THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

THE IMAGE OF THE OTTOMAN TURK THROUGH THE EYES OF NINETEENTH CENTURY BRITISH TRAVELER JULIA PARDOE

Master's Thesis

Betül DURSUN

Master of Arts in English Language and Literature

December 2023

THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

THE IMAGE OF THE OTTOMAN TURK THROUGH THE EYES OF NINETEENTH CENTURY BRITISH TRAVELER JULIA PARDOE

Master's Thesis

Betül DURSUN

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Filiz Barin Akman

Master of Arts in English Language and Literature

December 2023

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Filiz BARIN AKMAN, for her scholarly guidance, support, and invaluable insights that she has offered throughout my research and writing process. Without her insightful contribution I would not have been able to complete my thesis.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to Assist. Prof. Dr. Erden EL and Assist. Prof. Dr. Şemseddin TABUR for the valuable feedback they have provided during my thesis defence.

Finally, I wish to express my infinite gratitude and deep appreciation to my family who supported me and endured this challenging process with great patience and tolerance, I am and forever will be indebted to them for their support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to analyze the image of Turkish people through the eyes of a nineteenth-century British woman travel writer Julia Pardoe, specifically in her travel narrative *The City of the Sultan and the Domestic Manners of Turks, in 1836*. The nineteenth century was a period when travel to the East had become more popular than ever in Europe. This era saw many travel narratives written by Western travelers who visited Eastern countries, especially the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, travel literature has become an important genre in Orientalism studies in terms of its vast source of representations of the other, East-West relations, and the image of the East, its people, and culture through the eyes of Westerners. Women travelers have played an immense role in the genre of travel literature during the nineteenth century with their unique access to places in Eastern countries, such as the harem, where their male compatriots had no access to. Therefore, they contributed to the creation of a new image of Eastern people in the eyes of their readers back home, different from the imagined, sexualized, and Orientalist image created by male travelers. Julia Pardoe, as one of these travelers, has a distinctive role in challenging and reshaping the Orientalist discourse prevalent in nineteenth-century travel literature. Using Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, the thesis explores Pardoe's counter-Orientalist approach and her portrayal of Turkish people, culture, and society. The thesis evinces through a detailed examination of Pardoe's descriptions and comments in her narrative that Pardoe puts forth a conscious effort to correct the previous misconceptions about Turkish and Eastern people formed by other travel narratives, offering a more accurate understanding and positive perception of the East. This thesis contributes to the understanding of Pardoe's distinct role within travel literature and her efforts to present a more accurate and nuanced portrayal of the East, challenging Western prejudices and offering a counter-narrative perspective.

Key Words: travel literature, Julia Pardoe, Orientalism, women travel writers, image of the Ottoman Turks

ÖZET

Bu tez, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl İngiliz kadın gezi edebiyatı yazarı Julia Pardoe'un gözleriyle, özellikle 1836'da yazdığı *The City of the Sultan and the Domestic Manners of Turks, in 1836* başlıklı seyahatnamesindeki Türk insanının imgesini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. On dokuzuncu yüzyıl, Doğu'ya yapılan seyahatlerin Avrupa'da daha önce olmadığı kadar popüler hale geldiği bir dönemdi. Bu dönem, özellikle Osmanlı Devleti toprakları olmak üzere Doğu ülkelerini ziyaret eden Batılı gezginler tarafından yazılmış birçok seyahatnamenin ortaya çıktığı bir dönem oldu. Bu nedenle gezi edebiyatı, diğer halkların Batı'da temsil edilmesi, Doğu-Batı ilişkileri ve Batılıların gözünden Doğu'nun, halkının ve kültürlerinin imgesi açısından Oryantalizm çalışmalarında önemli bir tür haline gelmiştir. Kadın gezginler, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl gezi edebiyatında, özellikle de harem gibi erkek gezginlerin erişemediği yerlere onlara has olan erişimleri ile büyük bir rol oynamışlardır. Bu nedenle, kadın gezginler, erkek gezginler tarafından oluşturulan hayali, cinselleştirilmiş ve Oryantalist imgeden farklı olarak, geldikleri ülkelerdeki okuyucularının gözünde Doğulu halkların yeni bir imgesinin oluşturulmasına katkıda bulundular. Bu gezginlerden biri olan Julia Pardoe, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl gezi edebiyatında yaygın olan Oryantalist söyleme meydan okuma ve onu yeniden şekillendirme konusunda belirgin bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu tez, Edward Said'in Oryantalizm teorisini kullanarak, Pardoe'nun Oryantalizm karşıtı yaklaşımını ve Türk halkını, kültürünü ve toplumunu nasıl tasvir ettiğini incelemektedir. Tez, Pardoe'nun anlatısındaki betimlemeleri ve yorumları ayrıntılı olarak inceleyerek, Pardoe'nun önceki seyahatnameler tarafından oluşturulan Türk ve Doğulu insanlar hakkındaki yanlış imgelemeleri düzeltme çabasıyla, Doğu'nun ve insanlarının daha doğru anlaşılmasına bilinçli bir çaba harcadığını ortaya koyar. Bu tez, Pardoe'nun gezi edebiyatındaki özgün rolünün ve Batı önyargılarına meydan okuma ve karşı-anlatısal bir perspektif sunma çabalarının anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: gezi edebiyatı, Julia Pardoe, Oryantalizm, kadın gezi yazarları, Osmanlı Türklerinin imgesi

INTRODUCTION

During the nineteenth century travelling, especially to the Middle East has become very popular with European societies for several reasons. One of these reasons was the Oriental representation in visual and textual works that has created a curiosity within Western people. These representations shaped the image of the East, Eastern people, and culture in the eyes of the West. According to Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, such Western representations have created and upheld an essentialist perspective of the East, characterizing it as exotic, sensual and backward (4). Said's theory posits that European representations of the East have perpetuated a fixed, oversimplified understanding of it and reinforced, through various modes of literature, art and other mediums, stereotypical notions about it (Barın Akman, Nineteenth-Century Orientalist Discourse(s) 1). Said highlights the power dynamics inherent in these representations (5). By essentializing the East, and creating a negative image of it, the West positioned itself as superior, determining the East as the "other", an object that is to be studied, talked about, exoticized, and colonized.

Said's argument has received rigorous criticism from several scholars such as Bernard Lewis and John MacKenzie, who challenged the notion of a singular Orientalist discourse. Their critique revolves around the contention that Said's framework neglects the diverse representations and varied voices within the Orientalist discourse, and the Western perspectives on the East (Barın Akman, Nineteenth-Century Orientalist Discourse(s) 1). Moreover, a notable critique has been directed at Said's omission of women's voices from the discourse on Orientalism. Since women writers played a remarkable role in the shaping of the image of the East, providing alternative perspectives, scholars like Billie Melman, Sara Mills and Reina Lewis have raised an important point, asserting that a gender-specific perspective when representing the "other" in the context of Orientalism is necessary. They argue that by neglecting the distinctive experiences and viewpoints of women within Orientalist discourse, Said's analysis lacks a comprehensive understanding.

Following such scholars' theories, there has been in recent decades, an increasing interest in works that represent the East through the point of view of the West, especially Western women. Since travel literature is one of the ways in which such representations are

prevalent, and it is a genre which produced many women writers, it has been the subject matter of the studies of various scholars pioneered by names like Melman and Lewis. The reason why travel writing is very significant in Orientalism studies is embedded in the very nature of travel. Carl Thompson says that to travel is to simply step out of one's front door, and even the mere action of doing so means to encounter the "other" (9). Throughout centuries traveling served the purpose of learning about other lands and people, and travel literature evolved into, especially during the colonial era, a rich source of information and knowledge created about the "other". Considering Said's definition of the "other" as a construct through which the West perceives and represents the East, travels to the East, with their narrations, provide a reflection of the image of the Eastern other from the Western point of view. Another reason why travel literature is a noteworthy genre to study through the lens of Orientalism is that it carries within a vast body of literature varied representations of the other and Orientalist and counter-Orientalist approaches. Thence, this thesis will investigate a travel work written by a woman traveler from the West; Julia Pardoe's *The City of the Sultan and Domestic Manners of Turks, in 1836*, which she wrote after her visit to the Ottoman Empire, in order to analyze the ways in which such a traveler represents Turkish people and culture.

Within the history of travel literature, the Ottoman Empire has attracted countless travelers. One of the significant factors that created an increasing interest in the Turks, and the Ottoman Empire was the growing interest in the Orient. However, what sets the interest in the Ottoman Empire apart from other parts of the East was the specific curiosity in the luxurious and romanticized idea of the rich in power, wealth, and culture Ottoman other. Unlike the colonial interests in representing the "other" in colonized lands, there was an Orientalist interest in Turks from the perspective of looking up to a rival power for the West. Travel literature from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries encapsulated a complex interplay of feelings and expressions of admiration and abhorrence. This interest stemmed from several reasons. Two of the most significant ones are the Turquerie movement and the translation of the *One Thousand and One Nights* into Western languages. Turquerie, that lasted from the 16th to the 18th centuries, refers to an Orientalist trend characterized by the imitation of Turkish art, culture, and clothing. The Ottoman Empire was held in such high esteem in the eyes of the West that Turquerie became a symbol of social status and grandeur (Williams 5). Another Oriental phenomenon that had a significant impact on Europe was the translation of *One Thousand and One Nights* (Barın Akman, Nineteenth-Century Orientalist Discourse(s)

9). The popularization of the tale began with Anthony Galland's translation into French in 1684, followed by an English translation in 1706. As a result of these phenomena, there appeared a Western interest of admiration and imitation, on top of the already existing notions of fear and curiosity. Many travelers who visited the Ottoman Empire during this period onwards and their travel narratives have been immensely influenced by these notions, as well as the politically used representations of the East as uncivilized, barbaric, and backward. However, some travelers, such as Julia Pardoe, aimed to overcome the prejudices produced by such causes and this reflected in their works and their portrayal of the people and the culture of the places they visited.

Accordingly, this thesis will investigate the nineteenth century woman travel writer Julia Pardoe's work *The City of the Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836*, where Pardoe's distinct approach to Eastern people is evident. In light of the foregoing, my study is grounded in Said's Orientalist theory. Thus, I investigate the ways in which Julia Pardoe, as an English women traveler of the nineteenth century, represents and conveys the image of Turkish people, their culture, religion, and social lives through her travelogue *The City of the Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836*. Through a thorough analysis of her work, this study will display how Pardoe's writing stands out as a counter-Orientalist work, challenging and debunking the misinformation emanating from the Orientalist discourse of her time. Pardoe's work will also be looked at through the lens of gender within travel literature delving into the significance of her identity as a woman traveler and how it influences her narrative. While doing so I will employ ideas put forth by pioneering scholars of the field such as Mills, Melman and Barın Akman.

There are several reasons for which Julia Pardoe's work is chosen for this study among many other women travelers of her time, reasons which will be demonstrated in the third chapter in more detail. One of these reasons is her stated intent of correcting the misrepresentations created throughout centuries about Turks, especially through the Orientalist discourse created by writings of travelers from the West to the East. Julia Pardoe was born into the middle-class family of Elizabeth and Major Thomas Pardoe. Although her birth date is debated, through records it is evident that she was baptized around 1804 (Gorman 295). Pardoe's father was an officer in the British army (Lee 201). As a young girl, she was raised in an educated family. We do not have much information about Pardoe's education, however, as Deborah Gorham states, most middle-class girls received education at home during the Victorian era (20). Despite the lack of information that leads to the assumption that

she was educated at home, her well-read demeanor is evident in her writing where she alludes to many prominent works and writers, of travel literature and other genres. Around 1830 she penned her firs travelogue *Traits and Traditions of Portugal: Collected During a Residence in That Country*, after her family's decision to move to a warmer climate when she suffered the symptoms of tuberculosis. Pardoe's first long-term travel was to Istanbul at the end of 1835, as a result of which she wrote *The City of the Sultan*. She accompanied her father when he was appointed to an official duty in Türkiye. Her work was published in 1837 through Henry-Colburn Press, a prominent publisher of the time. *The City of the Sultan*, where Pardoe talks about her experiences with Turkish people, their domestic manners, habits, culture and religion in detail, was well-recieved by the readers and it was reprinted three times (Cross 181). One of the reasons of her works positive receival was that unlike other women travelers of her class and time, she did not only visit and interact with the elites of Istanbul, but she also mingled with the public.

Considering Julia Pardoe's background, one discerns that she fits the profile of a typical woman traveler of nineteenth century. However, a detailed analysis of her writing proves that she is distinct in the passionate way she aims to justly represent Turkish people. Scholars of travel literature have mentioned Julia Pardoe in their works[1]. However, there is an absence in the field of a thorough and categorized analysis of her work. Current studies that include her work are limited in presenting an organized and in-depth investigation of many themes she has touches upon in her work, other than the issue of Eastern women and the *harem*. This study will not only focus on the image of Ottoman women, but also the image of Turks in general, their culture, religion, social lives and so on. This thesis aims to provide this analysis for the benefit of understanding that Pardoe, over a century before Said's *Orientalism* was written, provided arguments against what Said defines as discrimination against Eastern people.

The thesis will be formulated around the topic of the Ottoman other through Pardoe's work, focusing on the European self, and the Oriental other. Pardoe's *The City of the Sultan* will be thoroughly analyzed in order to look into the ways in which, Pardoe, as an English woman traveler, portrays and reflects Turkish people, their culture, religion, habits and other aspects of their society, and her comparisons of these to her European home. It is argued in this thesis that what sets Pardoe's work apart from many others of her contemporaries is her

[1] see Filiz Barın Akman's *Ottoman Women in the Eyes of Western Travelers* for example.

counter-Orientalist approach and her stated intend of creating an honest relaying of Turkish people's culture and lives while remaining unbiased by political concerns. Throughout her work, her focus is to allude to her awareness of the unjust representation Turkish people were subject to and to the Orientalist discourse these misrepresentations has created. I will illustrate that she refutes these representations through the conveyance of her personal experiences and observations.

The thesis consists of three chapters. In the first chapter the emphasis will be on exploring the literature and theory on travel writing as a distinct genre that is intertwined with the collection of knowledge and information about the "other" and its image in the West. An in-depth historical background of travel literature throughout centuries, and its evolving interconnectedness with the concept of the other and its representations will be provided. The historical development of travel writing in Britain, up until the nineteenth century will be looked into. This chapter will also provide an overview of the theoretical framework of Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, which I will be made use of in the analysis of Pardoe's narrative, as well as discussing terms that will be used such as "othering" and "Orient" throughout the thesis.

The second chapter of the thesis will focus on the nineteenth century travel literature, and women travelers' reconstruction of the genre during this period. Through subchapters, the historical context of the nineteenth century in relation to the production and reception of women's travel writing will be investigated. An overview of prominent women travelers of the nineteenth century will be provided and in what ways they contributed to the genre will be investigated in order to emphasize Pardoe's distinction among them. The issue of gender will be touched upon and prominent scholars' ideas on how much gender makes a difference in writing and the reception of women's travelogues will be looked into.

The third chapter will provide a thorough literary analysis of Julia Pardoe's *The City of the Sultan and the Domestic Manners of Turks, in 1836*. The topics she has touched upon will be categorized into subchapters, all in relation to her perception and depiction of Turkish people. In this way, each subchapter will display how Pardoe's work stands out from other travelogues of her time. The ways in which Julie Pardoe's representation of the Turkish other challenges the dominant Orientalist image of the Ottoman people and culture in nineteenth century Europe will be investigated. The study on her works will be conducted through detailed analysis, focusing on finding descriptions and representations of Turkish people

different from those of the Oriental discourse that was prevalent during the period of its publishing.

Through these chapters, this thesis will seek to demonstrate how Julia Pardoe's representation of Turks, their lives, culture, and religion differs from the prevailing Orientalist depictions and representations of them through a comprehensive exploration of the representation of the Ottoman other through her lens. In essence, this study endeavors to shed light on Pardoe's role in challenging and reshaping the Orientalist narrative prevalent in nineteenth-century Western travel literature.

CHAPTER 1: TRAVEL LITERATURE: HISTORIOGRAPHY

Before analyzing Julia Pardoe's travel narrative, it is of importance to understand the genre of travel literature, its characteristics and history, especially in the context of travels between the West and the East, to better contextualize how Pardoe's work differs from other travel narratives, not only of her time but previous ones as well. To attempt to define travel literature, one needs to first determine what travel is. Thompson defines travel simply as 'movement through space'; a journey (9). According to Thompson even to leave your own house means to encounter difference and otherness, therefore, travel associates closely with the sense of self and other. This association causes the genre to become of significance in the context of West and East relations. Travel literature can be defined, in an extensive way, as the literary genre in which accounts of or reports about a journey to an unknown destination are conveyed by the traveler him/herself, that is, in most cases, through the filter of their own perceptions and worldview in a sort of comparison between their own and other's cultures, values etc. The report is at times on the journey itself, at others, the focus is on information about the place, and sometimes on both, depending on the type of travel writing in question. Nonetheless, what this study is concerned with is the kind of travel writing in which the traveler makes the journey, experiences the place, the people, their culture and social life firsthand and writes about this experience through their personal point of view, expressing their opinions and feelings about it since this is exactly what Julia Pardoe does in her *The City of the Sultan*. Before I analyze Pardoe's work, I will, in this chapter, look into a brief overview of the development of the travel writing genre in order to demonstrate its interconnectedness with the representations of the other.

1.1. Travel Writing and Its History in Europe

Although travels to different parts of the world, especially the East, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries helped travel writing as a genre flourish, it is not only at this period that people travelled and documented their experiences, neither did travel literature start at this period to appear as a genre. Travel itself is as old as human beings themselves. Therefore, by its nature it is a worldwide phenomenon. As Pardoe's travel narrative is a Western-sourced work of travel writing, this section describing the historical development of the genre will have its direct attention towards the genre's history and advancement in Europe and the West.

Travel writing has an extensive history, dating back to ancient times. If oral tradition is considered, it may even trace back to prehistoric times. One of the earliest examples of travel writing, although fictional, is considered to be *Odyssey* (c. 600 BC). Hulme and Youngs regard the involvement of travel as a theme in the famous epic itself enough to establish *Odyssey* as the appropriate archetype for the traveler and, by extension, for the travel writer (2). By some other scholars, Herodotus is regarded as the cornerstone of travel literature.[2] Mary B. Campbell[3] presents Egeria, a European woman, most likely a nun, from the fifth century AD, as the first traveler and travel writer with her pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Throughout history, like those mentioned, people travelled for diverse reasons, to engage in warfare, or escape war, engage in trade, embark on pilgrimages or even mere sightseeing and gathering knowledge. About these journeys, many works of literature have appeared, fictional and not.

Both the Classical and Medieval Eras produced plentiful travel related texts. During the Middle Ages, travel literature was composed predominantly of pilgrimage narratives. There also appeared, in this period, fictional works about Asia and Africa, as well as chivalric quests. Urban II's sermon in 1095 calling for Christians to take a journey to the Holy Land to fight against the Saracens of the East is one of the major incidents initiating not only the Crusades, but alongside with it the travel and travel writing of the time (Barın Akman,

[2] see *Traveler Fact and Traveler Fiction* edited by Zweder von Martels, *Herodotus the Tourist* by James Redfield, *Herodotus as a Travel Writer* by Svetozar Boškov

[3] see *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600*

Ottoman Women 17). Therefore, the Crusades emerged as a pivotal point in history for the inception of travel writing. The crusades preceded an abundance of travel texts since it caused many people to travel to the East who were willing to bring information about it for various reasons. Among these reasons were the creation of an image of the so-called enemy and what the touristic guides are made for in modern times. Kabbani, talking about the presence of bigotry in Mediaeval Europe, states that it had a tendency to demonize or project negative qualities onto distant foreign cultures (5). This projection was particularly pronounced in the context of the Islamic state, which was perceived as a formidable rival to Christian Europe. To counter the perceived influence of the Islamic state, mediaeval Europe developed a polemic, a vehement verbal and written attack, aimed at discrediting Islamic culture and religion. Therefore, through the Crusades, Christian Europe had placed itself into a conflict with the Islamic Orient, which was cultural, religious, political, and military, that would last for centuries to come. Europe, after the Crusades, was forever ideologically shaped by the hostility and conflict generated by the "Holy Wars". The desire to establish its superiority over the Islamic world that emerged during the Crusades transformed into a strong determination to exert dominance. This drive for dominance served as a psychological motivation for imperialists starting with Napoleon and continuing onwards in European history (Kabbani 5).

Although the religious and martial aspects of the Crusades are of primary concern of historians, it created another relationship between the East and the West, that of a flow of knowledge from the East to the West. The knowledge that was carried from the East to the West through the ventures of the Crusaders can be divided into two; first is scientific knowledge learned from Eastern nations of the time who excelled in sciences in comparison to the dark ages of the West, the second is the knowledge created of the places and people that were observed.

Travelers of the time wrote about different subjects. Some wrote about important details about the landscapes and the places of the Holy Land, where to go and what to do on those journeys of the ones who would like to take the same pilgrimage in the future. Other works of travel from these times included fictional works about Asia and Africa. The people of Europe found these continents captivating, leading to the creation of a diverse body of literature, although much of it was based on speculation, and did not reflect reality (Thompson 38). Consequently, many travel writings from the mediaeval era appear to be a blend of what was real and imagined, a trend that travel literature has followed for centuries.

