Emin traveled around Europe with the dreams of applying the European prosperity to the Islamic nation. However, in his Asian voyage, he traveled with the dreams of the union of Islam. He imagined the expansion of the frontiers of the Islamic state to central Asia. He regarded the purposes of his two travels to Asia as a service to the union of Islam. However, he was dissatisfied when he encountered with the power of the Chinese and Russian penetration in the central Asia. The emir of Kashgar conveyed his demand for help from the caliph to Mehmed Emin. However, Mehmed Emin was aware of the inability of Istanbul to cope with these demands. He alleges that this demand was regarded nothing more than a fantasy (*fantaziye*) by Istanbul.⁴⁵⁷ Nevertheless, he notes that the

⁴⁵² Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁵³ For Local Muslims' attachment to the caliph in Ethiopia, see: Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 54-5, 59, 66, 87.

⁴⁵⁴ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, p. 344.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 2. Cilt, p. 250.

⁴⁵⁶ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, pp. 72-73.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.

degree of willingness for the union of the Muslims in central Asia cannot be provided by the foreigners in spite of sacrificing millions of money.⁴⁵⁸

Mustafa bin Mustafa mentioned the Japanese interest in Islam. He advised the government to send an envoy to Japan to be benefitted from the Japanese inclination towards Islam.⁴⁵⁹ Karçinzade also adopted panislamist rhetoric and regarded the foreign attacks on the empire as the Crusades. He dreamed of the salvation of the Islamic world in a prospective war between the Muslims and the Christians and expressed that the Ottomans will not be hesitated to declare the holy war in such a situation.⁴⁶⁰

There are also references to the shortcomings of Ottoman image management and panislamism in practice. Halil Halid refers to the hopes of the Muslims all over the world regarding the Ottomans. However, he argues that the empire had not such a power to fulfill these expectations. Furthermore, the Ottoman Empire gave a negative image with its disgraceful administration and its shortcomings in government disseminated all over the world through the press. Despite the Ottoman attempt at image management that aims to display the empire in a magnifying mirror in Halid's terms, it could not manage to fulfill these demands in practice. This led to the desperation of the non-Ottoman Muslims so that the Ottoman prestige was in decline according to Halil Halid. He also criticized the false policies of image management adopted by the Hamidian regime. Abdülhamid reacted against the use of the title of sultan by the sovereign of Morocco. He objected to the emir of Afghanistan who adopted a foreign title whose meaning is majestic. Halid defended that the increase in the power of the Ottoman dynasty did not necessitate the weaknesses of other Islamic dynasties.⁴⁶¹

Abdürreşid interpreted the union of the Muslims as an issue of survival, however he criticized the negative image created by the immoral representatives of Istanbul in the non-Ottoman lands.⁴⁶² Karçinzade heard about the disgraceful acts that had been realized 30 years before his travel by the Ottoman Bobmay consul general Boşnak Hüseyin Nasib who pocketed the money denoted for the Russo-Ottoman War

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 146.

⁴⁵⁹ Mustafa bin Mustafa, *Aksa-yı Şarkta Bir Cevelan*, pp. 130-131.

⁴⁶⁰ Süleyman Şükrü Karçinzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, pp. 514-518.

⁴⁶¹ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, pp. 40-41.

⁴⁶² Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, pp. 254-259.

of 1877-8. He accused of laziness and indifference of the Ottoman consuls.⁴⁶³ Abdürreşid Efendi mentioned a general failure of the Ottoman envoys in gaining the hearts and minds of the Muslims. On the contrary, the local Muslims hated them. He expressed general complaints of the non-Ottoman Muslims about the Ottoman consuls. The major accusations were due to their indifference to religion and religious practices such as fast and prayer and their western images.⁴⁶⁴

Therefore, the institution of the caliphate, and panislamist political discourses and dreams triggered by this institution gave a more moderate gaze compared to the European commanding gaze and the political realities immediately put certain limits to the position of guideship or leadership.

3.1.4. The Ottoman Civilizing Mission

Ahmed Midhat in his preface to Mehmed Emin's travelogue reflects the in-between position of the Ottoman empire vis-a-vis the European and non-Ottoman Islamic societies. On the one hand, there was superior Europe that renovated itself with new laws of civilization (*kavanin-i cedide-i medeniyet*), on the other hand there was Islamic territories that was in need of the Ottoman guidance in matters of progress and innovation. The duty of the Ottomans was to be acquainted with both Europe and Islamic civilization and to apply these civilizations to each other.⁴⁶⁵ This attitude of Midhat resembles to the marriage metaphor used by Namık Kemal and Şinasi who emphasized the marriage between the East and the West. In terms of this metaphor, the role assigned to the Ottomans by Midhat was to conduct the marriage ceremony. This Ottoman responsibility is interpreted as the Ottoman civilizing mission and the Ottoman claim for leadership by Herzog and Motika. More specifically, this was a mission for carrying the European material civilization to the Islamic territories. Midhat's statements also imply that there is another mission that is to carry the Islamic morality to the West, because the point was to apply two civilizations to each other.

According to Ebubekir Efendi, the Europeans sent priests to the *Fettar* community who lived in the northern regions of Cape Town to invite their naïve and

⁴⁶³ Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, pp.483, 507.

⁴⁶⁴ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 2. Cilt, pp. 254-260.

⁴⁶⁵ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, p. 2.

ignorant inhabitants to Christianity. Since their aim was to practice the civilized methods in South Africa, the British government also let him to invite these local people to Islam. His account shows that he adopted a civilizing mission with regard to the local peoples of South Africa thanks to the permission of the British government.⁴⁶⁶ Therefore, the Ottoman travelers' close and friendly relations with the colonial agents in many circumstances are not surprising. They shared similar views and attitudes with regard to the local populations in many non-European countries. These are people in need of guidance of the civilized countries. Ebubekir mentions a general need in many Muslim parts of Africa. This need was an urgency to communicate with and to be arranged by the post of the caliphate. Ebubekir had a strong belief in the readiness of these people to accept the Ottoman help and support. He argues that it was beneficial both for the African people and the Ottomans to establish friendly relations with each other.⁴⁶⁷

The *Mecmua-i Fünun* claimed that the people of Cape Town were corrected and improved by Ebubekir thanks to the activities of the caliphate. His mission in Cape Town was recognized as the correction of false beliefs and the prevention of the conflicts among the local Muslims.⁴⁶⁸ Abdurrahman Efendi like Ebubekir Efendi frequently described his activities in Brazil based on the attempts at correction of false beliefs. He tried to spread Islam and to correct the malpractices among the Muslims of Brazil.⁴⁶⁹ Both Abdurrahman Efendi and Ebubekir Efendi worked in these lands as tutors of the local Muslims. The translator of Abdurrahman Efendi emphasized the troubles in communication among the Muslims all around the world. They were unaware of the existence of each other.⁴⁷⁰ The problem of distance and communication led to the false practices and beliefs among the Muslims. There was an urgent need to correct these false beliefs.

Another Ottoman traveler who had been in the non-European lands as tutor was Ahmed Kemal. He was sent as a teacher to the Turks of Kashgar which was defined by Talat Bey as their captivated brothers living under cruel hands. His mission was to

⁴⁶⁶ Ömer Lütfi, *Ümitburnu Seyahatnamesi*, p. 86.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁴⁶⁹ Bağdatlı Abdurrahman Efendi, *Brezilya Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 36, 39-40, 58-62.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

dispel the black clouds of ignorance in these essential ancestral territories. Talat Bey presented his duty as national debt to their great linkage and race. Ziya Gökalp described his mission as an attempt to gain the hearts and minds in those lands.⁴⁷¹ The Ottoman government both during Hamidian era and the constitutional era sent tutors for civil and military training of the non-European peoples. Mehmed Fazlı and his team went to Afghanistan with his own initiatives as an advisory committee to the Afghan emir. The emir admitted that Afghanistan was a little brother of the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁷²

As we have seen, Mehmed Mihri ascribed a civilizing mission to Islam with regard to the non-Islamic local cultures in addition to Islamic countries. He regarded civilization as a combination of the western modernity and the Islamic scriptural high culture. Although the local peoples of Sudan learned Islam and too much other knowledge from the Arabs, they were still quite far from civilization. According to Mihri they have freed themselves from the ridiculous pagan customs of the Negroes in central and South Africa thanks to Islam.⁴⁷³ The Ottoman's perceived mission to correct false Islamic practices and to teach Islam to the non-Islamic peoples gave them a sense of superiority and mastery over the non-European peoples.

3.2. Empty Lands and Missed Opportunities

The rhetoric of empty lands was one of the most frequently used ways of justifying the colonizing mission. The empty lands caught the colonizing attention of the European powers. Mehmed Mihri was a striking example of the internalization of this rhetoric. He did not conceive of the Ottoman Empire as a victim of the European colonialism but perceived it as an equally colonialist power having received less than its fair share of territorial spoils. According to Mihri, France and the Ottoman Empire was in a direct competition in Sudan whose vast region was defined by him as a potential Ottoman colony.⁴⁷⁴ The vast region of Sudan immediately brought a prospective colonization into Mihri's mind. This kind of explicit examples for the mentality of appropriation was not very popular among the Ottoman travelers. There are two most common rhetorical tools that can be regarded under the rhetoric of empty

⁴⁷¹ Ahmet Kemal İlkul, *Çin-Türkistan Hatıraları*, pp. 64-66.

⁴⁷² Christoph Herzog and Raoul Motika, "Orientalism *alla Turca*", p. 191.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 155.

lands: their attention to the unwise use of resources and the imposition of a series of civilized works into empty lands.

This rhetoric of unwise use of existing resources became a major component of many Ottoman travelogues. Karçınzade criticized the government of Tangier in Morocco, because they were ignorant of benefiting from harbor and lighthouse fees. This insensitive government could not comprehend the significance of existing resources of Tangier.⁴⁷⁵ Sadık el Müeyyed extensively used this rhetoric in his travel in Ethiopia. In one place, he claims that the inhabitants were not aware of wealth that they have, because they had burnt lots of trees around the region. He felt sorrow for the waste of these trees in this way.⁴⁷⁶ He gives statistical evidence for the unwise use of arable lands. He reports that the Ethiopians only used 1/25 of existing arable lands. They left the majority of arable lands in their natural state. Despite the productivity of soil, they preferred to make only a self sufficient production.⁴⁷⁷ In *Lekamasu* region of Ethiopia, he found that geography was suitable for improvement, settlement and stock-breeding. However, the inhabitants of this region were nomadic *Itu* tribes who are half savage, naked except genital parts of their body, and deprived of any kind of religion. This half savage tribe was considered as an obstacle in front of the development by Müeyyed.⁴⁷⁸ The existence of such kind of tribes was a good pretext for the British rule in India to appropriate the lands of these kinds of tribes. Şirvanlı gives several examples of this kind of annexations. Britain occupied Balochistan due to its people's savagery, rudeness, banditry and brutality. In 1865, the British government advised the ruler of Balochistan to join the British rule. In 1866, the British government sent 8000 soldiers to correct and improve the inhabitants of Balochistan.⁴⁷⁹

Another aspect of the colonial rhetoric of appropriation was the imaginary imposition of a series of civilized institutions on the landscape. The phrase for this rhetoric was "how much better to see a civilized institution". When Müeyyed learned that there was abundance of cheap animals in Ethiopia, he immediately contemplated on the ways of benefiting from this wealth such as the construction of factories. He did

⁴⁷⁵ Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, p. 297.

⁴⁷⁶ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, p. 105.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 185.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 237-8, 250.

⁴⁷⁹ Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 136-137.

not encounter with any cheese production since the Ethiopians regarded use of goat and sheep milk as shame. They considered that the size of these animals such as goat and sheep are not enough to use them for production and for their own domestic use. Müeyyed says that he frequently advised to the local people to benefit from this source of wealth. The establishment of cheese and sausage factories was feasible because of the comparative advantage of Ethiopia in animal prices and abundance of free pastures.⁴⁸⁰

Some Ottoman travelers identified Europe with the wise use of existing resources. The Europeans had never missed any opportunity to fill any empty and useless land with respect to their own interests and requirements. An empty and idle military barrack in Iran was turned into a place to play soccer by the Europeans.⁴⁸¹ Ahmet Kemal admits that the Europeans used favors given by the earth more effectively than the rest of the world. He contrasted increasing communicative opportunities in Europe with his nation's incapability in communicating with each other. He argues that while the Europeans tried to benefit from rich sources of underground, the Turks were unable to use wisely the wealth of the ground.⁴⁸² Although there was a significant amount of potential for agriculture in Kashgar according to him, the export of agricultural products was less than imports. The inadequate transportation forced the inhabitants of Kashgar to import from Russia. Kemal hoped for an era of awakening in Kashgar whose inexhaustible sources can make it a self sufficient or even an export country. However, there was not any single flour factory in Kashgar. Despite the feasibility of the establishment of sugar and textile industry, there was still no enterprise for the opening of these factories.⁴⁸³ The rhetoric of unwise use of resources did not necessarily and automatically call for the legitimation of the colonial practices. Ahmet Kemal used this rhetoric as an advice for the awakening of the country.

Abdürreşid Ibrahim observed that there was no empty and idle land in Japan, it was full of fields. He contrasted the Japanese people with the Koreans. The Koreans had lack of a long term thinking and planning and they were satisfied with a living in

⁴⁸⁰ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 171-172.

⁴⁸¹ Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, 174.

⁴⁸² Ahmet Kemal İlkul, *Çin-Türkistan Hatıraları*, pp. 176-177.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

subsistence level. However, he encountered with the industrious Japanese people in every corner of Korea. The Japanese people in Korea mined every inch of a mountain in order to extract gold while it was an idle mountain before the Japanese came. In short, Abdürreşid implies that Japanese people used resources of Korea more effectively than the Koreans themselves. Japan was considered by Abdürreşid as an alternative to the European wise use of resources.⁴⁸⁴

Another variation of the rhetoric of unwise use of resources was based on the auto-critique of the imperial policies of the Ottomans. It was not based on the accusation of the non-European people for their unwise uses or the appreciation of the European wise use of resources, but on the Ottoman regret with respect to its own unwise uses of resources that had lost. I call this the rhetoric of missed opportunities. Ömer Faiz Efendi felt unhappy when he heard that Morocco and Tunis pavilions were rewarded by the committee of exposition of Paris. These countries were former provinces of the empire before the European penetration. These successes of their former provinces reminded them the lost opportunities to be realized in those territories.⁴⁸⁵ Ahmed Midhat in his preface to Mehmed Emin's account complains about the Ottoman indifference to even its adjacent territories such as Algeria, Morocco, Caucasia and Arabia as follows:

“What necessity was there to look for political gains in distant places of the world while there were awaiting us so many material and spiritual gains from a number of places entertaining really intimate relations with the glory of our Islam, like Morocco, Algeria, the Caucasus, Iran, or Arabia. However, the said gains did not even direct our attention to places as near as the ones mentioned.”⁴⁸⁶

Although the Ottomans had lots of material and spiritual interests in these lands, they did not pay sufficient attention to them.⁴⁸⁷ Halil Halid heard that Algeria was the nicest, mildest and most fertile part of Africa. However, the Ottomans could not appreciate the worth of many Islamic lands such as Algeria, although some parts of this country are more beautiful than some parts of South France. He expressed his sadness with regard to the past, since ancient Turks did not prefer to march into these

⁴⁸⁴ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 2. Cilt, pp. 33, 47.

⁴⁸⁵ Baki Asiltürk, *Osmanlı Seyyahlarının Gözüyle Avrupa*, pp. 264-266.

⁴⁸⁶ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vusta'ya Seyahat*, p. 4. Translated by Christoph Herzog and Raoul Motika, "Orientalism *alla Turca*", pp. 143-144.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

lands instead of the European lands. He asks why the Ottomans left these lands full with Muslim peoples to the responsibility of the Arabs.⁴⁸⁸

3.3. The European Rhetoric of the Civilizing Mission as an Arena of Struggle

The rhetoric of the civilizing mission was the most frequently discussed and adopted side of the colonial discourse by the Ottoman travelers. It was a domain of struggle; it was not only used by the colonizer but also by the critical colonized or non-European non-colonized intellectuals. Many Ottoman travelers' use of this rhetoric without any critical comment shows us the power of the colonial discourse in general and the civilizing mission in particular. The earlier travelogues among our sources internalized this discourse and affirmed the colonial order of things. The later travelers such as Karçınzade, Halil Halid, and Abdürreşid İbrahim approached to the civilizing mission with more critical eyes and used this rhetoric of civilizing mission not for the affirmation of colonialism, but for the critique of colonial practices. Therefore, there are two groups of authors: those who affirmed the validity of the European civilizing mission in general and criticized its some insufficient applications and those who rejected the validity of the European civilizing mission and emphasized the gap between theory and practice.

Ebubekir Efendi of *Ümitburnu Seyhatnamesi* in his letters to Istanbul says that the British government with its reforms and decorations rendered Cape Town a prosperous city and a sample of the European cities. The splendid buildings, the illumination of the city, the construction of railways were parts of this renovation in the city. This project of construction was begun by the Dutch government with their great efforts and great pains and had been developed by the British government since 20 years ago. In addition to urban projects of the British government, they adopted a mission of bringing improvement and correction to the savage tribes.⁴⁸⁹ Ebubekir Efendi described the *Fettar* people as ignorant, naive, gluttonous, indolent and savage. They were civilized, improved, and corrected by the British government to some extent with the construction of new cities and towns in their habitat. In the surrounding islands of Cape Town, the British government continued its construction activities and established new cities and towns. They impelled the inhabitants of these islands into

⁴⁸⁸ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, pp. 27, 60.

⁴⁸⁹ Ömer Lütfi, *Ümitburnu Seyhatnamesi*, pp. 84-86.

civilization with encouraging them to make sugar and cotton agriculture, but the local peoples of these islands were excessively ignorant and savage and had no inclination for being educated by civilization. They were accustomed to indolence. They devoted most of their time to useless activities instead of their livelihood. The British government applied a policy of settlement for these people and in addition it brought the immigrants from Europe. In Ebubekir's account, the local people were described in a state of savagery, fight and war.⁴⁹⁰ He contrasted this state of the local community with the civilizing efforts of the British government and affirmed the colonial rule in South Africa.

Engineer Faik verifies Ebubekir's account on the British civilizing mission in his own travelogue. He states that the British government spent lots of money and labor for the construction and development of Cape Town. They constructed the city in the model of the European cities. This meant the construction of factories, railroads, telegraph, and postal service. Faik claims that Ebubekir had not succeeded in his mission in Cape Town from the beginning until his visit due to his false approach to the local Muslim community. Ebubekir Efendi considered them as infidels due to their unveiled clothing. According to Faik, they had been accustomed to the liberties after several years under the British rule, so that the pressure coming from Ebubekir Efendi led to the resentment of the local peoples to him.⁴⁹¹ The image of Britain in the eyes of Faik was a carrier of liberties. After Britain captured Mauritius (*Moritos*) Island, they immediately began the projects of construction and correction and improvement of the local peoples. The construction of railways, postal service, telegraph lines and the development of commerce are regarded as byproducts of the British rule by the majority of the Ottoman travelers. Britain encouraged the local people to use resources of their lands more wisely. According to Faik, the inhabitants of Mauritius Island feared from trains very much and this fear impelled them to docility to the British government and prevented them to object to its rule.⁴⁹² Abdurrahman Efendi also mentioned the uncivilized local inhabitants of America who had lived in the jungles. Any state could not manage to correct their savage life and morality and impel them into the civilized life and make subject to its authority. In his account on Tangier, he claims that the local

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 96-97.

⁴⁹¹ Mühendis Faik, *Seyhatname-i Bahr-i Muhit*, pp. 54-55.

⁴⁹² Ibid. p. 63.

people, who had not any production and culture worth of expressing, was not rescued from nomadism due to lack of connections with the foreigners. This implies that the only way of rescuing from savagery or nomadism was a connection with a civilized country whose mission is to carry the instruments of improvement and betterment for these people.⁴⁹³ The savage and nomadic local peoples immediately called for many Ottoman minds the need for the colonizing and civilizing mission.

Şirvanlı in his travel account on India frequently talks about the Hindu customs and religious beliefs. He gives detailed descriptions of the greeting ceremony for the sun and burning of dead bodies. He informs that fire has a sacred place in Hindu religion. In Benares (Varanasi), he encountered with the abundance of sick visitors who came there to find a remedy for their illnesses. Some of them requested their burning there after their death. The quay of Benares was full of ashes and unburned bones because of the abundance of the people with the same request. The *Mecusis* flowed into the sacred temple of Benares to be purified from their sins and they trampled down each other due to the crowd in front of the temple.⁴⁹⁴ There are many other weird customs of the Hindus. They were devoted to fortune telling and astrology. They buried whole wealth of the people without any inheritor. There are a large number of people who throw themselves into rivers and fire. Some Brahmans put their ill relatives with their heaviest clothes and ornaments into the coasts in time of ebb tide in order to send them directly to the Heaven. Şirvanlı depicted those practices as disgusting customs of the Hindus. He observed that they did not take care of the bedridden people and left them in a state of filth and forced them to demand in their own will to be thrown into rivers. Another 'disgusting' custom mentioned by Şirvanlı is the Sati practice which a recently widowed woman either voluntarily or by use of force would have immolated herself on her husband's funeral pyre. The British government banned both the Sati practice and putting ills on rivers. It constructed a hospital with collecting donations from the Hindus themselves and made them accustomed to some degree the ways of civilization (*bir dereceye kadar medeniyet adetine alıştırmışlardır*) in Şirvanlı's terms. Whereas the Hindus had criticized the Muslims for their constructions of hospitals for their patients before the British rule, they were forced to construct hospitals by the British government. Despite all the efforts of Britain, there were still people who

⁴⁹³ Bağdatlı Abdurrahman Efendi, *Brezilya Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 52, 71-2.

⁴⁹⁴ Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 39-42.

maintain their ancient beliefs and practices. Şirvanlı criticized Britain due to its still immature attempts at teaching the Indian population good manners and proper ways. However, whereas a civilized state like Britain must have attempted at the presentation of a significant amount of civilized works in India until that day, they themselves did not settle at the middle of ancient cities and preferred the outer regions of cities or summer houses.⁴⁹⁵ This was not a critique of colonialism or the civilizing mission of Britain. It was an internalization of the mission of carrying civilized works and manners to those who lack them. The point of criticism is insufficient application of the civilizing mission by the British rule in India and he expected from Britain as a civilized country, to bring more works of civilization into India. Şirvanlı locates himself on the side of Britain i.e. side of civilization and affirmed the British policies of banning superstitious belief of idolaters. None of the Ottoman travelers could identify themselves with these disgusting practices. Engineer Faik depicted Hindu customs as disgusting and Hindu people as ignorant and evil. They identified themselves with British policies which attempt at the prevention of these “disgusting customs”. Şirvanlı says that the Muslims of India had had these practices of civilization such as hospital before the British rule came to India. These disgusting beliefs and practices were enough to legitimize and justify the British rule. Neither Şirvanlı nor Faik challenged the British rule in India or Cape Town. They only emphasized some limits of the British attempts at correction and improvement.

Mehmed Emin claims that Krasnovodsk would be a more prosperous city thanks to the efforts of the Russians since it had already developed a significant amount within 5-6 years of the Russian rule.⁴⁹⁶ The prosperity of Baku city developed after the Russian invasion. These examples show us that Mehmed Emin accepts that the Russians brought civilization into these lands.⁴⁹⁷ Nevertheless, he criticized the Russian rule since it remained insensitive to the Turcomans who is indebted by the Armenians. Although the Russians were burdened with a responsibility of developing the minds and rights of these destitute Turcomans according to Mehmed Emin, they remained indifference to the Armenian dishonesty and swindles which led to a moral degeneration among the Turcomans. The Armenians gave damages both wealth and

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 79-80.

⁴⁹⁶ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, pp. 17-18.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 14.

morality of the Turcomans and the Russian civilization made them indolent and destitute.⁴⁹⁸ Mehmed Emin's responses are very similar to Şirvanlı's. He internalized the rhetoric of civilizing mission. His criticism was directed towards its misapplications. In some regards, it was an indirect accusation of the Russian rule. The foremost agent of criticism was the Armenians. The Russians were blamed due to their indifference to the Armenian tricks. Although Mehmed Emin refers to Russian yoke for the Turcomans who was not directly the subjects of the Russian state, he did not elaborate his statements and not turn them into a critique of colonialism. Şirvanlı and Mehmed Emin had a tendency to criticize the insufficient applications of the European civilizing mission and demand more. However, they did not turn their observations into a full-fledged critique of the colonial order and affirms the existence of the civilizing mission. Mehmed Emin also mentions use of the civilizing mission as a justification of the colonization by the colonial powers. According to Mehmed Emin, the motivation behind the Russian invasions in central Asia was to become closer to India. When they asked by Britain regarding their invasions, their response was that these were not invasions, but the provision of security, correction, improvement and good manners to those who lack them.⁴⁹⁹ The rhetoric of the civilizing mission was a pretext for the colonial appropriation and used very much among the imperialist powers in order to justify their rule.

In Djibouti, the local community was being, Müeyyed says, accustomed to clothing, but not to put on shoes, they continued to walk barefoot. In addition to the corrections on clothing manners, the governor of Djibouti had agricultural projects, irrigation investments in his mind and was waiting for the permission of the Colonial Minister of France.⁵⁰⁰ Some civilized works of France in Djibouti automatically led the local inhabitants to adopt more civilized life without the intervention of the colonial administration. For instance, the Somalian people living around railway stations voluntarily abandoned their nomadic life and settled in a village and made a livelihood with selling their products to the passengers.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 75-76.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 181-185.

⁵⁰⁰ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 51, 54.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., p. 56.

Karçinzade adopts a much more critical attitude with regard to the civilizing mission. It is regarded as a part of the colonial order designed to deceive the humanity. He compared the rhetoric of civilizing mission and the actual practices of the colonizing mission. What he found was a huge gap between the two. This gap became an object of criticism for some Ottoman travelers like Karçinzade, Halil Halid and Abdüleşid Ibrahim. They frequently used words such as “so called, supposedly, behind the scenes” to define the civilizing mission. The civilization of Europe and its values were all so called. It was a so called civilization, a so called liberty, a so called betterment, correction and improvement for the colonized. Behind the scenes the civilizing and colonizing mission functioned differently. The emphasis of the previous Ottoman travelers on betterment and improvement that carried by the civilized countries turned into the cruelties, injustice, exploitation and oppression brought by the colonial powers.

First of all, Karçinzade describes a statue in Tunisia which reflects the European perception of its own civilizing mission or burden. The statue belongs to the French general who occupied Tunisia and two children of which one is Tunisian and the other is French. The French boy is depicted in his straw hat, trousers, jacket and a tie whereas the Tunisian boy is depicted in his ignoble shirt, a *fes* without tassel, unclothed legs, and bare feet. The French boy gives Arabic alphabet to the Tunisian boy. This statue in short symbolized a lesson given by the French boy to the Tunisian boy according to Karçinzade.⁵⁰² Contrary to these statues, he defined the Frenchman as the most fanatical Catholics of the Christian world who absorbs the wealth and destroys the happiness of places which they contact with their tricky promises on the maintenance of security, development of country, and provision of happiness. Indeed, they had plundered wherever they arrived and they had never considered the happiness of the local peoples. Karçinzade remarks that this crazy nation talked about freedom despite its cruelties to the Africans who are deprived of any legal rights and imprisoned in informal private prisons and whose survival is on the hands of the French people.⁵⁰³

The British rule also gets Karçinzade's share of critiques. The British rule affirmed the ignorant customs with respect to their so called rhetoric of freedom. Their

⁵⁰² Süleyman Şükrü Karçinzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, p. 284.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-291.

purpose was not to bring civilization, but only pursuing and preserving their own interests. Karçinzade claims that it was the Muslim sultans who made idolaters and fire worshipers accustomed to clothing. With the arrival of the British rule, the mob returned to their former practices and nakedness. However, many of them were forced by the Muslims not to return their older habits by use of force.⁵⁰⁴ The British works in India such as Victorian statues were useless in terms of national interests and of humanity. The British government had never spent any money for the construction of India. The construction of Victoria's statues was financed by the money of municipality whose budget is filled with the taxes collected from the Indians.⁵⁰⁵ Karçinzade gave a voice to an Indian inspector who accused of the British rule. This inspector claims that the British government allocated whole resources of Indian country to their own nationals and left no abundance and interests for the use of the local people. These people, who struggle to make a living in the subsistence level, were deprived of their former happiness and pleasures thanks to so called laws for freedom.⁵⁰⁶ In a feast of the Sacrifice, the British government remained insensitive and inert against a conflict between the fire-worshippers and the Muslims. Furthermore, the government incited people to enlarge the hostility and hate between two communities for the sake of their own interests. Their goal was not to provide safety and security in India, rather to benefit from the conflicts among the Indian society to maintain their own rule.⁵⁰⁷

Whereas Şirvanlı's critique of the civilizing mission was based on insufficient and some unrealized missions and responsibilities, Karçinzade's critique was not related to a degree of quantity, but a qualitative problem. The rhetoric of civilizing mission was completely tricky, false and deceptive. There was no mission at all that is aimed at the betterment, improvement and development of the local people. For Mehmed Emin and Şirvanlı, there are several examples for the realized responsibilities and missions as well as some quantitative inadequacies. Karçinzade, on the contrary, attempts to find practices and applications opposed to the rhetoric of the civilizing mission. The gap between the rhetorical claims and the actual state of affairs are widened in Karçinzade's account. Halil Halid had also similar views on the civilizing mission with Karçinzade. He claims that the Western nations destructed the

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 430.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 452.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 505-506.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 556.

independence of the Muslim societies using tricky instruments such as spreading of civilization. Their rhetoric of carrying civilization was regarded by Halid as a pretext for the western powers in order to bring an end to the independence of the Muslim countries.⁵⁰⁸ In a party, a woman hostile to the Turks asked why not the Europeans had come together in order to expel the Turks from Europe. Halid's response was a modified version of same question: why had various peoples of India came together to expel the common enemy British people. The British woman repeated the well known answers: "We are giving justice and freedom". Halil Halid reminded that he had never encountered with an Indian who confirmed this statement despite the popularity of this ideas in Europe.⁵⁰⁹ The politics of the West was to reduce the value and rank of the Turks by any means and they justified their plunders and tyrannical attitudes in the name of civilization and freedom.⁵¹⁰

Abdürreşid İbrahim presents the completion of the railway line passing from Lake Baikal as a project that saves the people from many troubles.⁵¹¹ He talked with the Arab sailors about the British rule in Aden. He learned that the city was reconstructed by the British rule. They told to him that although the British side of Aden was developed, the Arab side of it remained in ruins.⁵¹² Despite his expression of some affirmative fragments with regard to the colonizing mission, he was critical to the European civilizing mission. He found absurd to expect from Britain the practices in the name of civilization.⁵¹³ In a steamer, he encountered with Indian Muslim crew who are illiterate. He criticized Britain who had not given education to these people, although it invaded and taxed India in the name of civilization.⁵¹⁴

As we have discussed in the previous section, what bewildered him in Calcutta was not the city's development, but rather the abundance of narrow, disordered, dirty and dead end streets side by side with the civilized ones. He directly blamed on the British government due to its insufficient investments for the poor Indians. Although India was the major source of wealth for the most progressive and richest country of the

⁵⁰⁸ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, pp. 75-76.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁵¹¹ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, p. 206.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*, p. 607.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, cilt 2, pp. 453-454.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

world, Britain did not undertake philanthropic activities for the poor.⁵¹⁵ Then, he displayed the paradox of the civilizing mission and the colonial administration. In previous chapter this paradox was supposed to be between the cultural and racial difference of Europe from the east and the European civilizing mission that aims at reducing differences via transfer of western civilization. Abdürreşid claims that the development and progress of the subjected nations were not preferable by the dominant nation since they did not want to lose their own position. His example was the Ottoman Empire whose several students sent into Europe, but did not get noteworthy successes. His advice was that every nation should work for its own benefit.⁵¹⁶

According to Abdürreşid, after the Russo-Japanese war, the British injustice and oppression increased because of the Japanese danger and European fear from the unification of Islam. Abdürreşid Ibrahim's critique was directed towards the European civilizing and the colonizing mission. The European discourse on the civilizing mission was nothing more than rhetoric. However, there was a new country as a candidate of being the true carrier of civilization. This country was Japan which constructed his colonies better and earlier than its own territories. Although he harshly criticized the European colonialism, he was tolerant on the Japanese colonialism. He talked in Seoul with the Minister of Interior about the Japanese civilizing mission in Korea. The minister said that Japan brought civilization, order, cleanliness and freedom into Korea and made life easier, they constructed new roads, harbors, telegraph and telephone lines, postal service and a clean and illuminated city.⁵¹⁷ Abdürreşid affirmed the Japanese colonial administration in Korea and found the Japanese invasion useful for the Koreans. Prince Ito in one of their conversations states that the life of the Koreans was entrusted to the Japanese, so that it was necessary to combine the lives of two nations.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 270-271.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 453-454.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., p. 27.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 32, 35.

4. Ottoman travelers and the Rhetorical Modalities of the Colonial Discourses: Classification, the Denial of Coevalness and Naturalization

The common point behind the rhetoric of classification, the denial of coevalness and naturalization was the development of evolutionism in modern thought. All these rhetorical instruments were influenced by the modern biology and the theories of evolution. Social Darwinism was an attempt at the application Darwinian Theory of evolution to the human societies. The modern European civilization represented the ultimate point of human evolution and progress. The non-European peoples were pushed temporally towards more backward steps of human history and evolution. This evolution in its most general terms was a shift from the subjection to nature to the mastery over nature by the arrival of civilization. In these evolutionary schemas, the non-European people considered as people living in a state of nature. This part investigates to what degree the Ottoman travelers adopted these evolutionary visions of the European thought.

4.1. The Adaptation of the European Classificatory Systems

During the early 1850s the concept of modern science began to challenge the authority of religious constructs in the traditional Ottoman thought. Some Ottoman intellectual circles consist of Beşir Fuad, Ahmed Cevdet and Baha Tevfik influenced from a vulgar materialist ideology. German scientific materialist Ludwig Büchner became a touchstone for these intellectuals. They regarded science as the supreme truth and recognized its superiority over religion. They conceived of history of progress as a tug of war between science and religion.⁵¹⁹ The transformations in the educational system strengthened this emphasis on science. Although the circular content of the Hamidian school system was based on religious and authoritarian values, the utilization of religion for political concerns did not turn into an anti-positivistic traditionalism according to Akşin Somel.⁵²⁰ The circular content shifted from religious information to a practical worldly content in time.⁵²¹ The Council of Public Education enhanced the

⁵¹⁹ Şükrü Hanioglu, “Blueprints for a future society: Late Ottoman materialists on science, religion, and art” in *Late Ottoman society: intellectual legacy*, ed., Elisabeth Özdalga, (London & New York: Routledge), 2005.

⁵²⁰ Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire: 1839-1908*, (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001), p. 167.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 49, 54

educational quality of *Rüşdiyye* schools after 1856 by including introductory courses on the natural sciences.⁵²²

Materialism, scienticism, and positivism were the underpinnings of the Young Turk thought according to Şükrü Hanioglu.⁵²³ The ideas of Darwin and their applications to the societies were very popular among the Ottoman intellectual circles.⁵²⁴ Until 1905, the Ottoman intellectuals avoided of using racial theories since their place in these racial hierarchies were at the bottom. The Japanese victory over Russia in 1904-05 questioned the dominant racial theories. The victory of a so called inferior race over a so called superior race encouraged the Young Turks to use racial theories more heavily than before.⁵²⁵ In this part, I will discuss the Ottoman obsession the with hierarchies, their use of the category of savages and the infantization of the savages, their racial arguments, the projects of social engineering and social darwinist claims.

