

Ottoman travel accounts to Europe

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Overview of the research literature and scope of this article

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

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

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

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

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

The present article, while being indebted to all the works mentioned above, attempts to see these texts from a new, more general and more inclusive angle in the hope that this may help others to discover new relations between the different members of the genre of travel accounts. At the same time, in combination with the appendix at the end of this book, it provides the kind of comprehensive yet concise reference list of Ottoman travel reports to Europe I wished for. In preparing this list, I have tried to cover *all* Ottoman travellers to Europe who wrote an account (even though there are probably some missing, see below), and attempted to give the most important secondary literature on their respective works as well as editions, translations (into modern Turkish, English, German and, to a certain degree, also French⁶) and facsimile prints. As far as I know, this is also the first general introduction to the subject in English, together with Bâki Asiltürk's contribution to this volume.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What reports are there? An attempt at a broad periodization

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

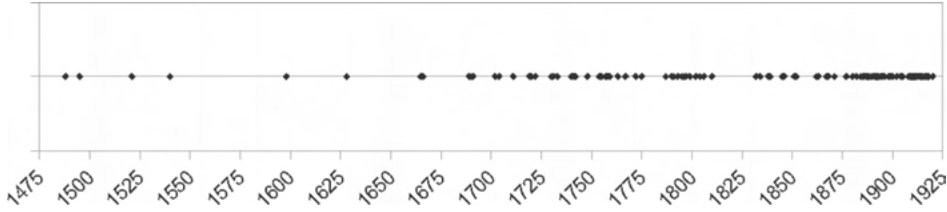


Figure 1: Frequency of Ottoman travel accounts to Europe

The authors¹⁴ of travel accounts from this early phase are listed below according to the chronological order of their journeys; the list will be continued in the same way for the proposed second and third periods. In those cases where I was not able to determine the year(s) of the actual journey, I have given the year in which the text was written or first published, preceded by the small letter b (for ‘before or in’).

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

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

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

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

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

The first period: 'exceptional travel accounts'

1482–95	O	Cem Sultan / Anonymous (<i>Vâkı'ât-ı Sultan Cem</i>) ¹⁷	France, Italy
1495 ¹⁸	D ¹⁹	Hâcı Zaganos	Austria
b.1521	O	Pirî Reis (<i>Kitâb-ı Babriyye</i>)	Mediterranean
ca. 1540 ²⁰	D	Hidâyet Çavuş	Austria
1597–99	P	Ma'cuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi (<i>Ser-güzest-i esîrî-i Malta</i>)	Malta
1625–32	P	Esîrî Hüseyin bin Mehmed	Malta
1665	Ds	Kara Mehmed Paşa	Austria
1665 ²¹	O	Evliyâ Çelebi (<i>Seyâhatnâme</i>)	Austria, Hungary, Balkans, Russia
ca. 1685–93	P	Süleyman Ağa ²²	France

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The texts and their context (first period)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Figure 2: Nature of Ottoman travel accounts to Europe

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

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

The second period: the 'institutionalization' of travel accounts

1711	Ds	Seyfullah Ağa	Austria
1719	Ds	İbrâhim Paşa / Anonymous ²⁹	Austria
1720/1	Ds	Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi	France
1722/3	Ds	Nişli Mehmed Ağa (<i>Rusya sefâretnâmesi</i>)	Russia
1730	Ds	Mehmed Efendi (<i>Lebistan sefâretnâmesi</i>)	Poland
1730 ³⁰	Ds	Mustafa Efendi (<i>Istılâh-ı Nemçe</i>)	Austria
1732/3	Ds	Mehmed Said Efendi ³¹	Sweden, Poland
1740/1	D	Ebû Sehîl Nu'man Efendi ³² (<i>Tedbîrât-ı pesendide</i>)	Austria
1740/1	D	Ahmed Merâmî Efendi / Hattî Mustafa Efendi (<i>Takrîr-i Ahmed Merâmî Efendi</i>) ³³	Russia
1740–2	Ds	Mehmed Emnî Beyefendi	Russia
1748	Ds	Hattî Mustafa Efendi (<i>Viyana sefâretnâmesi</i>)	Austria
1754/5 ³⁴	Ds	Ziştöylü Ali Ağa / Anonymous ³⁵ (<i>Lebistan sefâret-nâmesi; Takrîr</i>)	Poland
1755	Ds	Dervîş Mehmed Efendi	Russia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴² Mahmud Râif wrote his account in French.

nâme-i İngiltere)

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

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

⁴⁴ First permanent ambassador of the Ottoman Empire in Prussia.

⁴⁵ First permanent ambassador of the Ottoman Empire in France.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The texts and their context (second period)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

nâmes can show considerable variation in length, style, scope of content and secondary functions,⁵⁸ they generally share a similar pattern⁵⁹ and the primary function as an official, diplomatic travel account.