The period encompassing Christopher Columbus's four voyages from 1492 to 1504 marks a significant turning point in European travel and travel literature. These expeditions not only ushered in a new era of exploration but also brought about a shift from medieval to early modern attitudes, practices, and conventions (Thompson 40). The pivotal discoveries of the Early Modern period opened a new gate of interest and research for European writers.

One noteworthy outcome of Columbus's discoveries was the heightened importance placed on personal witnessing and direct observation in travel writing, emphasizing the verification of facts through firsthand experience rather than relying solely on the knowledge of past authors and travelers. Columbus's journeys marked the beginning of European exploration, paving the way for subsequent adventurers like Vasco da Gama, Amerigo Vespucci, and Francis Drake (Thompson 41). However, these endeavors were primarily motivated by more pragmatic things such as trade, conquest, colonization, and the religious imperative to spread Christianity to non-Christian peoples. That is to say; the focal point of most travel writings during this era rested on the traveler's findings and the valuable information they conveyed to readers back home; and this information brought back was valuable for many reasons; mostly economic and political, as they revealed new trade opportunities, access to new possible markets and goods, as well as providing information on peoples and lands that were subject to colonial ambitions or territorial expansion.

As a result of these voyages, there was a noticeable increase in the production of written works or literature related to travel experiences. This increase was amplified by the availability of the printing press, which made it easier to produce and distribute copies of these travel-related writings to a wider audience. Travel literature became highly important as politicians, merchants and navigators sought information for future journeys in these writings, in a similar way it did in the genre's mediaeval forms as pilgrim guides, now as traveler guides. In response to this need, publishers began to publish more travel accounts, benefiting from the genre's popularity to, at times, stoke commercial and colonial ambitions.

The scope of travel narratives extended beyond the New World that sparked interest and opportunities. There also had been a keen interest in cultures and countries of the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. Both mediaeval and Renaissance travel writing depict the nature of the genre that carries on through the depiction of the other as strange, mysterious, even fantastical. During these periods, as domination began to be the purpose and the tool, the dominating peoples produced what was exotic through descriptions of faraway lands

populated with fantastical beings and the exotic. *The exotic* was created through (and maintained by) the act of self-identification against the 'alien' that deviates from the norm, created by that same 'self'. Kabbani defines this as a "*deliberate and self-conscious strangeness*" that takes place in the voyages and their reports at the time (3). This identification of the familiar self and differentiation from the unfamiliar other is not limited to this period but has been a recurring pattern in the history of travel literature as a genre.

During the mediaeval era, the theme of travel, and themes from travel writing also reverberated through the fiction of the time. Writers like Thomas More and Joseph Hall criticized prevailing travel literature in their works, employing satire to comment on the conventions of travel narratives. Additionally, a new genre emerged in fiction, closely tied to the notion of travel – the picaresque fiction, originating in Spain, best exemplified by Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. This genre's influence extended across Europe and served as a powerful model for both travelers and travel-related books in the years that followed.

In the eighteenth century the trend of fictional travel writing continued. Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* is an example of this, satirizing the prevailing travel accounts of that time. While this novel, much like its predecessor *Don Quixote*, played a substantial role in shaping the novel genre, it also serves as an illustration of the genre of fictional travel writing. In this century, travel writing gained increased popularity due to the growing prevalence of exploration and tourism in Europe, alongside colonial ambitions. By 1720, Britain started to gain worldwide power, alongside France and Netherlands, with victories in wars, dominance in trade, and colonization. Large parts of Canada, Australasia and the West Indian islands, with a significant population of settlers, were under the dominion of East India officials (Hulme and Youngs 55). As Britain increasingly became more engaged with the wider world, more and more travelers and explorers embarked on expeditions and journeys to document and report on them. Towards the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, official and semi-official organizations were arranging explorations by way of both land and sea. Travelers were economically, politically and socially encouraged to travel to, explore and report upon places they visited. Some travelers were tasked with scientific explorations, others with political ones, some were concerned with trade, and some sought personal enjoyment. Missionary societies were also joined among these organizations.

Much like the Middle Ages, in the eighteenth century, there emerged the creation of an imagined "rest of the world" by and for Europeans. This creation once again takes place

through travel writing. In the first half of the eighteenth century the first European scientific expedition took place; *La Condamine*. This event is one that shifted how European elites perceived themselves and how they viewed their connections and interactions with the rest of the world (Pratt, 26). La Condamine added so much to the history of travel writing as the abundance of narratives it occasioned disseminated across Europe for many years. The travel writings produced through La Condamine played a significant role in molding Europeans' imaginative perspectives of distant lands and cultures. The expedition continues to stand as an early example of something that would soon develop into one of Europe's most notable tools for expansion; the international scientific expedition (Pratt, 34). It also led scientific exploration to become, from the second half of the eighteenth century on, the foundation for influential ideas and ideological systems.

After the wave of scientifically approached texts of the eighteenth century, by the beginning of the nineteenth century travel writing started to take shape in its literary structure and a recognizable pattern had developed within the genre. In this century a more “literary” mode of travel writing appeared (Thompson 55). Style and aesthetic affect gained more importance. During the nineteenth century, Britain saw a significant increase in the production of travel literature. This surge in travel writing was driven by a desire to understand and document the various parts of the world that Britain was actively seeking to conquer and control through its colonial efforts.

During the nineteenth century, the empires of the main European countries grew significantly. As these empires expanded, they established colonies in various regions across the globe. The process of obtaining, managing, and sometimes populating these new European territories resulted in a vast number of written records related to travel (Thompson 53). These texts had a wide range of content and purposes, since they were written by people from a wide range of occupational backgrounds; merchants, diplomats, sailors, scientists, explorers and more. However, one thing they all had in common was that they all played a role, whether directly or indirectly, in supporting and facilitating European expansion during this period (Thompson 53).

Travelers in this century played the role of the "seeing eye" by witnessing and experiencing foreign cultures and places, and they also served as the "recounting voice" by sharing their observations and experiences through their writings (Kabbani 6). During this time an observation-based style was cultivated. The traveler became a figure of authority

through the emphasis of what was assumed to be a precise description of the places previously unknown to the "civilized" world. It was around this period that travel writing acquired, more strongly than ever, the claim of factuality. Works of fictional journeys and travelers, such as Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, started to lose their acceptability (Hulme and Youngs 57). However, the legacy of Crusoe remained in the character of the traveler as they were esteemed to symbolize the archetypal examples of imperial masculinity, embodying the ideals of science and Christian civilization (Thompson 53).

Travel writing established itself in the nineteenth century as a first-person narrative of the journey claiming to be a true record of the author's personal experiences (Thompson 27). Many travelers at the time were concerned about providing their readers entertainment and aesthetic pleasure through depictions of the exotic and the picturesque, in addition to the emphasis on practical, scientific, and urgent information in the eighteenth century. One of the factors contributing to this characteristic of the travel writing of the time was the colonial imperative to gain knowledge about the regions targeted for colonization and domination. As European powers expanded their colonial ambitions, travel literature served as the source of information about these territories. Travel writers sought to provide credible information to guide colonial ventures, political decision-making, and public opinion. Some were expected to bring back to their homeland details about resources, geographical information, potential trade opportunities, and cultural and social aspects of the societies of the colonized, or soon-to-be colonized regions. Essentially, the nineteenth century traveler had two roles; one was to justify the exploitation that took place through the expansion and control of overseas territories, the other was to inspire their fellow countrymen to undertake similar exploits by portraying the traveler that is themselves as heroic figures who had accomplished remarkable feats in distant regions of the world. Namely, their duty was to convince people in their own countries that imperialism was a worthy and legitimate endeavor through various means.

In order to understand Julia Pardoe's work better, which was written in this period of high imperialism, it is important to look at some examples of travel narratives written in this era, since Pardoe, throughout her work continuously alludes to these works of travelers, especially those of male travelers, and refutes them. One of the ways in which these narratives tried to convince the Westerner to embark on similar journeys to the East can be seen in A.W. Kinglake's *Eothen* (1844), which portrayed the East as a young Western man's way of escaping the burden and boredom of domestic life (Thompson 54). Another popular endeavor Western travelers of the nineteenth century glorified was the sexual endeavor. They portrayed

the East as a place of exotic and sensual pleasures, appealing to young men. Travelers such as Gerard de Nerval, with his *Voyage to the Orient*, and Gustave Flaubert imagined and depicted the East as a place of satisfying erotic curiosities.

A significant traveler who was a copious contributor to this distorted image of the East as a Western traveler was Richard Burton. In his 1855 narration *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina* where he reports his travels to the Middle East, he holds the role of the prideful imperial man. His writing portrays a sense of superiority over Eastern people. His primary focus in his account is sensational topics for his Victorian audience, including discussions of female circumcision and depictions of Eastern women as enigmatic and exotic beauties. These themes contribute to the portrayal of a Western man's simultaneous sense of both fear and fascination when confronted with Eastern cultures. Moreover, his writing was of the travelogues that initiated and reinforced the fictional notion of an erotic East, with its women as sexualized objects (Kabbani 7). Therefore, his travel account serves as a distinct representation of the colonial and imperial discourse of the nineteenth century, which Pardoe condemns and refutes, as well as attempting to correct in her work. Many male travelers such as de Nerval, Flaubert and Burton represent the dominant Orientalist discourse prevalent in the Western travel literature of the time. They portray Eastern men as barbarians and women as sexualized objects. Within this dominantly Orientalist discourse, narratives women travelers like Julia Pardoe emerge as distinctive voices challenging and countering these representations.

During the Victorian period, women travelers played an important role in shaping and enriching the travel writing genre, and reshaping and forming a counter-Orientalist discourse within it. They made significant contributions to this genre through their writings and narratives, offering their unique perspectives and experiences as travelers. However, the fundamental characteristics of Victorian travel writing were deeply ingrained in a patriarchal framework. The genre was largely shaped by and served the interests of male-dominated power structures. Most of the women travelers in that period, coming from the upper-middle or upper classes, were bound by patriarchal hierarchies they were born into. Therefore, they were, in a way, compelled to conform to the values of colonialism and imperialism. This is not to say that all women travel writers of the period were obliged to articulate imperial opinions that did not belong to them; indeed, some held such opinions themselves. However, for those who did have opposing views to their male compatriots it was difficult to speak up. Richard Burton’s wife Isabel Burton is an example of such a case. Her writings were modified

versions of her husband's, tailored to suit the sensibilities of the women of Europe rather than the men (Kabbani 7). In this context where even women travelers were limited in their expression of the truth of the East, as opposed to the Orientalist stereotypes, Pardoe stands apart with her approach to Eastern people, and her direct opposition to these Orientalist male representations.

Even when conforming meticulously to the norms of patriarchal hierarchies in their writings, women travel writers were often disregarded in the nineteenth century. William H. D. Adams in his collection of *Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century* divides travelers into two categories; "those who penetrate into regions hitherto untrodden by civilized men and add new lands to the maps of the geographer", fueled by *genuine love for knowledge*, and others who "simply follow in the track of their bolder or more fortunate predecessors" (215). He states, "To the latter class, as this volume shows, belong our female travellers, among whom we find no companion or rival to such pioneers as a Livingstone, a Barth, a Franklin, or a Sturt" (215). This provides a good example for the approach to women's travel writing at the time. In the nineteenth century, due to the confinement of women primarily to the domestic sphere by Victorian gender norms, there was a prevalent lack of recognition or serious consideration for works produced by women that stemmed from ventures beyond these confines.

In response to such dismissal, women of the period resorted to specific strategies. Notably, certain women travelers of the era, such as Isabella Bird, Mary Kingsley, Anna Forbes and more, likened to their male counterparts as explorers, although they were not acknowledged to be so, as the "heroic title of 'explorer'" was reserved for men (Thompson 55). As a consequence, one frequently encounters, often with a hint of irony, expressions of modesty in women's travelogues when they delve into subjects traditionally considered the domain of men. Women travelers of that time used this language not because they lacked confidence, but as a way to avoid criticism or condemnation from their male compatriots. However, Pardoe once again is distinguished from not only male travelers but also her female compatriots as well. She uses, as will be exemplified in Chapter 3, ironic language to mock such drawbacks. She directly refers to the dismissal of women's voices in travel literature as she sarcastically says; "They are no lady-fingers which can grasp a pen potent enough to overthrow the impressions and prejudices that have covered reams of paper, and spread scores of misconceptions" (Pardoe, ch. 6). Although she says the opposite, through ironic contrast,

she does oppose these scores of misconceptions in her own very work she writes this sentence in. While she acknowledges the dismissal it may face, she still perseveres in writing.

I will not delve further into the subject of women travelers and their writings in the Victorian era, as the third second chapter of this study is exclusively dedicated to this topic. As I delve deeper into my analysis, the next subsection will shed light on the impact of Orientalism and other critical theories on the genre, revealing how these theoretical frameworks expose underlying meanings, cultural stereotypes, and political agendas embedded in travel narratives. Through this analysis, I will provide the framework of Orientalism that will help understand Julia Pardoe's travel better in the context of the nineteenth century when Orientalism and its ideas and agendas were at its peak.

1.2. Orientalism and Travel Writing

In my analysis of Julia Pardoe's work, I will implement Edward Said's theory of Orientalism since it provides an overarching framework for understanding the dynamics of relations between the East and the West. Said's theory will serve as a lens through which I explore how Pardoe, as a woman traveler, stands apart from the travel writers of her time and counters in her narrative what Said emphasizes in his work, namely the othering of Eastern people, and the prevalent Orientalist narratives in Western travel literature of her time. Said defines Orientalism as a manner of thinking that relies on a fundamental differentiation, both ontological and epistemological, between 'the Orient' and (often) 'the Occident' (2). He argues that it is a cultural undertaking that engages with the Orient by generating information about it through statements, authorizing images and descriptions. Orientalism first creates a certain *knowledge* about the Orient, then teaches it to the individuals, initially to the individuals of the Occident, then to the Orient itself, and finally gains *power* over it and rules it.

According to Said, Orientalism is a formulated body of theory and practice that has involved substantial material investment over the course of many generations (Said 6). Travel literature has historically been a part of this investment. Said argues that it is made through the dissemination of the *knowledge* about the Orient into "aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts" (12). Travel writing, being a genre that contains aesthetic, sociological, historical, and philological texts that talk about the Orient,

provides one of the best ways through which such material investment can be done (İşçi 25). Travelers, having been given the opportunity to visit the countries that are of interest to them, have personal one-to-one experience of the place, its people and their culture. Therefore, they stand, in the eyes of their compatriots, as credible informants who have seen the subject matter for themselves. However, the information of the Orient they provide to their otherwise uninformed fellow countrymen/women is tinted with and affected by the prejudices and partiality of Orientalism and colonialism.

Orientalism is founded on the notion of Western superiority over non-Western societies and cultures (Said 7). Travel writings, examples of which have been given previously, have been serving, throughout centuries, as a means to convey this sense of superiority over the perceived backwardness of the Oriental peoples and cultures. Bassnett argues that "travel writers are not innocent producers of text" (99). The works they produce contribute to a manipulative process that influences and molds people's, especially those of Western nations, perceptions of other cultures. One of the reasons for this is that travel writers always situate themselves in relation to their cultural origin in the context of the people and culture they are describing (Bassnett 99). This phenomenon causes an ongoing contrast between their own "self" and the "other" in their writing, and many texts from travel literature demonstrate the biases that play a significant role in the depictions of these other cultures.

Foucault proposes two types of comparison in *The Order of Things*; one "establishes elements", and the other "analyses into units in order to establish relations of equality and inequality" (Foucault 51). The latter of Foucault's suggestion of these two types of comparison takes place in travel writings. Travelers compare their own values and culture to those of the country and people they visit on the basis, in an overwhelming number of cases, of finding differences. Travelers' accounts of their journeys at first glance seem to simply narrate the truth of their adventurous experiences of the places they visit through their writings. However, recent readings of texts in travel literature that analyze them through the lenses of theories such as cultural and gender studies, postmodernist, and post-colonialist theories, reveal the underlying meanings, formation of cultural stereotypes and political agendas in those texts (Bassnett 93). Through these examinations the implicit context of how travelers construct and establish an image of the places and people they visit comes to surface. The most varied and extensive examples of these are seen within examples of travel writings of Western travelers' journeys to the East. Therefore, Orientalism, as a framework to study

these texts of travel literature, whose main concern is the interaction between the East and the West, posits itself to an important place.

Discourse analysis is another very important analytical framework to implement on writings of travel literature. Jorgensen and Phillips define ‘discourse’ as the overall concept that language is organized based on various patterns observed in people's speech or expressions when they engage in different aspects of social interactions (1). ‘Discourse analysis’, then, is the analysis of these patterns. These patterns reveal a particular manner of talking about and perceiving the world, countries, cultures, religions, people etc. Thompson suggests that the term ‘discourse’ denotes “an accumulated archive of knowledge” and representations that gradually shape a culture’s perspectives and assumptions regarding a particular subject, and in the case of travel writing on another culture (135). Therefore, discourse creates the knowledge of what is regarded as the truth in the culture that creates itself and the people it imposes itself on. Not only the discourse that takes place in travel literature about the travelled places’ culture and people, but also discourses that are embedded into works of art, science, literature and many other fields construct certain “truths” about their subjects through patterns of expressions, images etc. For Said, Orientalism is a discourse that aims to create an ‘Orient’ as opposed to the ‘Occidental’ West, which is supposedly more civilized and enlightened than the East. This type of discourse, that can be termed as ‘colonial discourse’ or ‘Orientalist discourse’, creates a set of images and expressions that represent the East in a negative light. Ashcroft defines ‘colonial discourse’ as a system of expressions that refer to colonies and colonial peoples, as well as the colonizing powers and the interconnections between them (Ashcroft 51). In connection, ‘Orientalist discourse’ thus can be defined as referring to the system of statements about the people of the East, their cultures, religions, values etc., and those of the West, along with the relationship and comparison between the two.

It is prevalent in Oriental discourse to associate negative expressions with the people of the East as opposed to their binaries associated with the West. Some examples of these aversive lexemes are those such as ‘uncivilized’, ‘barbarian’, ‘backward’, ‘uneducated’, ‘exotic’, ‘sensual’, ‘cruel’, ‘violent’ and many more standing as opposed to the ‘civilized’, ‘modern’, ‘educated’, ‘logical’, ‘scientific’, ‘humane’ West. This kind of discourse finds place in travel literature and operates as “an instrument of power” where travelers, as the Occidental, talk about and comments on the Oriental East (Ashcroft 50). Thus, discourse analysis becomes an important way to look at travel writings in order to reveal the images and

representations the traveler, knowingly and intentionally or not, takes part in creating and maintaining. For travelers are those who create the key markers by which the East is perceived in the West.

Recent travel writing studies have drawn attention towards the ideological dimensions of travel writing, along with the broader rhetorical intentions behind the prevalent inclination of travel writers to portray different groups and cultures in an unfavorable or patronizing manner (Thompson 134). This manner embodies the fundamental principles of Orientalist and colonial discourses that have been previously discussed. The issues of such negative representations of the East depicted by Western travelers have been of significant concern in post-colonial studies in particular. Post-colonial scholars have looked into travel writings to reveal the politics of representing the East and the ideological reasons that lie behind it. One of the ways in which such politically and ideologically driven production of discourse takes place in travel writing is what is coined as "othering" by Gayatri Spivak and made use of by Edward Said, as well as many other post-colonial scholars.

"Othering", as a concept, is the process through which one group is marginalized and positioned as fundamentally different from another, usually dominant, group. It is employed in social, psychological, and political ways in order to create an image of Self that is superior to the Other. In this process, the Other is constructed as distinct, inferior, exotic, and dangerous through negative attributions, as opposed to the Self that is made superior through positive ones. Othering functions as a discursive and ideological practice that contributes to the creation and preservation of social and power hierarchies and cultural boundaries. One of the ways in which othering was employed in the context of Orientalist discourse was through travel literature. Many travelers from the West who traveled to the East employed "othering" in their narratives. Travelers like John Lewis Burckhardt, James Silk Buckingham, even writers of fiction such as Lord Byron described the people and culture of the places they visited as strange, mysterious, and inferior to theirs, therefore othering them. They often fantasized and exoticized the region and its people. In this sense, Pardoe diverges from this application of othering in her work. Instead of portraying Turkish people and their culture as the other through the usage of negative stereotypes, she actively criticizes those who engage with "othering" and chooses to show the merits and humanness of Eastern people as opposed to the dehumanization of these people by her predecessors and contemporaries.

In the context of travel literature, othering works as a rhetorical strategy employed by dominantly Western travelers to portray non-Western peoples, cultures, religions etc. as

different from and inferior to their own. In this sense, the West, in its construction of itself (or its “Self”), portrays the non-Western Other as inferior, irrational, emotional, uncivilized, idle, lazy, and the like, while by contrast, creates an image of itself as superior, rational, civilized, and progressive. This process serves to maintain the Western power and authority over the East and its people through studying it, knowing it and talking about it. Through othering, travelers are positioned as the superior and normative eye that scrutinizes and evaluates the marginal that is the East. Through these evaluations, that are their travelogues that they produce, they define and represent what, who and how the Other is. Therefore, they reinforce a system that keeps the West in an imbalanced position of power and succor shape the social and political attitudes towards non-Western peoples and cultures. Othering within travel literature thus serves as a tool for strengthening colonial and Orientalist discourses, further establishing cultural dominance.