Sadık el Müeyyed in his travelogue on Ethiopia refers to German Monsieur Şimper who collected unknown bird types and various kinds of plants in Ethiopia and send them to the European botanic gardens.⁵²⁶ This is a reflection of the European desire to observe, collect, record and classify. Several Ottoman travelers also adopted scientific ways of measuring, recording and classifying. Mustafa bin Mustafa introduces in detail Lahore's various kinds of fruits such as pineapple, coconut, and mango.⁵²⁷ Ömer Lütfi and engineer Faik give the location of places that they visited in terms of geographical latitude and longitude. Engineer Faik ridicules with the crew of corvette who supposes the equator as a real line and waits for seeing it and the imam of corvette who began to pray for this great event.⁵²⁸

The Ottoman travelers like the Europeans had an obsession with hierarchies. It may be racial, social Darwinist, economic, or civilisational hierarchies. There was a

⁵²² Ibid., p. 44.

⁵²³ Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 18-23, 203-205.

⁵²⁴ Atilla Doğan, *Osmanlı Aydınları ve Sosyal Darwinizm*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006).

⁵²⁵ Şükrü Hanioglu, "Turkism and the Young Turks, 1889-1908," in *Turkey Beyond Nationalism: Towards Post-Nationalist Identities*, Hans-Lukas Kieser, ed., (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), p. 10.

⁵²⁶ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, p. 249.

⁵²⁷ Mustafa bin Mustafa, *Aksa-yı Şarkta Bir Cevelan*, pp. 84-88.

⁵²⁸ Mühendis Faik, *Seyhatname-i Bahr-i Muhit*, pp. 32-33.

general concern for the Ottoman rank in these hierarchies among the Ottoman intellectuals. Karçinzade talks about Iranian nomads whose majority is formed by the Azeri Turks. The Bakhtiari tribe was superior to other tribes in Iran thanks to their extraordinary courage whereas other tribes were nourished by the fifth degree.⁵²⁹ These kind of ranking and grading are popular among other Ottoman travelers. They also graded cities according to their civilisational degree. They adopted the classificatory categories of the colonial discourse. Many of them used the category of savage without any critical comment. According to Faik, the inhabitants of Mauritius Island divided into three groups. The first group was Muslims, the second one French-local people hybrids and finally those who are completely savages. This third group defined by their nakedness, ignorance and simple settlements.⁵³⁰ A village comprising huts from reed and coal-like black men made Karçinzade distressed. He felt fear and savageness. However, he claims that although they were supposed to be savages due to their nakedness and black skins, they were very intelligent, philanthropic, hospitable, and modest people. He says that it was difficult to understand their inner life from their outer appearances.⁵³¹

The infantization of “savages” was an important aspect of the colonial rhetoric. The evolutionary theories were very dominant in the 19th century and early 20th century social sciences. These “sciences” and the colonial discourse claimed that the savages represented the earlier stages of human progress and evolution. Therefore, the depictions of the savages as children and the emphasis on their perceived childish behavior are popular themes in the colonial and orientalist discourse. In the previous chapter, we have discussed that Renan regarded the Semitic language as a frozen language which is imprisoned in its stage of childhood. The Ottoman travelers also used this rhetoric. Although the youngest servants of Sadık el Müeyyed were 19-20 years old, all his servants were depicted as childish, naive, unworried, happy who seek an opportunity for laugh, play, and scuffling.⁵³² Müeyyed's sergeant gave a pair of shoe as a gift for one of his servants. In Müeyyed's words, he staggered after a few steps as a child who was getting accustomed to walking. These evolutionary schemes articulated

⁵²⁹ Süleyman Şükrü Karçinzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, p. 187.

⁵³⁰ Mühendis Faik, *Seyhatname-i Bahr-i Muhit*, p. 62.

⁵³¹ Süleyman Şükrü Karçinzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, pp. 333-334.

⁵³² Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, p. 99.

with a belief in the progress of these childish communities.⁵³³ For the colonial discourse, this progress is generally related to civilization that was brought into those peoples by the colonial powers. Samizade Süreyya takes his readers' attention to the abundance of superstitious beliefs even in a civilized country such as Japan. He claims that there was no society free of superstitious beliefs. However, he believes that these superstitious beliefs will be spontaneously abandoned with the progress of time and ideas.⁵³⁴

The issue of race and color found their respective places in the Ottoman travel literature. In the earlier travel accounts, the racial references were less than those published after 1905. Ömer Lütfi refers to the color differences among peoples. He claims that the tribes of Cape Town had affection to Islam. They loved people with their color more than others.⁵³⁵ However, Ömer Lütfi does not make any explicit connection between their sympathy to Islam and their love for those who have same color with them. In this early travelogue of Ömer Lütfi, it is possible to find racist themes and scenes pertaining to the Europeans. However, it is not clear that the author was aware of their messages. For instance, Ömer Lütfi visited the universal exposition in Paris with Mehmed Paşa. They watched a performance by two bears. Their extraordinary human-like abilities caught the attention of Ömer Lütfi. In this display, the white bear performed in the role of master while the black bear played the role of slave.⁵³⁶ Ubeydullah also witnessed racial assaults of the Americans when he participated in an exposition organized in Ohio. The interest of press in Ubeydullah led to an interest among public regarding him. Some people came with Ubeydullah's real or imagined photos published in newspapers and compared real Ubeydullah with these photos. Some others attempted to measure his forehead.⁵³⁷ This obsession with size of skulls was a characteristic of the 19th century anthropology and racial differences defined in terms of differences in skull sizes. Engineer Faik makes comments on the Brazilian society. The majority of society was formed by the Blacks. According to Faik, some of them were those who came from Africa. This implies that they had come with their own will and bypasses the slavery trade and use of force in this arrival. These

⁵³³ Ibid., p. 251.

⁵³⁴ Samizade Süreyya, *Büyük Japonya*, pp. 76-79.

⁵³⁵ Ömer Lütfi, *Ümitburnu Seyahatnamesi*, p. 37.

⁵³⁶ Ibid., pp. 38-40.

⁵³⁷ Ubeydullah Efendi, *Geçirdiğim Günlerin Hesabına Dağınık Yapraklar*, pp. 261-262.

Black peoples used by the Portuguese as slaves. His observations and comments on the emancipated slaves give an image that he affirms the use of these Blacks as slave. These emancipated slaves were very indolent who spent their time for useless activities after they provided their subsistence.⁵³⁸

Mehmed Emin refers to some racial themes in his travelogue without using the notion of race. He praised the beautiful faces of the Turcoman women and found them more perfect compared to the Mongols, Caucasians and Tatars. He resembled their beauty to some Turks living in Adana and Aleppo whose original beauty was preserved. He considered beautiful faces a common trait of all Asian Turcomans. Despite these racial themes, he did not connect the shape of skulls to the racial and biological traits, but to the forms of lying down.⁵³⁹ On the other hand, he related the intelligence of Teke tribe to their ability in using fired arms.⁵⁴⁰ The connection between technological level and abilities, and the intelligence is also a popular theme in the colonial discourse and in the evolutionary-racial works.

Abdürreşid advised the fire worshipping Indians and the Muslims of unifying against the British oppression in order to survive. The awakening of the Indian communities was a necessary condition for this survival and unification. He says that the degree of awakening in Hindu community was much more than the Muslims. He claims that the Indian communities had fused racially with each other for centuries. This indicated for Abdürreşid the existence of unification by blood.⁵⁴¹ Abdürreşid's references to race show us that by 1910 race became a crucial and determinant factor that is considered by the Ottoman travelers on every significant issue. Ahmet Kemal was the Ottoman traveler who used the notion of race more than other Ottoman travelers. He defined the Turks as a race throughout his travelogue. The definition of nations in terms of racial linkages became a standard aspect of travelogues. For instance, Samizade Sürayya defines the Japanese nation as a combination of the Malay race and the Koreans.⁵⁴²

⁵³⁸ Mühendis Faik, *Seyhatname-i Bahr-i Muhit*, p. 36.

⁵³⁹ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, p. 63.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁵⁴¹ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 2. Cilt, pp. 447-449.

⁵⁴² Samizade Süreyya, *Büyük Japonya*, p. 33.

Some Ottoman travelers had also the projects of social engineering and the policies of eugenics. Ubeydullah Efendi's travelogue on America takes his readers' attention to the vitality of population issue. The basic difference between the Western civilization and the backward Oriental nations was extraordinary performances of Europe and America in population growth. He discusses the factors behind population increases or decreases. The basic factor that contributed to the population growth was not the frequency of war or peace times, but the order of life, i.e. bringing life under control, knowing what to do in this world rather than thinking of other worldly concerns. In the countries with population growth, the needs of people are provided by a mechanism which functions as a clock.⁵⁴³ Abdürreşid İbrahim refers to the biopolitics of the Japanese society. They strengthened their bodies with obligatory physical education in schools to overcome the disadvantages of their shortness. They thought of remedies for their smallness and determined certain days for the sexual intercourse. Another motivation behind this application was to use female labor more efficiently. The reason behind smallness of the Japanese people, according to Abdürreşid, was their way of carrying their children in a basket which is tightly tied to the back of mother. This custom made the smallness hereditary.⁵⁴⁴

Halil Halid observes a desire among the Algerians to immigrate and to take a refuge in the Ottoman Empire. He considered the sexual blend between the Ottomans and the industrious and intelligent Algerians with blond hair, white colored skin, well proportioned bodies and free of any disease or illness useful and beneficial to the Ottoman interests. It was necessary to fill the empty lands of the motherland with these immigrants.⁵⁴⁵ Abdürreşid refers to the successful blend between the local Tatars and those who emigrated from central Russia in Tomsk. It was observed that there is a great spiritual benefit from the blend of these two bloods, a fusion between the naive Tatars with good manners and the industrious and active Russians. Abdürreşid emphasizes that the Tatars in Tomsk are racially white people.⁵⁴⁶ Both Halil Halid and Abdürreşid İbrahim attribute superiority to the white race and blood. They affirm the blends with the White race and expect goods results from this fusion. Abdürreşid also talked about the danger of racial elimination for the *Borat* community and discusses with *Dr.*

⁵⁴³ Ubeydullah Efendi, *Geçirdiğim Günlerin Hesabına Dağınık Yapraklar*, pp. 181-182.

⁵⁴⁴ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, pp. 326-328.

⁵⁴⁵ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, pp. 49-50.

⁵⁴⁶ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, p. 133.

Turabaçif on this issue. The doctor shared with Ibrahim his difficulties in finding a solution to this trouble. Abdürreşid advised him to apply a spiritual medicine. This meant searching for a tribe to blend the *Borats* with them. Abdürreşid Ibrahim gave a speech to doctor on increasing prestige of Japan and proposed to blend the Borats with the Japanese peoples.⁵⁴⁷ The rhetoric of race and blood became a popular theme especially after 1905. Abdürreşid in the Siberian railway met with a Christianized Tatar girl. Although this girl had not known Abdürreşid before, he felt sympathy to him and introduced herself. Abdürreşid defines this hidden connection between two as blood affection.⁵⁴⁸

The social Darwinist themes such as the survival of the strongest, life as a struggle, natural selection of nations were dominant themes of Karçınzade, Halil Halid and Abdürreşid İbrahim's travel accounts all of which published after 1905. Karçınzade in the Indian Ocean encountered with birds that hunts flying fishes and concluded that there was no comfort and safety for living beings in sea, or air or land. There were various troubles and fatal dangers for life everywhere.⁵⁴⁹ Halil Halid easily applied these comments to the nations and concludes that the disaster of one nation is the interest of the other nation. He comments on the Ottoman government and the Armenian relations. Halid cannot say that they did not do injustice to the Armenians. However, he says that one of the corrupt desires fixed in the nature of humanity was the mastery and the oppression of the stronger over the weak. Nevertheless, the Europeans oppressed the Muslims under their rule 100 times worse than what they did the Armenians.⁵⁵⁰

Abdürreşid Ibrahim explains the representational injustices to the Muslims in the Russian assembly with social Darwinist arguments. Justice, Abdürreşid says, becomes out of consideration, if there is power. Power renders all injustices justified. For instance, the French government regarded the Algerian Muslims as animals. If France as a more civilized country did oppress in this degree, it is normal for Russia to do this much injustice to the Muslims. What the Europeans calls civilization is all a mask, an instrument of oppression according to Abdürreşid. When power reigns

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 167-168.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 154.

⁵⁴⁹ Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, p. 481.

⁵⁵⁰ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, p. 96.

supreme, there is no chance for the weak.⁵⁵¹ Abdürreşid gave a speech in the Historical Society of Japan and talks about the racial relations between the Tatars and the Japanese people. He claims that the social illnesses of the oriental nations were common as an influence of race. Abdürreşid emphasized the importance of racial issues in the 20th century. He aims at the unification among the oriental nations against the common enemy.⁵⁵² The most significant common problem among the oriental societies is the issue of survival according to Abdürreşid. Prof. Ariga discussed with Abdürreşid about the nations that had eliminated in the struggle for survival.⁵⁵³ Kavano claims that the issue of survival and the maintenance of life with struggle was a natural law. According to him, the transformation of sperm into fetus is even the result of a struggle.⁵⁵⁴

Samizade Süreyya shows us the popularity of social Darwinist ideas in Japan. The most developed library of Tokyo made a public survey on the selection of the most significant books published in Europe and America. The most voted book was Darwin's *Origins of Species*. Furthermore, Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* was also in the first ranks.⁵⁵⁵ Ubeydullah Efendi tells the social Darwinist principle of the European politics with reference to Nasreddin Hoca: One day, Nasreddin was employed as a shepherd by the people. He divided herd into two groups. The first one included weak sheep and the other one included strong sheep. He herded weaker animals in a place with less grass and herded stronger animals in a place with more grass. Somebody asked Nasreddin why he did not drive weak animals in place with more grass in order to revive them. Hoca responded as follows: "It is not possible. How can I correct these weak animals that are not even corrected by the god?" Ubeydullah concluded that the principle of the current civilization was to crush the weak and make subjugated to the strong.⁵⁵⁶

In the introduction, we have seen that, for Ahmed Midhat, the Russians' humanness was comparable to the Ottoman generosity and he added this observation a

⁵⁵¹ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, pp. 94-95.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 391, 402, 428.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 571.

⁵⁵⁵ Samizade Süreyya, *Büyük Japonya*, p. 98.

⁵⁵⁶ Ömer Hakan Özalp, ed., Mehmed *Ubeydullah Efendi'nin Malta, Afganistan ve İran Hatıraları*, p. 79.

social Darwinist note that such qualities were greater among peoples who, like them, were still on the lower ranks of civilization. Mehmed Fazlı described the Afghan people as Aryan ethnicity and white race and found them very hospitable as all primitive communities. Furthermore, their entertainments are similar to carnivals, but their confused entertainment was equivalent to their level of civilization.⁵⁵⁷ Abdürreşid presents the hospitality of all oriental nations as a part of their temperament, but does not make any negative comments. Mehmed Emin's approach to the hospitality of the Turcomans living in the deserts was different than Ahmed Midhat's and Mehmed Fazlı's. According to Mehmed Emin, this over-hospitality was a way of providing security of roads where there is no civilization and inhabitants. In such places the need for hospitality and protection was far greater. Everybody considers hospitality as a duty as though they signed a contract by agreement.⁵⁵⁸ This is an interesting reception of the European discourses and the modification of them with respect to the non-European non-Ottoman conditions. His discovery of a social contract in a desert condition was a response to this European perception of hospitality as a sign of backwardness in the ranks of civilization.

4.2. Peoples Living in Other Times

Anthropology is defined as the science of other peoples living in other times. The anthropological discourse was based on the denial of co-evalness of other contemporary societies. Other peoples were not here and now. The Ottoman travelers had also a tendency to place other societies that they had encountered into a Time other than the present of the producer of the travel account. One type of the denial of co-evalness was to attribute a different kind of temporality to other cultures whose perception and measurement of Time was pertaining to another world. In general, the flow of Time in the so called backward and primitive societies was much slower than civilized countries. The other type of denial was to give the stagnant, indolent, sleepy and inert images of the Orient.

Mehmed Emin goes to meet the chief of *Şeyh* tribe, but he is bewildered during his journey because of the Turcoman's inability to adjust time and distance. A place where Turcomans marked as a nearby location can be taken at least 2 or 3 hours. They

⁵⁵⁷ Mehmed Fazlı, *Resimli Afgan Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 53, 76.

⁵⁵⁸ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, pp. 40-41.

do not know the clock Time and they measure time with respect to the stars and distances in terms of wells instead of mile or kilometer. The behaviors and movements of animals are pretended as calendar, thermometer and barometer for them. In one day, Emin's guide Hak Verdi indicated a well and said that it was just there. However, it took more than half an hour.⁵⁵⁹

Sadık el Müeyyed became very happy and amazed when the preparations for journey from Dire Dawa to Addis Ababa were completed in a short time, because many people from Djibouti and Dire Dawa had advised him to be patient in Ethiopia and added the note that Ethiopia was not Europe and there was no value of time in the eyes of the local people. Müeyyed's account implies that the time passes slowly in Ethiopia compared to Europe. He claims that a job that can finish in 2 days in normal conditions may finish in Ethiopia in one week.⁵⁶⁰ Müeyyed complains that the local people in his convoy do not know what to be in hurry. Since they do not know the worth of time, the callings for urgency made them laugh and they continued their slowness. They are amazed by Müeyyed's attempts to quicken the convoy. When they left their own devices, it was impossible to move them again.⁵⁶¹ Although the words “*beru hayta*” or “*eftan haytu*” means “I hope that it will be tomorrow or day after tomorrow”, Müeyyed observes that there is no validity of these words in everyday life. The duration implied by these statements changed place to place and individual to individual. In general, the duration gets longer compared to the original meaning.⁵⁶² A postman in Ethiopia says that there would be a faster postal service in Ethiopia only when people would be aware of the value of time. The voice of this postman reflects the views of Müeyyed as well.⁵⁶³ Another example for the slowness of time in the non-European world was given by Abdürreşid who says that 6 days residence in Qiqihar (*Cickar*) of Manchuria seemed to him as it was 60 days.⁵⁶⁴

Another rhetorical tool for denying the co-evalness of other societies was to present them as inert, frozen, indolent, and sleeping peoples. These societies were pushed into the past and evaluated as though they do not belong to the present; rather,

⁵⁵⁹ For examples of the Turcomans' inability to adjust time, see: *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 101-3, 131-133.

⁵⁶⁰ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, p. 66.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁵⁶⁴ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, p. 225.

they have frozen in the past. This stagnant and indolent image was also the denial of the possibility of change, progress and evolution for the aforementioned country. The society whose coevalness was denied was treated as it belongs to the older ages of the human history. Mustafa bin Mustafa was bewildered from the lifeless and static condition of China despite its population of 400 million people. He contrasted this image of China with the active, dynamic, lively and politically and militarily progressed image of the western societies.⁵⁶⁵

Karçinzade talks about the military service of Iran in detail and criticizes traditional military methods. The Iranians do not abandon old military recruitment based on father to son system. Therefore, it is possible to see soldiers young and old alike. After his observations on Iran which did not abandon the principles of the former centuries, he believes that the nations of old times were deprived of welfare and happiness. This interpretation implies that Iran as a case that remained from old times and can be used for the evidence for the life conditions in the old times. The Iranian people had remained far away from all kinds of progress of age. He encountered with the Iranian officials who are deprived of the basic knowledge of which a primary school student has in the Ottoman Empire. In Tehran, he depicted a brass band, which played in front of the shah's palace in order to remind the splendid past of the ancient Persian rulers, however the band itself was already from the ancient times according to Karçinzade. Karçinzade continues saying that the Iranian government turned its face into the past and advanced through the era of the Prophet Noah instead of taking progressive steps into the future. Karçinzade regretted in the name of Islam from the Iran's addiction to the past and resembled the Iranian government to the seven sleepers, the fanaticism of its subjects to the Spanish people, their disorder to the Greeks, and their opium addiction to the Chinese people.⁵⁶⁶

In Bukhara, Karçinzade encountered with a ruined, outdated, and sad city which had lost its old magnificence and civilization. He mentions a summer palace constructed in an ancient style. The inhabitants of Bukhara were ignorant of the contemporary sciences and political skills. The Bukhara's government was blind to the idea of progress and its indolent and careless peoples had no desire to learn useful

⁵⁶⁵ Mustafa bin Mustafa, *Aksa-yı Şarkta Bir Cevelan*, p. 119.

⁵⁶⁶ Süleyman Şükrü Karçinzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, pp. 160-171.

modern sciences and industrial skills necessary to awaken.⁵⁶⁷ Similarly, Iran had a consistent decision for preventing the entrance of civilization into the country. They turned their glances into the primitive ages in order to preserve the model of the Middle Ages. They were indifferent to every aspect of the current progress of civilization. The unwariness of Islam and sleepy mood of the Islamic world strengthened the power of Europe according to Karçinzade. Although the captivity of the Islamic world was regarded as the pretext of this mood of sleeping and unwariness; he questions the stagnation in the independent countries such as Iran and Marrakesh. He asks when these societies will abandon the ignorance and will work for the enlightenment and return to life.⁵⁶⁸

The people of Morocco were also indolent and far away from reconstructing their country. Their aim was to find a way for living without working so that they were interested in alchemy and treasure hunting. They were indolent fortune tellers in the eyes of Karçinzade. Their notables are indolent, their scholars have groundless worries, their government is unable and ignorant of modern sciences and politics, and the country is deprived of safety. Karçinzade claims that when somebody sees their forms of clothing, he thinks that he was in the middle ages. However, the dishonest and trickery Christians has made Karçinzade rue the savage inhabitants of Morocco.⁵⁶⁹

Karçinzade continues using the rhetoric of denial in India. He depicts Ahmadabad with lack of the industrious inhabitants. They were dazed people ignorant of the splendid past of their ancestors. He criticized these peoples because of their indifference to the British oppression. They were on the lowest ranks of the ignorance. The distinguishing characteristics of these people were ignorance, numbness, and frozenness. They were unable to benefit from their natural intelligence according to Karçinzade.⁵⁷⁰ He summarizes his general views on the non-Ottoman non-European world as follows: “The prince of Deccan-Hyderabad due to his drunkenness, Iran due to its addiction to opium, Bukhara due to its dazeness, Afghanistan due to numbness, Zanzibar and Lahore due to their sleepy states, Morocco due to its stubborn fortune-tellers and ulema cannot rescue themselves from the Christian oppression. He wished

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 229-233.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 238.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 294.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 407-408.

from God to awaken the world of Islam.⁵⁷¹ He thinks that what spoiled a few western nations to that extent were whole Orientals who fell into a deep sleep. He claims that the West rose when the Orient fell into asleep. It is time to awaken for rescuing from the evils of those plunderers. This captivity and state of sleeping cannot be regarded suitable for the Oriental nations with a brilliant past. The Orient had an enlightened scholarship in the past while the west was in a state of ignorance. Karçınzade related the progress of the west to its industriousness and the backwardness of the Orient to indolence and tolerance.⁵⁷²

The French government closed down the caves under an Algerian city since they fear that the Arabs might explode them. According to Halil Halid this fear is groundless, because the Arabs' gunpowder had been out of order for a long time and they were even ignorant of the existence of dynamite. The Algerian Muslims lost all their abilities of understanding and acting.⁵⁷³ He compares the Arab neighborhoods with the European ones. Whereas the Muslim coffeehouses are full of people even in working hours, there is a dynamism and activity in the European neighborhoods. He gives an indolent image of the Arab people. In the Arabs' faces he found the marks of desperation and indolence and the signs of inability and idleness. In this city, he, in his own words, encounters with the real meaning of the Islamic regression and the astonished causes of the Western progress.⁵⁷⁴

Mehmed Fazlı quotes from the speech of the Afghan prince in which he shares with his audiences his sadness from the Islam's centuries of drowsiness and indolence.⁵⁷⁵ This was an orientalist theme internalized by an Islamic ruler. Abdürreşid İbrahim talks with an Afghan person who regarded all Muslims in a state of frozenness. Nevertheless, Abdurrahman Han's reforms in Afghanistan represented for this Afghan person the beginning of a social life and history in Afghanistan. The Han completely made savage tribes subservient. All these are signs of vitality in Afghanistan according to Abdürreşid.⁵⁷⁶ He in Tashkent cannot find any difference between the present

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., p. 495.

⁵⁷² Ibid., p. 588.

⁵⁷³ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, pp. 34-35.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 69-70.

⁵⁷⁵ Mehmed Fazlı, *Resimli Afgan Seyahatnamesi*, p. 95.

⁵⁷⁶ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, pp. 440-441.

Muslim Tashkent and the Tashkent of 500 years ago.⁵⁷⁷ There are still muddy roads. In Bukhara, he observes some mobility in order to awaken and mentions the difficulties to get rid of a pervaded indolence and numbness.⁵⁷⁸ In *Yeditaş* he saw neither a school nor a medrese, so that he regards the Muslims of this region as people who remained from the times of Israelis.⁵⁷⁹ In India, he also concludes that the Indians remained from the time of Israelis due to insufficient education. The most explicit expression for the denial of co-evalness uttered by Abdürreşid was as follows: “India is in the level of 5th century in the 20th century.”⁵⁸⁰ The common frozenness of the Orient filled up the bodies of all Muslims. They are even ignorant of the existence of their co-believers according to Abdürreşid.

Ahmet Kemal also used the theme of the indolent Orient in his travelogue on China and Turkestan. The era, for Kemal, was the era of progress and era of action rather than word. He criticizes the Turkish deputies who are indolent and avoid suffering for a short life. He supposed that he was in a primitive and dark age, when he faced with a Chinese person with a long hair, long fingernail, and shabby clothes.⁵⁸¹ The Chinese farmers followed him where he goes and regarded Ahmet Kemal as a European man.⁵⁸² This was a common encounter that was also experienced by other travelers. Many of them say that they were regarded as European in many non-Ottoman non-European contexts. In Gansu (*Gencu*), Kemal could not find any rational proportionality in the statue of an idol. This was a sign of the sleepy mood of the Chinese people.⁵⁸³

4.2.1. Ethnographic Views of the Ottoman Travelers

Most Ottoman travelers were cultural relativists to some extent. Ahmed Midhat attempted to show how the marriage practices change culture to culture. They accepted that every culture have different customs and manners many of which seems to them weird and wonders. However, their aim was already to see weird and wonders. We can consider this desire to see weird customs and manners as a common point for the

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 41-42.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 52.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 71-72.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 2. Cilt, p. 449.

⁵⁸¹ Ahmet Kemal İlkul, *Çin-Türkistan Hatıraları*, p. 211.

⁵⁸² Ibid., p.264.

⁵⁸³ Ibid., p. 268.

majority of the Ottoman travellers. But, behind this commonality, how did they perceive other cultures' weird and wonder customs and manners? Which criterion shaped their perception and evaluation of other cultures? Did they judge other cultures, customs and manners in terms of their own principles of rationality, morality or nationality? Or, did they consider the possibility of the existence of equally valid and various principles of rationality or morality? Samizade Süreyya's phrase "Now we will examine a household that belongs to a lower class family" indicates that he adopted a language of ethnographer using case studies.⁵⁸⁴ This led us to another question: How did the European ethnographic gaze influence over the Ottoman gaze around the world?

The Western ethnographic gaze was based on the application of its own rationality and morality on the evaluation of other cultures. The western science and technology were the foremost representatives of the Western rationality. They established an inseparable connection between this rationality and their culture.⁵⁸⁵ In general, the Ottoman intellectuals struggled with this perception. They always defended that the Islamic culture is not an obstacle for the development and progress. Their separation between *hars* and *medeniyet* and their dichotomy between the materially superior and the morally inferior west were major conceptual instruments of this struggle.

One aspect of the 19th century and early 20th century western ethnographic gaze around the non-western context was the assumption of superiority of the Western rationality and culture. Other cultures were judged with respect to the western rationality and morality. The other aspect of it was the dominance of the evolutionary and social Darwinist theories. According to Chatterjee, both functionalism and structuralism are anti-rationalist approaches. The aim of functionalism was not to determine whether beliefs or actions are rational or not, but to discover how these beliefs and actions contribute to the general functioning of the society. The structuralist-symbolic approach was based on the discovery of the universal mental structures behind cultural phenomena. This universality was a challenge to the western assumptions on the superiority of the western rationality.⁵⁸⁶ However, these two approaches began to develop in the early 20th century and reached a respectful position

⁵⁸⁴ Samizade Süreyya, *Büyük Japonya*, p. 85.

⁵⁸⁵ Partha Chatterjee, *Milliyetçi Düşünce ve Sömürge Dünyası*, pp. 40-41, 44.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.36-39.

during the 1920s. Our sources from Ottoman travel literature cover a period between 1868 and 1925 in terms of publication dates. However, the majority of our sources published before 1918.

The Western rationality and Islamic morality and rules were two basic criterions of the Ottoman travelers for the evaluation of foreign cultures. The Ottoman travelers harshly criticized the practices contrary to what they considered as real Islam. Western science and technology also shaped their rationality. The Ottoman travelers' response to the weird customs and manners of other cultures was a search for rationality. They frequently used the why-questions. Their general response to other traditions was based on their own rationality and morality. When they did not encounter with their own rationality and morality in the beliefs and acts of other cultures, they easily labeled these acts and beliefs as disgusting customs and manners. Nevertheless, there are some travelers who are willing to discover something similar to their own rationality and morality in the non-Ottoman non-European context. When considered the limited number of sources used in this thesis, it is difficult to reach much generalized conclusions with regard to the Ottoman ethnographic gaze.

What I can easily say is that Mehmed Emin's account published in 1878 had a unique place among my sources because of his willingness to discover different rationalities and morals in different contexts. He talks about weird marriage and wedding customs of the Turcomans such as the early engagement and advantage positions of widows in the society. Although he cannot find a reasonable explanation for all of these weird practices, he accepts that they had not our structure of thinking and he tries to find rationalist motives behind their acts and beliefs. The motivation behind the early engagement was to find an early solution to the needs of adolescents and to increase the size of population. The first one was also directed towards the preservation of the morals.⁵⁸⁷ Mehmed Emin also investigates the reasons behind their over-respect for graves. He says that there were lots of opportunities in the civilized nations to render reputation permanent such as palaces, towers, bridges, pleasure houses. The people whose names recorded in the pages of history books preserved their fame from the destroying power of time. On the contrary, the poor Turcomans had nothing to serve the permanency of their names. Their written tradition was limited and

⁵⁸⁷ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, pp. 60-2, 68.

their oral tradition was volatile. They have nothing other than a grave to leave a remembrance for them.⁵⁸⁸ These explanations can be regarded as a functionalist approach to the Turcoman practices instead of an evaluation with regard to his own cultural and rational norms. We have also seen that he discovered a social contract behind their over-hospitality and presented it as a rational response to the desert conditions. This explanation for the hospitality may be regarded as an imposition of the Western rationality into the desert conditions. Nevertheless, it is an interesting adaptation and modification of the western discourses. He discovered a civilized element like social contract in a place which is considered in a state of nature and non civilization by the western discourses.

Mustafa bin Mustafa talks with a Brahman on their belief system and asks what happens in a state of conflict among the idols. The idolater responded that they were afraid of the greatest one among others. Mustafa Efendi asks where this greatest idol is. He is answered as follows: “The greatest one is invisible to our eyes, but it is everywhere”. Mustafa Efendi says that even these idolaters do not reject the existence of a single deity.⁵⁸⁹ He was willing to discover the basic principle of his own belief system in another religion. Whereas the orientalist discourse basically aims to construct the Orient as its opposite image and as a different entity compared to its unique rationality, morality and belief systems, Mustafa Efendi does not hesitate to impose his norms on another belief system. Abdürreşid İbrahim also displayed a similar attitude with regard to Buddhism. His motivation was understandable for a person who aims at the unification among the oriental societies. Therefore, the emphasis on the commonalities rather than differences was one of his major concerns. One of the most prestigious Buddhists, Hamba Lama expresses his personal religious principles to Abdürreşid and says that he found the existence of an ordering and creating power in this universe logical. Abdürreşid insisted that the God might have sent them a prophet that they do not know. He also depicted the Japanese people whose temperament is suitable for the Islam by nature.⁵⁹⁰

These are only one aspect of a complex issue and may be regarded as the exceptional side of it, because the general tendency was not to find the commonalities

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 71-72.

⁵⁸⁹ Mustafa bin Mustafa, *Aksa-ya Şarkta Bir Cevelan*, pp. 100-101.

⁵⁹⁰ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, p. 189.

with other cultures, but to criticize their weird practices with respect to the Ottoman customs and manners and Islam. Mustafa bin Mustafa listed many weird customs of the Indians such as the burning of dead, the rejection of eating meat and bread, customs of Chinese such as the process of making female feet smaller and regarded all of them as disgusting.⁵⁹¹ Abdürreşid İbrahim depicted Hamba Lama's places of worship as a brothel. He participated in a funeral in Japan and did not like the burning of the dead body and the preservation of ashes and depicted his beloved Japan as a land of swearing and fire worshipers after this funeral. Nevertheless, he discovers a common motivation behind various religious customs: it is the obedience to a spiritual command. He also accepts that every nation conceived their customs in a pleasant way.⁵⁹² Mustafa bin Mustafa gives a very detailed account of the funeral ceremony of the idolaters in China and asks the reasons behind every aspect of the ceremony from a Chinese person. He talks with this person in a derisive way and at the end he finds their belief very weak.⁵⁹³

Karçınzade makes an anthropological comment on the ceremonies of the fire-worshippers. Their practices were remained from the pre-social times in which the people live in the caves. These people used fire and ceremonies around fire in order to frighten the wild animals. Then these practices turned into the religious activities. He harshly criticizes idolaters who devoted to the idol of seas and throw coconuts into the sea to calm the anger of their idol since they are unable to fathom the power of god. He found these rude people more ignorant and savage than the people who lived in the caves in the primitive ages.⁵⁹⁴ Karçınzade has a functionalist view on the practices of the fire worshippers who had lived in the primitive ages. He has more sympathy with their attitudes. However, he cannot stand to see these practices in contemporary societies, because they had no function. He is closer to an evolutionist view. These practices belong to the primitive ages of human history and they should be eliminated with the progress and evolution of humanity.

The early 20th century added another crucial criterion to the Ottoman travelers' ethnographic views. This was the perspective provided by the Turkish nationalism. Ahmed Kemal listed many superstitious beliefs of Kashgar people and regarded them

⁵⁹¹ Mustafa bin Mustafa, *Aksa-yı Şarkta Bir Cevelan*, pp. 59, 62, 102, 106, 116.

⁵⁹² Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, p. 418.

⁵⁹³ Mustafa bin Mustafa, *Aksa-yı Şarkta Bir Cevelan*, pp. 110-113

⁵⁹⁴ Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, pp. 394, 406.

as blot on honorable leadership of the Turks and Islam. These beliefs humiliated the Islamic and Turkic greatness and merits. He regarded the religious fanaticism and the abundance of superstitions as the major obstacles in front of progress, civilization and national feelings.⁵⁹⁵ Even in religious issues, the Turkisness became a significant criterion of evaluation.

4.2.2. Ottoman Travelers as the Objects of Spectacle

One of the most important aspects of the western ethnographic gaze was its obsession with displaying. Halil Halid talks about tribal chiefs who were forced to participate in a ball given for the congress of Orientalists. They were made an object of spectacle for the westerners. The message given by the French, Halid claims, was the benevolent character of their government with regard to the locals under control of their civilization. A show at the end of bale made him more unpleasant. It was a parade of a regiment comprising vagrant and beggar like Muslims without niches and with their broken swords, pikes, thick sticks. They had a banner with a star and moon. Their commander above a horse punished his men with his whip. The purpose of this show was to demonstrate the difference between civilization and nomadism according to Halid.⁵⁹⁶

Generally, the Ottoman travelers themselves became an object of spectacle during their travels. In Canton, Mustafa Efendi surrounded by the local peoples and he was left no choice but to apply police due to the crowd. The local inhabitants looked upon them as though they came from another world. According to Mustafa Efendi, this desire to see a foreigner is a universal attitude also valid for the Ottomans.⁵⁹⁷ In general, the Ottoman travelers became happy when they met by the Muslims and did not make this interest an object of complaint. When they circled by the non Muslim masses, they could be more unwilling to deal with them and depicted this kind of attitudes as disgusting customs. Abdürreşid encountered with the same scene in China like Mustafa Efendi. This savage attitude was also encountered in Europe according to Abdürreşid. However, the Japanese people did not consider his appearance weird unlike the

⁵⁹⁵ Ahmet Kemal İlkul, *Çin-Türkistan Hatıraları*, pp. 148-150.

⁵⁹⁶ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, pp. 103-106.