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

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

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

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

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

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

the beginning of a new Ottoman approach toward diplomacy which placed increasing emphasis on diplomatic negotiations rather than war as the “chosen and preferred instrument of international intercourse with Europe” (Abou-El-Haj 2004: 90; cf. Aksan 2006b: 107–110). This revaluation of diplomacy was accompanied by a gradual change in the outlook on Europe in general among the Ottoman political elites, with the dominant attitude of cultural, economic and military superiority slowly giving way to the recognition of equality and even the (grudging) admission that in certain areas there were things to be learned from the European Others (see Şirin 2009: 368–370; Faroqhi 2009: 84f.; Beydilli 2007: 23). This, however, required more comprehensive and detailed knowledge about Europe – a problem the Ottoman government addressed, at least in part, by commissioning⁶¹ more of its envoys to write *sefâretnâmes* (cf. Berridge 2004: 116; see also Aksan 2006: 109f.).⁶² Of course, there were, and had long been, other sources of information, such as the rulers of the Danubian principalities and other border territories, the dragomans of the European ambassadors in Istanbul, merchants, Christian subjects, soldiers and spies (see An 2004: 45f.; Korkut 2007: 17–19; Faroqhi 2004: 178–181). However, it seems that the quantity or quality of the information they provided was not sufficient for the new demand (see e.g. Aksan 2004; Conermann 1999: 255–258).

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

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

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

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

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

The practice of writing *sefâretnâmes*, and with it the period of the diplomatic travel accounts, came to an end with the definitive establishment of the system of permanent diplomatic representation in foreign countries by Mahmud II in 1834.⁶⁵ This meant that all of a sudden, the genre of the Ottoman travel account was deprived of the institution that had, until then, provided its socio-cultural setting. However, as the next section of the list will show, this was by no means the end of the story.

The third period: the 'diversification' of travel accounts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1887/8	O	Ali Kemal ⁷⁵ (<i>Ömrüm</i>)	France, Switzerland
1888	Ds	Fuad Paşa [Livadya/Sivastopol report] ⁷⁶	Russia
1889	O	Ahmed Midhat (<i>Avrupa'da bir cevelan</i>)	France, Scandinavia, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy
1890	O	Hüseyin Hulki (<i>Berlin bâtırâtı</i>)	Germany
1891	O	Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz] (<i>Avrupa'da ne gördüm</i>) ⁷⁷	France, UK, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy
1891	Ds	Fuad Paşa [Livadya report]	Russia
1891	O	Yüsuf Sâmih (Asmaî) (<i>Seyâbât-i Asmaî</i>) ⁷⁸	UK, Spain, Malta
b.1892	O	Hüseyin Gâlib (<i>Efel Kulesi</i>) ⁷⁹	France
1893	O	Karçınzâde Süleyman Şükrü (<i>Seyâbatü'l-Kübrâ</i>)	France, Austria, Russia
1895	O	Ali Kemal (<i>Paris musâhabeleri</i>)	France
1895	O	Mehmed Enisî [Yalkı] (<i>Avrupa bâtırâtım; Alman râûbı</i>)	France
1895–8 ⁸⁰	O	Tunalı Hilmî (<i>Avrupa'da tabsil</i>)	Switzerland
1896–1901	O	Şerefeddin Mağmûmî (<i>Seyâbat bâtırâları; Paris'den yazdıklarım</i>)	France, UK, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The texts and their context (third period)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Regarding the historical context of this development, a crucial factor in the period's diversification was technical progress. The achievements of the 18th century, such as the introduction of printing in the Ottoman-Turkish language⁹⁵ and the invention of the steam engine, began to show their full impact only in the 19th century.⁹⁶ The spread of printing in Arabic letters and the appearance of newspapers and magazines had direct consequences for reaching a broader readership – not only by considerably increasing the material's availability but also by raising the audiences' awareness of Europe and thus fueling their interest – an effect that was again multiplied by the establishment of the "Victorian internet", the telegraph (Standage 2007). Steamships and railway lines revolutionized long-distance travel, leading, in Bekim Agai's words, to a "collapse of time and space in the 19th century"⁹⁷, and thus making it far easier to travel in the first place.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Summary and conclusions

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

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

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

One preliminary result regards the relationship between ambassadorial reports (*sefâretnâmes*) and non-diplomatic travel accounts, which have mostly been viewed as two related but distinct genres. However, the fact that there is only a single non-diplomatic travel account during the whole of what we have called the ‘second period’ seems to suggest that the genre of *sefâretnâmes* should be viewed as an integral part of the genre of travel accounts as a whole, irrespective of their other functions. Further systematic research on topics such as intertextuality and readership⁹⁸ in both diplomatic and non-diplomatic travel accounts could shed more light on this issue.

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

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