In conclusion, Edward Said’s theory of Orientalism proves a significant framework in the analysis of Julia Pardoe’s travel narrative to understand Pardoe’s role in portraying Eastern people and culture in the context of East and West relations in travel literature. Implementing Said’s theory as a lens through which I examine Pardoe’s narrative help discern her unique stance as a woman traveler who defies the dominant Orientalist travel narratives of her time.

CHAPTER 2: WOMEN TRAVELERS AND THE ORIENT: RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GENRE

Examining the rise of nineteenth century travel writings is essential as it provides valuable insights into the significance of Pardoe's work within the broader context of the century and the genre of travel literature. In this light, in this chapter I will investigate the ways in which women travelers provided a critical approach to the prevailing views and prejudices of their contemporary and previous travelers and how they constructed a counter-Orientalist discourse in their works. While doing so, I will look into the sensibilities, norms of their era, the Victorian era of the nineteenth century, and other factors that had an effect on their reconstruction of the genre of travel literature, and the Orientalist discourse.

For centuries, travel to the Orient, especially secular travel, and alongside it, travel literature, had remained a male endeavor. Male travelers, for various reasons from personal to imperial, have traversed the world for centuries and formed the genre of travel literature through their narratives. Yet, amidst these countless accounts of masculine adventures, explorations and endeavors, there exists a tradition of women travel writing that carry profound significance in the history of the genre as it is known now — the travel writings penned by women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These women embarked on journeys, wrote about them through various mediums, and contributed to the genre's evolution, alongside its position in scholarly discussions of Orientalism, feminist studies, and post-colonial studies today.

Women's travel writing was very significant in shaping Orientalism and the image of the East in the eyes of the Western public. Melman provides quantitative proof of what a considerable part of travel literature women's writing held, citing Richard Bevis' *Biblioteca Cisorientalia* which has cataloged 245 printed works by 187 women within a period of about a hundred years (Melman 7). She argues that women's secular travel writing that emerged in the eighteenth century, and flourished during the nineteenth century, challenged the dominant

imperial view of the Orient (7). The extensive body of women's travel writing, especially those who traveled to the Middle East, in these periods reflects new perspectives not touched upon before, such as their complex and diverse insights into the cultures, societies, and people of the East, moving beyond stereotypical Orientalist views, and their focus on the private spheres that have been overlooked previously.

Until the beginning of the eighteenth century, which marked the publication of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Embassy Letters* in 1716, women's travel writing was strictly religious, that is, before Montagu's work, there was no established tradition of women's secular travel writing (Melman 10). It is important to note that although there were occasional instances of non-religious travel accounts by women before Montagu's, they did not constitute a continued tradition. Instead, it was through pilgrimages that women found a model for feminine travel (Melman 14).

Melman says that although there were notable women travelers, missionaries, and explorers, as well as, although small in number, women Orientalists, before the eighteenth century they were seen as operating under the male tradition (5). These women were, in a way, "imitating" the colonial ideas of men. They were "subsumed" by the dominant cultural apparatus that dominated the travel writing of the time. In essence, they had to navigate within the existing male-dominated framework of travel literature (Melman 5). Moreover, they were seen as the "less-significant" version of male travelers.

Therefore, until the eighteenth century, travel outside Europe was a male experience. Women were considered outside of imperialist culture and the colonialist tradition. Women's experiences in Western expansion and dominance outside Europe were overshadowed by a dominant patriarchal tradition (Melman 1). That is why until recent decades, women travel writers remained in the periphery of studies of historians and scholars. Their contributions had, for a long time, been underappreciated until scholars of feminist and post-colonial studies (such as Sara Mills' and Mary Louise Pratts') took notice of how valuable of sources women's travel writings are. Their narratives offer an alternative perspective, surpassing the gendered and patriarchal notions that often dominated nineteenth century travel literature. It was the women writers of the time, especially those of travel literature, that expressed their point of view on the 'other' that either brought a new rival perspective to the imperialist discourse of the time or added to the already existing notions.

Kabbani suggests that while there were notable instances of Victorian women who engaged in travel and wrote about their experiences of the Orient, the fundamental nature of nineteenth-century travel writing as a whole was deeply embedded in not only patriarchal but also colonial discourse (7). Some critics assert that women travelers, when colonially inclined, wrote what their male counterparts wrote for "the gentlemen's club" for "the angel of the house" as Kabbani puts it (7). However, women played a far more crucial role than that which such a statement bestows upon them. Women travelers had access to the private spheres of the indigenous people, particularly women and children, but through them and at times separately the men also, offering them a distinct vantage point in their narratives. This distinct perspective granted them the ability to document aspects of foreign cultures that often eluded their male counterparts.

This plays a dual role for the place of women travelers in the imperial discourse of the travel writing genre. One significant development was that women travelers who adopted a colonial stance became reliable sources for the information about the private spheres they encountered (Barın Akman, Nineteenth-Century Orientalist Discourse(s) 8). Therefore, they became significant contributors to the creation and maintenance of an image of the 'other', potentially surpassing their male compatriots as key sources of such information. Another is that those women travel writers who opposed the colonial and imperial ideals (examples of which will be given) introduced new perspectives and insightful observations about the people and the cultures they encountered. Their narratives provided a wave of new ideas and information into the discourse surrounding the 'other,' challenging established norms.

This duality is the reason why there is such an importance in exploring women's contributions to travel literature. Their writing is what makes the travel writing of the time multifaceted and complex. Women's travel writing from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries offer a diverse range of narratives, presenting a "plurality of discourse", as Melman articulates, deviating from the commonly accepted literary conventions of the time (7). Pardoe's work is one such travel narrative that represents this duality. In the upcoming sections, I will look into the context of the nineteenth century for Western women travelers and examples of prominent women writers from this period whose work reflect such duality in order to contextualize Pardoe's work and provide a better understanding of its distinctiveness.

2.1 The Historical Context of the Nineteenth Century in Relation to Production and Reception of Women's Travel Writing

It is important to understand the period in which nineteenth century women travelers produced their works. In order to analyze their works, one must first understand the society that formed them as people and their ideals; that is, what their works, their production, and publication were shaped by. In the nineteenth century, travel writing flourished like never before as a significant literary genre. To understand the historical context of women travelers during this period, the content of the works they produced, and the challenges they encountered, it is of importance to talk about the distinctive characteristics of the century.

The nineteenth century marked a period of profound transformation for the West, especially Britain, as an imperial power. It is characterized by significant historical events and changes in many aspects, including travel, colonialism, socio-cultural shifts, and so on, which greatly influenced the landscape of travel literature and paved the way for more women writers' participation in the genre. Moreover, during this period Britain found itself in an era defined by remarkable transformations in society and culture. The period was marked by a distinctive set of values and new social and cultural dynamics.

Society and culture in nineteenth century England were in a state of rapid transformation. A burgeoning middle class was on the rise, to an extent to replace the once-dominant aristocracy as the leading social class. The formation of this new class and the shift in societal hierarchy brought with it a new-found emphasis and interest in certain values and ideals. The newly prospering middle class, eager to learn the ways of high society and fit in, strove to learn, shape, and uphold strict, but at most times superficial, moral rules. At the core of the society was a commitment to a high standard of personal deportment. Merits such as duty, respectability, earnestness, charity, and self-criticism were valued as necessary codes of conduct (Young 4). The emphasis on these moral codes during this period reflects itself in women's travel writing of the time. It was more acceptable and expectable for a woman traveler to portray good aspects of the often-ill-portrayed people of the Orient.

Moreover, during the period of the nineteenth century, a clear distinction between public and private spheres appeared. The public sphere was for the men, who were the breadwinner and the leader of the household, while the private sphere was for the women to

remain in. They would be “the angel of their houses”, providing their husbands with a safe haven from the troubles of the outside world. Within this idealized concept of the home women played a pivotal role. They were expected to dedicate their time and energy to domestic matters, which was their duty, to ensure the maintenance of a virtuous and harmonious household. This aspect of the century is observed in the gendered travel writing of the time.

Melman points out that women’s travel writing developed during a period when gender roles and the distinctions between private and public, as well as the concepts of 'feminine' and 'masculine' spaces, were at their most intricate and elaborate forms (17). Moreover, the development of women's travel writing in the nineteenth century posed challenges not only to the authority of Orientalist and colonial narratives but also to the prevailing ideology related to the idea of separate spheres for men and women. The imperial context of gender polarization was a domain of masculine pursuits, where “heroic” men engaged in adventurous ways (Mills 36). The very idea of women traveling and documenting their adventures and explorations like the men in their time was challenging to such ideologies. Therefore, women travel writers, with some exceptions, wrote about the “domestic manners” of the people and the places they visited, while their male counterparts’ writing was adventurous and sensational. Women writers, therefore, did not step too far away from the domesticity of their role in the society. However, the topic of “domestic manners” in women’s travel writing was not as trivial as it was taken to be during the period and much later.

Margaret Strobel makes a point that the apparent triviality of women travelers’ narratives about their daily lives or the lives of the women of the places they were visiting was false (15). They carried an important function in the colonial system of domination. This happened through their transmission of “knowledge” about the “other”, as well as in other ways. The influence of Michel Foucault's ideas on the relationship between knowledge and power in the study of colonial discourse has been discussed in Chapter 1 previously. It is established that travel writing in the context of imperialism plays a crucial role in generating knowledge about the colonized regions and their people. Mills points at a common topic within travel literature, which within women’s travel narratives can be defined as a sub-genre; “manners and customs” (34). She defines this as descriptions of the lifestyles and habits of the indigenous people in the colonized regions (34). The same applies, I argue, to the travel writings of women from Europe who traveled to the uncolonized parts of the East. This topic, tackled by women travelers extensively, tends to portray the colonized inhabitants in a way

that objectifies and constructs them as an "other," emphasizing their differences and otherness in comparison to the colonizers, or the travelers. Therefore, writings of women travelers, especially during the imperial period added to the creation of the knowledge about the other. It was never the case that they merely, and objectively talked about their manners and customs.

When women went beyond the confines of the private spheres back home, it was either through traveling or going to the colonies to settle down with their male family members. However, they could never fully leave behind the pressures of the domestic “duty” that was assigned to them by Victorian society. Nonetheless, women’s travel narratives disrupted traditional gender norms and the ideals of domesticity, essentially subverting the established gender roles and expectations of their time.

While women were able to create spaces in which they could exercise their dreams of active and fulfilling lives through traveling in the nineteenth century, Dea Birkett states that, women travelers were “torn between” a conflict within themselves of “self-fulfillment and duty” (27). However, this conflict did not prevent numbers of women from embarking on journeys and documenting them. They were bound by societal norms at home. While societal norms restricted their independence at home by imposing gendered domestic roles, many of these women possessed a strong desire for adventure and exploration. Some of them were unmarried, which, though considered socially undesirable in their home, actually allowed them more freedom to travel and explore without the constraints of family responsibilities. Melman defines this as “an escape from social constraints” (15). Traveling to the Orient, she states, granted Western women a certain level of freedom that was not available to them in the Western societies they lived in. Moreover, the double-sided nature of their condition is reflected in their writing. They adhered, in their writing, to the Victorian standards of respectability for a woman, that is femininity and domesticity. Hence, women travelers had the opportunity to step into the public sphere and have an impact on the colonial discourse of the time through their writing (Ulmer 10).

Another development that took place in the nineteenth century that is significant in understanding the effects of travel writing and how it was received and processed by the British public at the time is the popularization of reading as a medium to learn. The middle class who came into possession of much wealth and started to be involved with the higher classes of society sought to learn the correct manners of acting, speaking, writing and so on. Reading was a way to do this. Therefore, a diverse array of reading materials gained immense

popularity during this period. Many works were written in order to "educate" the British public in matters of moral conduct, ethics, manners of speaking, even writing letters. Women's magazines, novels, children's books, travel writings became immensely popular pieces of literature during this period. Nineteenth-century British public learned from these works their manners and truths. Samuel Richardson's *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, although often criticized today for its judgments of morality, is a great early example of such a work that was to educate its reader. Richardson's epistolary novel was published in 1740, however many writers, following his example, sought to establish their credibility by not only entertaining but also imparting moral lessons or educational value to their readers during the nineteenth century as well.

As discussed before in Chapter 1, travel writing carried a role of transmission and production of knowledge throughout centuries. So, the genre played a significant role in shaping the public's "knowledge" and views on the topic of the Orient and the "other", especially during the nineteenth century where Britain took part in imperial expansion and where there was a surge in travel and exploration. Sara Mills, in her "Knowledge, Gender, and Empire" states that travel accounts were important in "maintaining and affirming colonial relations" (32). Women's travel writing was no exception for this. European women collected and shared information about the colonial regions with their readers in their home countries. British women travelers, in particular, played a significant role in shaping the western public view of the colonies, as well as parts of the Orient that were not colonized, and their inhabitants. Some women writers' works aimed to encourage and justify imperial expansion while others highlighted the abuses and demerits of colonialism and its discourse, such as the mistreatment of indigenous people or the misinformation emanated about those people and their cultures (Strobel 39). Some women writers, such as Emilia Hornby, added to the imperialist colonial discourse of the time while others like Pardoe went against the colonial discourse, making a huge impact in changing its nature and direction (Barın Akman, Nineteenth-Century Orientalist Discourse(s) 13).

In the private sphere, which was the women's, travel writings of women were in a sense written by and written for women, or for long, it has been viewed as such. For a long time, their works were not taken seriously by critics such as Adams or Paul Fussell. Mills makes a point that the writing produced by women travelers was often negatively labeled as "bad writing" (3). She gives the example of Fussell who explicitly rejected the inclusion of women travel writers in his account of literary travel. Fussell justified this exclusion by

asserting that women travelers were not adequately focused on the act of traveling or the craft of writing itself. However, this is not true. Nonetheless, nineteenth-century women travel writers produced works of literature that informed their compatriots at home on matters of those places they visited, their cultures and their people's manners, giving moral messages in doing so.

The nineteenth century witnessed the expansion of the British Empire, characterized by colonization, trade, and exploration around the world. As a result, travel literature became an increasingly popular genre, as it served to document the discoveries, transmission of knowledge about the traveled lands, and the experiences of the explorers, tourists, scientists etc., that is the nineteenth-century travelers. The period saw a profound transformation in the world of travel, driven by the combination of several key factors. These are, alongside colonialism and imperial expansion, the Industrial Revolution and improvements in transportation.

The development that may be the most influential to the travel writing of the time was the surge of imperialism that took place in the nineteenth century. Colonization and imperial expansion were at their zenith as European powers, especially Britain, extended their colonies and dominions across the globe, carving out colonies in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. The expansion of these colonial empires facilitated greater opportunities for travel as people from the colonizing Western nations journeyed to the colonies for administrative, commercial, exploratory, and missionary purposes. Imperial endeavors led to an increased opportunity and motivation for travel. As missionaries, tradesmen, colonial and military administrators traveled to lands that were of interest to the colonizer nations that funded them, they documented their experiences and views on the lands and the people they visited in travel narratives. These narratives did not only serve as accounts of exploration and adventure, but also functioned as tools of cultural representation, describing to Western people "how" and "what" the indigenous people of these lands are, often through a discourse of imperial propaganda in pursuit of justification of the invasion of their lands. Western travelers portrayed the colonized lands and their people (alongside those that have not been colonized yet, or ever for that matter) as exotic and mysterious, at times even scary, as they induced curiosity and fascination in their non-traveling compatriots back home.

Another historical phenomenon that took place in the nineteenth century that shaped and affected travel as a whole, as well as women's travel and writing, is a material one; the industrial revolution and its culminating in improvements in transportation. The Industrial

Revolution that had gained momentum in the late eighteenth century continued to affect the ways the world was shaped throughout the nineteenth century. Innovations in transportation, particularly the improvements of railways and steamships, revolutionized the possibilities for travel. These advancements not only facilitated faster and more comfortable journeys but also expanded the accessibility of remote destinations. The growth of the railway network, in particular, made it feasible for travelers, including women, to venture to previously remote areas. This accessibility not only encouraged greater mobility to already-traveling men, but it also made it easier for women to travel more easily and safely. Women travelers such as Julia Pardoe were able to travel through such means, as they were deemed safer in this period. "It was on the 30th of December 1835, that we anchored in the Golden Horn; my long-indulged hopes were at length realized, and the Queen of Cities was before me" she says, acknowledging the fact that her dream of traveling to this city became reality with her journey on the sea (ch. 1).

In conclusion, the nineteenth century was a time of dichotomy; where domesticity and exploration, morality and imperial ambitions coexisted. Furthermore, certain changes in advancements and technologies as well as changes in political spheres took place in this period. In this intricate historical context, women travelers of the nineteenth century found themselves navigating unexplored territory, both literally and figuratively. As I attempt an exploration of women's travel writing during and before Pardoe's time in this historical context, in the next section I will look into specific works by prominent women travelers such as Lady Mary Montagu, Emilia Hornby and Sophia Lane Poole, and examine the interactions of these complex dynamics and their reflection in their works, in order to lay the ground of the full context of women's travel writing in the nineteenth century before delving into my primary analysis of Julia Pardoe's work.

2.2 Prominent Western Women Travelers to the Ottoman Empire and the East

For the purposes of allowing the unity of my thesis, and to lay the groundwork for the detailed reading of Pardoe's work within the context of the Ottoman Empire, I will focus my exploration of prominent women travelers from the nineteenth century to those who traveled to the Middle East, specifically to the Ottoman Empire and the modern-day Türkiye.

During the nineteenth century, women embarked on journeys for a multitude of reasons, often driven by a combination of personal aspirations, personal requirements brought by their familial lives, and societal constraints that inspired them to challenge the traditional boundaries of their roles. Women from various backgrounds, including aristocracy, middle-class, and even the lower class, often going on unrecorded journeys with the women travelers they worked for, traveled all around the world. The diverse women travelers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries varied from the aristocratic Lady Mary Montagu to adventurous women like Alexandra David-Neel, who came from a life of running away from home to travel, to becoming a prominent figure in travel literature (Lorcin 1).

The aristocratic women who engaged in travel during this period often did so as part of the Grand Tour—an educational and cultural journey undertaken primarily by the elite of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. These women explored the classical sites of Europe, gaining exposure to art, history, and languages. The Grand Tour provided a socially acceptable avenue for wealthy women to broaden their horizons and demonstrate cultural refinement. Often accompanying male relatives, these women embarked on this expedition for education, as well as entertainment that went beyond what was available within the confines of their homes. Some British tourists of the Grand Tour extended their journeys into the East. For other reasons alongside with the opportunities provided by the Grand Tour, aristocratic women got to safely travel to faraway places they did not before.

Middle-class women, driven by a spirit of independence and a desire for personal growth, or by simply familial motivations, also found opportunities to travel. Some sought adventure, defying the expectations of domesticity to experience the world beyond their homes. Lady Hornby, for example, a traveler from the nineteenth century, traveled to several mountains and climbed them (Theakstone 42). Others, motivated by intellectual pursuits, engaged in scientific or anthropological explorations. These women sought to actively participate in the expansion of knowledge. An instance of a woman traveler who contributed to the scientific circles through her travels is Amelia Edwards, who wrote her *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*, which was considered “the first general archaeological survey of Egypt’s ruins” (Robinson 14). Their trips granted western women a level of freedom that was uncommon in their societies, offering them escape from social and familial constraints (Melman 15). There also were, from the middle-class, women who traveled alongside their traveling male members of the family, whom they accompanied in their journeys, getting a chance to experience the East and document their experiences. For instance, it was her brother

who invited Sophia-Lane Poole to live with him in Cairo. Sophia's brother, Edward Lane was a professor of Arabic, and lived in Cairo on which he wrote his impressions. He invited his sister to gain insight into the women's spheres, which resulted in Sophia-Lane Poole's *The Englishwoman in Egypt: Letters from Cairo* (Barın Akman, Ottoman Women 43). So, travel narratives of the nineteenth century have been enriched by women fulfilling roles ranging from housewives, missionaries, professionals, and aristocrats' wives to adventurous spinsters.

One of the most significant women travelers, if not *the* most prominent woman traveler, was Lady Mary Wortley Montagu from the eighteenth century. She was one of the aristocratic women who traveled to many parts of the world in Europe, Africa, and Asia, including the Middle East and the Ottoman Empire. She is the most notable women travel writer in terms of the reconstruction of the genre and the image of Turks and the Middle Eastern "other". She decided to travel to Türkiye when her husband was appointed Ambassador in 1716, which was an unconventional decision at her time. As mentioned before, Melman identifies her as the first traveler who started the tradition of secular travel and travel writing for women. However, this is not the only aspect of travel literature she pioneered for other women writers. Barın Akman also claims that she is the writer who "began the women travelogue tradition about the East" (28). She was the first to *discover* and write about the mysteries of the *seraglio* and the *harem*, after her male contemporaries who also wrote about the harem and the seraglio. What set her narrative apart as a woman was that she was able to enter these spaces and was the first "reliable" source of information about them. Therefore, her declaration of the freedom of the Turkish women, that exceeded that of the Western women, was "scandalous" and groundbreaking. Her collection of letters she wrote during her travels and her fourteen-month stay in Constantinople, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, discusses many themes that shifted the stereotypical discourse about the Orient, and displays her sympathetic attitude towards Turkish people, especially women. Barın Akman goes further to argue that Montagu's narrative about the East "lacks any orientalist underpinnings" when talking about the culture and the daily lives of Turkish people, which was prevalent in previous travel writing, especially by men, such as Jean Dumont or Aaron Hill (28).