⁵⁹⁷ Mustafa bin Mustafa, *Aksa-yı Şarkta Bir Cevelan*, p. 99.

Russians and Europeans. He attributed this behavior of the Japanese people to the humanness of the Oriental civilization.⁵⁹⁸

Ubeydullah Efendi was anxious about his image in the eyes of the westerners and doubts whether his friends in the steamer make fun of himself. He was consoled when he thought that he had also fun in his life in the steamer.⁵⁹⁹ He became a crucial figure in the presentation and advertisement of candy exhibition in Washington. He participated in the exhibition as a seller of silk candy. His Turkish identity increased the public interest in the exhibition. The press' interest in Ubeydullah was enormous. Many women offered him to dance. When he participated in another candy exhibition in Pitsburg, he became the biggest capital of the exhibition in his own words. His photos, some imaginary, published in the newspapers. There are also many invented news in the press about him.⁶⁰⁰ According to one of this fabricated news, he was a destitute Turk who escaped from polices of the Ottoman embassy with the help of his brave and noble-hearted patron, the director of exhibition, Buckley (*Bukli*).⁶⁰¹ Their aim was to create an image of the Turks as destitute people who were oppressed by the despotism of Hamid and rescued by favors and benevolence of the Westerners.

4.3. The Naturalization of the Orient

The dichotomy between nature and civilization is an integral part of the colonial discourse and legitimation. Şirvanlı contrasted India with Swat. The passage from India to Swat was also a transition from ancient and fine arts works, trains and excellent postal carts to transportation via mules. The only object of spectacle in Swat was natural things such as mountains and animals.⁶⁰² It was a return to nature. Indeed, he contrasted civilization with nature. In the colonial discourse, life in the non-European context is much closer to nature. Abdürreşid İbrahim also internalizes this rhetoric of naturalization of the non-Western world. He refers to the simple life of the Japanese villagers which is more suitable with nature. He says that they lived an oriental life.⁶⁰³

⁵⁹⁸ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, p. 281.

⁵⁹⁹ Ubeydullah Efendi, *Geçirdiğim Günlerin Hesabına Dağınık Yapraklar*, p. 152.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 226-8, 235-6, 261-2.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-242.

⁶⁰² Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, p. 127.

⁶⁰³ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, p. 319.

In Singapore, Abdürreşid encounters with a natural landscape peculiar to the Orient.⁶⁰⁴ The oriental life implies a more natural life for Abdürreşid. Other rhetorical tools for naturalization of the other were emphasis on the harmonious relations of the Other with nature, the animalization of the Other and climatic considerations. There are also travelers who blurred the distinction between nature and civilization.

The harmony between nomadic peoples and nature was a common theme used by the Ottoman travelers. The identification of the savages and nomads with natural world was also an important aspect of the colonial discourse. Mehmed Emin talks about Turcomans' excellent skills in following a trail in desert. They put their ears on the ground and can predict the distance and number of enemy group. This is a kind of unification with nature. They can talk with the nature, listen to the nature, and read the nature.⁶⁰⁵ Sadık el Müeyyed used the rhetoric of animalization more frequently than other Ottoman travellers. When his convoy passes from a plain, he sees a mass of soil resembling to the Somalian huts. However, he learned that these were the houses of white ants. He compares white ants with the Somalians. While ants like shady places, The Somalians like sunny places. Somalians are accustomed to live under sun, so that shady places disturb their bodies. Although he saw many nests of ants in forests there is no single Somalian hut.⁶⁰⁶ Müeyyed gives information on the nomads of Karayu. They do not know agriculture and bread, they have no religion. They are Blacks. They have no tent but huts that can be entered by crawling. He confused the deserted huts of this nomadic people with the nests of white ants.⁶⁰⁷ The nomads he encountered in Ethiopia were defined by their ability to integrate into nature. Although they get wet five times a day due to rain, they have never been sick for this reason. His servants responsible from mules can run 10 kilometer without feeling of any tiredness. The Ethiopian girls easily climb places where mules had even difficulties. He looks at the pantries of the native population and encounters with their simple life in which their wealth and straw was also wealth and straw of nature.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., 2. Cilt, p. 228.

⁶⁰⁵ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, p. 52.

⁶⁰⁶ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 60-1, 63.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 143, 150.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 100, 126, 136, 158.

According to Karçınzade, the Europeans considered that welfare and happiness were only their own right and other nations were supposed as animals and to be condemned to poverty by nature.⁶⁰⁹ The Ottoman travellers used the rhetoric of animalization of the savages, primitives and nomads. Abdurrahman Efendi compares the speeches of the savages in Brazil with the sounds of birds.⁶¹⁰ The quality of language was also a concern for the colonial discourse. The degree of complexity and refinement from mere cry and gesture was the sign of the civilisational character of a language. Mehmed Emin takes his readers' attention to the importance of horse in the deserts of central Asia. Horse was a significant part of human existence for Turcomans if they are born from their mother as half man half horse.⁶¹¹ Şirvanlı in his visit to Shivalik (*Siwali*) of Himalayas encountered with a community which lives as savage and wild animals. He says that when they yell enthusiastically, a group of jackals comes from forest and gathers around them.⁶¹²

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the colonial discourse claims that the primitives' passion, idleness, moral inferiority were shaped by their natural and climatic surrounding. Contrary to these negative impacts of climate, Ömer Lütfi claims that the inhabitants of Cape Town were much healthier and their bodies were stronger, the frequency of diseases was very little thanks to beautiful climate.⁶¹³ Ahmet Kemal mentions innate high skills of Kuchar's young men. The climate, clear waters and pure weather contributed to the improvement of their skills and ideas.⁶¹⁴ Abdürreşid İbrahim discusses with a Korean about the relation between the climate conditions and the progress of nations. The Korean man claims that what made Korea a dead nation was bad weather and same conditions might harm the Japanese people who settled in Korea. Abdürreşid rejects this idea of the impact of climate on progress.⁶¹⁵ Contrary to Abdürreşid, Halil Halid says that natural phenomena such as cloudy and dark weather may cause to idleness of minds.⁶¹⁶ The Colonizers were also afraid of losing their will, yielding to the forces of a wild and rank human nature in the darker areas of Africa and

⁶⁰⁹ Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, p. 395.

⁶¹⁰ Bağdatlı Abdurrahman Efendi, *Brezilya Seyahatnamesi*, p. 53.

⁶¹¹ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, p. 56.

⁶¹² Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, p. 146.

⁶¹³ Ömer Lütfi, *Ümitburnu Seyahatnamesi*, p. 86.

⁶¹⁴ Ahmet Kemal İlkul, *Çin-Türkistan Hatıraları*, pp. 208-209.

⁶¹⁵ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 2. Cilt, pp. 51-52.

⁶¹⁶ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, p. 92.

Asia. The danger of falling into indolence due to hot weather was one of the most frequently mentioned threats to the colonial officers and immigrants. However, what is depicted by Halid as a danger was not weather of Africa but weather of Britain (dark and cloudy). According to Samizade Sezai, the ratio of ozone in a nice and mild air in Japan is less than 1/3 of the ratio of ozone in the European nice and mild air. Because of this reason, the foreigners cannot succeed in Japan in their mental and bodily activities as much as they are in their own countries. Nevertheless the children of the foreigners grow up in Japan very well.⁶¹⁷

According to Abdürreşid, the Kazakhs' degree of welfare in a state of settlement was less than in a state of nomadism. He regarded the nomadic life as a very delicious and natural life. The migration is a natural affair. It is a necessity for the humans given by nature. The migration of the most civilized nations to the summer houses was a legacy of nomadism. When the Kazakhs shifted from a natural state into an obligatory condition, their health became worse due to increasing illnesses among them.⁶¹⁸ Abdürreşid's interpretation on nomadism is an interesting modification which blurs the dividing lines between nature and civilization. Another interesting blurring was uttered by Samizade Sezai. He refers to the natural beauties of Japan with reference to his own observations and to the Western works. Although the colonial discourse regarded living in state of nature as opposed to civilization and progress, Sezai considered Japan's harmony with nature as a factor that contributed to their rapid progress, but he does not explain what the mechanism of this contribution is.⁶¹⁹

5. Ottoman Travelers and the Rhetorical Modalities of the Colonial Discourses: Idealization, Debasing, Negation and Eroticization

The common point behind the rhetorical tools of idealization, debasing, negation and eroticization was their more general, dependent, and derivative characteristics. Their real meaning was directly connected to the previous rhetorical modalities. For instance, the naturalization of the non-European world, the denial of coevalness, and many racial arguments can also be grouped under the rhetorical modalities of debasing and negation. The naturalization was a way of debasing the

⁶¹⁷ Samizade Süreyya, *Büyük Japonya*, p. 29.

⁶¹⁸ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, pp. 69-70.

⁶¹⁹ Samizade Süreyya, *Büyük Japonya*, pp. 53-54.

non-European peoples and the denial of coevalness was the negation of their contemporaneity. Furthermore, the debasement and negation are the general ways of conceptualizing the Other. We can encounter these rhetorical tools even before the colonial expansion of Europe. Therefore, it is meaningful to evaluate all rhetorical modalities in their totality and interdependency and with a particular attention to the overlapping domains among them. One of my aims in this part is to seek the political rather than individual motivations behind the rhetorical uses of debasement, idealization, negation and eroticization. Another aim was to discover the degree of which Ottoman discourses on debasement, idealization, eroticization and negation were the reflections of internal debates, troubles, crises and transformations in the Ottoman Empire. In this regard, the notion of corrective mirror that have discussed in the first chapter will help us.

5.1. The Aestheticization and Idealization of the non-Western Peoples and Lands

In the first chapter, we have discussed that the rhetoric of idealization was part of an escapist or self criticizing strategy for the Western travelers. Mehmed Emin's account was the most suitable Ottoman travelogue to be evaluated as a result of an escapist strategy. The desert conditions make him think about the vitality of water and life. The graves around him bring a message from terrible death. Although he is deprived of many prosperity and easiness of civilization, he finds a vitality and taste in the silence of the desert. His ears which are full with the apprehensions of prosperity found tranquility in the desert and learned to hear the sound of the desert.⁶²⁰ One of the most idealized pictures of the peoples and spaces in the non-Western world was given by Mehmed Emin. His attempts to find rationality behind many weird customs of the Turcomans are also evidences for his idealization of these people.

Sadık el Müeyyed before his travel to Ethiopia had neither an escapist strategy nor a self criticizing strategy. He was burdened with an official duty like most of the Ottoman travelers. Nevertheless, his travelogue includes one of the most idealized pictures of the tribal peoples. The tribal chiefs give an awesome impression on Müeyyed despite their primitive appearances. Each of them was regarded by him as a

⁶²⁰ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, pp. 81-82.

symbol of heroism. They are members of a heroic community.⁶²¹ He discovers a sense of pride in the behaviors of the Somalians like other nomadic groups. Their temperament is harsh and resistant to suffering. They keep their pride in front of the urban people who benefit from the favors of civilization and live in a state of welfare. They despise their welfare and spirituality. Even their members who worked in the cities do not consider the urban people superior to them in spite of progress, industry and great works in the cities.⁶²² He does not depict these nomadic tribal peoples as indolent, but rather as industrious peoples. This is in contradiction with his previous ideas which depicted them with their slowness. Müeyyed also idealized the space of Ethiopia as well as its nomadic and tribal peoples. He says that he had not ever seen this much beautiful landscapes in Africa. After he sees the beautiful natural scenes of Ethiopia he forgets that he is in Africa.⁶²³ These statements imply that, for Müeyyed, Africa in general represents a darker and blank area of the world that is full of deserts. Therefore, on the one hand he idealizes the peoples and landscapes of Ethiopia in particular; on the other hand he maintains a negated image of Africa in general.

What about idealization in the context of self criticizing or corrective mirror? What did they find to correct and criticize themselves, when they looked at the non-Ottoman and non-European world? In general, they considered themselves superior to the non-Ottoman non-European world. For instance, Ahmed Midhad, in his preface to Mehmed Emin's work, positioned the Ottoman Empire as a bridge between Europe and the rest of Muslim cultures. Its role was to guide these Islamic populations. This sense of superiority over the non-European world led them to find fewer things to idealize. Even in the context of the Muslims, they did not most of time idealize the non-Ottoman Muslim societies due to their deviation from the orthodox Islam. The maintenance and preservation of their religion or national culture or their attempts at modernization are possible sources of praising the non-European peoples. These sources of praising changed from traveler to traveler.

However, there is a common complaint about the political preferences of the Ottoman Empire. Both Ahmed Midhat and Halil Halid criticized the Ottoman insensitivity to its nearby non-European geography and its excessive interest in the

⁶²¹ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, pp.45, 51.

⁶²² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁶²³ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

European lands. Naciye Neyyal who is the daughter-in-law of Şirvanlı had read the travelogue of her father-in-law. She says that there were very wealthy and prosperous lands in India. She wonders about how the old Ottoman sultans did not get involved in these geographies and preferred to be curious about the European lands.⁶²⁴ In the first chapter, we have mentioned that the early 20th century witnessed the rationalization and instrumentalization of the 3rd world. The political concerns led to the idealization of some characteristics of the non-European world. Abdürreşid's political concerns became very influential in his interpretation of other cultures. His political ideas such as the unification of the Islamic and Oriental societies led him to idealize many aspects of the Oriental life especially the spirituality of the Orientals opposed to the moral degeneration of the Westerners. Japan was accepted as a model for the Ottomans in the issue of progress especially after its victory over the Russians in 1905. Abdürreşid and Samizade Süreyya's travelogues reflected this concern for Japan. The national considerations also became a determinant factor in the issue of idealization. Ahmet Kemal's travelogue included many idealizations of the non-Ottoman Turks. He praises the Kalymyks (*Kalmuk*) tribe although they are regarded as savages in the eyes of the Chinese officials since the Kalmuks defended their fatherland; Ahmet Kemal regarded them as revolutionary Turkish sons.⁶²⁵

5.2. The Debasing of the non-Western Peoples and Lands

According to the colonial rhetoric of debasing, each individual weakness has a political counterpart and vice versa. The Western travelers had a sense of superiority and mastery over the rest of the world. The Ottoman travelers were aware that most parts of the non-European world were colonized by this materially superior West; however they had also a sense of superiority over the non-European world despite the non-existence of an Ottoman colonial administration in these lands. The existence of the caliph- sultan gave them a role and sense of leadership over the non-Ottoman Muslims to some extent. The majority of the non-European, non-Ottoman world was directly or indirectly under the European control. Therefore, their individual filth and

⁶²⁴ Fatma Rezan Hürmen, ed., *Münevver bir Türk Hanımı ressam Naciye Neyyal Hanımefendi'nin Mutlakiyet, Meşrutiyet ve Cumhuriyet Hatıraları*, (İstanbul:Pınar Yayınları, 2000), p. 139.

⁶²⁵ Ahmet Kemal İlkul, *Çin-Türkistan Hatıraları*, p. 360.

defilement was an expected result of being vulnerable to the foreign intervention and the existence of the foreign intervention was an evidence for the individual weaknesses such as filth and defilement.

Karçinzade depicted Iran as a land of filth and defilement. The disgusting scenes are as follows: an extraordinary dirty public bath, an inferior living, the absence of welfare and happiness, a woman who collects feces. Peking was also defined by its filth and defilement. It was full of disgusting smell and dead animals. There was no municipality service. The households were without toilet. The people defecated where they find randomly. This situation makes the civilized people nauseated. The British officials tried to prevent this situation by force. However, the Chinese people were very much tied to their traditional customs. There was no difference between the Chinese idolaters and the animals with four feet according to Karçinzade. A 400 hundred years old and outdated authority continued to reign. There was no love for the motherland. Karçinzade's descriptions of Peking were a combination of various rhetorical tools.⁶²⁶ These are the rhetoric of negation (absences of municipality, love for motherland), the filth and defilement (disgusting smell, people defecating the streets), the civilizing mission (British attempts to prevent disgusting habits), the naturalization (animalization of Chinese idolaters), the correlation between individual filth and an outdated government and lack of love for the motherland.

In Şirvanlı's account on India, the most frequently mentioned disgusting scenes were as follows: the burning of death bodies, throwing sick and bedridden people into rivers, the accumulation of dead bodies above the river, the attacks of wolves to the dead bodies in Peshawar due to people's indifference to their dead relatives.⁶²⁷ Filth and defilement that reigned in the non-European countries was enough to remind to the Ottoman travelers a prospective colonizing mission or enough to affirm and justify an existing colonial rule. For Şirvanlı, on the one hand there were these disgusting habits of the Indians, on the other hand there was the British rule that attempted to correct these habits. He positioned himself like most of other Ottoman travelers on the side of the colonizer due to filth and defilement of the colonized. However, the Ottoman travelers had not also so much sensitivity to the independent or quasi independent

⁶²⁶ For more examples of filth and defilment, see: Süleyman Şükrü Karçinzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, pp. 164, 166, 185-6, 201, 588-9.

⁶²⁷ Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, p. 43.

countries in the context of debasement. Iran, Afghanistan, Japan, Ethiopia, and Brazil also got their share from the Ottoman rhetoric of debasement, because there are other factors behind the rhetoric of debasement. Many rhetorical tools that discussed above parts are also an example of debasement. There are overlapping domains among different rhetorical instruments. The denial of coevalness, the naturalization, the depiction of the non-European peoples in need of guidance and civilizing mission, the emphasis on their unwise use of resources and the superstitious beliefs and practices are also examples of debasement.

One form of debasement was to depict the non-European societies in a state of frozenness and numbness. The inability to renovate their traditional structures and lack of progress and reform were the most frequently mentioned characteristics of the non-Ottoman non-European world. Karçınzade debased whole non-European world almost without exception. Although he had critical comments on the western colonialism and the civilizing mission, he internalized the dichotomy between the passive, indolent and numb non western world and the dynamic, industrious and active Western world. Other travelers such as Halil Halid, Abdürreşid Ibrahim, and Ahmet Kemal also used this rhetoric of numbness for the non-western contexts.

Another reason behind debasement was the superstitious beliefs and practices. The Muslim communities also got their share of debasement due to their beliefs and practices opposed to true Islam. Halil Halid encountered with dirty shops and disgusting smell in the non-Muslim parts of the city of Batna. He felt sorrow when he observed same filth among the Muslims.⁶²⁸ The Ottoman travelers who visited Iran harshly criticized this country due to its filth. In general, they did not see any positive element in Iran. The sectarian difference between two countries may be a reason behind the absence of any positive image regarding Iran. Mehmed Fazlı refers to the over-dirtiness of a public bath in an Iranian city, Mashhad. He asks how they will be cleaned after having a bath in this dirty hamam.⁶²⁹ Mehmed Fazlı had never mentioned the Iranian constitutional revolution that was carried out in 1905, two years before his traveling, and concentrated on the dirtiness of Iran. The motivation behind this bypass

⁶²⁸ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, p. 54.

⁶²⁹ Mehmed Fazlı, *Resimli Afgan Seyahatnamesi*, p. 47.

may be the sectarian difference between the Ottomans and the Iranians.⁶³⁰ Abdürreşid found the practices of the Indian idolaters dirty and disgusting. There was an abundance of sects in India and moral degeneration.⁶³¹

Halil Halid refers to the Western attempts to debase Islam. They claimed that Islam encourages the slavery. The Christians translated the word 'slavery' in the Bible as servant, although the slavery had a long history within the West. There appeared antislavery tendencies among some Westerners. However their motivations were shaped by the economic concerns of productivity and inefficient use of time. While the western nations were abolishing the practice of slavery one by one, the Islamic nations remained indifference to these developments. They did not consider how this issue can be used as a political instrument by the foreigners. Thus, they gave a trump to the foreigners to attack on the Ottomans.⁶³² The Ottoman travelers were very sensitive to the image of Islam in the eyes of the Westerners and very critical of the Western attributions of all shortcomings such as filth and defilement of the non-European world to Islam.

Another reason behind the use of the rhetoric of debasement by the colonial discourse was, Spurr says, a fear of falling into a chaos of indifference: the blurring of the boundaries between the east and the west. This blurring was derived from the European fear of degeneration in the non-European contexts and the European desire for the Other. In the Ottoman context, the Ottoman travelers did not feel a fear of degeneration derived from being in the non-Ottoman non-European world or a sexual desire for the Other. Their fear of degeneration was related to Europe. They were afraid of the degeneration of the Islamic morality or the Oriental values due to the influence of the western powers and the Christian missionaries over the Islamic peoples.

In the first chapter, we have seen how Kipling despised the debates around the constitution in India while it still smells disgusting. This was an attempt to maintain the existing boundaries between Britain and India. In general, for the Ottoman travelers, the Western reforms and modernization were regarded as desirable. They did not ridicule the attempts at modernization and civilization. However, Sadık el Müeyyed, as a rare

⁶³⁰ Christoph Herzog, and Raoul Motika, "Orientalism *alla Turca*", p. 190.

⁶³¹ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 2. Cilt, 392-396.

⁶³² Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, pp. 72-74.

exception, refers to the story of a press machine imported from Europe into Ethiopia in order to make macadam roads. However, they obliged to open macadam roads in order to transport this machine to capital Addis Ababa. Sadık el Müeyyed ridiculed the fact that they brought a machine in order to open new roads, but they had to open new roads in order to bring this machine to capital.⁶³³

5.3. The peoples with History

We have discussed the negation of spaces, languages and history in the rhetorical modality of negation in the first chapter. There are various examples for the internalization of first two types of negation by the Ottoman travelers. However, they resisted to the depiction of the non-Western peoples in general and the Islamic peoples in particular as people without history. There are three rhetorical tools used by the Ottoman travelers to resist the European notion of “peoples without history”. The first one is their emphasis on the splendid Islamic / Turkic / Ottoman or Oriental past. The second one is their critique of the Western destruction and smuggling of the ancient works of the non-European world. The third one is the creation of an image of Islam and Turks as the carriers of civilization. These three instruments combined with different degrees in different travelers.

As we have seen before, the Ottoman travelers defined the non-European cities by their absences with regard to the European norms. According to Mehmed Emin, the deserts of central Asia were nothing more than a grave. They remind to him death and absence of prosperity. He compares his experiences in Europe with those in the Asian deserts. His dreams in Europe turn into groundless fears in the desert. Whereas Paris, London and Italy defined by adjectives like great, grand, crowd and beautiful, Central Asia defined by its nothingness, it was nothing other than a mass of sand. He could not find any trace of prosperous works there.⁶³⁴ Müeyyed says that he had seen this much beautiful landscape in Africa for the first time. His expectation from Africa was not to see beauties. It was nothing other than an empty desert in the common Ottoman imagination.⁶³⁵ We learned from Halil Halid the connotations of Africa for an Ottoman

⁶³³ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, p. 152.

⁶³⁴ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, pp. 81-2, 106.

⁶³⁵ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, p. 62.

intellectual: rivers without water, dry rocks, and yellow sands. It is a dreary and imaginary plate whose existence consists of only abundant sand.⁶³⁶

Şirvanlı talks with the British governor of Mardan about the troubles of the British officers in India. Şirvanlı asks how he gets accustomed to the climate of India. The British official answered that if someone is not able to be enduring, he lost in India. This is the colonial fear of losing himself in other geographies. They talk about the colonial officials' working and promotion conditions. They are appointed to the bureaucratic jobs in India after difficult examinations. It was necessary for the British colonial officials to learn Urdu language. Şirvanlı claims that the original Urdu language grammatically includes nothing more than particles.⁶³⁷ This interpretation implies that he regarded it as a simple language. However, the Muslims, Şirvanlı claims, can use this language in an advanced level. Karçınzade also claims that people of Bukhara was deprived of the ability to talk excellently. In general, there are not too much examples in the Ottoman travelogues for the negation of languages.⁶³⁸

In addition to the negation of spaces and languages, the colonial discourse regarded the colonized people as people without history. Their history is given by the Western powers. The Ottoman travelers' relation to history of the non-European world was a response to the negation of history of the non-western societies by the colonizer. The Ottoman travelers perceived that the colonial and orientalist discourse draw an image of the barbarous Ottomans, Turks, Muslims or Orientals. They struggled with this image in their travelogues.

Mehmed Emin thought that these ruins were prosperous once upon a time. He adopts a circular view of history while he is talking about the ancient prosperity and magnificence of Khwarezm (*Harizm*). Whereas the prosperous lands like Khwarezm had destroyed with respect to the shifts in the spiritual axis of the world, the American desert became prosperous. He contrasts the splendor of the past with the ruins of present and asks to where the splendid of the past went, what happened to this much civilization and progress. He depicted central Asia as the point of departure of the Turks who were the first ferment of the Ottoman nation. Since they came from a

⁶³⁶ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, p. 27.

⁶³⁷ Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 124-126.

⁶³⁸ Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, p. 229.

progressed, civilized and happy land, the Ottomans managed to be a splendid state.⁶³⁹ Mehmed Emin depicted the Ottoman dominions as the spiritual colonies of central Asia. He implies that these lands colonized by the Turks of central Asia. This is a response to the barbarian image of the Turks and the Ottomans. He presented the ancient Turks as the carriers of civilization and prosperity and the founders of empires or colonies. However, he put a difference with the Western colonization by describing the relation as spiritual. In the context of Islam, he adopts a similar position. The original progress and prosperity of Amu Darya began with the arrival of Islam into these lands. Mehmed Emin implies that Islam instead of the Western colonial mission brought civilization there. Although wide deserts seem as an obstacle to prosperity at first glance, they had been a natural protection for the central Asian civilizations in Emin's account. He gives a detailed account of the Islamic history of Khwarezmm.⁶⁴⁰ This emphasis on Islam strengthened the impression that these lands' history were given by Islam. In Mehmed Emin's travelogue we can observe both the use of rhetoric of splendid past and the presentation of Islam and the Turks as the carriers of civilization.

Şirvanlı refers to the destruction of the ancient works by both colonizers who smuggled them into their countries and the colonized who used them in their construction works. In Amber, he lists and praises a group of ancient works and then depicts the present inhabitants of Amber as savages who destroyed an ancient palace. In Agra, he encountered with a palace whose gates, mosaics and other decorations were plundered by Britain. He talks about the splendid past of Delhi very much. He gives reference to Tavernier and Pernier who wrote about the ancient castle of Delhi. He advises their travelogues to those who wish to learn about the past magnificence of that castle. He states that time was a strange country of revolutions. He regarded whole plain of Delhi as a sample of ancient works with its tombs, graves and mosques.⁶⁴¹ Another important aspect of Şirvanlı's travelogue was his long lists of the Muslim rulers who reigned in Delhi, Bihar, Bengal, Deccan, Sindh, Multan and Kashmir. These are evidences for the splendid past civilizations of India. His sister-in-law Naciye Neyyal received the message in her memoirs and she confessed his amazement from the past civilizational quality of India.

⁶³⁹ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, pp. 135-137.

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-175.

⁶⁴¹ Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 35, 50-57.

Karçinzade felt sorrow for Iran which sold its ancient works. For him, ancient works are evidences to prove the greatness of the ancient nations' past efforts. He heard the voices of the victorious past while visiting *Operkurt fortress* that had captured by the Lawgiver. He regarded himself as a grandchild of the Ottoman conquerors who removed the Portuguese from India. The ancient works are a direct way of showing the magnificence of the past.⁶⁴² The silence in *Lal Qil'ah (Lal Kale)* reminds him the tragic transformations of disloyal time and worthless world and he felt sad. He depicted the British people who smuggled the ancient works into their own countries as thieves and bandits. All ancient works which remind the magnificence of the past were removed out of sight by the British government. They changed the names of lands that they captured and gave British names. They attempted to cause the local people to forget their past.⁶⁴³ These statements explicitly express that his emphasis on the ancient works and the splendid past was a response to the colonial practices and discourses.

Halil Halid, like Karçinzade, mentions the Islamic works of art which smuggled into Europe to fill the European libraries. This indifference to the European smuggling was a sign of the current blindness of the Muslims to the scholarly works and ancient arts. The Europeans appropriated all rare book collections in Algeria, Tunisia and India thanks to the local insensitivity to libraries.⁶⁴⁴ Halid describes the Roman ruins in Timgad as African Pompeii. When the Europeans encountered with this much ancient constructions in Timgad even after the Islamic invasion, they were bewildered. Halid found their expectations regarding the destructiveness of Islam as the result of a false view of history. The real cause of the destruction in Africa was not the Muslims but the savage peoples like Vandals. The Europeans were more destructive than the Muslims in the context of ancient works. He compares the Ottoman policy of reconstruction everywhere they went with the Christian policy of destructing the Muslim works. The Westerners as masters of invasion demolished the past works and used them in their constructions. Although the Europeans regarded Koca Hayreddin and Baba Oruç as pirates, the real pirates and marine thieves are the Europeans themselves according to Halid.⁶⁴⁵ All components of the Ottoman discourse on history combined in Halil Halid's memoirs: splendid past, importance of ancient works, Europeans as destructive powers

⁶⁴² Süleyman Şükrü Karçinzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, pp. 214-5, 292, 411, 435-6.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 453-454.

⁶⁴⁴ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, pp. 51-52.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-62.

and smugglers of ancient works, Muslims' insensitivity to their own works, and a struggle with image of the Muslims and Turks as barbarous peoples.

Abdürreşid tries to turn the European categories of the colonial discourse on its head. He refers to the ancient works that were destructed or smuggled thanks to “the 20th century civilization”. These works had constructed by the so called “savage Muslims” and demolished by the so called “civilized Europeans”. His encounter with the Tamerlane’s beautiful grave and great library was opposed to the European image of Timur as an enemy of civilization and a bloodthirsty ruler.⁶⁴⁶ The benefit of preserving the ancient works is their instrumental role in the progress of nations. They remind the existence of the predecessors and raise the people's national emotions to a high pitch.⁶⁴⁷ He struggles with the image of the Orientals as barbarians. He uses the brilliant ancient works of the Orientals to falsify the savage image of them in the colonial discourses. He says that the Chinese people, who supposed to be savages today, had created wonderful works even 500 years ago. Whereas the so called savages did these works, the civilized Germans plundered what they found in the Orient and attacked as wild animals in the name of so called civilization. He contrasted the honesty of the Orient with the hypocrisy of the West. He suggests not respecting their so called discourses based on science and industry. Indeed, they are thieves and destructors of the ancient works in the Orient.⁶⁴⁸

Despite all these views on the historical issues, we should be deliberate in our conclusions. First of all these are their perception of the colonial practices and discourses. There are evidences that the colonial discourse also refers to the splendid past of some colonized regions, but they considered that the historical development of these regions cut in a certain point in history and they remained in a frozen state. One aim of the invasion of Egypt, according to *Description of Egypt*, was to bring Egypt's ancient splendor into life instead of the current barbarity. On the other hand, there are peoples completely lack of any history especially in Africa according to the colonial discourse. There are also Ottoman travelers who criticized the colonized people, whether Muslim or not, who destructed their ancient works. Ahmet Kemal both refers to the ancient works that brought into Europe and to the ability of the local people to

⁶⁴⁶ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, p. 57.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 410.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-108.

destroy the ancestral works to use them in constructions. His account implies that the Europeans carried the ancient works to Europe because of the local people's destructiveness.⁶⁴⁹

Samizade Süreyya in his account on Japan gives a detailed history of Japan from the beginning to the present with a schema of periodization. First of all, he divides the Japanese history into two: old Japan and new Japan. The history of new Japan begins with a colonial threat to Japan. It was American amiral Perry's campaign to Japan in 1801. His dichotomy between the old and the new corresponds to the dichotomy between traditional and modern.⁶⁵⁰ Sezai's historical account was an example of the mundane and typological uses of time in Fabian terms. The beginning of civilization and colonial intervention was significant thresholds in his periodization. Mehmed Emin also says that his original interest was in the Russian invasion. He considered it as a rupture in the history of central Asia.⁶⁵¹ Şirvanlı as an author who deals with the histories of places he visited marks the colonial intervention as a significant rupture. Sezai also found the sources of current progress of Japan in history. The civilization in Japan began with the importation of literature and alphabet from China. Sezai says that even today the Japanese progress was based on their ability in imitation. Their policy of isolation during the Tokugawa era resulted in a disaster according to Sezai, since they remained ignorant of the external developments and the progress of civilization. However, the Europeans managed to abandon this weird policy of isolation.⁶⁵²

5.4. Ottoman Travelers on Sexuality and Gender relations

Spurr uses the notion of the colonial rhetoric of insubstantialization to define the dreamlike and hallucinatory experiences and the inner journeys of some Western travellers in the non-Western world. It is difficult to see such rhetoric among the Ottoman travellers. They preferred to give the scientific descriptions of hallucination instead of implying that they are in an inner journey. According to Spurr, the eroticization of the non-western societies was a significant part of the colonial

⁶⁴⁹ Ahmet Kemal İlkul, *Çin-Türkistan Hatıraları*, pp. 218-220.

⁶⁵⁰ Samizade Süreyya, *Büyük Japonya*, pp. 31-50.

⁶⁵¹ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, p. 180.

⁶⁵² Samizade Süreyya, *Büyük Japonya*, pp. 35-42.

discourse. The most frequently discussed topics are about harem, polygamy and homosexuality. The Orient represented for the West a source of fertility, sexual promises, seduction and sexual danger. In general, the Orient was depicted as a feminine figure. However, Ottoman travelers had not such a vision of the non-Western world. There are only a few Ottoman travelers who found the indigenous women beautiful. Abdurrahman Efendi describes the indigenous woman as beautiful. Sadık el Müeyyed talks about a group of young Ethiopian girls and compares their health with the civilized girls and found the Ethiopians much healthier. Mehmed Emin praises beautiful faces of the Turcoman women, but this is not eroticization, but a racial eulogy. They attribute lust and debauchery to the West rather than the Orient. Halil Halid's description of the western style dance implies that he found it erotic.

Contrary to the colonial discourse, they preferred to describe the West as a feminine figure. Karçinzade says that Islam could destroy this feminine West unless there were sectarian conflicts among the Muslims. This feminine British nation was unmatched in creating disturbances among the non-western societies thanks to their provocative tactics to set people quarreling.⁶⁵³ Halil Halid affirms to take every violent measure to preserve the nation's chastity and morality. The freedom that had carried by the French nation was a fundamental threat to the Islamic morality. Halid claimed that civilization had arrived with its sinful characteristics such as abundance of prostitution. The Ottoman travelers' interest was on woman issue instead of the seductiveness of the Orient or sexual dangers of the Orient.⁶⁵⁴ Mehmed Fazlı mentions the excessive addiction of the urban woman of Afghanistan to covering their bodies. A few lines below, he says that the mountainous woman did not segregate themselves from men. Then, he states that the Afghans were polygamous people like all other Islamic tribes.⁶⁵⁵ These are three important issue sthat had discussed by many Ottoman travelers: covering, segregation between man and women (*haremlik ve selamlık*), and polygamy.

Mehmed Emin contrasted the veiled, idle and savage Ottoman woman with the Turcoman woman who is quite free. The Turcoman women participated in everyday life side by side with men. Man and woman can joke with each other. The Turcoman

⁶⁵³ Süleyman Şükrü Karçinzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, pp. 335, 420.

⁶⁵⁴ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, p. 33.

⁶⁵⁵ Mehmed Fazlı, *Resimli Afgan Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 77, 87.

woman can sleep in the same house despite the existence of a quest. He discussed the provisions of shariah in veiling and segregation and emphasized the difference between the covering of the women's body in accordance with shariah and the women's segregation as opposed to religious law. He found this order suitable with the progress of civilization.⁶⁵⁶ Mehmed Emin takes his readers' attention to the dangers of the segregationist tradition. He mentions the news in the press about men arrested by police since they followed around women. For Mehmed Emin, such events can be regarded by no means as glory for their civilized society. He considered that men and women are members of one society.⁶⁵⁷ Mehmed Emin's account was an outright criticism of the women's position in the Ottoman society: "Our attitudes towards honorable women were not regarded in the West even suitable for the prostitutes, in the Ottoman empire women cannot go out of street even with her brothers".⁶⁵⁸ In Mehmed Emin's account, the gender issues go hand in hand with the civilisational discourse and the concerns over image management.

Mehmed Emin claims that the behavior of nomads is similar to each other everywhere as the most behavior of the civilized peoples is similar to each other. In the context of woman issue, the norms of both nomadism and civilisation are the same. The exceptional cases are first of all Iranian and the Ottomans to some extent. Iran was evaluated as the extreme case of woman covering and segregation from the rest of society. There are no disorder among the Turcomans and other nomadic countries due to the togetherness of woman and man. If there is a trouble, the penalty of adultery was stoning to death. The Turcoman women do not, Mehmed Emin says, preserve their honor because of their fear of stoning to death, but since they regard lasciviousness as an insult on their feminine virtues.⁶⁵⁹ The Turcoman woman participated in the public life with men, so that they trained their children with respect to this fact of togetherness. This kind of education was beneficial for the development of children. In central Asia, a ten or eleven years old boy becomes an accomplished rider and healthy young hero. He compares this development with the Ottoman case and says: "Among us, a young man of eighteen or twenty years does not dare to go out of town at night when his nurse

⁶⁵⁶ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, pp. 63-65.

⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

is not at his side. Why? Because, he has grown up in the harem.”⁶⁶⁰ This is the fundamental danger of the segregationist un-Islamic tradition. He uses the romantic cliché of the tough savage and the over-civilized weakling to take attention to the feminization of men due to this segregationist tradition.

Mehmed Emin uses the central Asian Turcomans as a corrective mirror to criticize the Ottoman society in general and the position of woman in particular. His views on the women issue are full of messages addressed to the Ottoman internal affairs. These debates around veiling, polygamy and segregation in his travelogues are a reflection of the internal social transformations and struggles. Sadık el Müeyyed's account was also included messages given to the Ottoman public opinion with regard to the women issue. He draws a wretched and destitute image of the Ethiopian women. They were burdened with the most difficult duties. In one place, the women carry water from a valley with dangerous abysses. In one place, he refers to the difficulties of women who are squashing coffee. He wishes for help from God for the sake of these women. Despite their difficult conditions, they give their money to their husbands. In turn, the husbands spent this money to buy cartridge. After he observed the poor conditions of the Ethiopian women, he says that his Ottoman sisters might feel happy for their much more comfortable life standards.⁶⁶¹ In Ethiopia, the administration of the household was under the control of women. Even the most notable families cooked their own food. Müeyyed wished if only the Ottoman middle class women know how to cook and their husband may rescue from their cooks.⁶⁶²

Another Ottoman traveler who had mentioned harem was Halil Halid. One day, the indigenous people supposed him a European since he had not worn his fes. He heard harem stories narrated by the Europeans. He cannot stand of hearing this fairy tales with patience. He criticizes the Islamic countries' notables, whose palaces are filled with women, due to their bestial addiction to lust opposed to morality and familial etiquette. Therefore, they incite the Europeans to criticize and debase Islam in general. A vagabond Arab offered him a place for entertainment with belly dancing. He also encountered with the disgusting offers in the Arabian neighborhood which reminds him

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., Trans. by Christoph Herzog and Raoul Motika, "Orientalism *alla Turca*", p. 184

⁶⁶¹ Sadık el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 73-6. 153, 219.

⁶⁶² Ibid., p. 190.

the Galata houses. Halid opposes to the practices that can be sources for the western authors to criticize Islam.⁶⁶³

Abdürreşid İbrahim talks with a passenger in a train journey about polygamy and women issue in Islam. He conceived the woman issue as an issue of life instead of a religious question. He gives information on Islam and its marriage practices and says that Islam limited marrying with more than 4 women. This was a measure regarding the pre-Islamic tradition which allowed marrying with unlimited women. When he asked about the working rights of the Muslim woman, he did not regard it as a religious issue although the passenger related it to Islam and its injustice to women. Abdürreşid responded that the equality between woman and men in Europe in terms of rights is also open to debate despite the togetherness of man and woman in public life. For instance, according to the European laws the share of woman from inheritance is 1/7 while it is 1/2 in Islam. He claims that civilization seduced the women under the curtain of humanity. A Christian woman contributed to conversation and praised the freedom of the Muslim women in the household.⁶⁶⁴ According to Abdürreşid, the dichotomy between the oppressed woman and the oppressive man is valid in very part of the world. The weaknesses of women are benefited by men both in the west and the east.

In his account on Hyderabad, he narrated an anecdote about an ulema member, Sıddık Hasen. He locked his wife up in their house and then imprisoned by the British government. He slapped his wife when she came into prison to visit him, because she went out of home without the permission of his husband. Abdürreşid evaluates this attitude of Sıddık Hasen as a sign of his excellence in faith. He also found the life styles of the Japanese people suitable with the customs and manners of the oriental societies. Although their women are not covered, the Japanese women are obliged to obey and respect to their husbands.⁶⁶⁵

He talks with a Korean who regards the covering of the women's body as a natural principle. His reason behind this claim was the necessity for the weak to hide from the strong. In this regard, the women should protect themselves from the cruel men via covering. Abdürreşid opposes to this idea and claims that this was an issue of

⁶⁶³ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, pp. 55-6, 69.

⁶⁶⁴ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, pp. 118-120.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 2. Cilt, pp. 348-349.

education. The Korean responded that “You, Europeans are very educated, but when you came to the Orient, what you first sought is to violate the honor of our women”. Abdürreşid warns him not to attribute immorality to whole western people.⁶⁶⁶ Whereas he is more critical with regard to the West in Japan, in Korea he adopts a more European perspective and the local people also supposed him a European. In general, Abdürreşid had a secular attitude in the women issue. He does not regard it as a religious issue. He rejects the natural and religious explanations for the covering of the female body. He related this practice to the cultural values. Despite his secular position, he is not immune from the patriarchal norms of his age. He accepted the inferiority of the women in front of man.

The national feelings and concerns became a crucial factor in the women issue especially in the accounts published in early 20th century. Halil Halid refers to the French women's insufficient capability of giving enough children to their motherland.⁶⁶⁷ In a party organized for the congress of Orientalists he found beautiful the woman who sits next to him. However, when she said improper things about his nationality, his whole interest in this woman dispersed.⁶⁶⁸ Abdürreşid quotes the speech given by Sasaki in the opening ceremony of a Japanese school for the girls. The purpose of this school was to educate the mothers of the future who will bring up the sons of the motherland and will improve and protect the morality of the motherland according to Sasaki. The lawyer Sakuraki also mentions the importance of educating national mothers who will protect the sons of nation from the spirit of the west.⁶⁶⁹ Ahmed Kemal in Kashgar encountered with a man who married with and divorced from 83 women. He harshly criticized this practice which makes the women fun of men. He considered this practice as degeneration from the past which is full with the noble mothers of the sacred Turkishness.⁶⁷⁰

Although homosexuality is an important theme of the colonial erotic discourse, the Ottoman travellers remained almost silent in this context. Nevertheless, Mehmed Emin implicitly refers to the pederasty among Turcomans of central Asia. He

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 26-27.

⁶⁶⁷ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, pp. 27-28.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 93.

⁶⁶⁹ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, pp. 482-486.

⁶⁷⁰ Ahmet Kemal İlkul, *Çin-Türkistan Hatıraları*, pp. 91-92.

participated in the circumcision ceremony of the ruler of Khive's son. He observed the desire for the boys who performed dances. Because of the excessive interest in these boys, he supposed that one of these boys is a prince. Even the most notable men make these boys dance in their meetings. Mehmed Emin claims that this tradition did not originally belong to the Turks; it was an influence of Iran.⁶⁷¹ Abdürreşid mentions the interest in beardless youths in Bukhara. This interest reaches, he says, to a degree of worship. He with his own will censors what he saw in Bukhara.⁶⁷² The Ottoman silencing of a vital and lively discourse on sexuality in general and homosexuality in particular was also valid in the context of the non-Ottoman non-European lands.

6. Overview: Convergences and Divergences

This part attempts to explain the reasons behind the convergences and divergences between the Ottoman and European gazes over the non-European world. The reasons behind the similarities between the two are Ottoman attempts at westernization and modernization, Ottoman imperial consciousness, Ottoman travelers' feeling of superiority and Ottoman image management. The reasons behind the divergences are Ottoman moral concerns and their anti-colonial critiques based on European cruelty, inequalities in opportunities of mobility, and the gap between European colonial discourses and practices.

6.1. The Convergences between the European and the Ottoman Gaze around the non-European World

As our discussion of the Ottoman travelers' perception on the non-European world has showed that there are lots of convergences between the Ottoman and the European gazes. May it be an evidence for that the reality corresponds to what the Ottomans and the Europeans were conceived of? There were certain differences and developmental gaps between Europe and non-Europe. Was not it normal that the comparisons between Europe and non-Europe resulted in such differences and superior gaze of the Europeans? The Ottomans saw similar differences and adopted similar rhetorical tools with the West about the non-European world. Although they were aware of the developmental gaps between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, and the

⁶⁷¹ Mehmed Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vustaya Seyahat*, pp. 168-169.

⁶⁷² Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, p. 54.

European representations of the empire as a part of the Orient, they positioned themselves next to Europe in the context of the perception and conception of the non-Western world. The Ottoman travelers themselves adopted the European cities as their unit of measurement in their evaluations with regard to the non-European cities. The ideal and model was not any Ottoman city but the European cities. How did the Ottomans arrive at such a convergence with the European gaze despite the fact that they had not as much colonial power as the Europeans?

A possible answer says that this convergence may be a result of the power of reality rather than the power of colonization. However, although there are certain power discrepancies between the two, the European discourses over the non-European world were available to the late Ottoman elite. This power discrepancy between the Ottoman Empire and the European colonial powers led to the internalization of the European relations of power and knowledge. The Ottoman attempt at reforms and westernization was a tacit acceptance on the superiority of the European civilization. The positioning of Europe as a source of inspiration behind the Ottoman reform process led to the internalization of many European norms and practices. Their increasing western style education and growing relations with positivist, social Darwinist, evolutionary and materialist thoughts were instances of the European intellectual penetration into the Ottoman mentality. The Ottoman elite that were loaded with the European cultural codes displayed many convergences with the European colonial discourses. At the last instance, the Ottoman sources of information concerning the non-European world were European. They developed certain expectations with regard to their prospective encounters in Europe and non-Europe. The expectations from a city under the European control and a city independent of the European penetration had already determined before the actual confrontations with these cities. The factors that contributed to these expectations were the western style education and increasing European penetration into the Ottoman mentality.

Another factor that contributed the convergences between European colonial discourses and Ottoman travelers' perceptions on the non European world were the imperial consciousness of the Ottoman travelers. Their conscience of belonging to an imperial structure made the adaptation and internalization of any kind of imperial codes and practices much easier and acceptable. The rhetoric of missed opportunities was an

example of their imperial consciousness. They constantly emphasized the lost opportunities that they missed in their former provinces, those which they left to the European colonial powers. The efficient European administration and exploitation of these lands led to regret among elite with regard to their former administrative practices. Since the Ottomans considered themselves as an empire, their former failures and new models presented by the European imperial structures forced them to look at their past with the lenses of the European imperialism and to imitate the European colonial discourses and practices.

Another evidence for their imperial consciousness had already discussed in the section of people with history. Şirvanlı in his travelogues presented the long lists of the Islamic dynasties that had reigned in India. His emphasis on these pre-European imperial traditions was very important. He claimed that there are certain civilized works that carried out by these imperial structures even before the advent of the European colonization. They tried to make the fire worshipers of India be accustomed to the civilized works such as hospital and clothing. His views imply that these kinds of civilized works are expected attitudes from any imperial structure whether it is European or Islamic. Therefore, the Ottoman travelers as members of an imperial political structure adopted a more affirmative perspective with respect to many European colonial practices in India or elsewhere.

Mehmed Emin's notion of spiritual colonies may be regarded another example of their colonial consciousness. This notion implies that the Ottoman Empire was founded by the Turks coming from central Asia. In this regard, he defined the contemporary Ottoman dominions as spiritual colonies of central Asia. This means that the birth of the Ottoman Empire was a result of (spiritual) colonization. Although spiritual nature of this colonization emphasizes the difference of it from the European kind of colonization, it proves that the Ottoman traveler Mehmed Emin perceived that the Turks were founders of an imperial political structure that is the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman travelers had a certain respect for imperial political structures. Despite the discrepancies between the Ottoman Empire and Europe in terms of knowledge, power and diplomacy, the common point was that they were both imperial structures.

Another reason behind convergences was the Ottoman sense of superiority and mastery over the non-European world. Europe had already had an "almost same but not

quite”⁶⁷³ sense of superiority and mastery over the non-European world. These similar feelings of superiority led to the convergences between the two. A feeling of superiority thanks to religion was shared by both the Ottomans and the Europeans despite the difference in their religion. Although the Ottoman travelers had a tendency to see a tension between Islam and Christianity, both are monotheistic religions and they had despising and humiliating views on so called pagan customs and manners. This was an implicit precondition behind the convergences between two gazes.

The Ottoman concerns and obsessions with their image management were also related to these feeling of superiority. While they were orientalizing the rest of the Orient, they tried to escape the orientalist representations and depictions of the Ottoman Empire. The orientalizing of the non-European world was an attempt at the presentation of a modern image of the empire in front of these lands. The Ottoman sense of superiority over the non-western world was a way of separating themselves from the rest of the non-European world and of positing themselves next to the European civilization. However, they were relatively realistic in their comparisons. In their evaluations of the non-European cities their point of reference was the European cities instead of Istanbul. The comparison with the Ottoman cities was rare. The basic motivation behind their sense of superiority was Islam in general and true Islam in particular. They were also aware of the European superiority over the Ottoman Empire. In this regard they could not identify with the European gaze totally. However, they did not also want to present a non-western non-modern image with totally identifying with the non-European world. In general, the Ottoman gaze over the non-European world was “almost same but not quite” with the European gaze. What precluded their total identification with this gaze will be discussed below.

6.2. The Divergences between the European and the Ottoman Gaze around the non-European World

Despite the common traits between the Ottoman and European perception on the non-European world, the Ottoman travelers also put a certain distance between them and the European colonial discourses and practices. When compared to the European colonial discourses, the Ottoman discourse on the non-European world was more

⁶⁷³ For the use this notion, see: Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, pp. 85-92.

sympathetic and empathetic with these peoples. In addition to these feelings of sympathy and empathy, there were also the critiques of the European colonialism and its discourses. They had sympathy with regard to the non-Ottoman Muslims despite their false beliefs and practices.

One of the major aspects of the Ottoman travelers' critique of colonialism is based on the rhetoric of oppression and cruelty. Şirvanlı mentioned the stories of the Indian mutiny of 1857 that he heard from the British general Desberough and the local peoples. Although he was firstly informed by Desberough on the issue from a British perspective, he needed listening to the same event from the local perspective. In this perspective it appears as a British cruelty and massacre against the thousands of innocent peoples.⁶⁷⁴ Karçınzade's anti-colonial vocabulary was comprised of the British banditry, violence, oppression, injustice, aggression and violation, treachery, unlawfulness, massacres, the confiscation of waqfs by force, and the destructions of Muslim places of worship.⁶⁷⁵ Halil Halid mentions the commitment of suicide by the Algerian people in order to escape from the French torture and torment. In the perspective of the French men, these were people who killed while escaping. He criticized the Western press due to its insensitivity to the colonial cruelties. He also mentioned the destruction of the mosques.⁶⁷⁶

Another point of criticism was the limited opportunity of mobility for the non-European peoples in the colonial administration. Karçınzade claimed that the hungry peoples of France rushed out into Tunisia to find a job in government services. He compared the salaries of the local official with the European colonial officials and found a gap between in favor of the Europeans.⁶⁷⁷ Halid Halid also referred to the abundance of the Europeans in government services in contrast to the unemployment among the Muslims. There were lots of Europeans who came to the Orient to follow their fortunes (*kısmet kovalamaya gelen Frenkler*). These were people who were unable to find a job in their own countries. (*kendi memlektinde bir baltaya sap olamayanlar*). He also complained about the injustices in salaries and mobility.⁶⁷⁸ Abdürreşid

⁶⁷⁴ Şirvanlı Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, *Hindistan, Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi*, pp. 44-46.

⁶⁷⁵ Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, pp. 279, 281-2, 284-5, 521-2.

⁶⁷⁶ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, pp. 33-35.

⁶⁷⁷ Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade, *Seyahat-ül Kübra*, pp. 289-290.

⁶⁷⁸ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, p. 48.

emphasized the injustices in the representation issues and the inequality between the British and Indian officials. He also criticized the western press due to its insensitivity to the injustices of the British colonial administration while they were very willing to write about the complaints of the Europeans on the dogs in Istanbul streets.⁶⁷⁹

All these anti-colonial concerns were led to a general critique that emphasized the gap between the actual and cruel conditions of colonization and the colonial discourses of peace, justice and civilizing mission. Halil Halid said that it was sword rather than justice that reigned in the colonies.⁶⁸⁰ Abdürreşid said that the savage Christians exploited whole Orient in the name of the civilizing project for the sake of their own interests. According to Abdürreşid the oriental policy of the west was to collapse the morality. It was the immorality that was carried by the missionaries. His solution was the unification of whole Orient.⁶⁸¹

Abdürreşid's moral arguments in his critiques of the colonial practices were a general tendency among the Ottoman travelers and the most significant factor that contributed to the divergence between the Ottoman and the European gazes around the world. The Ottoman travelers who had been in the non-European contexts were also burdened with the dichotomy between the materially superior, morally inferior West and the materially inferior, morally superior East. On the one hand the East was in need of civilization, science, technology and progress of the West; on the other hand it had to preserve its morality against the European penetration. The preservation of morality despite the colonial penetration was a hope for the salvation from the colonization according Abdürreşid. Karçinzade contrasted the savage but honest Moroccan people with the trickster Christians. The Ottomans despite their sense of superiority had not carried a fear of degeneration in the Orient in general. On the contrary, their fear was based on the degeneration of the Oriental morals due to the western influence and penetration. The West and its colonial practices were depicted as a danger for the morals. Karçinzade mentined, as we have seen above, the damages given to the local traditions and cultures by the colonizer. Halid Halid affirmed the practice of *recm* (*stoning*) in order to be able to protect the local Muslims from the bad morals of the French people. In contrast to the immoral West, the East was the storage of the moral

⁶⁷⁹ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 2. Cilt, p. 285.

⁶⁸⁰ Halil Halid, *Cezayir Hatıratı*, p. 57.

⁶⁸¹ Abdürreşid İbrahim, *Alem-i İslam*, 1. Cilt, p. 592.

feelings that the west had lost for years. The eroticization of the Orient was very rare in the Ottoman travelogues; rather it was the West that was feminized and identified with debauchery and lust. Their concerns and anxieties over morality and tradition reflected in their interpretation of Japan. It was an alternative model to the West since it was able in their eyes to protect their morality and culture while modernizing and progressing.

CHAPTER 3

OTTOMAN FIRST PERSON NARRATIVES REGARDING THE ARAB AND AFRICAN PROVINCES

I define Arab periphery of the late Ottoman Empire as an example of contact zone defined as a social space of colonial encounters by Mary Louise Pratt.⁶⁸² In this zone, disparate norms and practices met, clashed and grappled with each other. The actors of our zone were the Ottoman officials, nomadic tribes, leaders of these tribes, city dwellers, representatives of great powers, and representatives of different religions. They entered into a complex web of relations involving asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination, mediation and coercion, bargaining and negotiation, conflicts and agreements. Our claim is that the Ottoman intellectuals created its own “Orient and Oriental within the empire”. This was the orientalizing of its Arab periphery and occidentalizing of the center. This self or internal orientalism was a subgenre of ethno-orientalism (in James Carrier's terms) and auto-ethnography (in Pratt's terms).⁶⁸³

Pratt defines auto-ethnography as instances in which the colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizer's terms.⁶⁸⁴ In our case, the Ottoman intellectuals did not represent whole empire with orientalist terms but only a selected part of it. In general, their aim was to dissociate the term Oriental from the name of the Ottoman Empire. They tried to give an image of the civilized Ottoman and savage Oriental. The reflection of orientalist themes into their

⁶⁸² See footnote: 209.

⁶⁸³ See footnote: 213.

⁶⁸⁴ See footnote: 214.

Arabic provinces enabled them to give an image of the civilized and progressed center and the backward, stagnant and inferior periphery. They supposed that they could escape from orientalist tropes thanks to this image of the center. They thought that if they had oriental subjects like the western nations, they could hold an equal footing in the civilized world.⁶⁸⁵ This reflection also blurred the dichotomy between the colonizer and the colonized. The fact that a so called non-colonizer and non-colonized empire adopted the western colonial discourses and reflected them into its own periphery warns us about the complexities of the Ottoman case which is beyond easy dichotomies like the colonizer and the colonized.

This chapter has two separate but related parts. The first part will be devoted to the temporal differentiation between the center and the periphery that is called Ottoman orientalism by Ussame Makdisi. The rhetorical tools for this differentiation were the definition of periphery in terms of absences basically lack of civilized works, the debasement of the periphery with emphasizing filth and defilement of the Arab provinces and the naturalization of provinces and their peoples. These correspond to the rhetorical tools of negation, debasement and naturalization of the colonial discourse. The basic dichotomy to justify the differentiation between the center and the periphery was between civilization and nomadism. When Arab provinces were mentioned, the first thing that came into the Ottoman intellectuals' minds was the nomadic life style that reign supreme there. The connotations of nomadism were lack of order, and security, the high frequency of revolts and blood feuds. Another crucial rhetorical tool was the denial of coevalness. It was claimed that the periphery did not share same temporal moment with the center. This picture was created by the modern image of the center and the traditional, backward image of the Arab periphery. This rhetoric corresponds to what I call anthropological gaze of the colonial discourse. I claim that the Ottoman view of its Arab periphery was not different than the colonial and orientalist discourse.

The first part of the chapter will be devoted to the evidences for this claim. The second part will be devoted to the nature of the Ottoman existence in the periphery. My questions are as follows: What kind of rules these rhetorical tools of negation, debasement, naturalization and anthropological gaze paved the way for the Ottomans in

⁶⁸⁵ Edhem Eldem, *Doğuyu Tüketmek*, p. 219.

their Arab provinces? What was the relation between this “modern superior” center and “permodern backward” periphery in the eyes of the Ottoman intellectuals? They claimed that there was a huge temporal gap between the center and the periphery. However, this periphery officially belonged to the Ottoman government. What were their administrative practices with regard to these peripheries and how they conceived their rule in these lands? My claim is that they had troubles in defining the nature of their rule in the periphery and the status of Arab lands within the empire. Were the Arabs colonized or alien peoples? Were Ottoman officials representatives of a strong or weak state? Did Ottoman elite regard the Arab provinces as parts of mother land? What were their responsibilities with regard to those lands? I will discuss these questions in terms of the rhetorical tools of surveillance, appropriation and affirmation of the colonial discourse and in the context of nationalism and colonialism.

Our sources for this chapter are first person accounts especially memories of the Ottoman officials and intellectuals with regard to the Ottoman provinces. Most of them had been in the Arab provinces with official duties. Some of them had already introduced in the previous chapter. For instance, Sadık el Müeyyed, the author of *Habeş Seyahatnamesi* was also sent to Trablus by Abdülhamid II in 1887 to bring gifts of the sultan to Şeyh Sanusi, a strategic ally for the Ottomans in Tripoli. He presented his observations as a report to the sultan within the same year. In 1895, he was sent to visit Şeyh Sanusi once again. This last voyage into Trablus became a travelogue and published in 1896-7 under the title of *Afrika Sahra-yı Kebiri'nde Seyahat*.⁶⁸⁶ Samisazade Süreyya, the author of *Büyük Japonya* had visited Jeddah (Cidde) and Aden before his journey to Japan and his observations on Jeddah, Aden, and Djibouti were published as an article in *İctihad* in 1914.⁶⁸⁷ Mustafa bin Mustafa who began his voyage into the Far East from Yemen gave also information on Yemen at the beginning of his travelogue.⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸⁶ Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahra-yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, transliterated & edited by İdris Bostan, (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2010), pp. xvi-xvii.

⁶⁸⁷ Samizade Süreyya, *Büyük Japonya*, transliterated & edited by Ali Ergun Çınar, (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2002), pp. 145-150.

⁶⁸⁸ Mustafa bin Mustafa, *Aksa-yı Şarkta Bir Cevelan*, transliterated & edited by Ahmet Uçar, (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2010), pp. 19-51.

New authors of the travelogues and memoirs used in this chapter are as follows: Şerafettin Mağmumi was born in Istanbul in 1860s. He graduated from the School of Medicine and participated actively in the establishment of the Committee of Union and Progress in the school of medicine. He was sent as a public health officer to the provinces in 1895 in order to prevent cholera epidemic. He published his memoirs regarding this job in 1909.⁶⁸⁹

Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa was born 1839 in Bursa. He received his first education from a medrese. In 1851, he registered to *Bursa Mekteb-i İdadi-i Askeriye*. He continued his education in *Istanbul Mekteb-i Harbiye* between 1856 and 1861.⁶⁹⁰ He graduated as a captain from this school and held various military posts after his graduation and was sent to Yemen to suppress a revolt in 1871-2 and then appointed the governor of Yemen. He published his memoirs in 1901-2.⁶⁹¹

Mehmed Tevfik (Biren) was born in Istanbul in 1867. He received his education from *İdadi Mülkiye* and entered into the Translation Office, then became a chamberlain in Yıldız palace. He was appointed as the governor of Jerusalem in 1897. He had been in Salonica, Konya, Yemen, Bursa and Ankara as governor.⁶⁹² His wife, Naciye Neyyal accompanied to him in his post in Jerusalem.⁶⁹³ Their memoirs were published by their granddaughter Fatma Rezan Hürmen in 1993 and 2000 respectively.

Ebubekir Hazim (Tepeyran) was born in Niğde in 1864 as a child of a civil servant. He had been many parts of the Anatolian provinces such as Niğde, Isparta, Antalya during his childhood and Kastamonu, Sinop, İzmir, Edirne, Gelibolu, Dedağaç and Mosul because of his various bureaucratic posts. He recieved his education from *Rüşdiye Schools* in Isparta and Antalya. Ebubekir Hazim had been in Mosul as governor between 1896-1903, in Baghdad as governor between 1906 and 1907, in Hejaz as governor between 1911 and 1912, in Beirut as governor between

⁶⁸⁹ Şerafettin Mağmumi, *Seyahat Hatıraları: Anadolu ve Suriye*, transliterated & edited by Cahit Kayra, (İstanbul: Boyut Kitapları, 2008), pp. 9-10.

⁶⁹⁰ Gazi Muhtar Paşa: *Anılar: Sergüzeşt-i Hayatımın Cild-i Evveli*, edited by Nuri Akbayar, transliterated by M. Sabri Koz and E. Nedret İşli, (İstanbul: TarihVakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), pp: 2-12.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42.

⁶⁹² Fatma Rezan Hürmen, ed., *Bir Devlet Adamının Mehmed Teyfik Biren Bey'in Abdülhamid, Meşrutiyet ve Mütareke Devri Hatıraları*, (İstanbul: Arma, 1993), pp. xliii-xliv.

⁶⁹³ Fatma Rezan Hürmen, *Münevver bir Türk Hanımı ressam Naciye Neyyal Hanımefendi*, pp. 49-94.

1912 and 1918. However his available published memories only included his post in Musul and first published in 1944 by *Türkiye Yayınevi*.⁶⁹⁴

Cami Baykurt was born in 1878 in Istanbul as a son of a lieutenant general. He received his education from *Soğuk Çeşme Askeri Rüşdiye Mektebi* and *Kuleli Askeri Mektebi* and graduated from military school as a lieutenant in 1896. He was sent to Tripoli as an exile after his graduation. He was appointed to Ghat of Trablusgarb (*Ottoman Libia*) as administrative governor and military commander in 1905. Ghat was a strategic land that had to be maintained against the French colonial threat. In 1908, he elected to the assembly as a deputy of Fezzan (*Fizan*). His first book on his memoirs regarding Tripoli *Trablusgarb'tan Sahra-yı Kebire Seyahat* was published in 1910. In 1945, he rewrote his memoirs regarding Trablusgarb with the demand of Halide Edip. The title of this version was *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat: Çöl İnsanları, Sürgünler ve Jön Türkler*.⁶⁹⁵

İsmail Hakkı Babanzade was born in Baghdad in 1876 and graduated from *Mekteb-i Sultani* and entered into *Mekteb-i Mülkiye*. He was fired from school because of his participation in a protest against Abdülhamid. Then he worked in Ahmed Cevdet Bey's *İkdam* as a journalist and author. He elected to the assembly as Baghdad deputy and continued journalism in Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın's *Tanin*. He made a journey from Beirut to Basra and published his experiences in 1911.⁶⁹⁶

Cenap Şahabettin, famous Ottoman poet, was born in Manastır (*Bitona*) in 1871. He received his education from *Fevziye Mektebi*, *Askeri Rüşdiye Mektebi*, and *Tıbbiye İdadisi* and registered to the Military School for Medicine. He graduated as a captain doctor in 1889. He had been in Paris for four years between 1890 and 1894. He appointed public health inspector to Jeddah in 1897. His letters that were written during his journey serialized in *Servet-i Fünun* within 1897. Then, it was published in 1909

⁶⁹⁴ Ebubekir Hazim Tepeyran, *Hatıralar*, edited by Oktay Abdal, (İstanbul: Pere Turizm ve Ticaret AŞ, 1998), pp. vii-xii.

⁶⁹⁵ Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat: Çöl İnsanları, Sürgünler ve Jön Türkler*, edited by Arı İnan, (İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 2009), pp. xi-xii.

⁶⁹⁶ Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, *Irak Mektupları*, transliterated & edited by Murat Çulcu, (İstanbul: Büke, 2002), pp. 9-12.

and 1925 respectively as travelogue.⁶⁹⁷ His other journey to Iraq in 1914 seems as an independent journey without an official duty. His observations in Iraq serialized in *Tasvir-i Efkar* between 1914 and 1916.⁶⁹⁸

Ahmed Şerif was a journalist who worked for *Tanin*. He was first sent to Anatolia in 1909 and his letters from his Anatolian voyage serialized in *Tanin*. His voyages within the empire continued in Beirut and his letters from there serialized in *Tanin* between 1910 and 1911. Then he had been in Ottoman Libia during the resistance to Italian invasion of Tripoli and sent his observations to *Tanin*.⁶⁹⁹

Cemal Paşa was born in 1872 in Lesbos (*Midilli*). He received his education from *Kuleli Askeri İdadisi* and *Mekteb-i Harbiye*. He joined the army as general staff officer. He held various military posts and joined the Committee of Union and Progress and became an influential member of the central committee of CUP. He was the commander of the 4th army during World War I in Syria. In 1918, he wrote his memoirs which consists of his experiences between 1913 and 1918 and published in Istanbul in 1922.⁷⁰⁰ Falih Rıfki Atay, famous author of the republican Turkey, worked as a secretary of Cemal Paşa in the 4th army in Syria. He published his memoirs regarding World War I in his work *Zeytindağı* in 1932.⁷⁰¹

Mahmud Nedim Bey who had been in Yemen as governor was born in 1865 in Damascus. He received his education from *Trablusşam Rüşdiye Mektebi* and graduated in 1877. Then, he held various bureaucratic posts. He was sent to Yemen as governor assistant in 1904. He held this position between 1904 and 1907. He was *mutasarrıf* of Adana between 1907 and 1908. In 1910 he was elected as Hudaydah (*Hudeyde*) deputy

⁶⁹⁷ Cenap Şahabettin, *Hac Yolunda*, transliterated & edited by Hülya Erdem, (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1996), pp. 7-9.

⁶⁹⁸ Cenap Şahabettin, *Afak-ı Irak*, transliterated & edited by Bülent Yorulmaz, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2002), p. 7.

⁶⁹⁹ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trablusgarb'de Tanin*, transliterated & edited by Çetin Börekçi, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999).

⁷⁰⁰ Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar: İttihat ve Terakki, I. Dünya Savaşı Anıları*, transliterated & edited by Alpay Kabacalı, (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008), pp. 1-12.

⁷⁰¹ Falih Rıfki Atay, *Zeytindağı*, (İstanbul: Bateş, 1981).

of assembly. In 1913, he was appointed Yemen governor and held this post between 1911 and 1923. He published his Yemen memoirs in 1935.⁷⁰²

Ali Suad was an Ottoman poet and novelist. There is little information on him. His work *Seyahatlerim* was published in 1916. This travelogue consists of his experiences in Syria and Iraq between 1910 and 1912. From his travelogue, it is obvious that he was an official inspector, but his exact duty is not clear in his memoirs.⁷⁰³

1. The Dichotomy between the Center and the Periphery: Ottoman Orientalism?

This part investigates late Ottoman first person narratives regarding the Arab and African provinces in terms of basic premises of the notion of Ottoman Orientalism. It was based on a temporal cleavage between the center and the periphery. This cleavage was produced by the modern and civilized images of the center and the backward and nomadic images of the periphery. This nomadic periphery was defined by the Ottoman elite in terms of its absences with regard to the center, debased due to its filth and defilement. The periphery and its people were parts of nature, the inhabitants of the Arab periphery were all infants in regardless of their actual age, they were sick and irrational, those awaited to be cured and rationalized by the “physicians of the center”.

1.1. The Periphery of Absences: Negation, Debasement and Naturalization of the Periphery

Tevfik Biren at the beginning of his memoirs regarding Jerusalem refers to Henry Morgenthau's book on Istanbul. He criticized the photos included in the book since they depicted whole inhabitants of the city with their traditional *kavuk* and *şalvar*. According to Tevfik Bey, one of these invented photos shows a group of people who pursued the carriage of a foreign ambassador and was dispelled by the police as though

⁷⁰² Mahmud Nedim Bey, *Arabistan'da bir ömür: Son Yemen Valisinin hatıraları veya Osmanlı imparatorluğu Arabistan'da nasıl yıkıldı?*, edited by Ali Birinci, (İstanbul: İSİS, 2001), pp. vii-ix.

⁷⁰³ Ali Suad, *Seyahatlerim*, transliterated & edited by N. Ahmet Özalp, (İstanbul: Kitabevi 1996), pp. 7-9.

they were a flock of goose.⁷⁰⁴ Tevfik Bey does not explain why he had mentioned this book at the beginning of his account on Jerusalem. A few pages below, he depicts a scene from Jerusalem including peoples who visited the beard of the prophet. While this ritual was conducted in a well ordered and respectful way in Istanbul, it was performed in a chaos, disorder, and disturbance and with roar in Jerusalem. The people scrambled for the bottle in which the beard of the prophet was preserved.⁷⁰⁵ An orientalist depiction of Istanbul and an orientalist depiction of a ritual in Jerusalem were side by side in his account. Although he was angry with the orientalist depictions of Istanbul, he did not hesitate to adopt an orientalist standpoint with regard to its own periphery and to depict the participants of the ritual as a flock of geese.

The Ottoman Arab and African provinces were generally depicted in negative terms by the Ottoman officials and intellectuals. It was absences that determine the descriptions of these provinces: the absence of civilized works. The underdevelopment of agriculture or its total absence was one of the most frequently mentioned absences in the periphery. Sadık el Müeyyed talks about the lands of *Berkatül Hamra* in Trablusgarb and describes its inhabitants as people without any ability to agriculture, with their inertness and lack of tools. Their plow was very simple. They did not use fertilizers. Above all, they were not industrious people. Furthermore, the general inclination for agriculture was very low.⁷⁰⁶ Müeyyed said that when he approached to the interiors of Trablusgarb, the degree of primitiveness appeared in his eyes with its all simplicity. While he determined nails and hinges in windows and doors in Jalu (*Calu*), in a more interior region, Kufra, he could not see any of these civilized works.⁷⁰⁷

While European cities were a touchstone for the Ottoman travelers to the non-European world in their comparisons, Istanbul as well as European cities was the point with respect to which other places within the empire were measured and interpreted. For instance, Cenap Şahabettin could not find any work of life, but only stable and calm blank in Red Sea. The scene he encountered in Red Sea gave him a spiritual distress and a savage feeling which reminds him death and makes his heart bored. He contrasted

⁷⁰⁴ Fatma Rezan Hürmen, ed., *Bir Devlet Adamının Mehmed Tevfik Biren Bey'in Abdülhamid, Meşrutiyet ve Mütareke Devri Hatıraları*, p. 75.