William Biddulph, for example, with his travel narratives dating back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, displays how deeply rooted Orientalist discourse is within travel literature. He was a chaplain appointed by the Levent Company to Aleppo (Maclean 417). In *The Travels of Certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy . . . and to Sundry Other Places*

(1609), he writes “Here wives may learn to love their husbands, when they shall read in what slavery women live in other countries, and in what awe and subjection to their husbands, and what liberty and freedom they themselves enjoy” and “servants will learn duty to their benevolent masters” (85). By evoking an image of the Eastern women as poor, enslaved creatures, and touching upon the issue of servants and slaves in a dramatic manner, he constitutes the Orientalist patriarchal discourse of the colonial era (Andrea 80). It was travelers like him, mostly male, who created and upheld this image, until women travelers stepped in and created a new discourse, opposing these exact claims at times. Pardoe, for example, talking about women and slaves, in separate instances which will be discussed further in detail in Chapter 3, falsifies such claims as they are, stating that slaves in Türkiye are freer than servants in the West, and women are the freest compared to the women of the West.

Montagu was the first travel writer who corrected the misconception that Turkish women were oppressed prisoners, their beauties lavishly monopolized for the pleasure of their oppressors. In one of her letters, talking about the veil Turkish women wore, which was dominantly perceived by the Orientalists as a tool of oppression, she interprets its function in a more open-minded fashion, saying; “this perpetual masquerade gives them entire liberty of following their Inclinations without danger of Discovery”, and stating that she looks upon the Turkish women “as the only free people in the Empire” (71-2). Her allusion to, and the correction of the misinformation that Turkish women were objects of pity and desire, in the eyes of Western Orientalists (men *and* women, although mostly men) that had been circulating through the accounts of travelers, created a strong wave in women’s travel writing. So much so that, more than twenty years after her death, Elizabeth Lady Craven, a British traveler, emphasized the same idea through her words that describes Türkiye as “a country where women enjoy so much liberty, and are free from all reproach” (205). Many women travelers of the later nineteenth and even twentieth centuries, such as Julia Pardoe herself, discussed the same themes of freedom, manners, hospitality and so on, in a similar manner to Montagu. Anna Bowman Dodd, for example, in her book *In the Palaces of the Sultan* (1903) talks about the issue of freedom Montagu, Pardoe, and others talked about before, saying; “it is the European rather than the Osmanli women who seem to be still in bondage” (qtd. in Kaçmaz and Döşkaya, 29).

Montagu’s observations from the eighteenth century “compelled many to revisit” their impressions of not only Turks but also the religion, culture, manners of the Middle Eastern

people, that is the image of the “other” and the Orient as a whole (Barın Akman, Ottoman Women 31). Thus, she pioneered a revision of the prevailing perceptions of the Orient, challenging previously firmly established notions of the “other” as barbaric, sensual, lazy, and other derogatory attributes given to them. Her writing set a precedent for women travelers of the later centuries. These women, influenced by her work and its success, explored similar themes in their own travel accounts of their journeys to the Ottoman Empire. Much like Montagu, they delved into topics such as the lives of Ottoman women, providing insights into the dynamics within harems, and their roles and position within family and society. By emulating Montagu's approach, these women travelers contributed to a more nuanced understanding of the Orient and its people, diversifying the discourse on the region and challenging the prevalent Orientalist perspectives of the time.

While talking about how women travelers reconstructed the image of the East in their works, it is important to discuss what brought women’s travel writing to be different to the prevailing travel literature. In their writing, women travelers of the nineteenth century delved into topics such as harems, marriage and divorce, the position of women in Ottoman society, rights and freedom of women, and Turkish hospitality, ushering in a distinctive perspective that departed from conventional travel narratives. This departure was not merely a stylistic one but rather a common movement towards understanding and appreciating the cultures of the people often labeled as the “other”. These women, through their writings, initiated a shift in the discourse about the Eastern “other” that went beyond the surface of cultural exploration, and colonial exploitation.

One crucial factor contributing to this distinctive approach was the personal resonance these women felt with the "other". Their experiences of the patriarchal system fostered a more empathetic and authentic portrayal in their narratives. Melman questions whether western women can be identified as the “other within”, since they are othered in a sense by the patriarchy that ruled over them, just like the indigenous people of the colonized nations or the people of Eastern countries are othered by their colonizers and Orientalists who subjected them to misrepresentation (1). She says that there is a close connection between Orientalism and patriarchalism, and between the colonization of nations and domination over women in “the ‘metropolitan’ West” (Melman 4). The term “the other within” refers, according to Melman, to the white women *within* the West, compared with the “other without”, that is the peoples and races outside Europe and the West (1). Ulmer says that British women, when they started residing in the colonies, had the sense of superiority to the natives as whites, however

they remained, in their status within the patriarchal society and in the way they were treated, inferior to white men, because of their gender (8-9). This argument is plausible since the West, in its Orientalist discourse, has always tended to portray the East in a feminized and eroticized manner. We can see how deeply this is engraved into the Western system of thought to our contemporary day. For instance, Slavoj Žižek, in his "A Glance into the Archives of Islam" openly feminizes the East, while sensualizing and sexualizing it as a whole. While talking about the contact between the East and West, he says; "Christianity and Buddhism, male and female principles. Like a harmonious sexual relationship". The West's reaction to the East has been a mixture of attraction and repulsion, looking down on it, yet seeing it as an object of desire, in a similar way to how women were seen in the Western context (Melman 4). This portrayal may have contributed to women travelers' adopting a more compassionate and open-minded attitude towards the people of the East, especially its women. This compassion can be seen in Pardoe's travel narrative through the language she uses for Turkish women. When she talks about them, Pardoe refers to English women as their "fair European sisters" (ch. 2). Her words resonate her closeness to Turkish women.

One aspect of the Eastern culture that related to women and that was misrepresented by male travelers was the harem. It had been one of the most repeated topics by male travelers, reflecting its nature in a way it was not intended to be. While the harem was merely the name for the quarters of the house that were the women's free spaces, where the men were not allowed in, rather than the women not being allowed out, male travelers imagined it as a place of desire and terror. Many women travelers who visited harems pointed at a tradition that proves that the *harem* was owned by women and their will, rather than men's. They[4] talked about how women of the house would position a pair of street shoes outside the *harem* door to signal the husband or any male members of the family that they are not allowed to enter as the lady is busy. This gesture would safeguard the lady's privacy (Barın Akman, Ottoman Women 55, 56). Despite this, male travelers wrote about how women were imprisoned in these harems, and were used for their men's desires, while fantasizing about it and sexualizing it. They present Turkish women as overly sexual. Paul Rycaut, a seventeenth century diplomat and historian, claims that "[T]hey are accounted the most lascivious and immodest of all Women" (qtd. in Bohls 186). Aaron Hill[5] goes to an extent in his lewd claims to say that if the women of the *harem* got a hold of a male stranger alone, they collectively

[4] see Lady Montagu, Sophia Poole and Julia Pardoe.
[5] see Hill's *A Full and Just Account of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1709) p. 111.

attacked him until they were satisfied. Reading these descriptions through the framework of Orientalism and post-colonial studies let them not go further than revealing their own crooked fantasies. However, this was not the case for the centuries they were written in, for their Western readers believed what they wrote. Male travelers, almost unanimously, sexualized the harem and Eastern women to such an extent that they even lewdly fantasized about the ways in which certain foods that were brought to the harems and bath houses were used, to which they have never entered, it is important to note[6]. Women travelers, such as Montagu, who did enter these harems and bath houses, prove otherwise. Lady Montagu states in one of her letters where she talks about her experience of a Turkish bath house, responds to this exact act of sexualization by men; She says that women walked around in plain nakedness inside the bath, "yet there was not the least wanton smile or immodest gesture amongst 'em" (qtd. in Bohls 187). Pardoe, in her narrative, directly refers to Montagu's comments about the bathhouse. Although Montagu notes that wanton smiles or immodest gestures were absent in the bathhouses, Pardoe still refutes her comment that follows; "I had wickedness enough, to wish secretly, that Mr. Gervais could have been there invisible. I fancy it would have very much improved his art, to see so many fine women naked, in different postures" (Montagu 59). Pardoe corrects the Ambassadress' claim of wanton nakedness by saying; "I witnessed none of that wanton exposure described by Lady M. W. Montague" (Pardoe, ch. 8).

Another example, of many, of how women travelers challenged the claims of their male predecessors (or contemporaries) is in the case of freedom of women, not only in an abstract, but rather physical sense. Many Western men who traveled to the Ottoman empire confused the fact that women do not socialize with men on a day-to-day basis, as a matter of cultural tradition, with them being forcibly confined indoors. Hill claims: "'Tis but very rarely that they go abroad, and then to no place but the public Bagnio's, or the Funeral, or Marriage, of some near Relation," (qtd. in Bohls 187). It is ironically remarkable how Hill's work in which he puts forth such a claim is titled *A Full and Just Account of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. Many women travelers' accounts of Eastern women enjoying their time doing outdoor activities from going on picnics to shopping, to attending balls and celebrations of holidays rectify such claims. Julia Pardoe describes a picnic in a famous spot, crowded with men and women from all sorts of backgrounds, displaying that what Hill claims is not at all reflective of the reality of the matter. 35 years after Pardoe's visit, Mrs. Harvey, in her

[6] see Bohls 186-187.

1871 book *Turkish Harems and Circassian Homes* describes the scenery in the same spot; "On a Friday, or other holiday, many hundreds of people congregate at the Sweet Waters both of Europe and Asia. The women, arrayed in gorgeous dresses, recline on carpets beneath the trees…" (qtd. in Barın Akman, Ottoman Women 65). This pattern of a false and unreasonable claim by a male traveler, followed up by a later woman traveler's rectification of the very claim through observation of the otherwise is prominent in the travel literature of the time.

Moreover, such examples reflect the reconstruction of the image of the East and its people, and travel writing as a genre by women travel writers. That is, Western women who traveled to the East and got a chance to see the people and the culture with its aspects, such as the harems, for themselves realized the discourse being created around them and the Eastern women was no different than the one they were subjected to, even worse. Some travelers even noticed and noted that Eastern women enjoyed a freedom they themselves did not have under the dominion of their households. This, among other reasons, moved them to speak out about their own experiences of the East. It also urged later critics to read their works aware of this change they brought to the genre. Thence, Pardoe's narrative proves an important literary source to look at as to discern how women travelers like her reconstructed, not only the genre but also the image of Eastern women, people, and culture, since her narrative stands distinct even amongst the works of those women travelers who corrected the previous misconceptions. The ways in which Pardoe is distinct in her representation of Turkish people, I will go into more detail in my third chapter.

2.3 Does Gender Really Matter?

Before I proceed with the exploration of Julia Pardoe's work as an example of the intricacies of women's travel writing of her time, it is important to ask a fundamental question; Does gender really matter? That is; does gender play a consequential role in shaping the narratives, reception, and broader impact of these works? Starting with scholars such as Sara Mills and Billie Melman, gender started to be a significant notion to talk about when talking about travel literature. Some defined travel literature as a gendered genre, others refuted the notion.

Melman in her work states that the publication of Lady Mary Montagu's collection of letters on Türkiye, often regarded as the first secular work by a woman about the Muslim

Orient, marked a significant departure from the norm of Orientalism prevailing at the time in the beginning of the eighteenth century. She designates Montagu's writing as the beginning of an "alternative, gender-specific" form of travel writing (Melman 2). According to Sara Mills, as she states in her "Knowledge, Gender, and Empire", gender always has a significant impact on writing and how these writings must be read, especially within the imperial context, which is "a profoundly gendered environment" (29). However, she makes a point that men and women do not differ in their writing fundamentally but differ in how they reflect and produce knowledge about 'the other' (30). My concern for this section is also not so much as to discover whether men and women wrote differently, if there is an inherent difference between their style. Rather, I am concerned with whether gender affects the display of colonial and Oriental inclinations in discourse.

Moreover, Mills suggests that women's travel writing, and production of knowledge, diverge in the ways it was published, received, and judged. Societal expectations from women of the nineteenth century, such as domesticity, have been discussed previously. Women, in the imperial period, often faced societal expectations and norms that shaped their roles and behaviors. These expectations influenced how women framed their travels and the topics they chose to address. This is one of the reasons why one can say travel writing is "gendered", that has to do with its receival. Another reason is the historical context of publishing practices, especially in Europe, specifically Britain. The publishing industry of eighteen and nineteenth century England did not only affect what women wrote about, but also how their works were marketed and received. During these centuries the industry was male dominated. Women faced challenges in getting their works published, and many had to use male pseudonyms or remain anonymous to have their writings considered seriously. This was a tradition followed by many women writers, greatest examples of which are George Elliot and the Brontë sisters. Even in the context of travel literature, examples of this can be found. Two women travelers from the eighteenth century, Lady Barbara Montagu and Sarah Scott, used a pseudonymic formula signing their works "By a Gentleman on his Travels" (Rouhette). Additionally, Rouhette suggests that until 1817, only four of the published traveling works of women were signed with a gendered formula like "By a Lady", however common the practice of gendered nouns in signatures of such works were during the period. This shows that women were influenced by the publishing industry and were shy, not of writing about their travels, but of publishing them as a woman.

Furthermore, in discussing travel writing and gender, particularly in the context of women's travel writing, one concept that is significant is the concept of 'the gaze'. It is essential for understanding the construction of difference, whether that difference pertains to gender, race, nation, or culture. 'The gaze', Patricia M. E. Lorcin says, can be understood as the unique perspective through which a particular group, conditioned by factors such as gender, national allegiance, social standing, or professional class, views the world (1). The conditioning of colonial women writers, or women from the colonial period, occurs through two primary channels, among others. The first channel is through the influence of their "colonizers" (as in the concept of "the other within"), their husbands, fathers, brothers and so on. In this role, they often become vessels for the transmission of patriarchal ideals and colonial mindsets into the women's sphere. This constitutes the "colonial gaze" in women's travel writing, as mentioned before. However, this is just one aspect of their conditioning. Another, equally important aspect is their 'female gaze.' This 'female gaze' gives them an awareness that shapes their own perceptions of the "other". It allows them to empathize with those they encounter during their travels and to explore their own sense of 'otherness.' This dual influence—both the 'colonial gaze' of the imperialist world they lived in, and the 'female gaze' rooted in their own experiences as women—creates a complex interplay in their travel narratives.

Nonetheless, it is essential to recognize that reducing women's travel writing to a monolithic 'female gaze' would be erroneous. While it is true that women introduced a diverse perspective on the Orient within the travel writing genre, it would be fallacious to assume that there are no significant exceptions. Some women writers were as complicit of colonialism as their male counterparts and incorporated colonial discourse into their writings. Conversely, there were also male writers who attempted to break free from colonial biases. The idea that women's travel writing is entirely free from colonial biases, or that all women writers aimed to unveil the 'truths' about the Orient and its people in opposition to patriarchal imperialism, oversimplifies the reality of the context and the genre. Lady Emilia Bithynia Hornby is a great example who displays the complexity and multifacetedness of women's travel writing. In her travelog *In and Around Stanboul* and her published collection of letters *Constantinople During the Crimean War*, one can identify passages that disprove male travelers' claims about the oriental "other" and show the reality of their condition. However, one can also encounter in her writing some of the most Orientalist and colonialist comments from the same publications. For example, when Barın Akman (Ottoman Women 65) talks about the

previously mentioned issue of male travelers' claim of women's confinement in their harems and women travel writers' accounts that disprove them, she provides an excerpt from Hornby's *In and Around Stanboul*, where she talks about her picnic in Küçüksu. Hornby describes the scenery with utmost joy, saying things like, "Group after group, in the most splendid and varied costumes, are seated…where a beauty in snow-white veil, and shining lilac feridjee trimmed with silver, is laughing with a lovely child and her black attendants" (qtd. in Barın Akman, Ottoman Women 66). Hornby's description of the scene with her neutral, if not positive and admiring, description of the veil, which have been a topic of contempt among many male travelers, is remarkable. On the other hand, within the same passage, she goes on to make such a comment as "...you are delighted even with the rude Greek songs". This is one of Hornby's milder offensive comments on the people of the Ottoman Empire. Her work, and letters, are full of starkly imperialist or Orientalist, even racist, comments about the people of "other". Manny of her letters contain sentences such as "The Turks are very primitive and sensible in their habits…" (Hornby 215), or "There is certainly much to be done in this part of the world." (177). These, and many more of her comments on the Oriental "other", showcase instances of how women travelers, even in the second half of the nineteenth century, carried on the discourses created about and around the "other". While this colonial and imperial stance can be found in a woman traveler's account, comments against the stereotyping of the Orientalist approach can also be found in some male travelers' accounts. Male travelers such as Edward Lane, who traveled to Egypt at the age twenty-four, challenge Orientalist discourse by questioning biases and correcting misconceptions about the Oriental "other". Works of these writers, although the minority among others, predominantly refrain from interpreting the East through negative preconceptions and textual constructs.

Ultimately, gender is not the sole determinant of whether a writer's work aligns with or challenges colonial biases. Various social and cultural factors, such as class, nationality, and ideological affiliations, play a crucial role in shaping the diverse and heterogeneous nature of Orientalist discourse within travel literature. Even individual writers may vary in their discourse within a single work when it comes to the degree of objectivity or bias in their representation of the 'other', as we will see in Chapter 3 in the analysis of Pardoe's work. Nonetheless, I aim to emphasize the fact that women's travel writing reconstructed the genre and the colonial discourse within it, displaying it through Julia Pardoe's writing.

In essence, the exploration of women's travel writing in the nineteenth century, with a focus on journeys to the Ottoman Empire, reveals a dynamic interplay of factors that significantly shaped the genre and challenged prevailing colonial and Oriental discourses. Women's travel writing of the nineteenth century emerged as a transformative force, reshaping the genre and contributing to a more perceptive understanding of the "other". Prominent women travelers, pioneered by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, played a pivotal role in reconstructing the genre and the image of Eastern people. Their narratives defied Orientalist stereotypes and presented a more empathetic understanding of Turkish women and the Eastern other in general. The question of whether gender truly matters in shaping travel narratives prompts a nuanced consideration. While gender is a significant factor, it does not operate in isolation; it intertwines with class, nationality, and ideological affiliations. Individual writers, regardless of gender, exhibit a spectrum of perspectives within a single work, adding to the heterogeneous nature of Orientalist discourse within travel literature. As I transition to the analysis of Julia Pardoe's work in the subsequent chapter, I carry forward the recognition of the intricate dynamics that women brought to travel narratives during this historical period. Pardoe's writing, as I will explore, exemplifies the multifaceted nature of gendered perspectives within the broader context of Orientalist travel literature.

CHAPTER 3: ISTANBUL AND ITS PEOPLE THROUGH THE EYES OF JULIA PARDOE

In the exploration of nineteenth-century travel literature through the lens of Orientalism, Julia Pardoe stands as a compelling voice. Through her work *The City of the Sultan and the Domestic Manners of Turks, in 1836*, she offers a unique perspective, especially for her time, on Türkiye and its people. Her work exemplifies perfectly how women's travel writings during this period shifted the imperial discourse about the East and its people. This shift is displayed in her work through her constant allusion to previous travelers and the prevailing ideas of the Orientalist and imperialist West, and her opposing them. Throughout her work, especially in her preface, she emphasizes her intent to do justice to the people of Türkiye as previous travelers, through prejudiced views, misrepresented them to the people of Europe. Thus, Pardoe states that she sets out to challenge what she terms the "errors" embedded in the travel accounts of her predecessors, presenting a nuanced and authentic portrayal of the people of the East.

The purpose of this chapter is to delve into Pardoe's perspective, through a categorically organized and in-depth analysis of her observations and insights on various facets of Türkiye, Turkish people, culture, religion, and other themes, many of which are previously commented on by Western travelers, which Pardoe also points out. My analysis will indicate that Pardoe is one of the many women travelers that used their privilege of access to previously unvisited spaces, by Western travelers, of private life in conveying a truer representation of the East. Through my analysis of her encounters with several aspects of the culture, religion and people of Türkiye, my aim is to identify the anti-Orientalist discourse in her work that has historically led to the development of an alternative perspective or attitude towards the Eastern other. It is also important to state that another aim of mine is to display, through chosen passages from this work, that in travel literature gender is not an ultimate determinant in whether a work was imperially or orientally inclined as the interplay of Orientalist and anti-Orientalist discourses is visible within Pardoe's work as well as many other women travelers of her time.

My argument that Pardoe's work aims to correct the misconceptions about Türkiye and Turkish people stems from her direct statement of such an intent in the beginning of her work. In her preface, Pardoe states that a traveler faces two problems, with which she also faced in the compilation of her work. One of these difficulties is the language barrier. She says that as a third person intervenes in communications that take place, the traveler's perception is filtered through that person's lens, or translation. Even when the interpreter does not "wilfully pervert its sense", they take away the soul of the conversation (Pardoe, Preface). However, this drawback is nothing when compared to what Pardoe calls "myriad snares" (Pardoe, Preface). These snares are brought to the traveler of the East by two things: "party spirit" and "political prejudice" (Pardoe, Preface). Talking about these Pardoe states;

> The liberal-minded and high-hearted politician of Europe, even while he is straining every nerve, and exerting every energy, to support and strengthen the interests of his country, disdains to carry with him into private life the hatreds, the jealousies, and the suspicions, which, like rust on metal, mar the brightness of the spirit that harbours them." (Pardoe, Preface)

Here, Pardoe's comment suggests what a "liberal-minded and high-hearted" politician *must* do, rather than what such politicians, or travelers for that matter, of her time actually do. Her implied allusion to the fact that travelers and politicians sent to Eastern countries carry with them certain imperial prejudices in order to benefit the imperial aims of their countries, believing it to be for the betterment of them is seen in this passage. I have talked about how certain travelers funded by certain governmental institutions wrote about the other with the intention to portray them in a negative light in order to justify imperial violations of their human rights. Here, Pardoe, having witnessed the true nature of Eastern people that is not at all rightfully reflected by the accounts of such travelers, points at how carrying imperial prejudices impacted their works and created false accounts. In a later passage, she goes on to say that it is necessary to, and she does, "question the soundness of the judgment which would universally create a bad man out of a rival politician" (Pardoe, Preface). It was a phenomenon for many centuries that "Turks" were seen as a political threat by the British Empire. This motivated many a literary artist to write negatively about Turks in their works. Pardoe talks about such political rivalries affecting people who visit Istanbul to think and write negatively about its people. This is what she calls *political prejudice*. The former passage also illustrates Pardoe's stylistic choice of using irony as a tool to get her messages through without facing

too harsh criticisms. Throughout her work, as I will illustrate in this chapter under several of the categories, she uses figures of speech to convey a message through tongue-in-cheek.

Pardoe continues on to explain the dangers of *party spirit* for a traveler and explains how she would like to be free from both in order to do justice to Turkish people. While doing so, she also alludes to female travelers (I am using the term "traveler" liberally here, since the group of women Pardoe talks about includes Western women who live in Istanbul during the time of her visit) who are also victims of these dangers that pervade the Frank quarter of Istanbul, as she puts it. Thus, Pardoe touches upon the subject of women travelers who are not free from imperial prejudices that was discussed in the previous chapter. She says, "The height to which party-spirit is carried in Constantinople…would be laughable were it not mischievous…Even females are not free from the malaria which hovers like an atmosphere about the streets" (Pardoe, Preface). Pardoe further emphasizes the imperial point of view of those Western people who are also in Istanbul during her visit by referring to a fake sense of power and superiority they feel over the people of the East. She says, for Pera, the Frenk Quarters of Istanbul; "a traveller has not been domesticated a week among its inhabitants, ere he almost begins to believe that the destinies of the whole Eastern Empire hang upon the breath of a dozen individuals" (Pardoe, Preface). What she is saying is that when Western travelers only mingle with the Western dwellers living in the places they visit, they cannot help but be colored by their imperial ideas. In order to protect herself from this, having experienced such influence during the first couple of months of her visit, she decides she will spend time with the locals and try to get to know them better, unbiased. At the end of her preface, she expresses her resolution to not make any statements or express any opinions that are not based on her personal convictions. She states;

> I resolved to hazard no assertion or opinion which did not emanate from personal conviction, and I found that I could not prove an honest chronicler if I merely contented myself with a hurried and superficial survey of a country constituted like Turkey (Pardoe, Preface).

Pardoe here is stating her intent to commit to being a truthful and reliable travel writer, since, in her time, unreliable chroniclers of travel were a common phenomenon, apparent from her comment, known to Western individuals of sound mind, and those with the opportunity and the dedication to see the matter of Eastern people for themselves.

Another point Pardoe touches upon in her introduction is the injustice done to Turkish people by previous Western travelers through their misrepresentations. She talks about Turkish people's awareness of how their image in the West has been distorted by travelers and Orientalists. While talking about the difficulties a "stranger" in Türkiye faces, she says one already has a difficult time acquainting themselves with Turkish people because of the language barrier. In addition to this, Turkish people, Pardoe says, are not persuaded "to make any extraordinary effort to overcome the prejudice with which they ever look upon a Frank, when they remember how absurdly and even cruelly, they have been misrepresented by many a passing traveller" (Pardoe, Preface). Her words show the separation Orientalist approaches create between the people of the East and the West. Pardoe also reproaches those travelers who "absurdly and even cruelly" do this misrepresentation. Her usage of the word "cruelly" also suggests an intentional misrepresentation by these travelers. However, she does not accuse them too harshly. She softens her remark by saying that this misrepresentation is caused by the lack of "time [or] opportunity to form a more efficient judgment" (Pardoe, Preface). She concludes her preface by saying that she attempted, in her writing, to provide her readers with "a more just and complete insight into Turkish domestic life, than they have hitherto been enabled to obtain" (Pardoe, Preface).

This open statement of her intention to correct the erroneous representations of the Eastern people of Türkiye is why I argue Pardoe's work is a distinctive travel work among her contemporaries'. This heavy emphasis she puts on critiquing the prejudiced views and a false image of the Turks sets her as a distinctive example from the realm of nineteenth century travel literature, and as an example of how women travelers started to shift the discourse on the East and the Eastern other. Her focus on a counter-Orientalist approach contributed to the reconstruction of the image of Turks and her work provides a more authentic understanding of Turkish people and culture. As I proceed with an analysis of her work, I will explore key themes such as Turkish women, the harem, religion, slaves, habits and manners etc. I will focus on each theme under a dedicated subchapter, analyzing chosen passages where Pardoe talks about such matters. This chapter will indicate Pardoe's deliberate opposition to the prevailing Orientalist discourse of her time, her critical reflections on certain issues that many travelers have touched upon before her and her challenging comments on imperialistic notions. It will reveal that Pardoe's work is one that serves to dismantle stereotypes and offers a counter-narrative to the one of imperialist, Orientalist, and/or colonialist that was prominent in the travel writing of the nineteenth and preceding centuries.

3.1. Istanbul: The City of the Sultan and the Sultan of Cities

One of the matters Pardoe talks about, although in brief comments of mostly simply descriptive terms of appearance, is the city she visits; Istanbul, which she at times calls "Stamboul" or mostly "Constantinople". There are two significant points to talk about regarding Pardoe's mentions of the city; the Oriental Romanticism present in her descriptions and a topic she handles several times, the safety of the streets of Istanbul.

She holds the city in high esteem and admires its beauty often. She calls Istanbul "Queenly Stamboul!" (Pardoe, ch. 1). Her perception of Istanbul is from a romanticized point of view. Romanticism from the seventeenth century until during the nineteenth century had its influence on the travel writing of the time as well (Barın Akman, Nineteenth-Century Orientalist Discourse(s) 48). An Oriental phenomenon that shook Europe during the seventeenth century was the translations of *One Thousand and One Nights*, first into French by Anthony Galland in 1684, then into English. The translations and their popularity in Europe created a wave of interest in "everything Oriental" (Barın Akman, Nineteenth-Century Orientalist Discourse(s) 9). Following this, the many translated works about or from the Orient popularized Oriental Romanticism (Barın Akman, Nineteenth-Century Orientalist Discourse(s) 48). Travelers who read such works hoped to see glimpses of what was written in fiction in the places they visited when they traveled to the East. This is reflected in their travel narratives. A mild reflection of the Orientalist admiration and romanticization is seen in Pardoe's description of Istanbul and its beauty. Talking about her first impressions of Istanbul she says that she "seemed to look on fairy-land" (Pardoe, ch. 1). She alludes directly to *Arabian Nights* once throughout her work. Looking upon a view of a group of Jewish women's clothing, Pardoe comments "Never, during my residence in the East, had I looked on any costume which equalled richness…It was a scene out of the Arabian Nights in action; and for a few moments I was lost in admiration" (Pardoe, ch. 25). This is the only time Pardoe, like many of her fellow travelers who surpass her in the number of times they talk about it, allude to the tales.

In my analysis of her words, I do not discern any negative connotations or the misappropriation of Eastern culture. Her remarks, in my opinion, are mere poetic expressions of admiration. This I deduce from two things. One is the mere positivity and descriptive nature of her expressions. She uses phrases like “princely”, “glory”, and “poetry in action” for Istanbul in her descriptions of it (Pardoe, ch. 1). Another reason I believe her approach to Istanbul is not negative or offensive in any way is one of her later remarks on a subject talked about by a previous traveler, and her correction of a false narration by him. Pardoe, while talking about her trip on a *caïque*, says that she looked around to “discover the “gilded domes” of which a modern traveller has spoken; but alas!—the truth must be told—not a mosque in Stamboul has a gilded dome” (Pardoe, ch. 5). The luxurious Eastern palaces that Western people became familiar with through tales like *Arabian Nights* have kept their expectations to see them with their own two eyes. However, when Pardoe, with the same hope she has earned through a “modern traveller’s” narrative, looks for such imagery, she finds it not. All things considered, Pardoe's romanticized view of Istanbul aligns more with a genuine appreciation than any negative or appropriative intent.

Another topic on the city of Istanbul Pardoe addresses is the safety of its streets. An instance where Pardoe talks about the absence of capital crime in the city is significant to mention. She, while talking about certain biased travelers’ misinforming narratives points at how “unprejudiced eyes” cannot overlook the “moral state of Turkey” (Pardoe, ch. 6). This is one of the instances where she touches upon subjects that have been talked about by previous travelers and she makes a comment of her own to correct the erroneous aspects of their conveyance of them. In a succeeding subchapter, I will talk about her comment in more detail. However, for the purposes of this subchapter it is important to mention her comment on the streets of Istanbul. Pardoe provides insights into the city's tranquil demeanor. She notes that Constantinople, a city with a population of six hundred thousand, maintains a police force of one hundred and fifty. Pardoe paints a picture of an urban environment free from the disturbances commonly associated with large populations. According to her account, there are “no street-riots [that] rouse the quiet citizens from their evening cogitations”, “no gaminghouse vomits forth its throng of despairing or of exulting votaries” (Pardoe, ch. 6). In this calm setting, there are no terrifying murders to disrupt the sleep of the timid. Pardoe emphasizes that even intoxicated individuals do not pose a threat, as there are “no inebriated mechanic reels homeward to wreak his drunken temper on his trembling wife” (Pardoe, ch. 6). Despite the seemingly small police force, referred to as the Kavashlir, Pardoe suggests that

their presence serves more for display than practical necessity in maintaining public order, since the public is already orderly. I choose to convey her words in their exact form thorough direct quotations to serve the purpose of making a point. Her remarks seem to suggest that those examples were set before her throughout her life, maybe in her homeland where street riots, drunken husbands and gamblers did rouse the calm streets, and disrupted the public. I have talked about the fact that Pardoe applies a sarcastic tone in some of her comments. Basing my analysis on this, I argue that in this passage, Pardoe is comparing the streets of Istanbul to those in Europe, suggesting that unlike the streets of Europe, those of Istanbul are safe and sound.

Another woman traveler, Emilia Hornby's description of the streets of Istanbul displays the complexity of Orientalist and counter-Orientalist approaches when it comes to women travelers, and travelers in general for that matter. Despite being a woman travel writer from the same century as Pardoe, Hornby draws a completely different picture of Istanbul. In one of her letters she wrote during her visit to Istanbul in 1855, she describes the streets on a night she is out on her way to a ball. She says;

> Once outside the doors of your hotel at night you begin to feel nervous…The houses are closely shut up, and only gleam out in their picturesque irregularity by the fitful glare of the lamps as the Turks pick their way over the great loose stones of the "pavement" and heaps of filth here and there. Every now and then a dark figure steals by, wrapped in a large cloak, and you feel, what is so strange to the English, that murder lurks in every dark place. (Hornby 148)

What is remarkable about Hornby's description of the streets, in contrast to Pardoe's, is that Hornby's depiction carries very few to no material description, her comments are not descriptive of the physical environment, but rather she talks about the feeling the environment gives her. Hornby displays the kind of traveler Pardoe talked about in her preface as those that are the victims of party-spirit, who do not choose to spend time with the Turkish people. Hornby, for much of her stay, remains in her hotel, run by a Frank lady and filled with guests from all over Europe. Therefore, her point of view is in stark contrast to that of Pardoe's. While Pardoe sees a safe environment, Hornby sees difference. This dichotomy proves Pardoe's point that travelers are impaired by their prejudices, and how they see and convey the East is based upon this.

3.2. People of the City, Their Habits and Manners

In this section, I will examine in detail Pardoe's vivid portrayal of the people of Istanbul and their cultures, exploring their habits and manners observed through her point of view as a traveler who seeks to understand and do justice to these people. Pardoe, in line with the phrasing in the title of her work, "The Domestic Manners of Turks", provides a comprehensive account of the people of Istanbul's behaviors and character. I structured my analysis around several quotations that, I discerned, represent the general point of view of Pardoe's portrayal. I categorized the quotations into several key themes; critical observations, generosity and hospitality, parental affection, kindness, specific mannerisms and aspects of character, and other quotations that would be faulty to leave out, however do not gather under one category. These themes serve as lenses through which I examine and display Pardoe's perceptive approach as a travel writer. Despite the prevailing Orientalist discourse of her time, Pardoe predominantly offers positive comments about the Turkish character, sometimes correcting misconceptions about them, and at others employing the same sort of Orientalist point of view. This aspect of her narration displays the complexity of each individual traveler's experiences and approaches. I have mentioned in the previous chapter that simply because women travelers started a sort of reform in the Orientalist patterns in travel writing, it does not mean that each and every women traveler was anti-colonialist. Some travelers, including Pardoe, however minor in her narration as a whole, even vary in their approach within one travel narrative.

One of the aspects of the Turkish character Pardoe admires and portrays is the intrinsic virtue of generosity and hospitality embedded in Turkish culture. Throughout her narrations of visits to Turkish houses and encounters with the locals, there appears a recurrent theme of welcoming gestures and open-hearted reception that repeats itself. In one passage, among many others, Pardoe talks about Turkish generosity and displays her admiration for this characteristic. She says that she must not "pass over without comment the simple and beautiful hospitality of the Turks, who welcome to their board, be he rich or poor, every countryman who thinks proper to take a seat at it" (Pardoe, ch. 2). Following this, Pardoe attributes this hospitality, and not wrongly, to the belief system of the Turks that urges them to be so. She says that "Mussulmauns" (meaning Muslims) greet every newcomer with a genuine "You are welcome". She says, "They consider themselves only as the stewards of GOD, and consequently use the goods of life as a loan rather than a possession" (Pardoe, ch.

2). She emphasizes that the generosity shown by Turks is grounded in the belief that the Turks are stewards of God's gifts, and the act of sharing is considered sacred duty. Her positive attributions to the Turks' religion are significant considering the denigration for Islam and Muslims present in the discourses of the preceding and the current century of her time. Her narration highlights her appreciation of the beauty of Turkish hospitality, emphasizing the unequivocal welcome extended to everyone, regardless of their social or economic standing. In a different instance, Pardoe compares the formal and distant salutations of the ladies of Europe to the warm and affectionate welcome of the ladies of the Ottoman Empire. She says upon entering the apartment of some Turkish ladies "no chilling salutation of measured courtesy—no high-bred manifestation of "exclusive" indifference, greeted the foreign strangers" (Pardoe, ch. 5). This kind of interaction, and Pardoe's mention of it in an appreciative tone is a recurrent theme throughout the work. Ultimately, such passages are a lens through which the broader values of Turkish culture and religion are brought to light.

Another theme Pardoe touches upon while talking about the character of Turks is their kindness. She, throughout her narrative, alludes to how previous travelers had a very crooked and untrue idea of Turks, and she openly refutes each misrepresentation whose proof of incorrectness she finds in her own experience. In one outing, she is filled with so much emotion upon witnessing a cheerful garden of people. She says;

> It was a heart-inspiring spectacle! and it was beautiful to remark the kindness and good feeling which pervaded the whole assemblage. I cannot understand how any European who has once contemplated a scene of this description, can carry away with him an unfavourable impression of the Turkish character. (Pardoe, ch. 17)

Continuing her description of how the scene made her feel, she compares the Eastern ability to find joy in things as simple as "a bright sky", "a lovely landscape", to the European strife for "precedence, and the uncertainty of ultimate success, which clog the more refined and "exclusive" pleasures of Europe" (Pardoe, ch. 17). She finds so much admiration, in this scene as well in the Turkish character that greets everyone with a "kindly smile". She says "Osmanlis have made a wise selection" in being so (Pardoe, ch. 17). Her words reflect her understanding that the representation of the Orient as people of nature with small pleasures, which are mostly connotated with laziness and idleness, is positive, rather than a bad attribution. She says that the Osmanlis enjoy "universal good-will" something that the European mind lacks (Pardoe, ch. 17). This passage displaying her appreciation of the

kindness of Turkish people also uncovers her approach to Oriental ideas of the East. Another instance where she compares Turkish kindness to the European mind is a lack of enjoyment of mischief. She says that "the natives of the East have yet to learn that there can be either wit or amusement in annoying others for the mere sake of creating annoyance" (Pardoe, ch. 7). She comments that "the Frank stranger" never finds a rude or impertinent comment. She emphasizes that even "the Frank woman, whose habits, manners, and costume, differ so widely, and, doubtlessly to them so absurdly, from those of their own country" (Pardoe, ch. 7). Turkish people are as kind as they are to each other. Through this she depicts how Eastern people do not have the same separation of the idea of "other" for Western people, as the people of Europe have for them.

Following up from the theme of kindness, another good characteristic Pardoe sees in the habits and manners of Turkish people is parental affection, and their love and care for children. I have already mentioned that a recurring topic in Pardoe's narrative is her telling her readers about good habits or manners, that is the merits of Turks. While doing so in one of her chapters, she states, "Another distinguishing trait in the Turkish character is their strong parental affection" and she adds that Turks have a love of children in general (Pardoe, ch. 6). She praises Turkish fathers for their tenderness towards their children. She says that they sacrifice their wants and needs in order to fulfill the needs and wants of their children. This statement of Pardoe's belies the image of barbaric Turkish men, who are despotic and violent towards their families, that is a recurring theme of the Oriental literature of centuries coming up to Pardoe's time.

After providing a specific example of such parental affection in action Pardoe moves on to the matter of adopted children. Turks' treatment of their adopted children baffles Pardoe even more as she compares their treatment with those adopted in Europe. She says that the "Osmanlis" carry such love for their children that they "constantly adopt those of others" (Pardoe, ch. 6). She says they raise these children "with the most extreme care and tenderness" (Pardoe, ch. 6). Here are her words comparing adopted children to those of Europe;

> The adopted child of Turkey is not like the protégé of Europe, the plaything of a season, and ultimately too often the victim of a whim: the act of adoption is with the Turks a solemn obligation; and poverty and privation would alike fail to weary them of well-doing where their affections as well as their word were pledged. (Pardoe, ch. 6)

I choose to take the whole passage in Pardoe's own words rather than paraphrasing in order to fully illustrate how certain Pardoe is in her wording while she criticizes the West against the East. This is remarkable when most travel writing of her time would suggest an inferiority of humanity in the East against the West, while Pardoe claims the opposite. Towards the end of her book, Pardoe playfully states "if children could really be "killed with kindness," the Ottoman Empire, in as far as the Turks themselves are concerned, would soon be a waste (Pardoe, ch. 26).

While Pardoe predominantly emphasizes the positive aspects of Turkish culture and character, it is equally important to acknowledge the instances where she adopts a critical approach and even employs an Orientalist language. These critical comments, however, constitute a minority in Pardoe's overall depiction of the East, Turkish people, and Istanbul. I would like to note that I will refrain from delving into her criticisms of the political landscape in Türkiye during her time, recognizing that such a discussion would warrant a more extensive study of its own. To maintain focus, I will specifically explore her assessments of certain cultural habits and manners. Firstly, Pardoe adheres to the Orientalist stereotype of lazy yet luxurious Easterners in her statement where she talks about the daily habits of Turks. She says, "Their [Turkish people's] habits are, generally speaking, most luxurious and indolent". She goes on to comment that Turkish people do not use their time productively, although they arise early in the morning (Pardoe, ch. 2). She depicts the picture of luxurious, indolent Eastern people through her description; "Their time is spent in dressing themselves, and varying the position of their ornaments" (Pardoe, ch. 2). She describes how ladies spend their day in their harem, sitting around, sometimes taking naps. She compares this to European ladies inviting their friend for a walk. At the end of her passage, as is a habit of hers in her travel narrative, she adds a positive comment. She says that this habit of idleness has started to change, and the change has started to be seen in the "high-bred Turkish females" (Pardoe, ch. 2). It is crucial to note that Pardoe's portrayal is based on her observations during social events, particularly house visits, where Turkish ladies traditionally engage in conversations and interactions with their guests. Pardoe's emphasis on perceived idleness stems from these specific social contexts. However, it is important to recognize the limitations of such observations, as Pardoe might not have had insights into their daily lives beyond these house visits. Her depiction reflects a specific custom of sitting and chatting with guests and may not capture the entirety of their activities in more private settings. In another instance, Pardoe talks about the Turkish character critically. She says, "The Turk is vain and self-

centered, and consequently most susceptible to flattery" (Pardoe, ch. 6). Pardoe contends that this predisposition to flattery has a detrimental impact on the Turkish individual's motivation for self-improvement. Her criticism of this flaw in the Turkish character that renders them in improving, Pardoe concludes; "These sober statements are sad innovators on our European ideas of Eastern magnificence, but they are, nevertheless, too characteristic to be passed over in silence" (Pardoe, ch. 6). Other critical comments by Pardoe do not exceed her complaints about the eating style of Turks, where everyone at the table eats from the same dish, in their negativity. In a passage she talks about one of her visits to a house she is taken aback by this gesture. However, once more she adds an understanding comment about how this action is "rendered less revolting" by each person's care to "confine herself to one spot" (Pardoe, ch. 2). This habit of Pardoe's, which I have pointed to before, is seen throughout her works. Whenever she has something critical, or negative, and at times to an extent of self-awareness, Orientalist, Pardoe makes sure to add a positive comment afterwards. This removes her critical comments from the perception of malicious intent to mere opinions and criticisms of a travel writer who, in her claim of an aim to be advocating for a more honest and comprehensive understanding of the Turks, writes all that she witnesses.