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁷⁰⁶ Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahra-yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, pp. 26-7, 47.

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

Red Sea with the Bosphorus and with its lively and happy foams. The adjectives he used for the Bosphorus were as follows: fresh, beautiful, shy, sweaty and delicate. He encountered with an entire eternity in Aden and a climate which penetrated into the hearts and spirits as well as goods and bodies.⁷⁰⁸ In Muhammar (Muhamara) in Iraq, he heard a spiritual voice which said him that it was not sleeping, loneliness and silence but a death decorated with the privileges given by the poems of the silent moon.⁷⁰⁹ He frequently used a vocabulary consisting of death, silence, sleeping, loneliness, dumbness in the Arab lands. He observed the Bedouins' children from the deck of the steamer that carried him to Baghdad. He felt a pity for these miserable Arab children who were lack of life and he supposed them spiritless dead bodies.⁷¹⁰

There are lots of comparisons between Istanbul and provinces in our sources. Falih Rıfki Atay said that carriages in Medina were same with garbage trucks in Istanbul. He claimed that the real Muslim city and center was Istanbul rather than Medina.⁷¹¹ Mahmud Nedim in his comparison between Istanbul and Hejaz also emphasized the superiority of Istanbul but adopted a more critical point of view. Although he reduced Hejaz to the camel caravans and contrasted it with paşa mansions, palaces, summer houses and benevolence of Istanbul, he was critical of the bad conditions of soldiers in Yemen who was fighting among absences.⁷¹² In a conversation with a sheik, he had great difficulties to convince him that only police forces had the right of carrying weapons in Istanbul. The Sheik who regarded his weapons an integral part of his honor had difficulties to imagine not to carry his weapons with him.⁷¹³ Babanzade tried to integrate scenes from Istanbul with scenes from Damascus and to reach scenery of world paradise. It was a symbolic integration between the center and the periphery. Damascus was both an Oriental city and a western city according to Babanzade. What made it Oriental were its narrow streets, dead ends, houses without windows. Babanzade claimed that interior parts of houses in Damascus were more beautiful than their exterior appearances.⁷¹⁴ This observation led him another

⁷⁰⁸ Cenap Şahabettin, *Afak-ı Irak*, p. 39.

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁷¹¹ Falih Rıfki Atay, *Zeytindağı*, pp: 54-55.

⁷¹² Mahmud Nedim Bey, *Arabistan'da bir ömür*, p. 153.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 219

⁷¹⁴ Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, *Irak Mektupları*, pp. 38-39.

dichotomy between the Orient and the Occident. He identified the interior with the Orient and the exterior with Occident. It was a variation on the dichotomy between the materially superior West and the morally superior East.

In addition to Istanbul, another Ottoman land that was privileged by our sources compared to the Arab provinces was Anatolia. Ahmed Şerif contrasted Beirut with Anatolia. Beirut had a different life from the rest of the empire. The realities of life in Beirut lost in appearances according to Şerif. He claimed that it was necessary to spent effort to see the real Beirut. In contrast to Beirut, Anatolia was the land of sincerity, openness, non-degeneration and Ottomanness. Anatolia was a source of hope for Ahmed Şerif despite its all poverty and underdevelopment. Beirut was full of secrets, a motley collection of the old and the new, and beauties under the curtain. It was an attractive, inviting city with a lively and intoxicant smell, and magic; it was the embrace of a fervent lover. Lebanon promised for happiness and affection. There was an intoxicant environment whose beauties invited people to make love. However, its weak point was sectarianism and lack of the sense of Ottomanness.⁷¹⁵ Beirut was eroticized by Ahmed Şerif. It was both an object of desire and appeal and of danger and threat. Beirut was negated by him due to it's over westernization and lack of Ottomanist feelings among the people.

Ahmed Şerif walked around Beirut with a feeling of alienation. There were two different styles of life and world within the city. On the one hand regular stores, buildings, hotels, clubs; on the other hand miserable and disgusting sbuildings. Smart gentlemen and men with white underpants and barefoot, tramways and animal transportation, clean avenues and people excreting at the middle of the most crowded avenues were side by side.⁷¹⁶ After he mentioned the coexistence between civilization and non-civilization within Beirut, he emphasized the difference of Beirut which was not a suitable place to penetrate into the life in Syria. It is clear that the civilized parts of Beirut were regarded by Şerif as an exception in Syria. The expected scenery was not the abundance of civilized works but the dominance of nomadism. He stated that Lebanese people knew how they benefited from the nature.⁷¹⁷ However, as I have said,

⁷¹⁵ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trablğarb'de Tanin*, pp. 170-172.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁷¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

this was not the expected situation. The expected situation was the unwise use of natural resources by the ignorant Bedouins.

Ahmed Şerif found Zahle regular compared to the general conditions of Ottoman country. There were grand hotels, buildings, civilized and progressed people; however the sense of Ottomanism was very weak and underdeveloped. The people had false opinions regarding the Ottoman government. This lack of Ottomanness gave him a feeling of being in an alien country.⁷¹⁸ In Damascus, he found a sincere life whose inhabitants preserved their essence. There was a life of misery, uncleanness, irregularity, oldness, dirty and narrow streets, and insensitive officials. A box officer who made trouble gave him a sense of familiarity, a sense of "us".⁷¹⁹ This sense was related to irregularity and being away from job responsibilities. In *Muallaha* he encountered with the wretchedness of administrative buildings. However, when compared to Lebanon, he perceived *Muallaha* a city pertaining to "us".⁷²⁰ We can conclude that self image of the empire given by Şerif was irregularity, oldness, and wretchedness. These statements show that Ahmed Şerif internalized many Orientalist themes and identified them with the Ottoman identity. When he did not see these aspects of the Oriental city, he felt alienated.

Tevfik Bey referred to the prevalence of bribery and intrigue in Jerusalem and improper attitudes of the notable families. He accepted that it was possible to observe similar tricks and attitudes in Rumelia and Anatolia, however, the degree of intrigue and trickery and the number of people who pursued only their private interests was more in Jerusalem than in Anatolia and Rumelia.⁷²¹ His wife Naciye Neyyal got surprised when they arrived at Jerusalem because of the primitiveness of the city. She was embarrassed after their journey with the abundance of such primitive places within the empire. Before their journey to Jerusalem, she heard too much things about Beirut about its beauties. However, she was disappointed when she encountered with Beirut. Then she asked herself "What I expected? A city looks like Istanbul?"⁷²²

⁷¹⁸ Ibid., p. 109.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid., p. 190.

⁷²⁰ Ibid., p. 177.

⁷²¹ Fatma Rezan Hürmen, ed., *Bir Devlet Adamının Mehmed Teyfik Biren Bey'in Abdülhamid, Meşrutiyet ve Mütareke Devri Hatıraları*, pp. 99-103.

⁷²² Fatma Rezan Hürmen, ed., *Münevver bir Türk Hanımı ressam Naciye Neyyal*, pp. 49-50.

Another author than Ahmed Şerif who eroticized the nomadic peoples he encountered was Cenap Şahabettin. He claimed that there was only a single principle followed by the people inhabiting the shores of the Tigris. This was affection and love. The Bedouins who walk around the desert with their half-naked bodies had rarely thought, their only concern was to embrace each other. Their sole purpose was to drink up to the last drop of wine. According to Şahabettin, they preferred a life with pleasure instead of a life with thoughts.⁷²³ This eroticization of the Bedouins was to emphasize the absence of contemplative and cognitive activities among the Bedouins and their laziness and indolence. Cami Baykurt referred to the Bedouins who immigrated to cities due to poverty in the desert. Although they acquired a daily subsistence with great difficulties, they looked like very happy with their humble living and broad beans in their hands. He claimed that the people who lived at the lowest levels of life standards might be happy with little things.⁷²⁴

Ahmed Şerif used negative terms to describe almost all Syria. He encountered in Suwayda (*Süveyde*) with places which people can judge that there is no life there. It was a plain area without any trees and lack of everything except stones. People including both men and women were taking bath in their potable source of water. Since he felt disgust, he could not drink the water.⁷²⁵ The land between Damascus and Daraa (*Dera*) was a black country with black scenes which imply that the life came to an end there. In a Daraa village, he encountered with black scenes which give gloom to the spirit and a sense of being rescued from fire recently. It was all simplicity and primitiveness. The inhabitants of Daraa lived in filth and defilement. Their hands, faces and feet lost their original form and color due to dirtiness. He did not suppose that their children were infants of human beings but rather they were monstrous creatures lived in the worst poverty.⁷²⁶ The villages of Cebel-i Dürüz (*Druze Mountains*) gave an impression that life came to an end due to the poverty and misery that reigned there. He resembled these villages to big graveyards. They talked about the death more than life. Hawran called death instead of life, and absences instead of beings into minds because of its oldness. In Trablusgarb, he encountered with similar scenes which lack any kind of public works. Ahmed Şerif said that in places where he calls their lands the life was

⁷²³ Cenap Şahabettin, *Afak-ı Irak*, p. 80.

⁷²⁴ Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, p. 9.

⁷²⁵ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trablusgarb'de Tanın*, p. 103.

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

exhausted and there was nothing other than sand. The inhabitants were ignorant, wretched, indifference to everything, immobile, and indolent without any long term consideration.⁷²⁷ Cami Baykurt used a similar vocabulary to define Trablusgarb: a silent Arab community, a strange disorder, grand desert which made people fearful due to its lonely greatness, a deep silent of death, voice of the Black Africa...⁷²⁸

Another rhetorical tool used by our sources was naturalization. Sadık el Müeyyed's account implies a harmony between the Bedouins and the nature. He referred to the stories regarding Bedouin's extraordinary ability to walk for long distances. One of these was about an old Bedouin who managed to catch his camel after walking 30 hours. Another one is about a Bedouin who caught his camel with walking although horsemen could not manage to catch it. Müeyyed claimed that the Bedouins were faster than horses.⁷²⁹ They had a superior ability in walking and running. Furthermore, they were eagle eyed.⁷³⁰ They had extraordinary ability in following a trail. They could recognize the identity of a person with looking at trails on the sand since they knew each others' footprint. They could understand from trails how many days ago the owner of the trail passed away there. Therefore, their mastery over trails became an obstacle to the commitment of theft.⁷³¹ The Bedouins' attachment to their camels was another theme in memoirs. Müeyyed claimed that the Bedouins could sacrifice themselves for their camels.⁷³²

Cami Baykurt identified the tribe of Tuaregs with their camels and claimed that the Bedouins could endure hunger for a long time like their camels. When Baykurt compared the Tebu tribe with the Tuaregs he found the Tuaregs more superior to the Tebus and found no difference between the Tebus and a flock of monkeys.⁷³³ İsmail Hakkı Babanzade compared cave like households of Al-Bukamel (*Ebu Kemal*) in Iraq with ancient ruins and nests of moles. In this city, it was difficult to provide even the most primitive needs.⁷³⁴ Cenap Şahabettin encountered with a poor town in Iraq which was faded as much as soil, lifeless as much as desert and solitary more than a deserted

⁷²⁷ Ibid., pp. 213-214.

⁷²⁸ Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, pp. 6-7, 48, 95-6, 173.

⁷²⁹ Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahra-yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, pp. 33-36.

⁷³⁰ Ibid., p. 52.

⁷³¹ Ibid., pp. 58-59.

⁷³² Ibid., p. 79.

⁷³³ Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, p. 221.

⁷³⁴ Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, *Irak Mektupları*, pp. 76-80.

ruin. It was possible for him to consider that this town was constructed by moles if he could not see around a few Bedouins. It was a worthless, decayed and primitive place. The Bedouins were unfortunate people without any serious work, ambition and life force. Their life was based on sleeping, digestion, and reproduction.⁷³⁵

1.2. The Temporal Differentiation between the Center and the Periphery

In the second chapter, we have discussed the rhetorical tools used by the Ottoman travelers to deny co-evalness of the non-European societies. One of this rhetoric was their emphasis on different perceptions of Time and time measurement in “the backward peoples”. The second one was the emphasis on the slow flow of Time in these societies. The third one was the presentation of other peoples as indolent, sleepy, lazy, and inert characters. The fourth one was the claim that other societies belong to a different age.

According to Sadık el Müeyyed, it was difficult to believe the Bedouins' predictions on the duration of journey between two points. They say that the well was just there, however the distance they traveled to arrive at this well takes two days. They do not know the measurement of time since they do not use clock. Therefore, Müeyyed concluded that the question of “how many hours will it take to arrive somewhere?” is not a valid question among the Bedouins. They do not measure distances they travelled by dividing time into hours and days. They estimate distances with respect to spatial terms. Their unit of measurement was wells.⁷³⁶

Cami Baykurt tells a similar story about the Bedouins. A Bedouin says him that there is a well in their way that they can arrive within an hour. However, their journey takes 8 hours. Cami Bey blamed himself since he believed unwarily the prediction of a camel shepherd. He claimed that there was no unit of measurement among the Bedouins. Although their ability of finding direction is extraordinary, a destination regarded by them as a nearby place takes at least 4 hours.⁷³⁷ Tevfik Biren also tells a similar story. He asks a Bedouin his age. The Bedouin finds the question meaningless

⁷³⁵ Cenap Şahabettin, *Afak-ı Irak*, p. 71.

⁷³⁶ Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahra-yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, pp. 23, 49, 78.

⁷³⁷ Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, pp. 122-123.

and laughs him. Then, he asks the name of days. Once again, the Bedouin finds naming the God's days meaningless.⁷³⁸

Babanzade refers to the abundance of coffeehouses in Baghdad because of the excessive interest in conversation among the people. He depicted the city as an unemployed country. The people cannot recognize the worth of time; they are not accustomed to regular working and production. They do not organize working hours. He claimed that same defect of underestimating the worth of time could also be seen in Istanbul, but to some extent. However, it is not known in Baghdad how much time a person can take a certain distance. They do not regard the estimation of duration of journeys worth of taking into consideration. They do not comply with their appointments. They do not consider the late arrival to an appointment and the loss of time important. Babanzade said that in a country in which all life was lost people did not take the loss of an hour into consideration.⁷³⁹

Ahmed Şerif talks about the temporal differences among the empire. In Damascus, he found no great influence of the progression of years on the life of Damascus. The changes were in appearances but not in spirit and content peculiar to Damascus. The city preserved its oldness. The public works and buildings of Damascus today represent old Damascus as much as current Damascus.⁷⁴⁰ Ahmed Şerif claimed that there were different and various scenes within the country as though the difference among them was the differences among different historical eras. One corner of country had a scene that had not changed too much since the primitive ages, while the other corner represented recent times thanks to the causes and factors pertaining not to “us”.⁷⁴¹

Cami Baykurt claimed that the inhabitants the city of Ghat lived the small city-state life of the primitive civilized era. He establishes a connection between first city-state life mentioned in the sacred book of Israeli peoples and life in the city of Ghat in Trablusgarb.⁷⁴² They had still maintained slavery mode of production and matriarchal

⁷³⁸ Fatma Rezan Hürmen, ed., *Bir Devlet Adamının Mehmed Teyfik Biren Bey'in Abdülhamid, Meşrutiyet ve Mütareke Devri Hatıraları*, p. 123.

⁷³⁹ Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, *Irak Mektupları*, pp. 93-94.

⁷⁴⁰ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trablusgarb'de Tanın*, p. 110.

⁷⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁷⁴² Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, pp. 194, 196.

systems. For Cami Bey, these were systems that had remained from the fancy ages. This situation led him to conclude that the inhabitants of Ghat were people of the Neolithic era. The Tuareg tribes of the same land represented, for Cami Bey, desert chevalier class like the medieval feudal system.⁷⁴³ In other place in his account Cami Bey defined members of same tribe as peoples of the Stone Age since they lived in a constant state of insecurity. These people conceal their households and do not say anybody its location.⁷⁴⁴

Cenap Şahabettin also depicted the owners of date palms in Basra as people who kept medieval memories alive.⁷⁴⁵ Cenap, furthermore, emphasizes the unchanged, inert, and stagnant character of the lands he travelled and indolence of people in these lands. While he was traveling along the Tigris, he observed lands and peoples living in the two sides of the river and concluded that these lands had not changed since the Lawgiver conquered there. There was no difference between the lands conquered by the Lawgiver and their current conditions. He said that these lands were conquered by rifle but had not yet conquered by plow since the date of conquest.⁷⁴⁶ This statement implies a critique of the Ottoman rule that had not carried to these lands civilized works. Cenap did not also like waiters in the steamer and claimed that there was no hierarchy and division of labor among them, they were indolent and dirty, and they serviced with their underpants and robes as though they lived in the Sassanian era.⁷⁴⁷

Falih Rıfkı found Sina desert as lonely, empty, dry and barren as the time when the prophet Moses passed there.⁷⁴⁸ In the harbor of Tripoli, Cami Bey dreamed of the 16th century that he called ‘the age of heroism’. The harbor was unchanged as if there had not passed three centuries. It remained what it was in the age of corsairs. He depicted the inhabitants of this port city as grandsons of corsairs. Furthermore, the streets of Tripoli were narrow and tangled as it did in every city that had remained from the medieval era.⁷⁴⁹ He found single-tuned and endless melodies of the local Arabs

⁷⁴³ Ibid., pp. 204, 208.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 219-220.

⁷⁴⁵ Cenap Şahabettin, *Afak-ı Irak*, p. 67.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 80.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 85-86

⁷⁴⁸ Falih Rıfkı Atay, *Zeytindağı*, p. 101.

⁷⁴⁹ Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, pp. 5-7.

were suitable with the unchanged character of the desert.⁷⁵⁰ These long yells were the voice of the desert which complained about its deprivation and orphanage. The desert, difficult life of desert, and people of desert with their black tents were all same and unchanged as if there had not passed 40 centuries.⁷⁵¹

Cami Bey, who wrote his work in 1945, retrospectively depicted Hamidian era as an *ancien regime* which belonged to another age. It was not the era proceeding the Second Constitutional period, but it was an era that had inherited from the Byzantine past. Cami Bey compared Hamid with the Byzantine emperors and his government with the Byzantine palace intrigues. The Yıldız Palace was full of sheiks, charlatans, and people who claim to be able to cure sick people by breathing on them. Therefore, retrospective evaluations such as Cami Bey's depicted the center during the Hamidian era similar to the periphery. Hamid was, Cami Bey says, a combination Caesar and the pope and he resembled him to the ancient Byzantine emperors and Moscow tsars.⁷⁵²

Although Ahmed Şerif cannot draw an inert, unchanged, and stagnant picture of Lebanon, he also cannot adopt the changes and progress realized in the city, because the agent of this change and progress is not the Ottomans but foreign powers. Nevertheless, he appreciated these developments in the name of humanity, but cannot overcome the feeling of alienation due to lack of Ottomanness in the city.⁷⁵³ However, Beirut was an exception among the Arab provinces. In other places in the Arab provinces, Ahmed Şerif continued to give inert and indolent images of people and lands. He wrote that Damascus was a historical city that indicated not prosperity of new ages, but the ruins pertaining to ancient history. This city was an eternal collection of history in the eyes of Ahmed Şerif. There was scenery which pulled people towards ancient history and past centuries. The air smelled death and oldness. He said that in muddy and dirty streets, centuries old pavements demanded their retirement.⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 54.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 65-66.

⁷⁵² Ibid., p. 21.

⁷⁵³ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trablğarib'de Tanin*, p. 174.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 184-5, 187.

1.3. Nomadism vs. Civilization: “Ohh, deaf and ignorant Bedouin, you!”

The basic dichotomy which was constitutive of the separating line between the center and the Arab and African periphery was between nomadism and civilization. One of the most common used vocabularies in the Ottoman official documents regarding the Arab and African provinces was the phrase “They live in a state of nomadism and savagery”.⁷⁵⁵ We have seen that nomadism was negated, debased and naturalized. It was also compared and contrasted with civilization.

Sadık el Müeyyed began his journey after he procured his convoy’s food storage that was enough for 3 months. He told that it was difficult to convince of the civilized people about a journey with foods enough for 3 months. However, the diet in the desert was very modest and the livelihood of its inhabitants was very simple. The Bedouins could prepare and eat their meal on the top of camels within a short time.⁷⁵⁶ He referred to weird style of eating among the Bedouins. They ate their food in rotation. The same piece of meat circulated among the participants of the table one by one. Müeyyed emphasized that this practice was peculiar to the tribal peoples and the dinner tables of wealthier people in Benghazi were similar to Istanbul ones.⁷⁵⁷

One day, Müeyyed sent one of his servants to buy a sheep for meal. However, the Bedouin who did not want to waste Müeyyed's money found the price too much and abandoned to buy. Müeyyed noted that how it was possible to tell this grand Bedouin the higher prices in Istanbul and how expensive an ordinary lunch and dinner in a Beyoğlu restaurant was. Istanbul as a civilized center and with civilized people were the unit of measurement for many Ottoman officials and intellectuals who visited the Arab and African provinces.⁷⁵⁸ The separating line between civilization and nomadism implied the superiority of civilized people over the nomadic ones and Istanbul over the rest of the empire. Müeyyed made a bet with the Bedouins about the prediction of their arrival time to a hill. However, the distance predicted by Müeyyed was growing due to rough landscape. They reached this hill very lately compared to his expectation. He said

⁷⁵⁵ Selim Deringil, “They live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery”, p. 317.

⁷⁵⁶ Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahra-yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, pp. 7-8.

⁷⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

⁷⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

that he could not able to believe to be embarrassed in front of the Bedouins.⁷⁵⁹ This reaction to his loss of the bet was a reflection of his feeling of superiority over the Bedouins.

Cenap Şahabettin conclusively draws the separating line between nomadism and civilization. He criticized the “deaf and ignorant” Bedouins since they identified liberty with lack of constraint. His imaginary speech to the nomads on nomadism and civilization was a calling for the Bedouins. He spoke to them with phrases like “you, the Bedouin” and “my child”. He explained to them that they would be free when they fed themselves with the wheat that was ground by them. He continued by saying that it was the field and plows which emancipated their primary ancestors from the captivity of the nature⁷⁶⁰ and the real owner of these lands were not the Bedouins but prospective farmers:

You have been sleeping in this wide and endless desert with frightening dreams for centuries and centuries and you suppose that sleeping and numbing here gave you a right of property. No! Do not be deceived yourself! Here is not your land. Here belongs to honorable farmer who waits in the near future with agricultural ambitions in his heart and with his shovel and pickax. If you do not give the right of life and right of planting to this soil today, tomorrow, this soil will give you only the right of being rotted under it.⁷⁶¹

Cenap Şahabettin depicted the Bedouins as numb, sleepy, inert, stagnant and indolent people who had been lack of ability to change their livelihood for centuries. These judgments on the Bedouins were among the basic tenets of the orientalist tropes. This implied that the Bedouins and Cenap did not share same temporality. The Bedouins belonged to a different age than Cenap's. He established a direct relation with liberty and civilization and a strict dichotomy between nature and civilization. According to his notion of liberty, it was a result of the mastery of humanity over the nature. The transformation of nature into civilization, and nomadism into a settled life meant liberty for Cenap. We have seen in the first chapter that the tropics belonged to those who were best able to exploit it rather than the races which inhabit it according to the colonial discourse. It was the nature who calls for the wise use of its resources. Cenap adopted same rhetoric regarding the property rights and gave the right of

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., pp.94-95.

⁷⁶⁰ Cenap Şahabettin, *Afak-ı Irak*, p. 81.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid.

ownership to the farmers who are able to use these lands wisely rather than the Bedouins who are not able to change their livelihood. Cenap continues to compare the Bedouins with civilized people:

Heroism is not to kill someone but to keep someone alive. You seize and suppose that you displayed a virtue. No, my son, not you, the person who made what you have seized displayed a virtue. One Bedouin set a trap for another Bedouin, one Bedouin seized other Bedouin's morsel from his mouth, woman from his breast, sheep from his embrace, and constitutes his daily life upon a murder.⁷⁶²

Cenap Şahabettin in these paragraphs drew a picture of “state of nature” or “state of war” in which war of all (Bedouins) against all (Bedouins) reigned supreme. The nomadic life style was a life full of fear, disorder and disturbances. Cenap also criticized the Bedouins for their pillages from the civilized people and did not find it a virtuous act. The real virtue was given to farmers or craftsmen of the civilized world. Therefore, civilization also implied for Cenap a moral improvement for the Bedouins. His phrases like “my son” and “my child” were also a part of the rhetoric of infantization of the nomadic groups. He continued by saying that their sheiks with their white beards were indeed a naive and narrow-minded child since he did not know anything, so that he could not teach. The infantization of nomads was a rhetorical tool to deny their coevalness and attribute them a different temporality. He also criticized the disturbance created by the nomads for the sake of tribal matters. Şahabettin warned them that holy war was for religion and nation rather than tribe and revenge. He calls them as follows:

At least, if only you could water a field with bloods shed by you, and if only you could lay a foundation for the desert. No! You nomad, you vagrant and you are untidy and you have been in this state for centuries and centuries. However, you could not understand that if you have not a permanent residence, you cannot have fruitful ideas, fruitful and permanent ambitions. Contrary to freedom of birds, the liberty of human beings was assured within a cage and it is not quarrel but exchange of works assures your independence. Ohh, infant of the desert, from now on, concern with this soil even though it is only for the purpose of catching the smell of your historical ancestors and from now on do not smack the bitter taste of hostility and taste of revenge in your mouth and heart.⁷⁶³

⁷⁶² Ibid.

⁷⁶³ Ibid. p. 82.

According to Şahabettin, the transition from nomadism to a civilized settled life brought an end to the state of nature and war and led to the development of ideas. His notion of liberty was not based on a notion of positive freedom, but on a negative notion of freedom which was based on the ability of imposing restrictions upon your acts. It was not an unlimited freedom ranging from quarreling to killing and pillaging. Another condition for the liberty was to enter into relations of exchange with each other. The rhetoric of “centuries and centuries” was also an example of the supposed inertness and stagnation of the nomadic groups and an example of the denial of coevalness. When Cenap considered the last one thousand years of Iraq, he supposed that the demon left his crown to these lands as his inheritance.⁷⁶⁴ This was also the demonization of the state of nomadism:

When will be this desert and scene with its lifelessness and dryness finished to remind people the funeral of a dead Arab? Ohhh, miserable Bedouin, the desert is not around you, but inside you. It is you who turn your surrounding into a desert and make it naked. Miserable nomad! You burned and dried your surroundings.⁷⁶⁵

Cenap Şahabettin, a few lines below, gave the image of the Bedouins as follows: “crude, proud, fanatical, and superstitious, living in a state of unchangeable life of banditry, love for revenge, booty, murder, and theft”.⁷⁶⁶ As the quotation above indicates, Şahabettin blamed the nomads themselves for their “state of savagery”.

The title of letter sent by Ahmed Şerif to *Tanin* from Cebel-i Dürüz was “First days outside the civilized world”. He encountered there with non-civilized scenes and regarded that land the country of a savage enemy. He said that the inhabitants of this land, the Druzes had a smooth speech that they could explain themselves and inform others freely. The majority of them had a good looking bodies, the shape of their bodies was complete, their organs were completed their natural development.⁷⁶⁷ These are interesting observations on the Druzes since these claims imply that Ahmed Şerif had not expected these outcomes before he arrived there. He expected that their language was incomprehensible and their bodies were deformed. This implicit image was a

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁷ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trablğarb'de Tanin*, p. 221.

significant clue for us to grasp the representation of the local peoples of Lebanon in Istanbul.

According to Ali Suad, the wicked Bedouins lived in a state of ignorance and stubbornness, under terrible, ignorant and destitute social conditions as victims of a few local notables. They were at the middle of ignorance and savagery.⁷⁶⁸ Babanzade described blood feuds and conflicts as a spiritual condition peculiar to the tribes. He claimed that these events that he learned from the medieval stories had still continued to be realized in Najaf (*Necef*).⁷⁶⁹ For him, miserable Iraq was far away from the favors of the constitution, law, and security. Tribes brutally treated each other. There was no security for life and property in Iraq.⁷⁷⁰ He defined these conditions as anarchy. The Bedouins were inclined to disorder and anarchy. He mentioned the desperation of the officials there since the attachment to a tribe rather than state provided more security for the officials. They could not manage to stop the clashes among tribes and general insecurity in Iraq⁷⁷¹.

Tepeyran complained about similar problems and gave information on the tribal structures in Mosul. The Shammar (Şammar), Gergeri, and Cubur tribes exacted protection money from significant roads. The Shammar tribe had a conflict with the Kurdish Milli tribe. They were attacked by the Milli tribe and they wished to take revenge. Tepeyran tried to prevent a prospective clash between the two. According to Tepeyran, the nomadic life styles remained only in the Ottoman Empire and countries whose conditions and levels were same with the Ottomans. There had still been many people who lived in mountains and deserts as though they were animal flocks. These tribes also caused problems in the tax collection according to Tepeyran.⁷⁷²

1.4. Ottoman Memoirs concerning the Customs and Belief Systems in the Periphery

Our sources' views on the local customs and manners in the periphery were in general shaped by a rationalist discourse that depicted the peripheral groups as

⁷⁶⁸ Ali Suad, *Seyahatlerim*, p. 41.

⁷⁶⁹ Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, *Irak Mektupları*, pp. 122-123.

⁷⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁷⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-138.

⁷⁷² Ebubekir Hazim Tepeyran, *Hatıralar*, pp. 459-463.

irrational peoples. Cami Bey emphasized the abundance of superstitious beliefs among the inhabitants of Trablusgarb. They connected events that they do not grasp its reasons to the existence of the jinns. Cami Bey heard lots of stories regarding jinns during his residence and journeys in Trablusgarb.⁷⁷³ He approached these beliefs and stories with skepticism although he said that his skepticism could not penetrate into the local people.⁷⁷⁴ Tepeyran also referred some weird customs of the inhabitants of Mosul. These customs were confusing and contradictory according to him. His touchstone was Istanbul. He contrasted the practice of *Mevlit* in Mosul with practices in Istanbul and Anatolia. He found the attitudes of participants of *Mevlit* in Mosul disrespectful.⁷⁷⁵

They imposed their own customs and manners, rationality and institutions upon the local ones. For instance, the foundation of communication in the desert was tea conversations according to Cami Bey. The gossips were newspapers of the Bedouins and the surroundings of wells were their news agency.⁷⁷⁶ They rarely attempted to discover the internal rationalities of the local customs and beliefs. There were four basic approaches to the local customs and beliefs. First one was the evaluation of them in terms of scientific rationality and modern civilized practices and norms. In this regard, they either satirized local customs and beliefs or rationalized them by imposing familiar norms and practices upon local ones. The second one was neutral expressions regarding these practices and beliefs. Many of them did not give lots of space for the local customs and beliefs since their accounts' content was loaded with other agendas than ethnographic views. The third one was the idealization and aesthetization of the Bedouins in general and their local customs and practices in particular. The image of the noble savage was a popular theme in many Ottoman memoirs. They regarded by some Ottomans as the source of a national taste and of a non-degenerated culture.

The fourth approach represented by Cenap Şahabettin who claimed that the mind of peasants he encountered in the Arab provinces were as dark as the color of their skins. It was difficult to understand what they thought and felt. In other place, he claimed that the desert gave different impressions to different people. Cenap Şahabettin was skeptical with regard to the comprehensibility of the desert and its people and had

⁷⁷³ Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, pp. 89-91.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁷⁷⁵ Ebubekir Hazim Tepeyran, *Hatıralar*, pp. 487-489.

⁷⁷⁶ Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, p. 71.

relativist arguments.⁷⁷⁷ He encountered different belief systems throughout his journey and concluded that there was a common denominator behind all belief systems. It was a wish for a piece of eternity.⁷⁷⁸ Cami Bey found a common denominator among the Berberi, Arab and Turkish songs although all of them were incompatible to each other. The common motif was the complaint from the enigma of life.⁷⁷⁹ In the context of polygamy in Trablusgarb, Cami Bey tried to grasp the internal rationality behind it. The life conditions of women were very difficult and hard in the desert. For instance, when one wife of a man out of four wives died, the remaining three wives demanded from their husband to marry with another woman in order not to be burdened with the responsibilities of the dead wife.⁷⁸⁰

1.5. The Doctors and Infants of the Periphery

According to Cenap Şahabettin, the sons of the desert from the youngest to the oldest people had childish spirits. They could easily laugh everything. They were very joyful people. When they did not sleep, they laughed. In their eyes the world was a play and a toy for them. They worked very little. Their working was only composed of repeating what their ancestors did. They had no concern regarding future. They had no long term consideration. Their calculations were not beyond daily anxieties. It was easy for them to be happy. Their bed was sand, their quilt was sky. They were children, but good children. He concluded that the Arabs of Iraq lived as such, they had childish spirits.⁷⁸¹ The categories of nomads and savages in the colonial discourse represented an earlier stage of human development, so that their infantization was a popular theme in the colonial and orientalist discourses.

Cenap was aware of the categories of the European colonial discourse and its racial classificatory schemes regarding different kind of societies. He said that the world divided into three groups in the eyes of the Europeans: the Europeans, other white peoples, and the rest hierarchically consisting of the yellows, reds and blacks. The role of the black people was to obey the Whites. He felt pity for these miserable

⁷⁷⁷ Cenap Şahabettin, *Afak-ı Irak*, pp. 67, 91.

⁷⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁷⁷⁹ Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, p. 54.

⁷⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 119.

⁷⁸¹ Cenap Şahabettin, *Afak-ı Irak*, p. 72.

Black people.⁷⁸² Müeyyed met with a Black, Fakih Yusuf in his journey and described him as follows: “Although he was a black he was very well mannered, polite, correct and clear, scholar, and poet.”⁷⁸³ This judgment implies that the expected Black was a person contrary to these characters.

Babanzade İsmail Hakkı planned to inform his readers about the towns between Dayr az-Zawr and Baghdad, consisting of Mayadin (*Miyadin*), Al-Bukamal, Aneve, Ramadi (*Remadiye*). He had sent his letter to newspaper before he reached Ramadi and had information on the first three towns. However, he added the note that he did not expect to see different things in Ramadi. If climate, air, water, customs, abilities, and moral views were similar, the level of development and public works should have been the same. According to Bababzade⁷⁸⁴ He establishes casual links among natural surroundings, climate and the level of development. In addition, Babanzade evaluated the tribes with respect to their degree of development. The criteria were the degree of settlement and the quantity of agriculture.⁷⁸⁵

Sadık el Müeyyed's account on Trablusgarb shows his bureaucratic gaze and obsession with recording. He recorded the information on the participants of his entourage, the content and quantity of foods he had prepared before journey, and temperatures he measured in different locations. He enumerated camels and trunks in order to find necessary goods easier. His aim was to make any other prospective travelers and officials' job there much easier by giving practical information and advices.

Social Darwinist interpretations were also very popular among the Ottoman memoirs. Ahmed Şerif reacted to the foreign intervention that aimed at transformation of the local identities and resulted in the loss of Ottomanness. He reminded his readers an eternal reality: the right of the strong to trample and swallow the weak and the struggle for survival. This was the clearest law of cosmos which functioned as the instrument of order.⁷⁸⁶ He said that although the war and fight were the words that

⁷⁸² Ibid., p. 44.

⁷⁸³ Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahra-yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, p. 64.

⁷⁸⁴ Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, *Irak Mektupları*, p. 75.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 133.

⁷⁸⁶ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trablusgarb'de Tanin*, p. 154

remembered hatefully, they were necessary tools to arrive at happy goals. Fight was regarded as the nutriment for the future happiness of people.⁷⁸⁷

Tevfik Biren brought Herbert Spencer's book with him while he was going to Yemen.⁷⁸⁸ In this positivist and social Darwinist environment, there were lots of organic metaphors in the memoirs used to depict the society. Ahmed Şerif referred the applicability of natural laws to society after he gave brief information on microbes. He claimed that there were weaknesses of societies and vulnerabilities to social microbes as humans had vulnerability to some diseases.⁷⁸⁹ The usage of organic metaphors especially metaphor of illness and medical treatment were very popular among the Ottoman memoirs. The Ottoman intellectuals adopted the position of a doctor in front of their own society in general. They considered themselves as peoples who knew the problems and diseases of the society and had the ability and instruments to cure them. They adopted the position of a physician regarding the Arab and African provinces. In these provinces, they were the doctors of backward, inert, indolent, unchangeable, rebellious, nomadic children. In the next part, we will deal with how these doctors perceived the diseases of these children and proposed what kind of treatments for their ills.