All of these narrations by Pardoe, of the merits of Turks, depicted through her descriptions of their habits and manners, display two things. One is that Pardoe, as a woman traveler of the nineteenth century, has set out, in her writing, to correct the erroneous claims on Turkish culture, manners and habits that have been put forth by many travelers, and Orientalists alike, before and during her time. She does this through her emphasis on the good attributes of Turkish people, most of them stemming from their culture and religion, and good-will in general. The other is that Pardoe, like many of her fellow traveling country women, had, in her writing, an interplay of positive and negative views of the people she was visiting, and Orientalist and counter-Orientalist comments about them. What sets Pardoe apart is her attention to state her opinion with the utmost awareness and care, except for a few instances, to do justice to the people she is talking about, being aware that they are a different people with different values and culture to hers. She writes with the awareness that being different does not make them inferior to the West. In its essence, Pardoe's portrayal of the habits and manners of the people of Istanbul defies the Orientalist stereotypes prevalent in her time. Her detailed examination showcases a genuine attempt to understand and appreciate the cultural nuances of the Ottoman Empire, presenting a counter-narrative that challenges the biased perspectives embedded in the travel literature of the nineteenth century. Pardoe's

writing sets an example of a travel narrative, that claims the opposite of many an Orientalist claim about the people of the East, that is it stands as a counter-Orientalist work. However, this is in its generality. Her work, as I have talked about in the previous chapter, is a complex mixture of the outcome of her multifaceted background, of being British, from the middle-class, a woman traveler in the nineteenth century, and her personal experiences.

3.3. Turkish Women

In this subchapter I will be touching upon Pardoe's portrayal of the women of the Ottoman Empire, who have been for so long misrepresented, and display that Pardoe acknowledges this and talks about her true experiences with them. Her representation of Turkish women in her writing is nuanced, positing a counter-narrative to Orientalist stereotypes of exoticized and sexualized Eastern women. Instead of perpetuating Orientalist fantasies of male travelers, she offers a portrayal grounded in her firsthand observations. She directs her attention to the daily lives of Turkish women, such as their habits inside their homes, their clothing and fashion choices, and social interactions. This reflects an attempt, on Pardoe's part, to acknowledge their humanity and understand them, rather than the approaches of previous male travelers' objectifying and stereotyping them.

Throughout her narrative, one of the topics Pardoe talks about the most is women, since she interacts with them the most. Her narrative on the women of Türkiye is a mixture of her descriptive observations, both positive and negative, and her praise of their merits, and criticism of what she sees as their demerits. One of the characteristics of Turkish women Pardoe praises the most is their welcoming and warm demeanor. While doing so, she compares the hospitality of Turkish women to the cold demeanor of that of European women. While talking about a day spent at *Guiuk-Suy* (Göksu), she says; "I am obliged to concede that no assemblage of European gentlewomen would have welcomed among them two female strangers, as the Turkish ladies" (Pardoe, ch. 17). She says that the foreigners were greeted with smiles and invitations everywhere. She says that they were "treated, in short, as friends, rather than persons seen for the first time" (Pardoe, ch. 17). Using her tongue-in-cheek tone, she criticized European women travelers, such as Lady Hornby, who refrain from mingling and acquainting themselves with Turkish ladies. She says that "such a welcome as this might be secured by every Frank lady, did she consider it worth her while to conciliate the Turkish

females" (Pardoe, ch. 17). She goes on to refer to the fact that the European ladies that reside in Istanbul scarcely acquaint themselves with even "one Osmanli family" (Pardoe, ch. 17). She gives a very interesting insight about the approach of European ladies to Turkish women by saying that she has been asked many times "if [she] was not frightened of the Turkish Women!" (Pardoe, ch. 17). She includes an exclamation mark at the end of her sentence, pointing at the absurdity of such a question. Pardoe ends this passage, which is at the end of one of her last chapters of her travel narrative, by commenting on such negative effect such prejudices make on both the relationship between East and the West, and on the image of the West. She says, "It were needless to comment either on the illiberality of the prejudice, or the effects which it is so unfortunately calculated to produce—Effects which are painfully visible; and whose cause is anything but creditable to European generosity or penetration" (Pardoe, ch. 17). Pardoe emphasizes the negative consequences of this prejudice. And although she does not explicitly state the nature of these effects, it can be inferred that such prejudice leads to strained relations or hinders positive interactions between European and Turkish women. Pardoe attributes this to a lack of effort to overcome the prejudices. At the end of her quote, she implies that these attitudes are not a credit to the generosity or perceptiveness of the European women who harbor them. It is evident from her approach in her narrative that Pardoe herself always takes steps to get over this prejudiced approach and get to know Turkish women and create a closeness. In one instance, as she talks about the habit of shopping among Turkish ladies, she says that the habit is "as great among the eastern ladies as with their fair European sisters" (Pardoe, ch. 2). In her statement she emphasizes the shared human experience. Moreover, her choice of words, particularly the use of "fair European sisters" implies a sense of closeness and familiarity as well as equality. As in this example, Pardoe, throughout her book, actively seeks common ground and highlights similarities between Turkish women and herself, as well as European women. This reflects her overarching aim of presenting a travel work that goes beyond Orientalist prejudices and stereotypes.

Another misconception Pardoe aims to break is the freedom of Turkish women. On this topic, I will be going into more detail in my next subchapter titled "The Harem", since the harem is the object of many misrepresentations by Western travelers. However, Pardoe, talking about Turkish women, often refers to how the existing conception of Turkish women as pitiable prisoners is erroneous. She often directly states the reality of women's freedom in the Ottoman Empire. She says, for example, "a Turkish woman consults no pleasure save her

own when she wishes to walk or drive, or even to pass a short time with a friend: she adjusts her *yashmac* and *feridjhe*, summons her slave". She goes on to state that when her husband inquiries about her, he is simply informed she will not be back for a while. Through such examples, Pardoe illustrates how false the previously made-up conception that Turkish women are pitiable prisoners of their husbands. She says that no "Osmanli husband ever resent[s] the expression of his wife", let alone constraint her in any way (Pardoe, ch. 6). Pardoe's descriptions counter the prevalent European pity toward Eastern women, portraying their freedom as individuals within the Ottoman Empire.

Pardoe corrects other fallacies about Turkish women as well. In many passages she challenges common Western assumptions about the lives of Turkish women. As I have stated before in this chapter, Pardoe, in many instances, touches upon previous travelers whose works she has read, and now, during her travels, have noticed that their portrayal of Turkish people, especially women are the result of fabrication or ignorance. One of the topics she mentions is the bathhouses in Istanbul. She criticizes the sexualization and eroticization of these places by male travelers, where any male entry would be impossible, but nonetheless often sensationalized through fantasy. Describing the first Eastern "bath-room" she saw during her visit to Istanbul, Pardoe, in her sarcastic tone, says; "had I been inclined so to do, I might doubtlessly have woven a pretty fiction on the subject, without actually visiting one of these extraordinary establishments" (Pardoe, ch. 8). She says that too much has already been made up by "Eastern tourists", and she goes on to state that she has no intention "to add to the number of fables which had been advanced as facts" (Pardoe, ch. 8). Her statement alludes to the incorrect image created by the Orientalist depictions of Eastern women's spaces that have been, through fancy and fancy only, infiltrated by male tourists of the East and unrealistically sexualized. She states that she does not want to suffer "imagination to usurp the office of vision" (Pardoe, ch. 8). Thence, she decides to visit a public bath with one of her acquaintances. Pardoe's decision to visit a public bath is a manifestation of her dedication to offering accurate and authentic insights rather than perpetuating fictionalized accounts born out of imagination.

However, it is important to note that Pardoe's narrative is not entirely free from criticisms. Despite her positive comments and portrayals, there are instances where she employs Orientalist tendencies through condescending language. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Orientalist tendencies do not only depend on gender, and the matter of Orientalist tendencies that employ themselves within travel literature are a lot more complex.

Herath suggests that women writers as well may accentuate the "otherness" of Ottoman women, while challenging certain Oriental stereotypes about them in other places in their works (35). One example of Pardoe's Orientalist tone, although very mild, is when she talks about the education level of Turkish women. In one passage where she talks about Turkish women she says, "The almost total absence of education among Turkish women, and the consequently limited range of their ideas, is another cause of that quiet, careless, indolent happiness that they enjoy…amused with trifles, careless of all the passing hour; a woman in person, but a child at heart" (Pardoe, ch. 6). Her infantilizing Turkish women and her emphasis on their perceived idleness is reminiscent of prevalent Orientalist ideas about them, which in other places Pardoe attempts to discredit. Nonetheless, these instances, in Julia Pardoe's case, are overwhelmed by her overall effort to engage with the nuances of the characteristics of Turkish people, challenging stereotypes, and presenting a more complex and nuanced understanding of Eastern people.

A duality of Pardoe's comments about Turkish women extend to a very popular topic which Pardoe attends to in a counter-Orientalist manner before; descriptions of women in the bathhouses. As I have mentioned previously, Pardoe, in her first impressions of the bathhouses in Istanbul openly opposes the Orientalist tendency of previous travelers' imagining and sexualizing it. However, her description of some ladies she observes in a later visit to a different bathhouse suggests sexual undertones with her descriptions of unnecessary details of the ladies' appearance in this private place is compelling. Pardoe describes the scenery in this bathroom as follows; "the sight of nearly three hundred women only partially dressed, and that in fine linen so perfectly saturated with vapour, that it revealed the whole outline of the figure" (Pardoe, ch. 8). Despite her censure of previous travelers' sensualizing descriptions, she provides one as well. However, at the end of the same chapter she provides this inappropriate description, she states;

> I should be unjust did I not declare that I witnessed none of that unnecessary and wanton exposure described by Lady M. W. Montague. Either the fair Ambassadress was present at a peculiar ceremony, or the Turkish ladies have become more delicate and fastidious in their ideas of propriety. (Pardoe, ch. 8)

Here, Pardoe's allusion is to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's description of fully naked women lounging in the bathhouse that reminds the reader of male painters' depictions of lewd scenes in Orientalist paintings. Montagu even alludes to an artist and says, "I had wickedness enough, to wish secretly, that Mr. Gervais could have been there invisible. I fancy it would

have very much improved his art, to see so many fine women naked, in different postures" (Montagu 59). Montagu's statement faced criticism in modern scholarship, however, Pardoe's allusion to it indicates during an era when the critique of Orientalism was not yet a prevailing discourse, she assumed a distinctive and uncommon critical stance. In essence, Pardoe's treatment of the bathhouses illustrates the complexity of her approach to Orientalist themes, further emphasizing the point, I have mentioned in the second chapter of this study, namely, that a Western traveler of the imperial era should not be presumed to subvert Orientalism solely based on gender; rather the travel narratives of this era are complex, and their approaches are influenced by a myriad of factors.

3.4. The Harem

Another theme that cannot be left out of the analysis of any woman traveler, or any traveler to the East regardless of gender for that matter, that Pardoe also mentions is the harems, that is the women's quarters of a Turkish house. As male travelers were not allowed inside the harems, throughout centuries, the harems were depicted through their Orientalist fantasies, although it is a part of any Turkish household in the Ottoman Empire. Male travelers sexualized the harem. It was, as I have mentioned in detail in the second chapter, women travelers to the East that through their narratives corrected these misconceptions and opposed to the sensualized image male travelers put forth. As noted by recent feminist scholars, the exclusive access that women had to harems was the reason women travelers were able to confront the prevalent male fantasies surrounding harem life (Herath 33). It was the women who created the new and more accurate image of the harem as a familial space. Pardoe's exploration and portrayal of this topic provides a critical perspective through which she challenges the prevailing stereotypes associated with it.

One of the ways in which Pardoe opposes the preceding stereotypes of the harem is to oppose the idea that it confined Turkish women and limited their freedom. Through her descriptions of the harem, she counters the travel narratives that painted the image of the harem as a place of oppression, emphasizing instead the liberty Turkish women enjoyed. She directly refers to the European inclination to pity Eastern women. She says;

> If, as we are all prone to believe, freedom be happiness, then are the Turkish women the happiest, for they are certainly the freest individuals in the

> Empire. It is the fashion in Europe to pity the women of the East; but it is ignorance of their real position alone which can engender so misplaced an exhibition of sentiment. (Pardoe, ch. 6)

She directly opposes and corrects the misconception that Turkish women are restricted or constrained. She continues her words by emphasizing that a Turkish woman is completely free to express and act upon any of her opinions or urges, unquestioned and not resented by her husband. Herath defines this comment by Pardoe as "a stark contrast to the silent passiveness" of the women of harems depicted in the accounts of male travelers (33). In describing her first entrance of a harem in Istanbul, she says that she and her friend entered the harem where "no men, save those of the family and the physician, are ever admitted within the walls of" (Pardoe, ch. 2). Her words, through an informative and direct description, provides her readers with what harem really is, that is a part of the Turkish household that is reserved for women. Thus, she emphasizes that harem does not serve the purpose of keeping women inside, but rather to keep unwanted men out, and provides a safe space for women to enjoy their freedom. Proving this point of hers, Pardoe talks about how even the husband, although he is a part of the family, gives him the freedom to enter the harem, a Turkish man rarely ever "avails himself" the privilege (Pardoe, ch. 2). She also talks about a tradition that restricts the men of the house, another detail debunking the popular belief that the women are constrained in the harem by showing that it is the men who are restricted. She describes the tradition as such; If a man, "on passing to his apartment, see[s] slippers at the foot of the stairs, he cannot, under any pretence, intrude himself in the harem" (Pardoe, ch. 6). her emphasis on how strict the rules of the harem are, yet for men, instead of women.

Pardoe, in her narrative does not only allude to general misbeliefs but she also directly talks about certain travelers, whose names she rarely provides, whose works have fed the misconceptions of Turks and created a false image of them in the West. Many of these instances I will be talking about separately in an upcoming subchapter. However, talking about the misconceptions about the harem raises the importance of talking about one instance under this topic. In one passage, Pardoe critiques a French traveler, one of her contemporaries, for his travel narrative. She says that he discusses numerous countries, taking them lightly and accumulating a multitude of inaccuracies about each of them. Her exact words are "A modern French traveller, whose amusing work has, in one moderate volume, contrived to treat of about a dozen countries and localities; and to detail, respecting each, such a mass of fallacies as assuredly were never before collected together" (Pardoe, ch. 7). She specifically references

his exaggeration of the jealousies within the harem for sensational effect. She says, “This assertion, like many others he has indulged, would be comic were it not wicked” (Pardoe, ch. 7). As a woman traveler, Pardoe, when she sees the truth of what the harem is, is exasperated by the lies said about it and the women in it.

In essence, Pardoe’s portrayal of the harem in her narrative stands as a significant corrective to the previous stereotypes and fantasies of it created by male travelers of her time and before. She emphasizes the liberty enjoyed by Turkish women of their harems, debunking the notion that it confines women.

3.5. Religion, Religious Figures and Norms

Another topic Pardoe touches upon throughout her narrative is the religion of Turkish people, Islam. As mentioned before, the discourse surrounding Islam has persisted as a subject of considerable interest over the centuries since the Crusades. Representations of Islam in travel writing during Pardoe’s time varied widely. Many nineteenth, as well as eighteenth, century travelers approached Islam through an Orientalist lens. Islamic practices, art, and customs were frequently depicted as exotic. Some travel accounts reflected Islamic societies, as well as the religion itself through the Oriental and colonial perspective of Western superiority, often portraying Islam as backward. They described Islamic practices at times through actual genuineness and at others with a sense of superiority and condescension. Pardoe’s portrayal throughout her narrative is consistently positive and it is detectable that her interest is genuine, and her tone respectful. Her approach is characterized by appreciation and respect for religion, religious practices and figures.

Most of Pardoe’s comments on the religion of Islam is provision of positive descriptive information. One of the first instances Pardoe talks about anything to do with religion is the religious figures called Dervishes. She describes them in this way; “The Dervish, or domestic priest…whose holy profession, instead of rendering him a distinct individual, suffers him to mingle like his fellow-men in all the avocations, and to participate in all the socialities of life” (Pardoe, ch. 1). Through her description, Pardoe portrays the Dervish not as a distant figure but as domestic person who is one with the rest of the people. Through this, Pardoe portrays a harmonious coexistence of spirituality and day to day life and draws a contrast between monks of Christianity and the Dervishes. Pardoe portrays the same

sense of oneness of Dervishes with the public, as they are indeed a part of it, in another passage. She says that Dervishes, "having performed their religious duties", move on to "mingle with their fellow-men upon equal terms" (Pardoe, ch. 3). This time she explicitly compares Dervishes with monks by saying; "Unlike the monks of the church of Rome, the Dervishes are forbidden to accumulate wealth in order to enrich either themselves or their convent" (Pardoe, ch. 3). Through this comment, she both criticizes the Roman Church, and praises the Muslim Dervishes.

Another topic Pardoe handles when talking positively about the religion of Turkish people when describing its aspects is when she talks about religious tolerance employed by them. She says that "Turks are extremely tolerant with regard to religious opinions" (Pardoe, ch. 3). She not only mentions this tolerance among different sects of Islam, but towards other religions as well. For example, she says; "[Turks] not only tolerate but even respect the Christian monks, and regard their monasteries as holy places", as well as stating that they respect the Christian nuns (Pardoe, ch. 3). Such statements draw a stark contrast between Pardoe's narrative and other Orientalist women travel writers. Lady Hornby for example claims the opposite for Turks, by saying "the Turks look upon our religion and manners with the greatest repugnance" (122). The vast difference between the two writers' experiences, or perceptions may be due to what Pardoe also articulates; the unwillingness of such travelers to see the people of Türkiye, their culture and religion for themselves, genuinely.

Another way in which Pardoe talks about Islam and its effect on the Turkish people is while she is referring to the beauty of character in the Turkish people stemming from their religiosity. While talking about the hospitality of Turkish people she accredits this beautiful mode of action to their religion. She says, "They consider themselves only as the stewards of God, and consequently use the goods of life as a loan rather than a possession" (Pardoe, ch. 2). Tying Turks' simple and beautiful hospitality and welcoming nature to their considering themselves stewards of God, she appreciates both their character and religion. Her statement highlights her positive view of Turkish people's integration of religious principles into their daily conduct. Pardoe also admires Islam's quality to equal every person and humble them, whether he is rich, or poor. She says "When [a Turk] puts off his slippers at the door of the mosque, he carries no pomp with him into the presence of his God" (Pardoe, ch. 6). She says that a *Musselmaun,* meaning *Müslüman*, "Muslim" in Turkish, "takes his place among the crowd—the Effendi stands beside the water-carrier—the Bey near the charcoal vender—he is but one item among many—he arrogates to himself no honour in the temple where all men are

as one common family" (Pardoe, ch. 6). At the end of her comment she, again, criticizes, implicitly, worshippers in Christianity, I deduce from her wording "a bended knee" suggesting the position of praying. She says, "[the Musselmaun] insults not the Divine Majesty by a bended knee and a stubborn brow" (Pardoe, ch. 6). Pardoe emphasizes the simplicity, humility, and communal spirit she observes in the Turkish Muslim worshipers. Her comments also reflect her appreciation for the absence of social hierarchies within the mosque. In another passage Pardoe summarizes her view on Islam by saying; "The faith of the Musselmauns is that of love, not fear: to believe in One God, and to be charitable—and who shall deny that it is a comprehensive creed?" (Pardoe, ch. 12). This description of Pardoe's represents her positive evaluation of the core principles of Islam.

In other places of her narrative, Pardoe displays her esteem for the religion of the people of Türkiye. Since it was the month of *Ramazan* (the holy month where Muslims observe fasting), Pardoe when she visits a Turkish household declines any refreshments offered to her out of respect for the hosts' fasting. She says, "As it was the time of the Ramazan, […] though the offer of refreshments was made, which we, however, declined, being resolved to keep Lent with them according to their own fashion" (Pardoe, ch. 2). Pardoe's decision to respect the practice of Ramazan by declining refreshments during that time reflects her sensitivity and deference to the religious observances of the Turks. She is also respectful in describing certain rituals connected to Turkish Muslims during the time of her stay. She, upon visiting a *Tekié* (Pardoe's spelling of the Turkish word "tekke", meaning the lodging of Dervishes), talks about the ritual they perform in an obeisant manner although it is so different from anything she had seen before. She says;

> I am by no means prepared, nor even inclined, to attempt a Quixotic defence of the very extraordinary and bizarre ceremonial to which I was next a witness; but I cannot, nevertheless, agree with a modern traveller in describing it as "an absurdity. (Pardoe, ch. 3)

Her defense of Turkish people and their customs against previous travelers appears in her statement on the Dervishes' ritual once more. She admits that the ritual does not accord with European ideas of worship. However, she says; "yet I should imagine that no one could feel other than respect for men of irreproachable character, serving God according to their means of judgment" (Pardoe, ch. 3). Her attempt to understand the intricacies of the Turkish religion goes further to urge her to visit "the chapel a second time" (Pardoe, ch. 3). She says "As I could not reconcile myself to believe that the custom could have grown out of mere whim, I

took some pains to ascertain its meaning" (Pardoe, ch. 3). Pardoe, while acknowledging the unconventional according to European standards nature of this certain religious ceremony, refrains from dismissing it as absurd. Instead, she expresses respect for individuals practicing their faith with irreproachable character. This shows how Pardoe tries to stay away from othering Turks, their religion and culture. This attitude of hers serves as the foundational point that enables Pardoe to approach the people and their beliefs from a genuine point of view, allowing her to have a better understanding of them, free of biases. Ultimately, Pardoe's stance on Islam in her narrative is positive, especially within the historical period in which Islam had often been subject to vilification and misrepresentation in the West.

3.6. Slaves in Turkish Households

It can be deduced from Pardoe's comments throughout her narrative that her approach to the matter of slavery in Türkiye is nuanced, like her approach to previous matters. While she acknowledges the adversity of slavery and its existence in the country, she also emphasizes aspects that may be perceived as positive within the context of the Ottoman society of the time of her visit. She notes that the Turkish system of slavery is very distinct from that of Europe, suggesting that slaves in Turkish households are revered to the point that they are regarded as adopted children rather than property. Thence, Pardoe mentions slavery in the Ottoman Empire under two topics: comparing slavery in the Ottoman Empire and the West, and the good treatment of slaves in Turkish households.

In her comparison of slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Europe, she talks about how in the Ottoman Empire the absence of aristocracy and class benefits the society. She states that a slave can become a Pasha, as well as anyone else. She says that the Turk "suffers less morally than the European, from the fact that there exists no aristocracy in the country, either of birth or wealth, to ride rough-shod over their less fortunate fellow-men" (Pardoe, ch. 6). She goes on to state that "The boatman on the Bosphorus, and the porter in the streets—the slave in the Salemliek, and the groom in the stables, are alike eligible to fill the rank of Pasha" (Pardoe, ch. 6). Her slight allusion to slavery in this passage implies the different conditions of slaves in Europe where the liberation of a slave is of rarity, and the Ottoman Empire.

Other instances Pardoe mentions slavery in the Ottoman Empire relate to her appreciation for their well treatment. She emphasizes through certain comments that slaves

are treated as if they are a part of the household rather than being lowly. In two instances Pardoe alludes to the way slaves are dressed that suggest equality between them and the other residents of the household. In one passage where Pardoe talks about how much Turks and Greeks love diamonds and jewels, she says;

> [W]hile the Greek ladies delight in heaping upon their persons every ornament for which they can find space, many of the fair Osmanlis…content themselves with a clasp or two, a bracelet, or some similar bagatelle; and decorate their favourite slaves with their more costly and ponderous jewels. (Pardoe, ch. 7)

In another instance, while talking about a popular headpiece worn in the Ottoman Empire, she says that it is "so popular in the harem that it is worn equally by the Sultana and the slave" (Pardoe, ch. 7). Her emphasis on how slaves are dressed points to their position in the society that does not segregate them from the households in which they reside as slaves. In another passage Pardoe provides the same observation by saying that slaves are "as well fed, and nearly as well clothed, as their owners" (Pardoe, ch. 6).

In other passages Pardoe touches upon specific examples of esteemed and loved slaves she had met in Turkish households. In one instance, Pardoe mentions a young girl whom she describes as "the rosy, happy-looking little slave-girl" (Pardoe, ch. 7). This little girl, the owner of the house loves so much that he plans to see her comfortably established in the future and "give her a marriage portion", as a father would to his own daughter (Pardoe, ch. 7). After talking about her and one more slave girl Pardoe states;

> When I remembered that these children were slaves, I felt inclined to pity them—when the very price which had been paid for them was stated to me, a sickness crept over my heart—but, as I looked upon the pleased and happy countenances of the two little girls, and remembered that slavery, in Turkey at least, is a mere name, and in nine cases out of ten even voluntary, I felt that here my commiseration would be misplaced. (Pardoe, ch. 7)

Her statement reflects her consideration of the conditions and perceptions surrounding slavery in the Ottoman context, and how different it is from the Western context. Pardoe acknowledges that what was known as "slavery" in the Ottoman Empire might carry different connotations compared to the Western understanding and practice of the inherently atrocious concept. The Ottoman socio-cultural conditions, as observed by Pardoe, appear to have distinct characteristics that influence the experiences of the slaves in the country. This insight

prompts her to reconsider the conventional Western narrative of slavery as an inherently degrading and oppressive institution.

Pardoe calls slavery a “bitter draught” in one of her passages, where she talks about the fact that if she were a man “condemned to an existence of servitude”, namely, if she were a slave, she would “unhesitatingly chuse that of slavery in a Turkish family” (Pardoe, ch. 6). She explains this seemingly bizarre wish through a description of what slavery is like in Turkish households. She says, “The slave of the Osmanli is the child of his adoption; he purchases with his gold a being to cherish, to protect, and to support” (Pardoe, ch. 6). Pardoe paints a picture of slaves in Turkish households as more than mere property; they are adopted children, cherished, and protected. She states that in return the Osmanli gets “a devoted and loving heart” (Pardoe, ch. 6). She says the position of a servant in Türkiye is one that is “so eager and so earnest in his services” while the so-called master is “so gentle and so unexacting in his commands” (Pardoe, ch. 6). In the same passage Pardoe goes on to provide detailed information on the matter of slavery in the Ottoman Empire. She talks about how twice a year every resident of the household is bound to “make them a present, termed Backshish” (Pardoe, ch. 6). Moreover, Pardoe highlights a unique aspect where slaves who are dissatisfied with their current situation have the legal authority to request a transfer to a different owner, and remarkably, they can even specify the new owner of their choice. These instances, presented by Pardoe, go against the prevailing Western notions or preconceptions of slavery. Instead, they introduce a narrative that emphasizes the agency and flexibility afforded to slaves within the Ottoman system.

Pardoe’s approach to the concept of slavery is clearly stated by her in many instances. However, in each passage she mentions slavery, she has something positive to say about the system in the Ottoman Empire, and never negative, that allows this atrocious practice to become as mild as can be in her description. On a visit to one slave market in Istanbul, she states;

> There is always a painful association connected with the idea of slavery, and an insurmountable disgust excited by the spectacle of money given in exchange for human beings; but, beyond this, (and assuredly this is enough!) there is nothing either to distress or to disgust in the slave-market of Constantinople. (Pardoe, ch. 20)

Her observation of the slave market she describes as an orderly place where no “wanton cruelty, no idle insult is permitted”, and where the absence of "wanton cruelty" and the prohibition of "idle insult" distinguish it from analogous scenarios in Europe (Pardoe, ch. 20). Pardoe highlights a contrast in the treatment of slaves between the Ottoman Empire and Europe, underscoring the absence of overt cruelty and disrespect in the former. Pardoe says that she left the slave market “only with an increased conviction of the great moral beauty of the Turkish character” (Pardoe, ch. 20). She admits that this statement, while talking about the vile topic of slavery, will “startle many of [her] readers”, however she states that she does this out of a duty to “justice” (Pardoe, ch. 20). She says, “I am aware that this declaration will startle many of my readers; but I make it from a principle of justice” (Pardoe, ch. 20). This, once more, as I have displayed in many of my previous subchapters, stems from her stated intention to provide a just image of the Turkish people, whose image had been distorted by previous travelers as barbarous and cruel. By portraying the moral character of the Turkish system of slavery, in a period when the world was plagued by the atrocity of it, she shows that Turks are anything by barbarous. She observes that slaves in Türkiye are eligible for gifts and presents, are not subjected to hard labor, and have the right to request a change of ownership, even selecting their new masters. Pardoe describes instances where slaves are well-treated, valued, and integrated into the family structure. Moreover, she points out that the Turkish slave market, while inherently disturbing, lacks the wanton cruelty or unnecessary interference often associated with the Western perception of such practices. Overall, Pardoe's narrative reflects an attempt to present a more comprehensive and nuanced view of the institution of slavery in Ottoman Turkey, challenging Western preconceptions.

3.7. Animals: Street Animals and Their Treatment

In the exploration of Pardoe’s observations of Turkish people, the treatment of animals emerges as one of the facets of the Ottoman society Pardoe admires and compares to the people of Europe. Pardoe, through a discerning lens, comments on the well treatment of animals in Türkiye. Throughout her narrative, she touches upon certain instances that she had observed on the topic of Turkish people’s disposition towards animals. Under two chapters of her book, specifically Chapter I and Chapter IV, two passages are titled “Care of Turks for Animals” and “Tenderness of the Turks to Animals”. In this subchapter I will point out how Pardoe emphasizes the benevolent treatment of street and wild animals. Her mentions of the

issue can again be categorized under two sections: her comparison of the treatment of animals in the Ottoman Empire and Europe, and her appreciation and description of the love and care for animals in Türkiye.

In one of her passages, Pardoe talks about the vast number of aquatic birds in the harbor. She describes how numbers of different species fly around, dive in, interact with people in search of food and "[revel] in safety amid the sounds and sights" of the city, "as though unconscious of the vicinity of danger" (Pardoe, ch. 1). Pardoe emphasizes how safe these birds feel amongst human beings who do not mean any harm to them. She immediately compares this state to her homeland with feelings of regret. She says, "How long, I involuntarily asked myself, would this extraordinary confidence in man be repaid by impunity in an English port? and the answer was by no means pleasing to my national pride" (Pardoe, ch. 1). This quote by her, amongst others, is an example of how Pardoe chooses honesty over national pride. Instead of creating an evil foil of her European character in the people of the East, she reflects the good nature they possess in honesty.

Through Pardoe's narrative, it can be seen that the love and care Turkish people have for animals is not limited to aquatic birds. It extends to street animals as well. In various passages Pardoe mentions the shelters and food provided for street animals, specifically dogs, in her observations. In one passage she says, "I could not avoid remarking the little straw huts built at intervals along the streets, for the accommodation and comfort of the otherwise homeless dogs" (Pardoe, ch. 1). Additionally, she also mentions how "food is every day dispensed by the inhabitants" for these stray animals (Pardoe, ch. 1). This act of kindness Pardoe appreciates and attributes to the good character of Turks. She states, "To all the brute creation the Turks are not only merciful but ministering friends" (Pardoe, ch. 6). She emphasizes Turks "tenderness towards these inferior animals" (Pardoe, ch. 6). Using her narrative, Pardoe emphasizes the compassionate and caring attitude of the Turks towards street animals, reflecting an image of Turks quite the opposite of the Oriental understanding of them as brutes. Thence, her passages become a way in which she counters the Oriental discourse of her time.

3.8. Opposing the Orientalist Discourse

In her narrative, Pardoe counters the prevailing Orientalist discourse of her time in three more ways, different from talking about the topics I have mentioned in the previous subchapters in a nuanced and truthful manner. These are comparisons between the East and the West, refuting previous travelers, and the direct allusions to Orientalist discourse through sarcastic comments. Since these three are all intertwined in her writing, I choose to collect the three under one subchapter. However, it is imperative to acknowledge the inherent complexity in Pardoe's narrative, typical of Western travelers to the East during her era. Therefore, under these topics I will also display what I have mentioned previously, namely that Pardoe's narrative is a complex piece of literature that does not carry only one positive view of the Ottoman Empire. As a Western middle-class woman, although expressing her intent to transcend Orientalist perspectives, she inevitably manifests certain facets of this discourse in her work. In this subchapter I will display the interplay of Pardoe's views that are reflected through her comments on matters of Orientalism, previous Western travelers, and the differences between the "other", namely East, and the "self", that is the West. I also want to note that some examples of these three ways Pardoe counters and contributes to the Orientalist discourse, I have already integrated into the previous subchapters as their allusions were to each related topic under those sections.

Firstly, Pardoe explicitly compares the East and the West many times during her narrative. In her comments, she often concludes that the East is superior to the West in certain aspects, despite the general belief in the West. At times she employs an undertone of Orientalism and uses Oriental conceptions in her commentary. And at other times her approach is not sided but rather neutral. One instance Pardoe makes such a comparison is in one early passage, while talking about Turkish officers at the border. She mentions how the English travelers were let through very civilly, "without let or hindrance" (Pardoe, ch. 1). Pardoe continues her comment by comparing this to instances in Europe. She says;

> I could not avoid contrasting this mode of action in the "barbarous" East, with that of "civilized" Europe, where even your very person is not sacred from the investigation of low-bred and lowminded individuals, from whose officious and frequently impertinent contact you can secure yourself only by a bribe. (Pardoe, ch. 1)

The quotation marks for the words "barbarous" and "civilized" are from the original text, added by Pardoe. Thence, her use of the terms "barbarous" for the East and "civilized" for Europe reflects, through sarcasm, an aversion and refutation for the common Orientalist

dichotomy prevalent during her time. Pardoe suggests that in the East, travelers are allowed to pass through without obstruction, emphasizing a positive aspect of Eastern hospitality, making them more civil than those officers in Europe who take bribes.

In another example where Pardoe compares the good attributes of Eastern people to the negative ones of Europe, alluding to the Orientalist notions of civilization and barbarism in a sarcastic manner, she talks about a crowd that has gathered to see *Bajram* celebrations. The group is so many in number that she expects to see disorder, however it does not happen, and people gather and disband in an orderly manner. She says among thousands of people from all sorts of occupations, artisans, soldiers, boatmen etc., "not a voice was raised in menace", and that although the crowd was made up of people from very different cultural and religious backgrounds "not a word was uttered calculated to excite angry or unpleasant feeling" (Pardoe, ch. 7). She compares how comfortable and safe she had felt among the people of Istanbul at that moment to the streets of London or Paris saying;

> [W]hile I am bound to confess that a female, however fastidious, would have found less to offend her amid the crush and confusion of that mighty mass of commonly called semi-civilized human beings, than in a walk of ten minutes through the streets of London or Paris. (Pardoe, ch. 7)

Her signaling to the term "semi-civilized" once again reflects her contempt for the Orientalist attribution, which in her experience, proves to be nothing but false, if not the stark opposite of truth. She contrasts one more facet of the Ottoman empire to one of the West in the same passage. In this instance she talks about the lack of aristocracy, and vices that are born out of it, in Türkiye. She says that Turks acknowledge "no difference of rank", and she contrasts this with, in her words; "our own turbulent, vociferous, uncompromising, and unaccommodating mobs in Europe" (Pardoe, ch. 7). She highlights that these people in the crowd, who do not recognize distinctions of rank or class, are fundamentally different from the turbulent and unyielding mobs found in Europe. Pardoe emphasizes the unique characteristics of the population in Istanbul, emphasizing their lack of similarity to the European lower classes.

In another instance, Pardoe writes a long passage where she talks about her visit to *Guiuk-Suy*, which I have mentioned before. In that specific passage Pardoe references many comparisons between the East and the West, and certain misconceptions that she aims to address. In this specific passage, she challenges the Western notion of refinement. While admiring the beauty of the park, the joyous people in it, she alludes to the conception in the

West that nations of the East are less refined, less civilized. She questions whether the pleasures of Türkiye, which she describes as more connected to nature and simplicity, might be considered more refined than the so-called sophisticated dissipations of the West. She contrasts the perceived refinement of Western luxuries with what she sees as the genuine beauty of nature and the ability to appreciate the Creator's gifts. She once more alludes to the religiosity of Turkish people in a good light. Pardoe suggests that the Turks find solace and genuine enjoyment in the simple pleasures of life, which in the Orientalist discourse of her time is reflected as something negative and primitive. She contrasts this with the elaborate pursuits of the West, which she characterizes as chasing after elusive phantoms, things that cannot be attained. The quote reflects Pardoe's admiration for the Turkish way of life and her critique of Western values, urging readers to reconsider their notions of refinement and true enjoyment. Pardoe asks; “Are not such pleasures as those of Turkey infinitely more refined than the elaborated dissipations of the West?” (Pardoe, ch. 17). She points out that the “power” to appreciate the “noble gifts of the Creator” is better than “the talent to discover the finite perfections of the creature” (Pardoe, ch. 17). In this comment, the underlying meaning is that although the West is scientific and “progressive”, and the East is “backward” and “primitive”, what Eastern people hold, namely, the oneness with nature, is more valuable. This of course carries a sort of romanticism and carries out the Oriental notion of attributing primitiveness to the people of the East. The compliment that comes with it does not nullify the Orientalist approach of the comment. However, Pardoe demonstrates her well intention through her following comment. She, once more employs irony to convey her message and challenges the Western perception of the East as primitive or uncivilized. She says, If these be “barbarous” pleasures, then are the Turks the most barbarous people upon earth, for in these consist their highest enjoyments” (Pardoe, ch. 17). She says that Western people “cheat [themselves]” in believing they are superior to the people of the East. She says, “we of “civilized” Europe, cheat ourselves into the belief that we have far outstripped them in enjoyment, as well as science” (Pardoe, ch. 17). Through this comment she emphasizes her argument that Westerners, despite their claims of cultural and scientific superiority, may be misguided in their self-perceptions.

One instance where Pardoe simply compares an aspect of Eastern culture to one of Western culture quite neutrally is when she talks about the philosophy on death. She says that the “philosophy and kindly feeling of the Turk is carried even beyond the grave” (Pardoe, ch. 6). She emphasizes that Turks do not see death as something to be afraid of. In contrast, in

Europe, Pardoe says, people are prone to connect death "with ideas of gloom and horror" (Pardoe, ch. 6). To this comparison she does not add any additional comment of approval or disapproval on either side, leaving it as a description of a positive attribute of the character of Turkish people that she has observed. This serves as an illustration of how in some of her comments Pardoe refrains from ascribing either negative or positive attributes to either the East, or the West.

Another way in which Pardoe opposes the Orientalist stereotypes about Turkish people is through refutations of previous travelers' narratives. This method she uses, have been alluded to several times under previous subchapters under this chapter. Here, Pardoe's refutations of the incorrect representations of previous travelers to the East about various subjects, other than the ones previously addressed, will be provided, as well as the analysis of one long passage where Pardoe comments on traveling as a woman, Western travelers in Türkiye and the difficulties they face that hinders a better understanding of the people and the culture of the country, and states her intent of doing her part, as a traveler who managed to overcome such obstacles, in correcting the misconceptions about them.

Commencing with the latter, it is of importance to note that this passage is one of the passages in Pardoe's narrative that best displays her approach to the East and her work as a traveler. She states in this passage that she explicitly denounces the fabrications circulated about the East and its people, and the severity of the problem of Orientalism. After stating that "There is, perhaps, no country under heaven where it is more difficult for an European to obtain a full and perfect insight into the national character, than in Turkey", Pardoe lays out the possible causes of this difficulty and the previous travelers' misunderstanding and creation of the incorrect image of the East, drawing from her experiences in Türkiye (Pardoe, ch. 6). One of these she suggests is the difficulty of the two official languages, namely Arabic and Ottoman Turkish, as one of the obstacles in the way of a European traveler for whom learning these languages is difficult. She says that since these languages bear near to no affinities with the languages of Europe, the European traveler is obliged to learn what they need to learn about the country they are visiting through a translator. The danger in this, Pardoe determines as the high probability of a misunderstanding that can be caused even from a "misplaced emphasis" (Pardoe, ch. 6). Pardoe says this difficulty, in addition to "natural and palpable obstacles presented by opposing and diffluent prejudices, customs, and opinions", leads the traveler to resort to "his own resources" and to judge "according to his own impressions" of the limited information he can get (Pardoe, ch. 6). Thence, Pardoe states, "the traveller

hazards undigested and erroneous judgments on the most important facts—traces effects to wrong causes—and, deciding by personal feeling, condemns much that, did he perfectly and thoroughly comprehend its nature and tendency, he would probably applaud" (Pardoe, ch. 6). By emphasizing the potential for misjudgment when effects are wrongly attributed to causes and decisions are based on personal sentiments, Pardoe challenges the credibility of travel narratives that lack a comprehensive understanding of the subjects they seek to describe. Pardoe ascertains this as the reason why most "errors relative to the feelings and affairs of the East that have so long misled the public mind in Europe" come to be (Pardoe, ch. 6). Her remark highlights the need for a more nuanced and informed approach in depicting the complexities of Eastern societies, which her narrative provides, to rectify the persistent misperceptions that have endured.

Another cause of the misrepresentations in European travelers' works, Pardoe says, is the inability of many travelers to enter the houses of the locals, and the difficulty of forming intimacy with them. She references in this specific passage to Scheherazade, the storyteller of *One Thousand and One Nights*. She resembles the travel accounts of previous travelers to her stories, calling them as "the fables" about the East (Pardoe, ch. 6). These "marvels and metaphors of tourists" caused the European public's mind to be imbued with "ideas of Oriental mysteriousness, mysticism, and magnificence" (Pardoe, ch. 6). Pardoe attributes the creation of fantastical tales and mythical elements in European accounts of the East to the restricted access and lack of genuine familiarity with the local culture. From her expressions it is evident how disturbed Pardoe is of the lies that lead to misleading stories about the Orient. Her reference to Scheherazade highlights the pervasive influence of imaginative narratives that have shaped European perceptions of the East. Thence, she attributes the creation of these imaginative narratives to a lack of communication between the travelers and the natives.