2. The Nature of the Ottoman Existence in the Periphery: Borrowed Colonialism?

This part investigates the conceptions of the Ottoman center-periphery relations by the Ottoman elite in terms of the notion of borrowed colonialism and discusses three basic rhetorical modalities of the western colonial discourses in the context of the Ottoman provinces. These are surveillance, appropriation and affirmation. The Ottoman knowledge over periphery, appropriating power and views of the Ottoman elite and their ways of affirming the Ottoman rule in the periphery will be discussed in the context of age of nationalism and imperialism. This part aims at the clarification of the Ottoman elite perceptions of the Arab provinces' status within the empire.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 189.

⁷⁸⁸ Fatma Rezan Hürmen, ed., *Bir Devlet Adamının Mehmed Teyfik biren Bey'in Abdülhamid, Meşrutiyet ve Mütareke Devri Hatıraları*, p. 332.

⁷⁸⁹ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trablğarb'de Tanin*, p. 165.

2.1. The Unknown Periphery: Ottoman Surveillance

In the second chapter, we have discussed whether Ottoman gaze around the non-European world was a commanding view or not. In the previous chapter, we have investigated the nature of Ottoman knowledge on the non-European world and Ottoman views on the relations between knowledge and power. I will ask same questions regarding the periphery. At the first glance, it seems obvious that it was a commanding view since the majority of our sources had been in the periphery as the representatives of the Ottoman government especially as governors. Of course, this gave them a sense of superiority and commanding view over peoples living in the periphery. Naciye Neyyal, as the wife of the governor of Jerusalem, claimed that they lived there a life of prince and princes.⁷⁹⁰

Sadık el Müeyyed's sergeant Salih Efendi burned the nape of a Bedouin via his magnifying glass, and then he burned his cigarette with this glass. All these two events made the Bedouin amazed. Furthermore, the nomads found milk boxes very interesting and could not grasp how milk was preserved in them without being spoiled.⁷⁹¹ The modern technological tools such camera or more moderate tools such as magnifying class were enough to give the Ottoman officials a sense of superiority and a commanding view and even the right of making cruel jokes. Sadık el Müeyyed throughout his journey tried to prepare a map which indicated the location of wells and other important places.⁷⁹² The map was the most significant instrument which gave the European travelers and officials a sense of superiority and commanding view. The maps were a mobilizer of colonial feelings as we have seen in Marlow's case. In the Ottoman case, we learned from Müeyyed's account, he had not a map of Trablusgarb including the locations of important places such as water sources in 1895.

Cami Baykurt claimed that all days were similar to each other and they were all silent days in the desserts of Ottoman Libia. The people who gave voice to this silent desert were Cami Bey and his European friend Hans and their caravans. The inhabitants of the desert had no sense of calendar. They remembered past with respect to significant events. Cami Bey claimed that their crossing across their land will have

⁷⁹⁰ Fatma Rezan Hürmen, ed., *Münevver bir Türk Hanımı ressam Naciye Neyyal*, pp. 78-79.

⁷⁹¹ Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahra-yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, p. 72

⁷⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

been birth date for some children of the desert. It will be remembered as the year in which Cami and Hans passed there. Furthermore, Cami Bey emphasized that every Turk with an official rank was regarded as the sultan by the desert nomads.⁷⁹³ These were clear examples of the sense of superiority. There were also interesting views and information on the peoples of the Arab provinces. For instance, Zeza Paşa prepared a detailed account on the relation between the local people's bodies and their characters. This account included lips, tooth, cheek, ears and hair of the local people. Each difference in shape, form, and color indicated a different characteristic.⁷⁹⁴ This obsession with body-character issues may be a reflection of fear from the local people and a way of coping with differences he encountered in Yemen.

What is more surprising in the memoirs was the authors' emphasis on insufficient knowledge of the center on the periphery. They emphasized the necessity of sufficient information regarding the periphery and its people in order to govern these lands and peoples efficiently. The strong relation between knowledge and power was an integral aspect of the Western colonialism and its discourses. Ahmed Şerif confessed that he was going to Lebanon with an empty mind, with void and groundless and memorized information. He was embarrassed since he, as an Ottoman, was going to a part of the Ottoman country with these void ideas. He admitted that he was more knowledgeable about America than Lebanon Mountains. He complained about his and his co-patriots' general ignorance regarding their own country. However, it was impossible to develop these lands without diagnosing illness and knowing the body in Ahmed Şerif's words.⁷⁹⁵

In other place in his memoirs, he referred to the varieties within the Ottoman Empire and their ignorance of these various natures and landscapes. There were “troubles and punishments” resulted from this lack of knowledge on society in general and its components, special natures and principles in particular. The government was not well informed on the countries which it will be conquered, reform, and process. He compared and contrasted the Ottoman Empire with Europe. The distance between the Europe's civilization and the Ottoman shortcomings and primitiveness was the

⁷⁹³ Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, pp. 106-107.

⁷⁹⁴ Hüseyin Saraçoğlu, "Ahmed Hamdi (Zeza) Paşa: Yemen Hatıratı", MA thesis, Atatürk Üniversitesi, Tarih Anabilim Dalı, Erzurum: 2007, pp. 21-25.

⁷⁹⁵ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trablusgarb'de Tanın*, pp. 173-174.

remoteness between the 20th century and the middle ages. He claimed that they knew Europe better than their own country. Ahmed Şerif declared that Europe was the future for them and it was necessary to know and recognize the current conditions of the country in order to arrive at this future. Once they did diagnose the illness, they could apply to the European pharmacy to find appropriate drugs.⁷⁹⁶ His statements are a combination of the denial of the coevalness between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, Ottoman lack of knowledge on its own periphery and evolutionary and positivist views.

Ahmed Şerif advised his readers to travel around their own country and meet with other Ottomans. The knowledge on their conditions and the penetration into their spirit and feelings were necessary to bring them levels which they desired. He claimed that the Europeans knew the Ottoman lands more than the Ottomans. They travelled around Ottoman country with their European guidebooks on the empire.⁷⁹⁷ He tried to discover the spirits and secrets of the Druzes during his travels around Lebanon and concluded that they had no real information on these people. They were not monsters and bloodthirsty men, they had merits and they were men too. It was necessary to transform them into the Ottoman citizens according to Ahmed Şerif.⁷⁹⁸

Falih Rıfıkı Atay and Mahmud Nedim Bey confirmed the account of Ahmed Şerif. Falih Rıfıkı claimed that Istanbul had Egyptian malaria. The geographical knowledge of the top members of the government was worse than the spelling of the religious fanatics in medereses.⁷⁹⁹ He continued saying that among British, Russian, Italian and Ottoman states, the Ottomans had the least knowledge on and understanding of Syria, Palestine and Hejaz despite the fact that they were the actual owner of these lands. The Ottomans walked around these lands with gun carriages and looked them with the eyes of thief officials.⁸⁰⁰ Mahmud Nedim claimed that they did not know, understand, and learn the lands of Yemen from the day of its conquest to the abandonment of these lands. Therefore, they could not govern these lands.⁸⁰¹ The formula “to know in order to govern” was adopted by the majority of our sources and they related the weaknesses of government in the periphery to their lack of knowledge.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 194-195.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 196-197.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 232-233.

⁷⁹⁹ Falih Rıfıkı Atay, *Zeytindağı*, p. 36.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 43.

⁸⁰¹ Mahmud Nedim Bey, *Arabistan'da bir ömür*, p. 20.

Mahmud Nedim criticized Abdülhamid for his uninformed decisions regarding the periphery. He had no properly given decision that was resulted from a true understanding of Arabia. Hamidian era was an example of false administration. The jurnal system paralyzed the regular functioning of bureaucracy. The concerns and anxieties of the Ottoman officials over their future spoiled their concentration on the reform movements.⁸⁰² He described Hamidian regime as an *ancien regime* when he looked from the republican era and contrasted darker years of Hamid with happy youths of 1930s. Therefore, his memoirs on Hamidian era blurred the dichotomy between the center and the periphery. Mahmud Nedim depicted the Yıldız Palace not different than the periphery. The image of Yıldız was a despotic, ignorant center instead of a civilized center. Abdülhamid was in relation with the sheiks who claimed to be able to interpret dreams and make magic.

One day, Mahmud Nedim Bey warned a French entrepreneur that he was not able to secure his protection and advised him to leave Yemen. According to Mahmud Nedim, French entrepreneur got angry since he evaluated the Ottoman rule in Yemen with respect to the French colonies in Asia and Africa. These statements imply that Mahmud Nedim Bey perceived a gap between the Ottoman rule in Yemen and the French colonial rule in Asia and Africa. The lack of knowledge and power made the Ottoman officials feel impotent. The Frenchman said that he obtained the legal permissions from the Ottoman Paris embassy and the Ottoman government to work in Yemen. Mahmud Nedim Bey claimed that the Ottoman ambassador in Paris and the Ottoman government in Istanbul supposed that Yemen was Istanbul and did not propoerly know Yemen.⁸⁰³ According to Mahmud Nedim the main factor behind the Ottoman failure in Yemen was the Ottoman ignorance of Yemen and its hidden side and intrigues. The Ottoman government did not know the temperament, morality and nature of the peoples that had lived under his rule. Neither Abdülhamid nor Unionist managed to be able to know and govern these lands.⁸⁰⁴

The Ottoman officials frequently complained about their lack of knowledge about periphery. However, they had chance to reach the European sources on the Arab and African provinces. These European sources were determinate in shaping their

⁸⁰² Ibid., p. 37.

⁸⁰³ Ibid., p. 102.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 151.

views on these lands. Cenap Şahabettin claimed that he did not travel to Africa like Columbus' sail through the Americas. He says that he had read travel accounts, saw photos and listened stories about it. He had known Gerard de Nerval, Theophile Gautier, Edmond About and Pierre Loti's accounts on Egypt before he travelled into Egypt.⁸⁰⁵ Ali Suad walk around Petra of Jordan among ruins with a Baedeker guidebook and quoted some lines from this book in his account.⁸⁰⁶

2.2. Arab and African Lands calling for the Wise Use of their Resources

The Ottoman provinces in Africa were defined as Ottoman colonies in the minutes of Council of Ministers regarding the participation of the Ottoman Empire in the Berlin Africa Conference in 1884.⁸⁰⁷ The Ottoman Empire tried to preserve its claim in Africa throughout the process known as the “scramble for Africa”. Its self-image was that the Ottoman Empire was the last hope for the millions of the Muslims living in central Africa. The Ottoman government advised the tribes of this region to enter the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire if they did not want to be recognized as independent primitive tribes in the eyes of the Christian states. The declaration of the incorporation into the Ottoman Empire was presented as the only way for these tribes escaping of being colonized. Being a part of the Ottoman Empire considered the sole remedy that enabled these tribes not to be conceived of independent primitives living in empty lands.⁸⁰⁸ The theme of empty lands was a favorite rhetoric of the colonial discourse as we have seen in previous chapters. What the “empty lands” brought into mind was the imposition of the colonial administration and the civilized works upon these untouched lands.

Sadık el Müeyyed in his journey in Trablusgarb accumulated some information on Sudan. He gave information on the conquest of *Reşade* (northern regions of Chad today) by the Ottoman governor of Fezzan, Faik Paşa. He subjugated the sheiks of this territory and established a police and gendarme force in this land. In addition to *Reşade*, he took the ruler of *Kuvar* (North eastern parts of Niger today) and *Bornu* (south

⁸⁰⁵ Cenap Şahabettin, *Hac Yolunda*, pp. 58, 60.

⁸⁰⁶ Ali Suad, *Seyahatlerim*, pp. 167, 177.

⁸⁰⁷ Selim Deringil, "They live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery", p. 323.

⁸⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 323-324.

eastern parts of Niger) under "the Ottoman Empire's protective and liberating wing".⁸⁰⁹ These events were a reflection of the struggles in central Africa that have mentioned above. The Ottoman Empire preserved these lands against a prospective colonization by the Christian states. This image of the Ottoman Empire as the protector of the Muslims of Arabia and Africa against the colonization by the Christians prevented the Ottoman elite to consider these lands as their colonies. Although Ottoman provinces in Africa regarded as Ottoman colonies in the council of ministers, it is difficult to encounter with the open declarations of colonial status of the Arab lands in the memoirs published before the collapse of the empire, because this was an image in contradiction to "the protector against colonialism". However, the memoirs published after the collapse of the empire in 1918 had more explicit references to the existence of the "Ottoman colonialism" in the Arab and African provinces. At least, they openly debated the status of the Arab provinces without paying attention to their images in the eyes of the provincial peoples. These debates will be discussed in another part.

Although the Ottoman memoirs did not explicitly refer to the periphery as a colonial setting, the colonial discourse's themes of "empty lands", and "(un)wise use of resources" were very popular among the Ottoman memoirs. The notion of "empty lands" was a phrase that calls the colonial appropriation into the mind so that the Ottoman memoirs regarding the periphery frequently advised the efficient use of resources in the periphery and the necessity to fill up the empty and useless lands with the civilized works.

Cenap Şahabettin complained about the inefficient use of the lands along the Tigris despite its all merits. He said that the sun and water was ready to provide abundance and wealth, the Tigris was waiting for people who would sweat their brows into the soil. This was the calling of nature for the efficient use of its resources.⁸¹⁰ Ahmed Şerif claimed that Trablusgarb was indeed a rich and productive territory and emphasized the existence of the abundant wealth under the soil, untouched mines and

⁸⁰⁹ Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahra-yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, pp. 147-149.

⁸¹⁰ Cenap Şahabettin, *Afak-ı Irak*, p. 81.

also loyal subjects.⁸¹¹ Ahmed Muhtar Paşa claimed that he could make Yemen Egypt if there were sufficient irrigation canals.⁸¹²

Babanzade İsmail Hakkı complained about the unproductive uses of the Euphrates by the local people due to their indolence and negligence. He invited the government to improve the transportation there. Although the river was rich and productive, it flowed through the lands of poverty and misery. The savage inhabitants did not like regular working and they were lazy to be benefited from the readymade resources favored by the river.⁸¹³ The same conditions were valid in Basra. They could not manage to use efficiently even 1/1000 of abundant resources given by the nature according to Babanzade. There were lots of empty places; the agricultural methods were very simple. He regarded this indifference to resources as ingratitude to the nature.⁸¹⁴

Tepeyran depicted Mosul as a treasure whose doors had remained closed for centuries. There were various climates and natural privileges in this land. However, there had not made necessary reforms it deserved like many other provinces. Nevertheless, he claimed that Mosul was one of the most neglected Ottoman provinces that he had encountered throughout his official duties. There was an abundance and variety of natural wealth and sources. There were valuable mines and abundant resources of petroleum.⁸¹⁵ These resources were neglected for centuries and could not use efficiently. He planned to construct a company for purifying raw petroleum and secured the support of the local notables. However, a clause of the Ottoman agreement with the Germans for Baghdad railway project prevented the realization of this project.⁸¹⁶

Ali Suad maintained the same rhetoric of unwise use of abundant resources. The people got a good amount of yield despite the most primitive ideas and methods and the absence of all kind of educational opportunities and the most ignorant efforts and ambitions in Iraq. There were neither canals nor terraces in these lands. The four over

⁸¹¹ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trablğarb'de Tanin*, pp. 258-259.

⁸¹² Gazi Muhtar Paşa: *Anılar*, p. 96.

⁸¹³ Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, *Irak Mektupları*, pp: 67-8, 82-3.

⁸¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164.

⁸¹⁵ Ebubekir Hazim Tepeyran, *Hatıralar*, pp. 358-359.

⁸¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 365-368.

five of the arable lands was empty.⁸¹⁷ In these absences he daydreamed of his ideal Iraq. He considered the Tigris and the Euphrates and gave them a civilized body with the construction of dams and canals. He dreamed of an ideal line of progress and filled up the empty lands with sugar factories, offices of *Ziraat* Bank, railway lines, hotels, and the Europeans who looked for a job.⁸¹⁸

Some Ottomans felt a sense of alienation in the Arab provinces. In their memoirs, there is lack of the sense of appropriation. They could not appropriate the Arab lands in full. Falih Rıfki said that neither Turkish language nor the Turks could pass from Aleppo towards the Arab peninsula. He claimed that Jerusalem for the Ottomans was an alien country as much as Florence. The Ottomans were walking around the streets as tourists.⁸¹⁹ Mahmud Nedim Bey complained about the lack of Ottoman courts, schools and hospitals in Yemen. The vernacular language was not Turkish. There was abundance of the missionary agents. In addition to Yemen, he regarded Lebanon as a foreign colony at the middle of the Ottoman country.⁸²⁰ He said that there was no necessity for an enemy attack, these lands had not already belonged to them anyway, and they by themselves called these provinces their land. However, there was nothing Ottoman in these regions other than Ottoman flag.⁸²¹ An Italian factory owner told Nedim the treasures of Yemen and opportunities in Yemen other than the duty of guarding: the convenience of the land for agriculture, a perfect climate and nature, gossips regarding the existence of mines on the mountains of Lebanon. The Italian said that “let others to processing these treasures if you are not able to use them”.⁸²²

According to Cami Bey, the perception of Trablus in Istanbul was a place “as horrible as the terrible and dark dungeons in the noblemen’s old castles during the middle ages for the prisoners of the inquisition”.⁸²³ This statement from *Trablusgarb’tan Sahra-yı Kebire Doğru* was a combination of rhetoric of debasement and the denial of coevalness. The province of Trablus and Fezzan were used by the

⁸¹⁷ Ali Suad, *Seyahatlerim*, p. 47.

⁸¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-64.

⁸¹⁹ Falih Rıfki Atay, *Zeytindağı*, p. 39.

⁸²⁰ Mahmud Nedim Bey, *Arabistan’da bir ömür*, p. 90.

⁸²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁸²² *Ibid.* p. 121.

⁸²³ Christoph Herzog and Raul Motika, “Orientalism *alla Turca*”, p. 165.

former administration as places of exile. He took his readers attention to these huge lands and then he gave information on his perception of Europe of his own day. This reference to huge lands implies the rhetoric empty lands.

He continued saying that Europe was economically brave and ready for progress. She shifted towards all unprotected parts of the world since it could not find enough space at home to employ its increasing population and wealth and enough profitable business to invest its capital.⁸²⁴ This was Cami Bey's perception of the European colonialism based on the rhetoric of empty lands. The Europeans appropriated all unprotected territories of the world since they had not enough space for its growing population and investments. Cami Bey said that the Ottoman Empire lost its provinces in Africa to the European powers and Trablus was the last center of the Ottoman province in North Africa. In this regard he defined the Ottoman Empire as one of the victims of the European expansion subjected to colonization.⁸²⁵

He criticized the perception of the former administration regarding Trablus. Its only usage was to be a place of exile. This was the rhetoric of unwise of existing resources. According to him, it was the Europeans who brought about the revolutions in Africa while the violence and aggression were brought by the predatory desert tribes as well as Ottoman government's mismanagement and weakness.⁸²⁶ He contrasted the Ottoman unwise use of resources and misrepresentation of Trablus in Istanbul with the European successes in Africa. These evaluations implicitly imply that the model for the administration of Trablus for Cami Bay was the European colonial administration in Africa. Furthermore, Cami Bey compared Trablus of his own days with its brilliant and prosperous Roman past. It was the granary of ancient Rome with its huge arable lands and a center of caravan trade thanks to its advantageous geographical location.⁸²⁷ In addition to contemporary Europe, ancient Roman Empire presented for Cami Bey a successful model for the wise use of resources of Trablus. Cami Bey took his readers' attention to increasing economic interests in Trablus and his two models for the efficient use of these interests were contemporary European colonial powers and

⁸²⁴ Ibid.

⁸²⁵ Ibid.

⁸²⁶ Ibid., p. 166.

⁸²⁷ Ibid.

ancient Roman Empire. Cami Bey easily appropriated models presented by these two imperial traditions.

2.3. The Ottoman Civilizing Mission

The most frequently used phrases in the official documents regarding the nomads of the periphery was “They live in a state of nomadism and savagery”, “They live in a state of ignorance and nomadism”, “gradually include them in the circle of civilization”, “civilization and progress brought to them”.⁸²⁸ The responsibility of the Ottoman government was to bring civilization to the nomadic groups. Ottoman orientalism constructed a temporal cleavage between the civilized center and the nomadic periphery. Furthermore, they adopted a civilizing and modernizing mission with regard to this backward, indolent and inert periphery. The Ottoman elites decided not to leave the savage to his own devices, but to civilize them and make them useful.⁸²⁹

According to Deringil, the modernizing project of Abdülhamid in a memorandum regarding Ottoman Libia was included the creation of military units from the local population, the construction of a quay, the demonstration of the fruits of civilization such as omnibus to the local people, the construction of a modern clock tower, economic measures for the development of the province, population census, the establishment of schools, and the foundation of a provincial newspaper.⁸³⁰ In the context of Hejaz and Yemen, Deringil discusses the views of Osman Nuri Paşa who presented a report to the center regarding these lands. He drew the picture of the Bedouins as they lived contrary to civilized laws. It was necessary to ease their path to civilization and bring the nomads into the fold of civilization. He perceived these tribes deprived of civilizing order as a wound in the body of the state. His reform proposals included the establishment of administrative and political divisions, the construction of government buildings and military establishments, the establishment of courts of law, the spread of education and the procurement of progress in the trades and professions, increase in revenues, and the building of roads.⁸³¹

⁸²⁸ Selim Deringil, "They live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery", p. 317.

⁸²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

⁸³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 318-324.

⁸³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 327-333.

The civilizing mission was a dominant theme in the Ottoman memoirs regarding the periphery. The majority of them negated periphery and drew a picture of it based on absences. They debased it due to filth and defilement that reign supreme there. Their inhabitants were naturalized and regarded as uncivilized savage nomads. Their coevalness was denied and accepted as peoples and lands belong to another age. However, all these absences, negations, debasements and denials were burdened them a responsibility and mission: “the modernizing and civilizing mission”.

Samisazde Süreyya compared Port Said, which was a city full of civilization in his words, with Jeddah, which was a heartbreaking city in ruins and in an uncivilized state in his words. According to Süreyya, Jeddah had remained unchanged since it was established. If the dead people of Jeddah came back to life, they would find the city how they left. The inhabitants of the city were in a deep sleeping. There was neither a work of life nor a work of activity. Every corner of the city was full of coffeehouses which he depicted as houses of the indolent. While people were working in Port Said, Jeddah was full of beggars. Jeddah with its dirty and filthy streets made him ashamed of saying that here was his country. There was neither municipality nor government. The artisans and retailers were sleeping in the bazaar. The people of Jeddah had a simple life full of boring and heartbreaking scenes.⁸³²

Samizade continued saying that if the inhabitants of a city left to his own devices, they either slept or played games in the coffeehouses. He found the people of Jeddah innocent and accepted that they were responsible from all these sad outcomes. He warned the government since they only considered the progress of Istanbul. The Ottoman officials were not interested in reform, because they were anxious about their future and official ranks. The excuse of the government was, Süreyya says, the resistance of the people against all progress.⁸³³

After he compared Jeddah with Port Said, he continued to compare it with Djibouti which he regarded as a beautiful city thanks to the efforts of France. It had wide and well ordered streets while Jeddah's government building was a wretched and filthy one that had remained from the legacy of the age of Eve. On the other hand, the French government establishes a cinematograph in Djibouti. It was a civilized city that

⁸³² Samizade Süreyya, *Büyük Japonya*, pp. 145-147.

⁸³³ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

people supposed a European village according to Süreyya's account. It had also railway. Samizade concluded that the Frenchmen worked as such. He emphasized that the material and moral responsibilities of current situation in Jeddah belonged to them. It was necessary for the government to know how it could direct people to work. It was necessary not to treat them politely. He stated that Port Said, Suez and Djibouti had industrious people and claimed that only countries that are more progressed temporally would survive. According to Samizade if the people of a country were left to their own devices, the outcome was the current condition of Jeddah.⁸³⁴

Samizade Süreyya's account on Jeddah was a combination of various aspects of colonial discourse. Jeddah was depicted with reference to its absences in front of the civilized cities such as Port Said and Djibouti. It was debased due to its dirty and filthy streets. Then, its co-evalness with other cities was denied with metaphors of sleepy and indolent people, and old buildings. Then, Süreyya asserted that the responsibility of these conditions in Jeddah belonged to the government that left his people to their own devices and forgot its material and moral responsibilities regarding its subjects. Samizade's account implies that the current situation in that city was a result of the lack of a civilizing mission. He proposed the French colonial methods, practices and civilizing mission as a model for the Ottoman rule in Jeddah. The model proposed for the rule of an Ottoman province was a colonial administration. Samizade Süreyya borrowed the methods and practices of an imperialist power for his own periphery. His interpretation of this colonial method was based on the strict enforcement of the civilized ends rather than mediation with the local peoples.

Cenap Şahabettin followed a similar pattern with Samizade Süreyya. First of all he negated and debased the nomads applying to the distinction between nature and civilization as we have seen above. Then, he denied their coevalness. However, at the end he mentioned the correction and improvement of the nomads. He regarded nomads neither very good nor very bad people. However, for him, both the best and the worst nomad was a wound for their surrounding and neighbors. The majority of the people living in Syria, Hejaz and Yemen were nomads. They violated the public order and security. The way of correction and improvement of the nomads was to settle and

⁸³⁴ Ibid., pp. 148-149.

civilize them. According to Şahabettin these attempts at correction and improvement were more useful and beneficial than the conquest of a great territory.⁸³⁵

Ahmed Şerif had been as a journalist in Lebanon during a military campaign against the Druzes. He regarded this campaign as the correction of a little harsh son by his father and then, the improvement and betterment of him with compassion. There were significant duties of the government other than tax collection in Şerif's views. This was the civilizing and correcting mission. There were still places where nomadism reigned supreme. Şerif compared such places with the civilized ones and found a temporal distance between the two. While the former represented old history, the latter represented the new history. Cebel-i Dürüz was a place in which nomadic life style dominated. The mission of the army corps in the mountains of Lebanon was to civilize and correct these nomadic peoples.⁸³⁶

Babanzade Ismail Hakkı listed his reform projects for Iraq. It was necessary to open schools for the ignorant people. He proposed to open tribal schools to give a pre-education for the people whom the government planned to encourage for the settlement, because it was necessary to overcome the moral ignorance before the settlement of these nomads. The essential duty was to rescue these people out swamp of ignorance in which they desperately struggled, to gradually implant civilized ideas into their minds and to awaken in their hearts a desire for the settlement and making a stable livelihood. The education of these nomads meant acquiring millions of subjects and millions of taxes and thousands of soldiers according to Babanzade.⁸³⁷

Tepeyran referred to the orders sent by Sultan Abdülhamid. These orders demanded the protection of security and order, the opening of schools, and the construction of roads. Tepeyran immediately directed his attention to a district that had controlled by bandits for three years. He managed to take this region back with his own forces.⁸³⁸ He attempted to open a teacher's training school; however there were problem to find instructors and to compete with the foreign schools.⁸³⁹ In the context of the construction of roads, he encountered with the resistance of the Kurdish tribes. They

⁸³⁵ Cenap Şahabettin, *Afak-ı Irak*, p. 83.

⁸³⁶ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trablğarb'de Tanin*, pp. 224-225.

⁸³⁷ Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, *Irak Mektupları*, pp. 72-74.

⁸³⁸ Ebubekir Hazim Tepeyran, *Hatıralar*, p. 382.

⁸³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 427-429

prevented the construction of railway in particular and the construction of any civilized works in general. It was necessary to eliminate these bandits in order to include Al-Jazira in the circle of civilization.⁸⁴⁰

Ali Suad mentioned the political importance of the coasts of Basra gulf for the Ottoman Empire and the backwardness of this region and said that it was necessary today to carry out the most essential things in this region unlike the past. He advised to know and work for these needs with a civilized comprehension. Then, he criticized the central elite for their practical weaknesses and ignorance of the country and its needs. They lived in Istanbul as inexperienced peoples who carry out every job in their green tables with a naive belief in the realization of their theoretical expectations by themselves. He claimed that a little police force and commerce could carry out a great revolution in this region. He proposed to operate steamers between Basra and Bombay in order to improve trade. He thought that such an operation would make many people be accustomed to the Ottoman Empire and gave an image of the empire that progress materially with the instruments of civilization.⁸⁴¹

Ali Suad criticized the central elite for their insensitivity to the betterment and improvement of the periphery. These elite in his eyes did not carry out necessary civilizing and modernizing reforms in Basra. Ali Suad contrasted the responsibilities of today with the past and concluded that today they had to carry out even the most fundamental things in the periphery. This critique of the past administrative practices was more explicit in Ahmed Şerif than Ali Suad. Ahmed Şerif admitted that the Ottoman rule did not display a sufficient interest in the Druzes, there had not seen any work of improvement. The government was not interested in Cebel-i Düriz until there was disorder or rebellion there. There had not seen any well planned and desired improvement and betterment designed for these people by the Ottoman government. According to Şerif, the government had solely demanded, but had not yet given anything to these people. This insensitivity led to the enmity and anger of the Druzes to the government that restricted its duties to get milk of the milky cow in Ahmed Şerif's words.⁸⁴²

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 440.

⁸⁴¹ Ali Suad, *Seyahatlerim*, pp. 25-27.

⁸⁴² Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trabslıgarb'de Tanin*, pp. 230-231.

Mahmud Nedim also mentioned the negligence of the Arab provinces except times of disaster. The government had never begun the movement of improvement in these lands at the right time. There were always other troubles at the other corner of the country that led to the delay of reform projects regarding the Arab provinces. However the proper time for these provinces had never come and the cost of these sins of the government was paid by the miserable Turks who lost their life in Yemen rebels.⁸⁴³ Babanzade Ismail Hakkı related the disorder and insecurity in the level of anarchy in Iraq to the deserted and abandoned status of Iraq. There had not seen any work of development in these lands since the collapse of the Abbasid rule. The people of Iraq had never seen the return of the money they paid to the government. These moneys had never spent for the development and improvement. Iraq had always sent money, but had not received anything in return. Nevertheless he gave some exceptional Ottoman rulers who were interested in Iraq. These were Süleyman I, Murad IV and Midhat Paşa. Except these rulers, the Ottoman government had unmercifully got milk of this cow up to bring it to dead bed according to Babanzade's words.⁸⁴⁴

Babanzade, Mahmud Nedim Bey and Ahmed Şerif criticized the past Ottoman administrative practices that were characterized by a lack of civilizing and reforming mission. Although any of these authors did not claim that these problems were eliminated by the contemporary government, these demands for the civilizing and improving mission were significant even in the level of expectations. The pre-modern Ottoman Empire in the eyes of our authors had no considerations such as improvement, betterment and correction. However, the late Ottoman Empire had elites which demanded from the center to carry out a civilizing and modernizing mission in the periphery. Although there were practical problems in the realization of this mission, these authors' memoirs are also indicators of a significant change of mentality in the relation between the center and the periphery. Another significant implication is these authors' way of reconstructing the Ottoman past. They totally neglected the Ottoman reconstruction activities in the newly conquered lands and benevolent activities in the periphery. They invented an Ottoman past without any traces of the civilizing mission and a modern center from which they expected to carry out civilizing mission.

⁸⁴³ Mahmud Nedim Bey, *Arabistan'da bir ömür*, pp. 105-106.

⁸⁴⁴ Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, *Irak Mektupları*, p. 152.

2.4. Coercive or Mediatory Policies?

Sadık el Müeyyed's purpose of journey to Trablus was to bring the sultan's gifts to Senussi Sheikh. In his travel account, he gave lots of information on this religious order. The influence of Senussi sheikhs was very widespread in the Ottoman provinces. Even the bandits were respectful to the sheikh. The Senussis was also interested in agriculture and commerce. Their lodges had a self subsistence thanks to their economic activities. The sheikh received a significant amount of gifts coming from different regions. He was a respectful ally of the caliph in the Ottoman Libya. The Senussis were loyal and obedient to the Ottoman state. Furthermore, they advised local people to obey and respect to the state. They were aware of secret ambitions of the foreign power and they rejected the gifts sent by France and Italy. The sheikh did not receive any foreigners in his presence. They had a good knowledge on sharia. They informed the people of desert about Islam and rescued them from ignorance. They were guides and educators of the people. They brought security, peace and public order to the surrounding of their lodges. They had endless services to the Bedouins. They were instructors of religion, agriculture and commerce. They became guide of the half-savage tribes in the path of civilization. They solved the conflicts among the Bedouins with respect to sharia law. They had a spiritual influence over the Bedouins. Sadık el Müeyyed named them “desert civilizers” (the bearers of civilization). We can conclude that they were agents who were responsible of performing the civilizing mission in the provincial level.⁸⁴⁵

The purpose of the sheikh was to rescue the tribes from ignorance and negligence and protect them from the outer appearances of civilization and the traps of the Europeans. They had also influence in Hejaz. The half-savage tribes got accustomed to the Senussi dervishes and they abandoned their vulgar and harmful actions so that the security of pilgrims was maintained.⁸⁴⁶ The savage behaviors and customs of Tebus and their inclination to war and combat were declined after their affiliation with the Senussis in Trablus. After their services in Vaday region, the savage

⁸⁴⁵ Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahra-yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, pp. 102-109.

⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

customs were come to an end, the security was maintained. They provided the security of trade routes.⁸⁴⁷

Ahmed Şerif had been at the middle of a military campaign in Lebanon, nevertheless he adopted the rhetoric of winning the hearts and minds. He thought that mild measures were more suitable for the purposes of the government. However, the military leaders decided to enact martial law and the last solution, fire, began. Ahmed Şerif criticized this decision and some misuses of *redif* army during the campaign. Like Osman Nuri Paşa, he opposed the constant appointment of military governors.⁸⁴⁸

On the contrary, Cami Baykurt affirmed the French policy in the Sahara which left the administration of it to the military personal. The model he proposed for the administration in Trablus was the French colonial policy in the Sahara.⁸⁴⁹ He criticized the Ottoman government since it tried to apply same laws concerning the administration of the provinces in every corner of the empire despite the differences within the empire. Until Tanzimat the empire did not intervene much to the social life of the communities that lived in a state of primitiveness. However, by the Tanzimat, the empire attempted to apply a monolithic order in every part of the empire according to Cami Bey.⁸⁵⁰

According to Ismail Hakkı Babanzade, the humanity's line of development was from husbandry to simple primitive agriculture. The Bedouins in Iraq was in the state of pastoralism in the developmental line of humanity. The settled life was a prerequisite for agriculture. However, the Bedouins' children were still naked, they did not know glass and shoe, and they excreted at the middle of streets. There were sheikhs who regarded agriculture and settled life as an insult on their honor. Therefore, for Babanzade, it was necessary to use force in order to bring forth the civilized works. It was necessary to find violent and determined people for the guidance of the nomads.⁸⁵¹ He used the metaphors of illness, diagnosis, and medical treatment. The illness in Iraq was insecurity and disorder created by the Bedouins. His remedy was the provision of security by the 6th army corps and harsh exemplary punishments. His purpose was to

⁸⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 122-3, 153-4.

⁸⁴⁸ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trablusgarb'de Tanin*, pp. 122-3, 139.

⁸⁴⁹ Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, p. 167

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 196.

⁸⁵¹ Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, *Irak Mektupları*, pp. 72-74.

win the heart and minds of the city dwellers and to eliminate the nomads. He found army intervention more profitable since it made tax collection more efficient.⁸⁵²

Tepeyran defended the use of force if necessary. He referred to the enmity between *Davudlu* and *Talibanlı* tribes. He established a reconciliation commission to prevent any prospective clash between the two. The commission decided to send some members of these two tribes into exile. However the center decided to cancel these decisions and these sheikhs who set free continued to exact protection money from roads.⁸⁵³ The reason behind the survival of the nomadic life in the empire was the weakness of the government. There was no force that would protect the newly settled tribes against nomadic ones.⁸⁵⁴

For Mahmud Nedim, the notions of ally and enemy intermingled with each other in Yemen. There were rapidly shifting alliances between the state and the local notables. They had to make an agreement with Sheikh İdrisi of Asir in Yemen.⁸⁵⁵ They got Şerif Hüseyin's opinion on this agreement. In later years Şerif Hüseyin became a rebel against the state. The state supported Imam Yahya, a former rebel, against new rebel Idris.⁸⁵⁶ Hüseyin Kamil Efendi who held a bureaucratic position in Yemen under the governorship of Mahmud Nedim Bey talked in his memoirs on their conversations with Sheikh Idris. He explained that the alliance with him was beneficial for the state: "I am potent; I give permission to the state. If it does not make alliance with me, it perishes."⁸⁵⁷ "You have no power. You cannot collect *zekat* or *öşür*. I can subjugate these people and you can benefit."⁸⁵⁸ According to Kamil, this was a sheikh who supposed that he was the owner of the world thanks to his four artilleries.⁸⁵⁹

2.5. The Civilizing Mission in Practice

There was a gap between the intended consequences of the reforms and the actual consequences. Mahmud Nedim during his tenure in the assembly as Yemen

⁸⁵² Ibid., pp. 153-155.