Moreover, Pardoe talks about how it is true that Türkiye is "gorgeous, glowing, and magnificent", and that there, in her opinion, are governmental problems, however any traveler can see this (Pardoe, ch. 6). Through this comment she displays two of the generic topics talked about in travel narratives of her time, namely the magical beauty of the East, as if out of the tales European people are fond of, and its political position. She says; "All these things are, however, on the surface, and cannot, consequently, escape the notice of any observant traveller" (Pardoe, ch. 6). The value, she says, is in reflecting "the moral state of Turkey". She states, "It is the reverse of the picture that has been so frequently overlooked and neglected". This, her comment suggests, is done through truly getting to know and understanding the

people and the culture, having set aside all prejudices. She further criticizes European travelers for, although residents in Türkiye, some even for up to twenty years, being "as ignorant of all that relates to her political economy, her system of government, and her moral ethics, as though they had never left their own country" (Pardoe, ch. 6). Pardoe's reproach points at the inadequacy of these travelers in gaining comprehensive insights into the societal and political dynamics of the region, while they are in a position to inform their compatriots, which they do through travel narratives, however their disposition leading to misinformation. Thence, Pardoe points to the potential misrepresentation of Türkiye in their travel narratives, influencing perceptions in their home countries.

In the same passage, Pardoe also touches upon the subject of being a woman travel writer. I believe it is essential to provide my reader with the entire paragraph in Pardoe's own words, as this may be one of the most significant passages in Pardoe's narrative that illustrates the themes and assertions I have been elucidating throughout this thesis, namely the fact that Julia Pardoe, as a Western woman traveler of the nineteenth century, stands out amongst other travelers through the overarching theme of countering the prevalent Oriental ideas of her time, and her intent to understand and do justice to the people of Türkiye. Pardoe in this passage states;

> [W]oman as I am, I cannot but deplore a fact which I may be deficient in the power to remedy. The repercussion of public opinion must be wrought by a skilful and a powerful hand, They are no lady-fingers which can grasp a pen potent enough to overthrow the impressions and prejudices that have covered reams of paper, and spread scores of misconceptions. But, nevertheless, like the mouse in the fable, I may myself succeed in breaking away a few of the meshes that imprison the lion; and, as I was peculiarly situated during my residence in the East, and enjoyed advantages and opportunities denied to the generality of travellers, who, as far as the natives are concerned, pass their time in Turkey "unknowing and unknown," I trust that my attempt to refute the errors of some of my predecessors, and to advance opinions, as well as to adduce facts, according to my own experience, may not entail on me the imputation of presumption. (Pardoe, ch. 6)

In this passage, Pardoe alludes to the challenges of a woman travel writer in the nineteenth century. She emphasizes her recognition of the societal norms that may limit her influence in correcting the fallacies created by other travelers before her, especially men, by stating

“woman as I am”. She acknowledges that these norms, inflicted on her for her gender, limit her ability to change the prevailing stereotypes and misconceptions about the East, which she reproaches. Furthermore, she describes the need for a “skilful and powerful hand” to impact public opinion, highlighting the difficulty of challenging established norms for women writers. Whether she is ironic in her words or if she means their true meaning is ambiguous, however, it is important to note that her style, as I have demonstrated previously, has proved many times to have an ironic tone. Therefore, I contend that Pardoe, through irony, alludes to male writers' unjust dominance in the field of literature by saying; “They are no lady-fingers which can grasp a pen potent enough to overthrow the impressions and prejudices that have covered reams of paper” (Pardoe, ch. 6). Despite these challenges, Pardoe recognizes her unique position and experiences in the East, distinct from other travelers who remain "unknowing and unknown" to the natives (Pardoe, ch. 6). Her metaphor of the mouse attempting to break away some of the meshes that imprison the lion conveys her ambition to contribute to dispelling misconceptions. At the end of this passage of hers, Pardoe's acknowledgment of potential imputations of presumption reveals her awareness of the societal expectations and biases she faces as a woman engaging in travel writing during her time.

Pardoe’s following comments suggest that she is aware of the importance of her work in providing truthful information to her compatriots. She addresses her lady readers and goes on to claim the “matter-of-factness” of her travel narrative (Pardoe, ch. 6). She says, “I am quite conscious that more than one lady-reader will lay down my volume without regret, when she discovers how matter-of-fact are many of its contents” (Pardoe, ch. 6). In this passage, Pardoe directly refers to the idea of the word “Oriental” and what it evokes in the Western mind. She does not touch upon the negative connotations to it, although she does it in different places throughout her narrative, rather, she says; “the very term “Oriental” implies to European ears the concentration of romance” (Pardoe, ch. 6). She admits that she had been, when she first arrived in the country, under the same spell, since on the surface it is a magical country. However, she aimed and managed to “divest” herself of the feeling of enchantment harvested by imagination (Pardoe, ch. 6). She says that instead, as a “conscientious chronicler”, she “sought to be instructed than to be amused, and preferred the veracious to the entertaining”, however tempting it is to give in to imagination and the “enchantment” of the East (Pardoe, ch. 6). She states her intent to remove, through her travel narrative, “the trash and tinsel that ignorance and bad taste have hung about”, namely, the results of the negativity on the surface which every traveler contents with writing about without getting past them

(Pardoe, ch. 6). She compliments, however, the grandeur of the East by saying that these trash and tinsel “belong as little to the masterpiece they desecrate, as the votive offerings of bigotry and superstition form a part of one of Raphaël’s divine Madonnas” (Pardoe, ch. 6). Pardoe draws a parallel by referencing Raphaël's Madonnas, suggesting that just as votive offerings don't inherently belong to the divine artwork, the intrusive elements added by misguided individuals do not truly represent the essence of the Eastern culture she aims to appreciate and convey.

In conclusion, Pardoe strategically challenges the prevailing Orientalist discourse through explicit comparisons between the East and the West, refutations of prior travelers and direct, as well as ironic, references to stereotypical connotations that are used for Eastern people and Western nations, such as “barbarian” and “civilized”. Despite her narrative's complexity and occasional undertones of Orientalism, it is evident through an analysis of her narrative that Pardoe endeavors to present a nuanced view. Her critique of misrepresentations, acknowledgment of gender challenges, and commitment to factual chronicling collectively underscore her effort to dismantle stereotypes and contribute to a more accurate portrayal of the East in Western travel literature.

CONCLUSION

During the nineteenth century, the period of high imperialism, many Western travelers to the East played a significant role in creating a distorted image of Eastern people and cultures in their travel accounts. Therefore, they markedly contributed to the creation and subsistence of an Orientalist discourse that portrayed the East as "inferior", "barbaric" and "backward" in contrast to the "superior", "civilized" and "forward" West. Julia Pardoe, as a woman traveler from this era, opposed such Orientalist notions in her travel narrative The *City of the Sultan and the Domestic Manners of Turks, in 1836*. Her primary aim, as she herself states in her work, was to redress the misconceptions perpetuated by earlier travelers, about the people and culture of the East, especially Türkiye. As a result, her narrative stands as an early example of counter-Orientalist literature, over a century before Edward Said's seminal work, *Orientalism* (1978). I have argued through this thesis that Julia Pardoe's *The City of the Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836* challenges and counters dominant Orientalist narratives about Turks in the nineteenth century West, offering a nuanced and alternative representation of Turkish people, culture, and society. This thesis provides, through a thorough analysis of Pardoe's travel narrative, a contribution to the field of Orientalism and travel writing studies by offering a focused examination of Pardoe's distinctive role within nineteenth century travel literature as one of the travelers who actively countered Orientalism. Although Pardoe's counter-Orientalist approach was looked over during her own time, Pardoe's perspective and stance on Orientalism is noteworthy in today's scholarship.

Travel writing has consistently been involved in the process of portraying the other. In the first chapter of this study, where I have focused on Western travel to the East, I have shown that travel writing functions as a powerful tool for constructing perceptions of the traveled lands, their inhabitants, and their cultures in the minds of the readers back in the traveler's homeland. This I have emphasized to display the significance of Julia Pardoe's work, as her narrative challenged the prevailing Orientalist representations of the other in the works of other Western travelers of her era and provided a source for a different, more positive, perception of the East within the travel writing genre. I demonstrated that leading up to and during Pardoe's time, travel literature was not merely a conveyance of information but

rather, a deliberate and influential medium that shaped the collective imagination of its readers. This, I have later shown, Pardoe acknowledges in her work and uses her narrative in the same manner to belie and correct the misconceptions of those travel narratives that created a misinformed image of the East before her.

In this study, I also touched upon how women travelers played a crucial role in challenging prevailing prejudices and constructing a counter-Orientalist discourse. Their unique access to harems and bathhouses, as well as close interactions with Eastern people, allowed them to portray a more accurate image of the culture compared to their male counterparts who often exoticized and imagined these inaccessible spaces. However, I have also demonstrated that the significance of gender in shaping travel narratives is complex, as it intertwines with factors such as class, nationality, and ideological affiliations. I have stated that travel writers, irrespective of gender, often exhibit a spectrum of perspectives within a single work, contributing to the heterogeneous nature of Orientalist discourse in travel literature. In my thorough analysis of her work, I also portrayed the complexity of Julia Pardoe's narrative in terms of the intertwined aspects of inherently Orientalist, and counter-Orientalist approaches.

Nonetheless, after detailed analysis of her travel narrative, I have derived and illustrated that Pardoe's narrative stands out as a counter-Orientalist work in the context of nineteenth-century travel literature. Pardoe challenges the misinformed image of Eastern people and cultures created by Western travelers during the imperial era. She emphasizes her intent to correct misconceptions and presents herself as a truthful chronicler committed to providing a more just and complete insight into Turkish domestic life. In this thesis, in order to elucidate Pardoe's portrayal of Turkish people, I analyzed her work under several subchapters, each relating to a topic that is significant in displaying her counter-Orientalist approach. These were her comments on the city of Istanbul, Turkish people and their habits, Turkish women, the harem, religion, slavery, animals and Pardoe's direct opposition to the Orientalist discourse and notions.

Firstly, my focus was on Julia Pardoe's depiction of Istanbul in her travel narrative. I highlighted two main points: Pardoe's admiration in her descriptions of the city and her commentary on the safety of its streets. Pardoe expresses admiration for Istanbul, often romanticizing it, while using positive and descriptive language. Additionally, she addresses the safety of the city's streets, contrasting it with biased travelers' misinforming narratives and emphasizing the tranquility and orderliness of Istanbul. Through comparing Pardoe's perspective with that of other women travelers, such as Emilia Hornby, who claims the danger

of the streets of the city, I illustrated the complexity of Orientalist and counter-Orientalist approaches among women travelers in the nineteenth century.

Secondly, I focused on Julia Pardoe's detailed portrayal of the people of Istanbul, emphasizing their habits and manners. My analysis was structured around key themes, including critical observations, generosity and hospitality, parental affection, kindness, and specific mannerisms. Pardoe predominantly offers positive comments about the Turkish character, appreciating their generosity, hospitality, kindness, and parental affection. However, she also adopts a critical approach, at times using Orientalist language, such as describing Turkish habits as "luxurious and indolent". I highlighted Pardoe's nuanced perspective and her conscious effort to challenge Orientalist stereotypes prevalent in the travel literature of her time through her descriptions of the Turkish character, habits, and manners.

Another topic I focused on was Pardoe's portrayal of women in the Ottoman Empire, and her challenging of Orientalist stereotypes. Pardoe provides a nuanced counter-narrative to the exoticized and sexualized representations of Eastern women by male travelers. She also highlights the warmth and hospitality of Turkish women, emphasizing shared human experiences, and refutes misconceptions about their freedom, particularly addressing the misrepresentation of harem life. Despite occasional Orientalist tendencies, like infantilizing Turkish women, Pardoe's overall narrative reflects a dedicated effort to present a more accurate and complex understanding of Eastern women, challenging Orientalist approaches to Turkish women.

Moreover, I analyzed Pardoe's exploration of the harem in the Ottoman Empire, correcting Orientalist misrepresentations of it and fantasies surrounding it, created by male travelers and their imaginary and false accounts. Pardoe, as a woman traveler, provides a critical perspective on the harem, opposing the idea that it confines Turkish women and limits their freedom. She directly refutes misconceptions about the harem as a place of oppression, emphasizing the liberty enjoyed by Turkish women within it. Pardoe highlights her firsthand observations to correct false narratives, specifically critiquing the sensationalized accounts that perpetuated stereotypes about the harem. Overall, Pardoe's portrayal serves as a significant corrective to the previously sexualized image of it, offering a more accurate understanding of the harem and challenging Western prejudices about its nature, and its inhabitants.

Pardoe’s portrayal of Islam and its role in Turkish society also reflects her counter-Orientalist approach. Pardoe's approach to Islam is consistently positive, emphasizing genuine interest, respect, and appreciation for the religion, religious practices, and figures. She

contrasts her positive portrayal with the Orientalist lens often applied by other travelers of her time, who depicted Islamic practices as exotic and portrayed Islam as backward. She praises the religious tolerance of Turks, emphasizing their respect for different sects of Islam and other religions. Pardoe also commends the impact of Islam on Turkish people's character, highlighting their humility, simplicity, and communal spirit in worship. Her sensitivity to religious observances, such as respecting the fasting during Ramadan, and her defense of Turkish customs against previous travelers' criticisms, reflect her genuine attempt to understand and appreciate the intricacies of Turkish religion and culture. Overall, Pardoe's positive stance on Islam in her narrative stands out in an era when Islam was often subject to misrepresentation in Western travel accounts.

I also highlighted Pardoe's nuanced approach to the concept of slavery in Türkiye. She acknowledges the adversity of slavery while emphasizing positive aspects within the Ottoman society. Pardoe compares slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Europe. She emphasizes the good treatment of slaves in Turkish households, describing them as adopted children rather than mere property. Pardoe provides specific examples of esteemed slaves and challenges Western notions of slavery by presenting a narrative that emphasizes the agency and flexibility afforded to slaves within the Ottoman system. Her overall positive stance on the Ottoman system of slavery challenges prevailing Western preconceptions, while displaying the humanity and civility of the Turks toward these people as opposed to their treatment in Europe.

I also addressed Pardoe’s emphasis on the treatment of animals in Ottoman society as a facet she admires and compares to Europe. She discusses her observations of the benevolent treatment of street and wild animals, emphasizing the safety and confidence they have in the country. Pardoe contrasts this with Europe, expressing regret about the lack of similar kindness that would be found in her homeland. She further explores the love and care the Turkish people extend to street animals, mentioning shelters and food provided for stray dogs, which she attributes to the compassionate and merciful nature of the Turks. Through these detailed portrayals, she highlights the inaccuracy inherent in the Orientalis categorization of Turks as barbarians.

Finally, I have provided three more ways in which Pardoe counters prevailing Orientalist discourse, explicit comparisons between the East and the West, refutations of prior travelers, and direct or ironic allusions to Orientalist stereotypes. Through these methods, she challenges stereotypes, highlights misrepresentations about the Ottoman Empire, Turkish people, and the East. Pardoe emphasizes her role as a woman traveler, acknowledging societal

challenges and biases while also asserting her intent to contribute to dispelling misconceptions about the East. Despite occasional undertones of Orientalism, her commitment to factual chronicling and critique of misrepresentations underscores her effort to provide a more accurate portrayal of the East in Western travel literature.

In conclusion, from the textual evidence that is collected from a thorough analysis of Julia Pardoe's travel narrative *The City of the Sultan and the Domestic Manners of Turks, in 1836* it is evident that Pardoe's travel narrative stands as a significant work with her challenging prevailing Orientalist travel narratives of the nineteenth century, as well as opposing the Orientalist discourse created by them. The reason for Pardoe's distinctiveness can be attributed to two things; her intent to cast aside prejudices and genuinely get to know a people so often labeled unfairly during her time, and her efforts in portraying and providing an honest image of their lives, culture, religion, and character. I could not find better words to summarize the entirety of my thesis and argument about Pardoe's distinct portrayal of the image of Turkish people and the East than with her own words, as she talks about Turkish people.

> I felt that I knew them better—that I understood more correctly their social character, than I had hitherto done; and it is an important fact, and one which is well worthy of remark, that the more an European, resolved to cast aside prejudice, and to study the national habits and impulses, comes in contact with the inhabitants of the East, the more he is led to admire the consistency of thought, feeling, and action which influence them; and the high-minded generosity with which they tolerate the jarring and discordant habits and prejudices of their foreign visitors. (Pardoe, ch. 17)

Pardoe's emphasis on how her interactions with the Turkish people has allowed her to understand their character better and respect them shows the importance of casting aside prejudices, which she definitely portrays through her efforts to contribute to a more accurate image of the East and Turkish people in her work.

WORKS CITED

Adams, William Henry Davenport. *Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century, 1828-1891*. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 9th edition, 1902

Andrea, Bernadette. *Women and Islam in Early Modern English Literature*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. *Postcolonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. 3rd ed., Routledge, 2013.

Barın Akman, Filiz. *Nineteenth-Century Orientalist Discourse(s): Western Representations of the Ottoman Society, Eastern Women and the Harem in Travel Writing, Fiction, and Art*. 2014, Illinois State University, PhD dissertation.

---. *Ottoman Women in the Eyes of Western Travelers*. Kopernik Publishing House, 2018.

Bassnett, Susan. *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction*. Blackwell, 1993.

Biddulph, William. *The Travels of Certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy* . . . . London, Th. Haueland, 1609, Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership, http://name.umdl.umich.edu/A68944.0001.001

Birkett, Dea. *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers*. Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1989.

Bohls, Elizabeth A. "Aesthetics and Orientalism in Mary Wortley Montagu's Letters." *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716–1818*. Cambridge University Press, 1995. 23-45.

Craven, Elizabeth. “A journey through the Crimea to Constantinople,” Eighteenth Century Collections Online, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ecco/004838538.0001.000?view=toc.

Cross, Nigel. *The Common Writer: Life in Nineteenth-Century Grub Street*. Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Gorham, Deborah. *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*. Routledge, 2014.

Gorman, Anita G. “Julia Pardoe.” *Dictionary of Literary Biography: British Travel Writers, 1837-1875*, edited by Barbara Brothers and Julia Gergits, vol. 166, Thomson Gale, 1996, pp. 294-298.

Herath, Thiloththama Thisaranie. “Women and Orientalism: 19th century Representations of the Harem by European female travellers and Ottoman women”, *Constellations*, vol. 7, no. 10, Research Gate, 2015, doi: 10.29173/cons27054.

Hill, Aaron. *A Full and Just Account of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire…*. London, 1709, Eighteenth Century Collections Online Text Creation Partnership, http://name.umdl.umich.edu/004869666.0001.000.

Hornby, Mrs Edmund. Constantinople During the Crimean War. Richard Bentley, 1863.

Hulme, Peter, and Tim Youngs. Introduction. *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs. Cambridge University Press, 2002.

İşçi, Veysel. “Representations of the Turks in Twentieth Century British Travel Writing on Asia Minor”. Tarih Dergisi, no. 73, 2021, pp. 249-76, doi:10.26650/iutd.751171.

Jorgensen, Marianne, and Louise J. Phillips. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. SAGE Publications Ltd, 2002. Sage Research Methods, 27 Dec 2023, doi: https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849208871.

Kabbani, Rana. *Europe’s Myths of the Orient: Devise and Rule*. Macmillan, 1986.

Kaçmaz, Ercan, and Füsun Çoban Döşkaya. "Letters from and to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu." Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, vol. 17, no. 35, 2018, pp. 23-37.

Lee, Elizabeth. “Julia Pardoe.” *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, edited by Sidney Lee, vol. 43, Macmillan and Co. 1895.

Lorcin, M. E. Patricia. “Women’s Travel Writing.” World History Sources, https://chnm.gmu.edu/worldhistorysources/d/146/whm.html.

Maclean, Gerald. “Strolling in Syria with William Biddulph.” Criticism, vol. 46, no. 3, 2004, pp.415-439, JSTOR, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23127325.

Melman, Billie. *Women’s Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918*. Macmillan, 1992.

---. “Knowledge, Gender, and Empire.” *Writing Women and Space*, edited by Allison Blunt and Gillian Rose, Guilford, 1994, pp. 29-50.

Mills, Sarah. *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism*. Routledge, 1993.

Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, (1763) The Turkish Embassy Letters, London, Virago Press, 1944.

Pardoe, Julia, *The City of the Sultan and the Domestic Manners of Turks in 1836*, eBook ed., e-artnow, 2020. Kindle.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Routledge, 2003.

Robinson, Jane. *Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travellers*. Oxford University Press, 1990.

Rouhette, Anne. “Gender Stereotypes in Some Romantic Travelogues (and How to Use Them),” E-rea, 2016, https://doi.org/10.4000/erea.5596

Rycaut, Robert, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire…*. London, 1668, Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership, http://name.umdl.umich.edu/A58003.0001.001.

Said, W. Edward. *Orientalism*. Penguin, 1978.

Strobel, Margeret. *European Women and the Second British Empire*. Indiana University Press, 1991

Theakstone, John. *Annotated Bibliography of Selected Works by Women Travelers, 1837-1910*. 2003, Victorian Research, https://victorianresearch.org/travelbibnotes2003.pdf.

Thompson, Carl. *Travel Writing*. Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2011.

Ulmer, Sally. "British Women Travelers: Challenging and Reinforcing Victorian Notions of Race and Gender," *Historical Perspectives: Santa Clara University Undergraduate Journal of History*, vol. 20, Article 7, 2015.

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

Young, G. M. *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age*. 2nd edition, Oxford University Press, 1964.

Žižek, Slavoj. "A Glance into the Archives of Islam." Lacanian Ink, 2012, https://www.lacan.com/zizarchives.htm.