⁸⁵³ Ebubekir Hazim Tepeyran, *Hatıralar*, pp. 465-468.

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 462-463.

⁸⁵⁵ Mahmud Nedim Bey, *Arabistan'da bir ömür*, pp. 15-16.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 124.

⁸⁵⁷ Veysi Karabulut, "Meşihat Müsteşarı Hüseyin Kamil Efendi'nin Yemen Hatıraları (1912-1913)", MA thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi Tarih Anabilim Dalı, İstanbul: 2006, pp. 72-73.

⁸⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 76.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 145.

deputy presented many proposals of reform to the center. The responses he received from the government were as follows: “all right”, “successful”, “advisable”, “let's order them immediately”, “let's decree them”. However none of his proposals applied in practice.⁸⁶⁰ The reform projects in Yemen abandoned due to troubles in other parts of the empire such as Balkan crisis. The promises of the government had never realized until the collapse of the empire.⁸⁶¹ Another big problem was the financial weaknesses of the government to carry out reform projects. Mahmud Nedim said that he also presented easy and cheap solutions to the government. For instance, he offered Talat Paşa to make a journey in Yemen. However, Talat Paşa decided that he could not leave the capital.⁸⁶² Babanzade İsmail Hakkı mentioned the financial troubles of the municipality in Beirut. He made a distinction between the orders given by the government and the realization of these orders. It was necessary for him to consolidate application of these orders via inspections.⁸⁶³ Tepeyran complained about financial weaknesses too. He claimed that he could create two Egypt in the lands including Mosul, Baghdad and Basra if he had 1 over 3 of subsidy given to Egyptian ministry of agriculture by the Egyptian government.⁸⁶⁴

Another problem in the application of the reforms was the existence of unqualified and unskilled bureaucrats. Ahmed Şerif criticized the government who did not apply law regarding the press in Syria. He claimed that reforms were in appearances, but there was a gap between targets and realities. He accused of the local officials for their illness of bribery and their priority to private interests. In Anatolia, this illness of bribery was less frequent than Syria according to Şerif. The guilty in this illness was the local habits and the Ottoman administrative and historical mistakes.⁸⁶⁵ Cemal Paşa as a person at the top of bureaucracy complained about the clumsiness of the bureaucracy.⁸⁶⁶ Falih Rıfkı mentioned the existence of indolent, stupid, and malicious officials in Syria.⁸⁶⁷

⁸⁶⁰ Mahmud Nedim Bey, *Arabistan'da bir ömür*, p. 78.

⁸⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁸⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁸⁶³ Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, *Irak Mektupları*, pp. 25, 85.

⁸⁶⁴ Ebubekir Hazim Tepeyran, *Hatıralar*, p. 362.

⁸⁶⁵ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trabslıgarb'de Tanin*, pp. 136-8.

⁸⁶⁶ Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, p. 170.

⁸⁶⁷ Falih Rıfkı Atay, *Zeytindağı*, p. 76.

Mahmud Nedim criticized the use of Yemen as an exile place. This mentality that perceived Yemen as a place of exile rarely searched for merit in officials sent to Yemen.⁸⁶⁸ Ahmed Muhtar Paşa was also opposed to the appointment of malicious people as exiled officials to Yemen.⁸⁶⁹ Tepeyran told a story about an inexperienced official who was 18 years old. This young official appointed to the director of a district newly rescued from bandits. When he heard the stories about this district with bandits, he shed tears due to his fear.⁸⁷⁰ The government did not take Tepeyran's proposals of rewarding the successful officials in Mosul into consideration due to the mechanism of bribery. On the one hand, the people who were dismissed by Tepeyran sent back their posts via orders given by the center. On the other hand, the officials whom he waited to be rewarded punished by the center.⁸⁷¹ The courthouse was shaken by unlawful acts. The prevalence of theft and bribery among the provincial officials was related to the insufficient salaries and the constant threat of dismissal. He agreed with the people of Mosul who depicted the Ottoman officials as cruel people. He criticized the government for its moderate measures and false system of rewarding and punishment.⁸⁷²

Ali Suad questioned the meaning of the word 'administration' in a provincial town. The administration was not the maintenance of current conditions for him. It was to improve the social and economic ideas, and to progress agriculture and trade. If the meaning of administration was the maintenance of order, the improvement for progress and the development of common morality, he concluded that the Ottoman officials did not do their job.⁸⁷³

Another obstacle to reform projects was the local intermediaries between the state and the provincial people. Ahmed Şerif complained about the aghas and their tyrannical power and the falseness of guarantor-ship in the provinces. The newly appointed Ottoman officials had to find a household for their family and provide furniture for this house. The local notables became their financial guarantor and supported them in the provision of their basic needs. However, this situation made the

⁸⁶⁸ Mahmud Nedim Bey, *Arabistan'da bir ömür*, pp. 16-17.

⁸⁶⁹ Gazi Muhtar Paşa: *Anılar*, p. 92.

⁸⁷⁰ Ebubekir Hazim Tepeyran, *Hatıralar*, p. 387.

⁸⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 413-6, 470-2, 582.

⁸⁷² *Ibid.* pp. 490-493.

⁸⁷³ Ali Suad, *Seyahatlerim*, p. 42.

Ottoman officials dependent on these notables. The local notables carried out in the provinces some services that could not be provided by the state. For instance, they were sources of finding debt money.⁸⁷⁴ Cami Baykurt also complained about the local notables and their injustices and misuses in Trablus and emphasized the gap between the Tanzimat ideals and the application of these ideals in the remote provinces.⁸⁷⁵ Babanzade mentioned the need to struggle with the sheikhs and aghas in Iraq. He was opposed to the landowners who had neither sold their lands nor improved their conditions.⁸⁷⁶

2.6. Nationalism and Imperialism in the Periphery: Arabs, Turks, and the Agents of the Great Powers

The development of Turkism and Arab nationalism became a very determinant factor that shaped the views of the Ottoman elite on the Arab provinces. David Kushner in his path breaking book *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism: 1876-1908* attempted to situate the rise of Turkish nationalism into Hamidian era. His main thesis is that the meaning of *millet* in this period underwent a crucial transformation and gained a Turkic overtone.⁸⁷⁷ Ahmed Cevdet Pasha in his *Tezâkir* refers to a speech of Fuad Pasha given in a dialogue with Stanford Cunning. In this dialogue he states that the Ottoman state was established on the basis of four principles: Islamic nation (*millet-i İslamiye*), Turkish state (*devlet-i Türkiye*), Ottoman dynasty (*Selatin-i Osmaniye*) and Istanbul as capital (*pahitaht-ı İstanbul*). Then, he links the maintenance of the empire to a strict subjection to these four principles.⁸⁷⁸ In this dialogue the most interesting part was the use of *devlet-i Türkiye*, although there were Muslims and non-Muslim elites in the state in practice. What did Cevdet Paşa mean by the Turkish state? Does it imply that the core of empire is the Turks? What is the motivation behind this transition from neutral term of the sublime state to the Turkish state? Did not it mean the alienation for other elements of the empire?

Osman Nuri Paşa had also a clear notion that the Turks constituted the fundamental element of the empire. The metaphors he used to depict this hierarchy

⁸⁷⁴ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trablusgarb'de Tanin*, pp. 163-165.

⁸⁷⁵ Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, pp. 138-139.

⁸⁷⁶ Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, *Irak Mektupları*, pp. 61, 158.

⁸⁷⁷ David, Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876-1908*, (London, Frank Class, 1977).

⁸⁷⁸ Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir*, ed. Cavid Baysun, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991), p. 85.

among the Ottoman elements were boughs and branches of the tree for the non-Turkish Muslim elements and trunk and roots for the Turkish element. Although the non-Turkish Islamic population had not been regarded as the fundamental element yet, it was possible for them to become the fundamental element in time according to Osman Nuri. He complained about the fact that the majority of soldiers in the Ottoman armies were composed of the Turks. Osman Nuri's anxieties regarding the loss of the Turkish element in wars and rebellions in the provinces may help us to answer questions above.⁸⁷⁹

The regular army heavily associated with the Turks during the 19th century. Non-Turkish elements especially non-Muslims excluded due to their unreliability. In order to find a proof of the exclusion of non-Turkish Muslims as well as non-Muslims, we should look at the ethnic composition of the new army of Mahmud II and the role of new army in the evolution or invention of a new Ottoman identity. The creation of *Asakir-i Mansure* army represented a clear break with the past because of the newness of the idea of conscription⁸⁸⁰. The Anatolian Turks rather than the local troops were ideally preferred by the Ottoman center and the Ottoman provincial administration alike. The role of the Albanians and Kurds was in decline in the army.⁸⁸¹ In sum, when we consider the dominant position of army in the Ottoman state, it is not surprising to identify an army dominated by the Turks with a state dominated by the Turks or a state whose core (army) included the Turks:

“Given the centrality of the army in all modern, nation-state building societies, one could argue that the sentiments of the ethnic group that dominated the army would ultimately evolve into the official nationalism of that specific ethnic group by easily overshadowing other nationalisms.”⁸⁸²

In the age of imperialism, many dynastic empires from Prussia to Japan from Russia to the Ottoman Empire adopted the existing models of nationalism and nation-state building. Anderson called the will of empires to fuse the dynastic traditions with nations and the process of clothing short and tight clothes of nation-state over gigantic body of empires as official nationalism. Many of these states applied these policies of

⁸⁷⁹ Selim Deringil, "They live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery", p. 328.

⁸⁸⁰ Hakan Erdem, "Recruitment for the 'Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad' in the Arab Provinces, 1826-1828," in *Histories of the Modern Middle East: New Directions*, Israel Gershoni, et al., (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), pp. 189-206.

⁸⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁸⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 192.

official nationalism without calling it nationalism or without establishing nation-states. With the challenges of the emergent linguistic nationalisms to the dynasties, empires had started to seek new foundations for their legitimacy since the 1820s. This new foundation was the formation of a politics based on the citizenship. Thus, official nationalism was the response of the empires to the popular nationalistic movements. In 1832, Kont Sergei Uvarov in an official report to the Russian Tsar advised that their dynastic state should be established upon three principles of autocracy, orthodoxy and nationality. Anderson presents the Russification policies such as making Russian language obligatory medium of education as an expression of official nationalism.⁸⁸³

In the case of the Ottoman Empire, the Greek revolt was the factor that triggered searches for the new bases of legitimacy. In the 19th century it is very possible to conceive nationalism and imperialism as connected processes. First of all many new empires were indeed the extensions of existing nation-states as in the case of Great Britain. The queen of Britain adopted the title of empress of India.⁸⁸⁴ While many nation-states were adopting imperialist policies such as Great Britain, many old empires also adopted nationalistic and imperialistic mindset and practices. The basic motivation behind this policy was the preservation of the dynastic power as in the case of Mahmud II or “saving the state” ideology as in the case of Tanzimat rather than conscious nationalisms. According to Anderson, for the Mediterranean and European empires there was an orientation towards one of the ethnic identities in order to create a loyal element.⁸⁸⁵ In the Ottoman case, this most loyal and unifying element was the Ottoman Turks. An army that did not incorporate the non-Turkish Muslims was perceived as a foreign army of occupation and strengthened the anti-Ottoman Turkish sentiments of the non-Turkish provincials and gave the Ottoman Turkish elite a sense of superiority and mastery over the Arab populations and territories.

According to Makdisi, Ottoman official nationalism aimed to “homogenize different cultures, different regions and, above all, different stages of progress within a coherent culture of an Ottoman modernity and civilization”.⁸⁸⁶ The dosage of Turkism grew after 1908 and the Ottoman-Turkish elite developed a strong sense of superiority

⁸⁸³ Benedict Anderson, *Hayali Cemaatler: Milliyetçiliğin Kökenleri ve Yayılması*, trans. İskender Savaşır, (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1995), pp. 99-103.

⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁸⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁸⁸⁶ Ussama Makdisi, "Modernity Violence and the Cultural Logic of Ottoman Reform", p. 40.

over the Arabs. However, the question how Arab population will contribute to the modernity was remained valid. Halide Edip in her memoirs said that Turkey should help the Arabs to develop a national spirit and character and to teach them to love their own culture. As well as Turkism, Arab national movement grew after 1908.⁸⁸⁷ Therefore, the issues of Ottomanism, Turkism and Arabism were the major themes in the Ottoman memoirs regarding the Arab provinces.

Many of Ottoman officials were alienated to the Arab provinces since they had not seen any traces of Ottomanism. The scarcity of people who knew Turkish became a major problem in their daily and bureaucratic life. Tevfik Bey's wife Naciye Neyyal had great difficulties to find local friends due to language problem.⁸⁸⁸ Ahmed Şerif complained about the weakness of Ottomanist feelings in Lebanon. The people of that country, he said, were insensitive to the common life of the country. The education system was not useful to give the local people the sense of Ottomanism because of the insufficiency in parental education and the abundance of foreign schools. These were damages to national life. According to Şerif, it was necessary to integrate these lands to the common pace and order of the country and to increase their sensitivity to *patrie*.⁸⁸⁹ He contrasted the national weakness of Lebanon with Anatolia and found in Anatolia national manners and Ottomanist feelings in spite of the ignorance of its people.⁸⁹⁰

According to Tevfik Bey, the reason behind the weaknesses of the Ottoman government within the empire was the existence of various elements and various ideas of the empire and various social levels of its subjects. There were different kinds of elements in terms of civilization from the most primitive peoples to the francophone peoples. This made the application of same rules and laws in every part of the country difficult. It was difficult to govern the nomadic tribes with respect to the laws prepared for the civilized people.⁸⁹¹ However, Tevfik Bey did not explicitly present any model or proposal for the efficient administration of these lands. If the application of the civilized laws was not possible in the Arab provinces, what kind of rule should have applied? This question was not explicitly discussed by Tevfik Bey. However, it was

⁸⁸⁷ Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism", pp. 791-794.

⁸⁸⁸ Fatma Rezan Hürmen, ed., *Münevver bir Türk Hanımı ressam Naciye Neyyal*, pp. 50-51.

⁸⁸⁹ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trabslıgarb'de Tanın*, pp. 107-108.

⁸⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-161.

⁸⁹¹ Fatma Rezan Hürmen, ed., *Bir Devlet Adamının Mehmed Tevfik biren Bey'in Abdülhamid, Meşrutiyet ve Mütareke Devri Hatıraları*, p. 113.

clear from his arguments that the Arab provinces were perceived as a different geography compared to the rest of the empire so that there needed different practices of administration. Furthermore, he was also discontent from the loss of Turkish soldiers during the military campaigns in Yemen. He described Yemen as the graveyard of the Turks. This was the waste of their most precious beings in bad places. He observed that the military leaders had no trust for the local troops sent from Syria.⁸⁹²

Ahmed Şerif discussed the existence of the conflict between the Turks and the Arabs. He rejected that there was a conflict between the Turks and the Arabs. The problem was between Turkism and Arabism and he frequently emphasized the alienated status of Syria. This was such a difference that caused him to forget that he was in his country. In Syria, the Arab identity preceded the Islamic identity and represented everything according to it. Then, he gave an account of the condition of the Ottoman and Turkish identity in these lands. He claimed that there was not any record of the civilized events in these lands pertaining to the Ottomans. The Ottomans remained unfamiliar to these lands and forgot the importance of winning the hearts and minds in the lands they conquered. Although the people of Syria were able to progress and to be civilized and they lived under the rule of Ottoman Empire, they had not yet encountered with any work and trace of the Ottomanness. He claimed that what failed in the creation of a sense of citizenship was not Turkism but Ottomanism. Ahmed Şerif put the question in terms of the conflict between Ottomanism and Arabism. He reminded the government its responsibilities in Syria and demanded a reform project for Syria.⁸⁹³ Despite the growth of Turkish nationalism after 1908, the Ottoman-Turkish elite had never abandoned their ambition of saving the state and empire; in this regard they continued to maintain Ottomanism. Ahmed Şerif, in 1910-11, admitted that he was looking from the perspective of the Ottomanness.

Cemal Paşa in his memoirs devoted a single separate chapter to the Arab revolt during World War I. He published the correspondences between the Arab rebels and the British officials to prove the Arab treachery. He mentioned that he gave speeches regarding Turkism and Arabism during his tenure in Syria. He found the unification of the Arabs and the Turks, as two separate nations subjected to the caliph, proper. He

⁸⁹² Ibid., p. 338.

⁸⁹³ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trablusgarb'de Tanin*, pp. 126-129.

claimed that Turkism movement was not opposed to Arabism. Turkism was the awakening of a nation whose members forgot their essential identity and nation. The Turks were the elements that provided the strength of the caliphate. The Turks and the Arabs were two nations whose lives were connected to each other. He claimed that the Turkish youth desired the progress of the Arabs and the recognition of their national law. Throughout his duty in Syria, he attempted to hold the nationalist sect of the Syrian politics on his side.⁸⁹⁴ Therefore, he tried to give an image that he was not opposed to Arab nationalism unless the Arabs rejected a supranational identity based on Islam and caliphate. He demanded the unification of the Turks and the Arabs, two Islamic nations against the common enemy of Islam. He presented this a survival tactic in the world war. The outcome of revolt against the Ottoman government became captivation of the Arabs according to him.

The Ottoman elite generally rejected the Arab nationalists' claim that the Arabs had not equal rights in representation and opportunities of promotion in bureaucracy. In literature on nationalism, Gellner and Anderson discuss the role of the opportunities of mobility on the development of national movements. For Gellner, the needs of industrial society for the mobility of a homogenous labor force led to the creation of the homogenous cultures⁸⁹⁵, however for Anderson most of time, a stoppage in mobility led to national movements such as Creole nationalisms of Latin America⁸⁹⁶. The birth of a reading public in Latin America and the discrimination against the Creole community compared to Spanish-born people in the bureaucratic positions, despite their same capabilities, played crucial roles in the emergence of the national consciousness among these Creole officials and then national movements for independence against the metropolitan countries.

Deringil discusses the examples of Yusuf Ziya Halidi and ruhi el Halidi in this context. These people saw their destiny related to the Ottoman destiny. Refik el Azm wrote in 1912 after the war of Tripoli that Syria will be remained as Ottoman as long as they preserved these lands against foreign intervention. Nevertheless, this was a clash between rival loyalties and identities according to Deringil. On the one hand Ottomanism and Islam, on the other hand Arabness. Deringil concluded that Anderson's

⁸⁹⁴ Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, pp. 243-248.

⁸⁹⁵ Gellner, Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism* (Cornell University Press, 1983; Blackwell, 2005).

⁸⁹⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Hayali Cemaatler*, pp. 63-83.

Creolo communities were not valid in the Ottoman case. However, he also adds the note that the majority of the late Ottoman sadrazams had Turkic origins.⁸⁹⁷ The questions on the issue of mobility were a major theme in the Ottoman memoirs.

Ahmed Şerif discussed the speech of the deputy of Damascus, Şükrü Efendi, in which he talked about the principle of equality on the representation and promotion issues. The Syrian press supported his ideas and according to Şerif accused of the Turks and gave the issue a national color. In his response in *Tanin*, Ahmed Şerif emphasized the existence of the Arab officials and claimed that the Arab officials themselves did not want to work outside their countries. He accused of Şükrü Efendi and his circle pursuing their private interests. Şükrü Efendi was angry since he was not appointed governor. Ahmed Şerif also criticized the local press for its identification of the government with Turkishness. After the Albanian revolt, the frequency of oppositional opinions in Syria grew according to Ahmed Şerif. These opinions were based on the denial of Ottomanism and the rise of nationalism.⁸⁹⁸ He had sympathy for the Arabs in the context of Islam. According to him, the Turks had to make sacrifices for the sake of the Ottomanism and they had to reform Arabic education. He encouraged the Turks to learn Arabic.⁸⁹⁹

One of the prominent Arab nationalist Abdülkerim-ül Halil's demand was the appointment of some Arabs to significant posts in Istanbul. Cemal Paşa interpreted this demand as private goals of some Arabs. Mısırlı Aziz Ali Bey proposed him Austria-Hungary model for the Arab-Turk issue, then they discussed around the letters of Ahmed Şerif in *Tanin*. Aziz Ali defended the Arabs and emphasized the existence of an insulting vocabulary on the Arabs among the Turks. Cemal Paşa did not pay attention to these examples and referred to the respect of the Anatolian Turks for the Arabs. Cemal Paşa conceived of all demands regarding the equal right of promotion as a result of private interests and ambitions of some Arabs.⁹⁰⁰ Babanzade Ismail Hakkı also rejected the conflict between the Arabs and the Turks. This so called conflict was the invention of the press that could not tell good from the evil. However, they did not manage to deceive the people. He responded to the claims of the Arabs on promotion

⁸⁹⁷ Selim Deringil, "They live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery", pp. 335-338.

⁸⁹⁸ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trabslıgarb'de Tanin*, pp. 129-134.

⁸⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-145.

⁹⁰⁰ Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, pp. 70-77.

issues by saying that the majority of kaimaikems in Syria province were the Arabs. He emphasized the existence of a meritocratic system and the necessity to know Turkish and demanded the opening of schools for teaching Turkish to the Arabs.⁹⁰¹ This was an opposite suggestion to Ahmed Şerif who offered the opening of schools for teaching Arabic to the Turks.

The orientalist representations of the Arab provinces, the rise of Arab and Turkish nationalism, still continued concerns over Ottomanism and a new and accelerated phase of imperialism made the status of the Arab provinces very indeterminate. Were the Arab provinces perceived as a colony or a part of motherland? Ahmed Muhtar Paşa was sent to Yemen to suppress a rebellion and he conquered Sana'a in Yemen. The *serasker* congratulated his conquests with a telegraph. Ahmed Muhtar in his memoirs declared that the reason behind the military campaign was the new circumstances in Yemen created after the opening of the Suez Canal. It was impossible to leave these lands to their own devices as the empire did in the past.⁹⁰² Although the motivation of the campaign seemed the rebellion in Yemen at the beginning, then Ahmed Muhtar neglected the existence of rebel in Yemen and declared that the motivation behind this campaign was new colonial opportunities there. He thought to expand its campaign up to Aden frontier but abandoned the idea because of the British presence there. The presence of threatening imperialists around the Ottoman world pushed the Ottoman Empire to decide and think as though it was a colonialist empire. A similar decision was told by Cami Baykurt. The French activities in North Africa led to the Arabs' and Tuareg tribes' discontent since France tried to turn Sudan trade route into Tunisia. The governor of Trablus decided to annex Djanet (*Canet*) in order to prevent the French efforts. Cami Bey became a volunteer to go to Ghat of Djanet to defense this region against a prospective French attack.⁹⁰³

The image of the Ottoman Empire and government in Cemal Paşa's memoirs was drawn as follows: an empire which lost “%99 of its territories in Europe and its all colonies in Africa” after endless assaults that had continued for 3-4 years. He explicitly depicted the Ottoman provinces in Africa as colonies.⁹⁰⁴ In another statement from his

⁹⁰¹ Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, *Irak Mektupları*, pp. 49-53.

⁹⁰² Gazi Muhtar Paşa: *Anılar*, p. 75.

⁹⁰³ Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, p. 3.

⁹⁰⁴ Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, p. 96.

memoirs shows his mental mapping regarding the Ottoman Empire: “I said myself, this is the only road that connects my army to the motherland”. His army was in Syria, this only road was Pozanti-Tarsus road, and the motherland was Anatolia.⁹⁰⁵ In other context he used the notion of mother land. This was about “thousands of Muslims” that came to the “motherland” for the settlement after Balkan wars.⁹⁰⁶ Once again, the motherland was eastern Thrace and Anatolia. Mustafa bin Mustafa displayed a similar mental mapping in his travel account when he is talking about the cultivation of coffee: “If some coffee beans are brought from Yemen and are cultivated, it is strongly probable that coffee can cultivate in our country.”⁹⁰⁷ From this statement, we learn that Yemen was not included in his notion of country. Yemen was not their country.

The Ottoman Empire’s role in the Arab province was only watchman's duty according to Falih Rifkî Atay. Everything was either belonged to the Arabs or the foreigners. The majority of bureaucracy was composed of the Arabs. He had not encountered with any Turkified Arab in Syria. Turkish element had no privileges within the empire unlike the elements under the protection of foreign powers. He claimed that the Ottomans had neither colonized these lands nor made them a part of motherland. Its role was to provide the watchman’s duty free of charge. When he looked from the republican Turkey to the Ottoman past, he saw a belated dream of the Ottoman imperialism. The Ottoman policy in the Arab provinces was not based on the realities but on the historical emotions. The Ottoman strategy was false since it did not begin reforms from Anatolia. It was necessary to make first Anatolia westernized and civilized then move population, technology and capital towards Aleppo and Red Sea. However, the reform was begun in the Arab provinces despite the fact that they were alien to them. The Turkish sons lost their life in Aden. Falih rıfkı claimed that Cemal Paşa was like a commander of an army of conquest in Syria. The art of empire was based on processing of the colonies and nations. Contrary, the Ottoman Empire was a milky animal whose body leaned on the lands from Thrace to Erzurum and whose breasts were delivered into the mouths of the colonies and nations. Although the art of empire was based on the exploitation of colonies and nations, in the Ottoman case, the

⁹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 168, 171.

⁹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 89.

⁹⁰⁷ Mustafa bin Mustafa, *Aksa-yı Şarkta Bir Cevelan*, p. 25.

colonies and nations exploited the empire according to this symbolic expression of Atay.⁹⁰⁸

In Mahmud Nedim's memoirs the image of Yemen was similar to common agreement: “the graveyard that wasted Anatolia” and “Yemen that exhausted Turkish soldiers”. Mahmud Nedim talked about his conversation with Lord Kitchener about Yemen. Mahmud Nedim depicted Yemen as a great land in need of reform. It was necessary to know this neglected land in order to reform it. Lord Kitchener presented the French, Italian and British colonies as a model for the Ottoman reform. He proposed Mahmud Nedim to examine carefully these colonies and said that the Ottomans had to govern these lands as colonies. Mahmud Nedim objected this idea in the first place due to his fear of an insurrection. Lord Kitchener reminded him that “the people have not already been in tranquility”. Mahmud Nedim was not angry with the suggestions of Kitchener since he offered at least a form of administration contrary to the Ottoman indeterminate form of administration in Yemen.⁹⁰⁹

Mahmud Nedim implied that it was impossible to govern these lands with same laws valid in Anatolia. The government was not able to collect taxes from Yemen; in addition the soldiers of other provinces were exhausted and wasted in these lands. Yemen was regarded as a wound by Mahmud Nedim. The empire could not take anything from Yemen, but rather gave continuously. It was necessary to make Yemen a self-subsistence country. According to Mahmud Nedim all these interpretations on Yemen led him to reach same conclusion with Lord Kitchener.⁹¹⁰ Mahmud Nedim from the 1930s' Turkey shared his regrets regarding the Ottoman past with his readers and said that if only they had never conquered Hejaz, Syria and Yemen. According to him they could not see these lands as their countries. There was no Ottoman steamer who operated to Yemen although this was an Ottoman province. Trablus had no connection with the motherland⁹¹¹. Cami Bey also depicted Tripoli as a poor, neglected, and isolated province which is far away from the support of the mother of the fatherland (ie. Istanbul).⁹¹² His critique of former government's mismanagement and the presentation

⁹⁰⁸ Falih Rifki Atay, *Zeytindağı*, pp. 39-41.

⁹⁰⁹ Mahmud Nedim Bey, *Arabistan'da bir ömür*, pp. 107-108

⁹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

⁹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-159.

⁹¹² Christoph Herzog and Raul Motika, "Orientalism *alla Turca*", p. 167.

of the European colonialism and ancient Rome as his model led to a mental mapping of the empire in which Trablus was not a part of motherland.

Another frequently mentioned theme in memoirs was the foreign intervention and threat. Beirut was ready to carry out desire of both Mediterranean and the mountains according to Ahmet Şerif. It received everything that came from the Mediterranean and was willing to distribute the cargoes that had come from all around the world into Syria. It was not a chaste virgin but a city with poisonous thorns.⁹¹³ This was a symbolic narrative regarding imperialist penetration into Beirut. Tevfik Bey mentioned the frequency of the foreign intervention in Jerusalem due to issues concerning sacred places. There were conflicts among different religious groups. Many of their sacred places were common so that there were lots of disagreement on the issues of rituals and the right of use about these places of worship. He was opposed to the mentality that spoiled foreign ambassadors too much in order to prevent a crisis.⁹¹⁴

Ali Suad defined the Ottoman Empire as the sole Islamic country that maintained its independence. The other Islamic countries were under captivation. The Ottoman ulema were the only Islamic ulema that were worth of appreciating. He criticized the scarcity of the Ottoman travelers in the Arab provinces. He took the attention of his readers to the inhabitants of Istanbul (he called them inheritors of the Byzantines) and their overestimation of the importance of their metropolis.⁹¹⁵ Ali Suad reminded to the government its role in the periphery and emphasized the superiority of the Ottoman Empire over the non-Ottoman Muslims thanks to its independent political structure. Mahmud Nedim warned Abdülhamid Zühreviye, an Arab nationalist, that their aims were beneficial for the foreign propaganda. He did not believe that the Arabs could rule the Arab continent on their own accord. This image of the Ottoman Empire as the protector against the colonization was a recurring theme in the memoirs so that it was difficult for them to explicitly admit that they perceived the Arab provinces as their colonies.⁹¹⁶

⁹¹³ Ahmed Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da Suriye'de Trablusgarb'de Tanin*, p. 172.

⁹¹⁴ Fatma Rezan Hürmen, ed., *Bir Devlet Adamının Mehmed Tevfik Biren Bey'in Abdülhamid, Meşrutiyet ve Mütareke Devri Hatıraları*, pp. 82-4, 96.

⁹¹⁵ Ali Suad, *Seyahatlerim*, pp. 138-9, 153-4.

⁹¹⁶ Mahmud Nedim Bey, *Arabistan'da bir ömür*, pp. 182-184.

3. Overview: Convergences and Divergences

It is necessary to explain the factors that contributed to the common traits between the European colonial discourses and the Ottoman perceptions on its Arab periphery. There are also some parallel factors between the Ottoman perceptions on periphery and the non-European world. The reasons behind convergences are Ottoman westernization, Ottoman image management, the role of nationalism and imperial consciousness. The reasons behind divergences are their feeling of impotency in terms of knowledge, power, justification and surveillance, The Ottoman image as the protector against the Western imperialism, the role of Ottomanism and Islam, and once again the concerns over image management.

3.1. The Convergences between the Ottoman Perceptions of Arab Periphery and the European Colonial Discourses

Their western style education gave the Ottoman elite a European point of view. In general, the intellectual movements that shaped the late Ottoman elite were positivism, materialism, scienticism, and elitism. They began to see their own society with respect to the tools they picked from these European intellectual currents. They had an extremely elitist perspective with regard to their own society and they adopted the role of social engineers and political physicians in front of society. They conceived of the society in terms of organic metaphors such as health-illness. The Arab provinces were regarded as problematic regions with their nomadic and childish-spirited peoples. The treatment, cure and therapy were necessary for these provinces. Ahmed Şerif mentioned the application to the European pharmacy after diagnosing the illnesses in the region. The reform project was designed with respect to these purposes of diagnosing and treatment. The most common goal of the reform was to constitute a modern state and citizenship. This modern state required to mobilize resources that had hitherto not used and the adaptation of the European intellectual premises and political practices.

Another reason behind the convergences was Ottoman image management based on the Ottoman desire to be an equal player in world civilization. They reflected the orientalist representations of the Ottoman Empire into their Arab periphery in order to keep the center and its elite out of these representations. The way of separating the

Ottoman center from the periphery was to create a dichotomy between the modern center and the backward periphery. Their aim was to show that the Ottoman Empire had similar dominated populations like the western colonial powers. These are so called savage, barbarous and nomadic populations who were in need of the Ottoman correction and improvement. This was designed to give a message that the Ottoman Empire was an equal participant of the modern civilized state system. All these concerns led to the creation of an Orient within the empire.

The Ottoman official nationalism and the development of Turkish nationalism were other factors that may be contributed to the convergences with the colonial discourses in the light of close ties that were woven between nationalism and imperialism by Benedict Anderson. Many modern empires were indeed extensions of nation-states. Their adoptions of imperial traditions, ceremonies, practices and titles blurred the distinctions between the nation states and empires. There were similar policies that were shared by both empires and nation-states. Anderson claims that Russia and the Ottoman Empire in their periphery and the British Empire in its colonies adopted official nationalism. The Ottoman official nationalism's preferred, privileged and the most reliable ethnic element within the empire was the Turks. They were valued as the foundational element of the empire and its army while the Arabs were otherized by the center. However, the Arabs were also attempted to be included in the Ottoman citizenship and modernizing project.

Ottoman imperial consciousness was also an important dynamics that contributed to the convergences between the European and Ottoman perceptions. We have seen that Cami Bey emphasized the Ottoman unwise use of Trablus and contrasted the Ottoman misadministration with the European colonization of the unprotected parts of the world. The European colonial powers were regarded as a good model for the the Ottoman rule over Trablus. Another model for the wise use of resources in Trablus according to Cami Bey was Ancient Rome. The ruins of the Roman works in Trablus were also an indication of the Roman commercial interests in Trablus. Both Ancient Rome and contemporary European powers were examples of an efficient use of resources in Trablus. Which element combined ancient Rome and contemporary European powers in this case? Despite the differences between two, they were all empires. Therefore, it was considered by the Ottomans that empires can follow similar

policies and interests as the order of things. Despite the Ottoman failure in Trablus, the ideals proposed by Cami Bey were imperial political structures.

Selim Deringil claims that the Ottomans were not build on a *tabula rasa* in their attempt at modernization. In reference to Albert Hourani, he depicted the Ottomans as the Romans of the Muslim world. They had already had an imperial tradition.⁹¹⁷ This does not mean that they were not aware of the differences between modern and premodern empires. Nevertheless, they had not such strict separations between empire by land and empire by sea. Another example for the Ottoman appropriation of imperial traditions was Baalbek's famous Roman temples. While it was conceived of a symbol of the Ottoman collapse by the Europeans, it was presented a part of imperial legacy by the Ottomans. There was a growing interest of the empire in preIslamic Phoenician and Hellenistic past. The establishment of archaeology museum was an attempt to display the Ottomans' evolution towards modernity. This created a distinction between modern, rational, developed and modern center, and ignorant and premodern provinces. It was an attempt at separating the classical imperial legacy from the primitive, superstitious, ignorant, and inferior Arab population according to Makdisi.⁹¹⁸

Another example of the appropriation of imperial traditions was from a guidebook on Istanbul prepared for an exposition. The guidebook's emphasis was on Istanbul's Byzantine heritage. They tried to give an image of modern state that was respectful to its non-Islamic heritage.⁹¹⁹ Most of the authors used in this chapter were the Ottoman officials, bureaucrats, military officials and governors. They had certain claims on superiority, mastery and commanding. Therefore, this commanding gaze has similarities with the European commanding discourses. Furthermore, most of them had received their education from imperial institutions. This integration to the center also gave them a strong sense of imperial consciousness.

⁹¹⁷ Selim Deringil, "They live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery", p. 312.

⁹¹⁸ Ussame Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism", pp. 783-784.

⁹¹⁹ Ahmet Ersoy, "A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The Elbise-i Osmaniyye Album", *Muqarnas*, Vol. 20, (2003), p. 190.

3.2.The Divergences between the Ottoman Perceptions of the Arab periphery and the European colonial discourses

The Ottoman memoirs frequently mention the Ottoman insufficient knowledge with regard to its own peripheries. This insufficient knowledge on the periphery was resulted according to our sources in troubles in administration of the periphery. They claimed that Europe knew their own periphery more than theirs. They had anxieties about the possibility of governing without knowing. One of the most fundamental features of the colonial discourse was its ability to justify, legitimize and affirm the colonizing mission. The Ottomans had a certain sense of impotency and lack of self-confidence in terms of surveillance, knowledge and power. Therefore, they had troubles in their accounts to affirm the Ottoman rule in the periphery. They recognized a limited indicator of Ottomanness and Ottoman works in the periphery. They criticized past Ottoman administrations due to their lack of the civilizing mission. For their contemporary rule, they were aware of the gap between the intended and actual consequences of the Ottoman civilizing missions and modernizing projects. They were devoid of necessary self-confidence to look at the eyes of the European colonial discourses and to conceive of the periphery as a colonial setting. There is also a problem regarding sources. Many of them published after the collapse of the empire. Therefore, there remained nothing to affirm. Furthermore, the accounts that published between 1908 and 1921 were highly critical of Hamidian regime and its impotencies and full of regrets and accusations.

At the first instance, these insufficiencies in terms of surveillance, appropriation and affirmation seem as divergences between two gazes, however my aim is also to discover their ideal administration, the models they proposed for an ideal administration, their mental mapping with regard to the provinces as well as their representations of the reality. On the one hand, there are lack of self-confidence, the gap between reality and theory, intended and actual consequences; on the other hand there are hopes, ideals, dreams, and models. What was the ideal Ottoman rule behind all these troubles of self – confidences? What would they have done if they had enough power and knowledge? “What they could not do” tell us as much about their perceptions as “what they could do”. They admitted that they did not know the periphery; Europe knew it more than the Ottomans. This implies that they should know

like the Europeans in order to govern, they should use their resources as efficient and wise as the Europeans. Despite their insufficiencies in the civilizing mission, they thought that they had to overcome these obstacles in front of their missions. They discussed the adaptability of the European colonial administration. They compared their rule and provincial cities with the European colonial rules and cities and took lessons from the European cases. There are lots of comparisons between the Ottoman Arab peripheries and the European colonies. This tells us too many things with regard to their mental mapping of the empire. Their comparison of the periphery with the European colonies tacitly implies that they considered these lands as Ottoman colonies or more certainly these lands were not regarded as parts of the motherland and these facts led to the convergence between the Ottoman and the European gazes.

The Ottoman concerns over image management led also some divergences between the European and Ottoman gazes. Ottoman image as the protector of the Arab provinces against the European imperialist threat was an obstacle behind the full-fledged convergences between the Ottoman representations and the European colonial representations. It was regarded as the last hope for many Muslims in Africa. It presented its protective and liberating wings to these peoples. Rafiq al- Azm, a prominent Syrian, wrote in 1912 that “Syria is Ottoman as long as the Ottoman state is capable of defending it.”⁹²⁰ This image of the protector imposed certain limits to the adaptation of the colonial discourses.

Aesthetization and idealization were also other rhetorical modalities used in the Ottoman memoirs to depict the Arab lands and people. The motivation behind the use of this rhetorical mode of idealization is the concerns over the external image of the empire, moral and national concerns, and the influence of Ottomanism and Islam. The Ottoman concern over the decisions of what will be displayed in the universal expositions was also a major issue in Chicago exposition of 1893. The Ottoman committee decided to display the Bedouins in their camps. They determined some criterion in the selection of the Bedouins that will be used in the display. The committee demanded the selection of the Arabs with impressive bodies. It warned that they would be respectful men. The Bedouins before their performances had to be trained in order to give an order to their disordered and confused plays. According to

⁹²⁰ Selim Deringil, “They live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery”, p. 341.

Deringil these sensitivities concerning the Arabs show that the Ottomans internalized many aspects of orientalism. These demands imply that Arabs were disrespectful people with their disordered and confused plays.⁹²¹ Nevertheless, in an international arena the Ottoman committee preferred to aestheticize them instead of orientalising and exoticizing them. This seems in contradiction to the Ottoman attempt to escape from orientalist tropes while orientalizing its Arab peoples. However, there may be contradictory themes and rhetorical tools and a variety of motivations in any discourse. In this exposition case, what motivated the Ottomans was their desire to display the successes of the Ottoman civilizing mission.

Another example of idealization of the periphery was the use of the rhetoric of noble savage. Both Eldem and Deringil take our attention into Osman Hamdi Bey's idealization of the savages. He contrasted the primitive patriarchal life of the Bedouins with the disgraceful and corrupt life of the city dwellers. The emphasis was on the non-degenerated character of the Bedouins. They were intelligent, brave, young men while the city inhabitants were represented by their cruel, degenerated local rulers. Osman Hamid's views on the Bedouins were a paternalistic tone that was a combination of compassion and despise.⁹²² Osman Nuri claimed that he had never encountered with any case of theft in Yemen.⁹²³ They draw a morally superior and non-degenerated picture of the Bedouins. Sadık el Müeyyed said that his problem is not to present the Bedouins as savages since these elegant men had very excellent morality.⁹²⁴ He scatters money, however none of them take it. Although they had simple clothes and households, they had no signs of inferiority and supplication in their faces and brows. Neither of them was greedy and they were the embodied models of chastity.⁹²⁵ Cenap Şahabettin's image of the Bedouins is as follows: crude, haughty, fanatical, superstitious beliefs, an unchangeable life of banditry, love for revenge, engagement in booty and theft. On the other hand he defined the Bedouins in terms of their courage, heroism, loyalty to promises, internal efforts and in short of their knightly virtues. It

⁹²¹ Selim Deringil, *İktidarın Sembolleri ve İdeoloji*, p. 202.

⁹²² Selim Deringil, 'They live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery', pp. 331-332, Edhem Eldem, "Irak'ta Osmanlı Sömürgeciliğinin bir Tanığı: Osman Hamdi Bey", *Toplumsal Tarih*, Sayı 114, (Haz., 2003), pp: 92-97.

⁹²³ Selim Deringil, 'They live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery', pp. 332-333.

⁹²⁴ Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahra-yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, p. 8.

⁹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

was impossible to see the pride of the Bedouins in the city dwellers. He admires their joyfulness and love for conversation and life.⁹²⁶

In addition to the moral motivations behind idealization, Cami Bey had a political idealization of the Bedouins. Indeed it was rhetoric of corrective mirror. He attributed a relative freedom to the Bedouins. He found a small Berberi city of Trablus savage and pretty. The life was simple and cheap. He could follow the European press more freely in Tripoli than other parts of the empire. He described one of the Bedouins as a man of beauty with wide shoulders. He said that he loved the Negroes and their childish spirit. They were regarded by him as naughty children even though they act badly. He loved that untidy and lousy desert cavalries. The Bedouins lived with a complete feeling of freedom. The free Bedouins could not put up with being looked down due to their needs. They disregarded the notions of social status and class, and national differences.⁹²⁷

Another reason behind the divergences and the rhetoric of idealization was the Ottomanist ideology and Islamic affiliations with the periphery. At the last instance, the inhabitants of the Arab periphery shared same religion with the center. Moreover, the Ottomanist ideology was based on the aim at saving the state and the empire. Therefore, this concern over the union of all elements within the empire imposed certain limits upon the degree of the internalization and application of the colonial discourses in the context of the periphery. Some of our authors's origins come from the Arab provinces. These were people successfully integrated to the Ottoman center and its perspective; nevertheless, their provincial or Arabic identity may be also put certain limits upon their perceptions and conceptions.

Ahmet Ersoy's article on *Elbise-i Osmaniye Albümü* that was prepared in 1873 discusses the impact of the Ottomanist ideology, national concerns and economic shifts on the perception of the periphery. In the album's supplementary texts, Osman Hamdi and Victor Marie de Launey make a separation between garment and costume. While garment reflects the shifts of fashion, costume is the representative of local tradition. On the one hand there is universality of garment and on the other hand there is nationality and locality of costume. The *Ebiseyi Osmaniye* was a celebration of the

⁹²⁶ Cenap Şahabettin, *Afak-ı Irak*, pp. 82-3, 95.

⁹²⁷ Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, pp.11, 50, 63.

local diversity with its presentation of various and distinct costumes used among different communities of the empire. Despite these diversities within the album, what combines these various elements in an album was the supra-ethnic and religious sense of Ottoman imperial or national unity.⁹²⁸

In the album, the Ottoman costumes were praised for their well designed functionality, comfort, picturesque charm, highly reasonable production costs. According to Ahmet Ersoy, the eulogy for the Ottoman custom was related to the promotion of a national taste which corresponded to a new period of economic protectionism between the late 1860s and 1870s. This was an aesthetic mission to revive the domestic crafts and industries, the promotion on a public scale of traditional crafts and domestic crafts. In addition to economic and aesthetic mission, there was the moralizing power of the costume and *esnaf*. While costume represented the middle class codes, social order and harmony, fashion was a sign of moral decay. The traditions and lifestyles of *esnaf* and their local products were regarded as valuable assets. The local culture in general was an unlimited legacy that differentiates the Ottoman Empire from the West.⁹²⁹ In this regard, the Ottomans maintained the dichotomy between the materially superior West and the morally superior East in the context of the periphery. However there was a hierarchy among the local cultures of the empire. The table of contents of the book is a reflection of this hierarchy. The book starts with Istanbul and continues with the Balkan and Anatolian provinces and ended with the Arab and African provinces.⁹³⁰ All these examples show that the Ottoman response to the Western colonial discourses in the context of non-Europe and the Ottoman Arab periphery was dualistic in nature. There were both convergences and divergences between two gazes.

⁹²⁸ Ahmet Ersoy, "A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism", pp. 195-196.

⁹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 197-201.

⁹³⁰ Ussame Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism", p. 786.

CONCLUSION

Edward Said emphasizes the link between the accelerated phase of imperialism in the 19th century and the consolidation of the oriental studies. In the light of his path-breaking work *Orientalism*, we have defined orientalism as a discourse which reduced the differences and multiplicities of the West and the East into essences, substances and identities. It was based on the epistemological and ontological distinction between the West and the East. In general, Said claims that orientalism does not correspond to the real Orient despite some of his contradictory statements. I claimed that the important point on the relation between the reality and the representation was the constitutive character of discourses and the constructed nature of the reality. The colonial discourses construct both reality and subjective experiences of the colonized and the colonizer. My emphasis in this thesis is not on whether sources say truth or not. The late Ottoman travelogues and memories are the representations of the late Ottoman authors concerning the non-European world and their own provinces. Their representations were shaped by their political positions and religious beliefs, the diplomatic power of the Ottoman Empire, the influence of state mentality, and the concerns over private interests and the anxieties over their images. Most of time even what they had said on the perceived realities of the empire may not tell us much about their real mentality. Because of this reason, we have also focused on their dreams, ideals, and models, the cracks in their representations, their inabilities, impotencies, and failures as well as their realities, abilities, successes and regularities. For example, their pessimistic views on Ottoman knowledge of its periphery, unwise use of its resources, and lack of civilized works in the periphery appear at the first instance as signs of the Ottoman distance to the European colonial practices and perceptions. However, when we looked at their dreams, models, and ideals, it is obvious that they saw their periphery as a colonial setting.

I have tried to show that there were other motivations than colonialism behind the orientalist discourse. A major part of interest in the Orient or non-European world for the Europeans derived from the crises of the western self and the rapid and destructive turns and shifts of modernity. The escapist strategies and the perception of the East as a corrective mirror were some of these other motivations behind the western discourses on non-Europe. The critiques against Said due to his mono-causality implied the possibility of the adaptations and applications of the colonial discourses without imperialism (in the sense of aggressive western imperialism) and the existence of the colonial discourses in the non-western contexts. This thesis is based on the use of the rhetorical tools of the colonial discourses by the late Ottoman authors. These debates over causality and motivations led us to consider the motivations behind the Ottoman voyages to the non-European world and the periphery and the factors that contributed to their perceptions of the non-European world and the periphery. Most of our sources had been in the non-European world and the periphery with official duties. Most of their discussions regarding the non-Europe and the periphery were also related to the internal transformations and crises of the Ottoman Empire. There are also various reasons behind the Ottoman mimicry of the colonial discourses. Attempts at reform and westernization, imperial consciousness, image management, the sense of superiority, and nationalism had played significant roles in shaping their mentality. In short, we have adopted a multi-casual approach to the motivations of the Ottoman travelers.

We have shown various evidences in order to prove that orientalism is not a unified discourse both diachronically and synchronically. In diachronic terms power-knowledge relations that are constitutive of the orientalist discourse were open to change. In the age of tourism for instance the conceptions of the Orient were also transformed. In synchronic terms, even in a single domain of the colonial discourses in a given time interval there was multiple aspects. For instance, the erotic literature had various rhetorical tools for the description of the Occident and the Orient other than the feminization of the Orient. Furthermore, we have seen that some of these rhetorical tools may be in contradiction to each other. In general, the Ottoman gaze around Europe and non-Europe was easily regarded epistemologically and ontologically different than the colonial discourses since the Ottoman perception over these territories was not a unified discourse unlike orientalism. The scholarship on the colonial

discourse had been shown us that this was an easy conclusion. Both the European and Ottoman discourses were very complex, multiple and heterogonous.

This thesis focused on the period from the 1860s to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. I call it the late Ottoman Empire as though it was a unified era. However, I attempted to be sensitive to the changes in the Ottoman perceptions and conceptions within this era. In the second chapter, I have also followed more or less a chronological arrangement of the authors within each theme. For instance, the authors whose works published after 1905 were more critical of colonialism and its discourses and had more inclination to use racist themes and social Darwinist arguments. In the third chapter, the arrangement of authors in a chronological manner became difficult since the gap between the time of events that they talked and the time of publication was huge in many of these works. My indeterminacy over the criterion of arrangement (publication date or date of events) led me not to follow a chronological arrangement. Nevertheless, I found that the works published after the collapse of the empire could have talked more openly on the status of the Arab periphery within the empire.

Another important issue over the question of change is the differences and similarities between premodern and modern Ottoman perceptions on the world around them and its periphery. We have claimed that Ottoman modernity was not built on a *tabula rasa*; rather they had already had imperial practices and perspectives before the age of European imperialism. Therefore, it is possible to encounter with similar rhetorical uses before the 19th century. However, there are crucial differences between two epochs. First of all their sources of information changed dramatically. They were heavily depended on the European sources in the 19th century. The late Ottoman travelers walked around non-Europe and their own periphery with reading Baedeker guidebooks. The number of the western books in their private libraries had a tendency to increase throughout the 19th century. This was directly related to westernization and western-style education. Although it was beyond this thesis, it may be important to search how much late Ottoman elite was aware of the pre-modern Ottoman perceptions on the world around them.

There may be some common rhetorical tools to depict the Other. For instance, the rhetoric of negation and debasement may be regarded as universal acts of people in front of other cultures. The description of the other with respect to the familiar and the

debasement of it with respect to the absences of your own norms were a common way of dealing with the Other. Therefore, it is significant to connect these rhetorical tools with others in a totality. When we looked at the late Ottoman perceptions and conceptions of the world around them, it was in general a dialogue with the European colonial discourses and it was very Eurocentric. We can say that the Ottomans had not lost their sense of superiority in front of Europe until the late 18th century. The turning point in their perception of Europe was obviously their decision over westernization. From then on, the Ottomans had lived with a complex of inferiority with regard to the West. This must be a crucial difference between pre-modern and modern Ottoman conceptions. The center of their world had shifted towards the West since the late 18th century. For instance, the unit of measurement in terms of civilisational issues in late Ottoman travelogues was not imperial center, Istanbul but Europe.

On the other hand, there was a vital contextual change in the late 19th century. It was age of new imperialism. The phase of European colonization grew enormously and aggressively. The development of the orientalist studies accompanied this accelerated phase of colonization. The Ottoman elite was in a constant dialogue with the west. They had obsessions with their image in the eyes of the Europeans. Another significant contextual change was that the 19th century and early 20th century witnessed the Ottoman attempts at modern state building. This building necessitated new approaches to state - society relations in general, and state - periphery relations in particular. As we have seen that they have decided to use manpower that it had hitherto not considered as resources. The attempts at the creation of Ottoman citizenship, the secularization of their perspectives, increasing evolutionary and positivistic views, and system of conscription are new concerns of the modern Ottoman Empire. Their discourses on the periphery shifted from Islamic concerns to concerns over civilization, modernity, and progress. Even the meaning of being an Ottoman changed in the long 19th century. Nevertheless, a systematic comparison between pre-modern and modern Ottoman conceptions and search for how much the late Ottomans borrowed from previous rhetorical tools are legitimate areas of interest. There was a continuation of the imperial system in the 19th century so that there might be similarities with previous perceptions and conceptions despite the contextual and motivational differences.

Said emphasizes the determinant impact of structures such as colonialism on individual authors. Although Homi Bhabha's interest was also in the relation between structures and agencies, he is not as structure oriented as Edward Said. While Said concentrates on the circumstances surrounding man, Bhabha concentrates on the man in the circumstances and their responses to and receptions of the structures. Bhabha attempts to blur strict distinctions between the colonized and the colonizer. My lesson from Foucault's works is the importance of analyzing institutions, state and discourses in terms of power relations rather than analyzing power relations in terms of internal consistency and rationality of institutions, state, and discourses. If orientalist discourse is actions / practices of the West over the actions / practices of the Orient, it is necessary to investigate the responses of the Orient to these actions / practices. The responses of the Orient were various ranging from accommodation to reversal, from internalization to opposition, from modification to critique, from mimicking to resistance. The reception of structures by agencies may be very different than structures themselves. Therefore it is worth of investigating how non-European peoples received the European messages.

The post-orientalist scholarship focused on these heterogenous, plural, fluid, changing and complex aspects of the colonial encounters. Hybrid cases, modifications and adaptations of the colonial discourses and practices by the local people were new objects of research for this scholarship. In short, they concentrated on the cases that blur the classical distinctions between the colonizer and the colonized, colonial and non colonial, and Europe and the rest. Our sources have presented us many interesting cases with regard to the hybridization and the modifications of the Western discourses. Karçinzade talks with a Brahman who regarded Christianity as a branch of Buddhism and the Christians as worshipers of a four forked tree. Mehmed Emin discovered a social contract among desert peoples in the central Asia. Abdürreşid regarded European summer houses as a legacy of nomadism. Ahmet Kemal mentioned the efficient use of colonial fears in the private conflicts of the local people. These were all interesting cases of modification of the European discourses by the non-Europeans.

The Ottoman Empire with its in-between status is an interesting case for investigating the relations between the European colonial discourses and the responses to these discourses in non-Europe. While the Ottomans had internalized, adapted,

accommodated, and modified various aspects of the colonial discourses, they had also resisted, opposed, and reacted to various aspects of them. We compared the late Ottoman elite's perceptions and conceptions of the non-European world and the Ottoman Arab provinces with the European colonial rhetorical modalities. These modalities were collected under three groups. The first group of rhetorical modalities consists of surveillance, appropriation and affirmation. These rhetorical tools correspond to the European commanding gaze, proprietary visions and civilizing mission. The second group of tools is comprised of classification, the denial of coevalness and naturalization. These are rhetorical tools regarding evolutionary schemas of the 19th century. The third group of instruments is formed by rhetoric of idealization, debasement, negation and eroticization. The Ottoman perceptions and conceptions had been evaluated in terms of these European modalities.

The Ottoman travelers in the non-European world preserved a certain distance to the local peoples in regardless of their religious identities. This indicates a sense of superiority over these peoples. The only successful adaptations were generally a result of rational political calculations. Most of them had good relations with the colonial agents. However, the frequency of conflicts with the colonial agents and of critical standpoints with regard to the colonial practices raised in the travelogues published after 1905. The Ottoman evaluations of the non-European cities were heavily drawn on the European norms and codes. The expected picture of a city under a colonial rule was a civilized and developed image, while the expected picture of an independent non-European city was chaos, savagery, disorder, filth and defilement. However, they regarded only the material aspects of the Europeans superior. The Orientals were morally superior to these degenerated Europeans. The preservation of the morally superior oriental cultures, customs and manners was one of the basic concerns of the Ottoman travelers.

The Ottoman travelers were aware of the European rhetoric of surveillance that was based on the power of European knowledge over non-Europe. The Ottomans established a relation between ignorance of the non-Europeans and their captivity by the European colonial powers. Therefore, they accepted the close connection between European knowledge and power in reversed terms. When compared with the European commanding gaze, the Ottoman gaze was more moderate due to the power discrepancy

between the two. Nevertheless, the Ottomans had a feeling of superiority and mastery over the non-European peoples thanks to the institution of caliphate and of leading role over them thanks to panislamic political discourses. The Ottoman travelers considered themselves as the representatives of true Islam and in many circumstances they felt a civilizing responsibility over the non-Ottoman Muslims with superstitious and false beliefs and practices. In terms of rhetoric of appropriation, they internalized the European proprietary visions and imposed the civilized works where they found an empty land. The rhetoric of the civilizing mission was an arena of struggle and they both internalized and criticized this rhetoric. The reason behind resistances was the gap between the actual applications and the rhetorical side of the civilizing mission. However most of the Ottomans affirmed the modernizing and developing impacts of the European colonization on the colonized world. The critiques of the civilizing mission particularly intensified in the travelogues published after 1905. The civilizing mission was the most frequently mentioned and discussed side of the colonial discourses. This shows both the power of the colonial discourses in general and the rhetoric of civilizing mission in particular. It was an example to show how a discourse can shape the subjective experiences of the people.

In terms of rhetorical tools of classification, denial of coevalness and naturalization, the general Ottoman attitude was affirmative and they internalized many aspects of them. Even the most critical authors of the European colonialism denied the co-evalness of the Orient and depicted it as stagnant, inert, childish, and indolent. The frequency of racial arguments, social Darwinist theories, and social engineering projects intensified especially in the early 20th century travelogues. In general, they were more affirmative to the evolutionary side of the colonial discourse, because many of these arguments were a standard part of their scientific educational and intellectual luggage.

As I have said before, the rhetorical tools of debasement, idealization, negation and eroticization were more derivative modalities compared to previous rhetorical instruments. Their meaning was shaped with respect to other tools. There are various rhetorical similarities with the European colonial discourses in terms of these tools despite some differences. The most significant difference with the European one was the Ottoman resistance to the European rhetoric of people without history. They drew a

picture of glorious Islamic past in which Islam depicted as a bearer of civilization. Another interesting difference was in the rhetoric of eroticization. There is no sign of eroticization and feminization of the non-European world while it is clear that they eroticized and feminized the west rather than the Orient.

In the third chapter, the Ottoman perceptions and conceptions of the periphery were evaluated in two parts. The first part was about the Ottoman orientalist depictions of the periphery. The basic dichotomy between the center and periphery was between civilization and nomadism. In general the periphery was orientalized via rhetorical tools of debasement, negation, denial of coevalness and naturalization. The periphery defined by its absence of civilized works. The Ottoman elite created a temporal cleavage between the center and the periphery thanks to the denunciation of the co-temporality of the periphery with the center. The second part of that chapter was about how the Ottoman elite dealt with this temporal cleavage and how they established the relation between these two temporally separate entities. While the first part dealt with how the Ottomans conceived of the Arab provinces, the second part asked how the Ottomans conceived the relation between the two.

In terms of the rhetorical tool of surveillance, their emphasis was on the Ottoman lack of sufficient information on the periphery. This lack led to the inefficient administration in the periphery. They established once again a strong relation between power and knowledge. They had also internalized the rhetoric of empty lands in the context of the Arab periphery. However, it was not a full-fledged proprietary vision. They also alienated to these lands due to lack Ottomanness or Turkishness and the dominance of the Arab identity and the foreign penetration. The rhetoric of the civilizing mission was also a dominant discussion in the periphery. Most of them emphasized the Ottoman responsibility of carrying civilization to the periphery and bringing nomads of the periphery into the circle of civilization. However, they emphasized the lack of sufficient civilizing projects in the periphery. There was a gap between actual and intended consequences, their desires and realities.

When the civilizing mission was not carried out efficiently, the Ottoman officials had troubles in affirming and justifying their rule over the periphery in their eyes. This was also an internalization of the European discourse on the civilizing mission. The criterion to judge the Ottoman rule was the success of the civilizing

mission. Furthermore, it is important to note that this criterion was basically used throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries especially to justify a specific form of rule; the colonial rule. All these rhetorical evaluations influenced their mental mapping with regard to the empire. They had difficulties to regard the Arab provinces as part of motherland despite the official validity of Ottomanist project. They entered into the colonial relations with the Europeans in these provinces. Sometimes they carried colonial ambitions. Sometimes they had explicitly discussed the colonial status of the periphery. Nevertheless, its status had never become explicit and clear, it had remained indeterminate in their consciousness. However their unconscious has showed that these provinces were a colonial setting for the Ottomans. Although they said that they did not sufficiently know their periphery and its status, the Ottoman elite did not know that they knew. What they knew and could not say publicly was that the Arab provinces were perceived and conceived as a colonial setting by them. They had certain beliefs, suppositions, ideals, practices, models that they pretended not know about even though they form the background of their public values. When Lord Kitchener first advised Mahmud Nedim to rule their Arab provinces in the model of the European colonies, he was a little bit shocked. Lord Kitchener triggered his unconscious suppositions. When Mahmud Nedim considered the Ottoman rule over Yemen, he admitted that Lord Kitchener's advice is possible and right. However, the Ottoman image of the protector of the Arab lands against the European imperial powers led them to repress their colonial desires. These desires had remained as "unknown knowns" that which is the domain of Freudian unconscious. Therefore, I call the late Ottoman Arab provinces unconscious colonies.⁹³¹

This issue of calling/naming the Ottoman perceptions of the Arab periphery brought us the duty of naming the general Ottoman perceptions and conceptions of the world around them. Bhabha's definition of fetishism is useful for such a duty. It is both recognition of difference and disavowal of it. We have discussed the European obsession to give a different name to each hybrid case between the White and the Black. Nevertheless, their aim was still to preserve the distinction between the White

⁹³¹ For the inspiration of this notion of unknown knowns, see: Slavoj Žižek, "What Rumsfeld doesn't know that he know about Abu Ghraib" *In These Times*, May 21, 2004. {<http://www.inthesetimes.com/article/747/> (accessed August 1, 2011)}.

and the Black, the West and the East at the last instance. It was both a desire for the Other and the fear of degeneration due to the Other.

This metaphor of fetishism may be adoptable to the Ottoman case. On the one hand, it was the recognition of the difference between the Ottoman Empire and the West. Attempts at the preservation of Islamic culture and the dichotomy between the morally superior Ottoman culture and the materially superior Western civilization were ways of the recognizing and preserving the difference. On the other hand, it was the disavowal of difference between Europe and the Ottoman Empire or at least an attempt to be seen as modern and civilized as Europe. Attempt at westernization is evidence both for the recognition and disavowal of the difference. It implies that Ottomans are different, backward and inferior compared to the West and has to adopt western practices. There was a desire to catch the western level of development and to lessen the distance between the empire and the West. The Ottoman responses to the West were a combination of love and hate, desire and fear, and attraction and repulsion.

The uses of the term “difference” in the Ottoman and European cases are different. In European case, it was the recognition of multiplicity and denial of multiplicity. In the Ottoman case it was the recognition of the difference between two substances and the denial of the incompatibility between two substances. The European recognition of differences was the awareness of the multiplicities of the East and the West and existence of hybrid cases. In European process of the colonization, the Europeans had encountered with various kinds of peoples since the age of discovery. The European recognition was the recognition of these varieties among human populations. Their inability to cope with such differences resulted in the reduction of these multiplicities into simple dichotomies between the East and the West, the white and the black, Europe and the rest. While the recognition of multiplicities was a result of the European desire for the Other, the disavowal of them was the result of fear of the Other.

The Ottomans had encountered with these reductionist European discourses without encountering multiplicities of the world around them. They first saw the challenge of the European dichotomy between the superior West and the inferior East. They recognized the European disavowal of the multiplicities and responded to this challenge with different ways. Firstly, they struggled with it without challenging its

epistemological mechanisms; rather they modified the epistemological distinction between the West and the East. In this modified version the West appeared as materially superior but morally inferior and the East as materially inferior but morally superior. Secondly the material differences between two entities led to the Ottoman attempts at westernization. They tried to close the developmental distance between the Ottoman Empire and the West. The first one was related to fear of the West; the second one was related to the desire for the West.

The late Ottoman Empire was a hybrid case between the colonized and the colonizer. In general, it was regarded neither the colonizer nor the colonized. It was not a full-fledged colonizer and colonized but in between status. My thesis is that the Ottoman Empire was a hybrid case and it was both the colonizer and the colonized. It was subject to the colonization. Although its core lands had never been colonized, the empire lost many of its territories in the periphery to the colonial powers. The empire lived in a constant threat and fears of the colonial intervention, penetration and invasion. On the other hand, the Ottomans themselves were an imperial political structure and could easily adopt the colonial discourses and practices with regard to its own periphery. The status of the Arab provinces was to be unconscious colonies. The empire did not hesitate to enter into the colonial struggles and race in Africa and Yemen according to our sources.

This in-between status is the major explanatory factor behind the dualistic Ottoman responses to the Western discourses. It was based on both internalization of the European colonial discourses and practices and the resistance and critique of these ones. The people who were the most critical of the European colonialism and its discourses such as Karçınzade, Halil Halid and Abdürreşid İbrahim internalized the most fundamental aspects of orientalism. Abdürreşid talked on the basis of epistemological and ontological difference between the East and the West. Karçınzade rejected the coevalness of the whole Orient. On the other hand, the most pro-colonial authors had also a critical standpoint with regard to the colonial discourses and practices. Şirvanlı criticized the insufficient application of the British civilizing mission in India. Therefore, the internalization and resistance may be expressions of same Ottoman individual. From a wider perspective the Ottoman responses were the internalization of the fetishistic nature of the European colonial discourses. Two gazes

were “almost the same but not quite”. The Ottomans internalized the European reduction of multiplicities of the world into simple dichotomies even though they were criticizing and resisting many aspects of it. This means that they had rarely questioned the epistemological functioning of the colonial discourses (reductionism). Halil Halid criticized orientalists since they reduced the multiplicities of different musical traditions of countries ranging from the western Africa to the Far East into the title of oriental music. Despite this rare moment of epistemological critique of orientalism, Halil Halid himself maintained the dichotomy between the morally superior East and the morally inferior West. We can call this internalization of the fetishistic nature of the European colonial discourses self orientalism (orientalism of Orientals) in Arif Dirlik’s term, ethno-orientalism (essentialist self interpretations of the non-European peoples) in James carrier’s term or auto-ethnography in M. L. Pratt’s term.

I have used in this thesis limited number of late Ottoman first person narratives. This limit may impose certain drawbacks upon my conclusions. However, this thesis also proposes a way of dealing with the relation between the European and the Ottoman perceptions and conceptions of the world around them. The classification of the colonial rhetorical tools and a systematic comparison between two gazes with respect to these modalities is a legitimate way of dealing with the European and Ottoman gazes around the world. This attempt may be made richer with additional sources. In addition to new Ottoman sources, a comparison of the Ottoman Empire with similar hybrid cases such as Russia may give new insights on the Ottoman understanding of the world around them. This kind of systematic comparisons among hybrid cases such as the Ottoman Empire and Russia is waiting its researchers.

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APPENDIX I: Ottoman Voyagers to the non-European World

SOURCE	AUTHOR	DATE OF JOURNEY	PUBLICATION DATE	PUBLICATION PLACE
Ümitburnu seyahatnamesi	Ömer Lütfi	1862-66	1868	İstanbul: Basiret Matbaası
Seyahatname-i Bahr-i Muhit	Mühendis Faik		1868	İstanbul: Mekteb-i Bahriye-i Şahane Matbaası
Seyhatname-i Brezilya	Bağdatlı Abdurrahman Efendi Translated by Antepli Mehmet Şerif		1871	İstanbul: Matbaa-i amire
İstanbul'dan Asya-yı vusta'ya seyahat	Mehmed emin Efendi	1878	1878	İstanbul: Kırk Anbar Matbaası
Hindistan ve Svat ve Afganistan Seyahatnamesi	Şirvanlı ahmed Hamdi Efendi	1877	1883	İstanbul: Mahmud Bey matbaası
Aksa-yı Şarkta bir cevelan	Hacı mustafa bin mustafa	1893	1894	İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmaalr Bölümü 4456 numaralı kayıt
Geçirdiğim günlerin Hesabına ait Dağınık Yapraklar	Ubeydullah Efendi	1893	1925-6	Resimli gazette
Habeş Seyahatnamesi	Sadık el Müeyyed	1904	1904	İstanbul: İkdam matbaası
Seyahat-ül Kübra	Süleyman Şükrü Karçınzade	1902-07	1907	Petersburg, Abdürreşid İbrahim Matbaası
Cezayir Hatratı	Halil Halid	1905	1906	Mısır: Matbaa-i içtihad
Resimli Afgan seyahatnamesi	Mehmed Fazlı	1907	1909-1910	İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ahmet İhsan

Sudan Seyahatnamesi	Mehmed Mihri	1909	1910	İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası
Alem-i İslam ve Japonya'da İntişar-ı İslamiyet	Abdürreşid İbrahim	1907	1910	İstanbul: Ahmed Saki Bey matbaası
Çin Türkistan Hatıraları	Habibzade Ahmed Kemal	1914-1921	1925	İzmir: Marifet Matbaası
Büyük Japonya	Samizade Süreyya	1914		

APPENDIX II: Ottoman Memoirs concerning the Periphery

AUTHOR	WORK	PLACES INCLUDED	YEARS INCLUDED	PUBLICATION DATE
Cami Baykurt	Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat: çöl insanları ve Jön türkler	Trablus	1906-7	1945
Sadık el Müeyyed	Afrika Sahra-yı Kebiri'nde Seyahat	Trablus	1895	1896-7
Ahmet Şerif	Arnavudluk'da, Suriye'de, Trablusgarb'de Tanin	Trablus, Syria	1910-12	1910-12
Ebubekir Hazim Tepeyran	Hatıralar	Musul	1896-1903	1944
İsmail Hakkı Babanzade	Irak Mektupları:	Beirut, Damascus, Baghdad, Basra	1908	1911
Şerafettin Mağmumi	Seyahat Hatıraları: Anadolu ve Suriye	Adana, Aleppo, Sryia	1895	1909
Naciye Neyyal	Münevver Bir Türk Hanımı Ressam Naciye Neyyal Hanımefendi'nin Mutlakiyet, Meşrutiyet ve	Jerrusalem	1897-1901	2000

	Cumhuriyet Hatıraları			
Mehmed Tefvik Bey	Bir Devlet Adamının II: Abdülhamid, Meşrutiyet ve Mütareke Devri Hatıraları	Jerrusalem, Yemen	1897-1901 1904-1906	1993
Cemal Paşa	Hatıralar	Syria	1913-18	1919 writing 1922 published
Ali Suad	Seyahatlerim	Necd, Iraq, Bagdad, Basra, Medine	1910-12	1916
Mahmud Nedim Bey	Arabistan'da bir Ömür: Son Yemen Valisinin hatıraları veya Osmanlı imparatorluğu Arabistan'da nasıl yıkıldı?	Yemen	1911-13	1935-6
Gazi ahmed Muhtar Paşa	Anılar: Sergüzeşt-i Hayatımın cild-i evveli	Yemen	1871-2	1901-2
Falih rıfkı atay	Zeytindağı	Syria	1915-18	1956
Cenap Şahabettin	Afak-ı Irak	Basra, Bagdad	1914	1914-16
Cenap Şahabettin	Hac Yolunda	Cidde	1897	1897-1909-1925
Direktör ali Bey	Seyahat Jurnalı	Musul, Bagdad, Basra	1884-1888	1896
Samizade Süreyya	Japonya yolundan metruk ve Münsi Bir Belde-i Kadime	Cidde, Aden	1914	İctihad, 1914 Kasım
Mustafa Bin Mustafa	Uzakdoğu Seyhati	Yemen	1893	1894

