III
Drawing Lines –
Borders and crossings in genre

Taḥṣīl rehberi as a source for both the traveller and the historian

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"Come here, go to Europe"[1] was the appeal of the Ottoman student organization Türk Yūrdu in Geneva in the work *Cenevrede taḥṣīl. Cenevrede Türk Yūrdunuñ Türk genclerīne hediyyeciğīdir (Studying in Geneva: A Small Present to Turkish Youth from Türk Yūrdu Geneva*) published in 1328r (1912/13)[2] in Istanbul. At the beginning of the 20th century, two Ottoman intellectuals and *Türk Yūrdu* published guides (*rehber*) for studying in Paris and Geneva to convince Ottomans of studying abroad in order to "save" the Empire.

From the late 18th century onwards the Ottoman interest in Europe took on a new dimension. The main endeavour was now to discover the "secret wisdom of the West,"[3] which was regarded as responsible for the strength and superiority of Europe and from which the Ottomans also wanted to benefit. In the course of this new interest a transfer of ideas and material goods from Europe was undertaken. As a result the Ottoman Empire's military and state apparatus, the educational system and many other private and public domains were re- and trans-formed in orientation towards the European model. The transfer of things European did not always take place in a planned and systematic way. There was neither consensus nor clarity on its advantages and disadvantages to the Empire. The 19th and early 20th century was dominated by a discussion of the benefits and dangers of adopting things European. In this debate Türk Yūrdu as well as the authors of two other study guides tried to take up a stance. The other two guides are: Necmeddīn ʿĀrif's, *Pārisde taḥṣīl. Pārisiñ mekātib-i ʿāliyyesinden ve proġrāmlarından uṣūl-i taḥṣīl ve maʿīşetinden bāḥiṣ rehberdir* (*Studying in Paris. A Guide to the Higher Educational Institutions of Paris and Their Curricula, Their Teaching Methods and Living Expenses*), published in Cairo in 1322h (1904/05),[4] and Ṭūnalı Ḥilmī's, *Āvrūpāda taḥṣīl I (resimli), Cenevrā, şehri – mektebleri, mühimm bir ẕeyl* (*Studying in Europe, I (illustrated), Geneva, the City – the Schools, an Important Appendix*), published in Geneva in 1320h[5] (1903).[6]

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1 Türk Yūrdu (1912/13: 8). All foreign-language quotations were translated by the author.

2 The publishing date on the cover is 1238 [sic], yet it has to be 1328 *rūmī* (1912/1913 AD).

3 By "secret wisdom of the West" Fortna primarily refers to education. But this term is applicable to the whole (Fortna 2002: 43).

4 1322 *hicrī* (1904/05AD) fits into ʿĀrif's biography (Kreiser 1996: 388).

5 The study guide for Geneva was conceived as the first in a series. But other study guides are not known. Ḥilmī concludes his work with the date "1320/9 February 1903". As a result the date is 1320h.

As will be explained, the Ottoman guides were not only guides for studying and living abroad. In their historical context they were also political writings, and in many ways they functioned also as travelogues, describing their authors' experiences and perceptions of Europe. In these functions the study guides could be a source for the young Ottoman who wanted to study in a European city, for the traveller who wanted to visit Europe, and now for the historian. On the other hand, the study guides, especially in their function as travelogues, were a source for the people who were not able to travel – a source of information on foreign countries they were not able to visit and a source for their imagination.

Based on the three works mentioned, this article aims at answering the following questions: To which genres do these guides belong, and in which ways can they be used as historical sources?[7] In the following section I specify the characteristics of the texts in comparison with other genres. The authors themselves call their works *rehber* and *ḳılāvūz* (guide), respectively.[8] Due to the limited number of study guides this contribution may seem to be unable to provide a comprehensive definition of a genre of *taḥṣīl rehberi* (study guides). But by providing insight into these works one can show how the sources may be used for historical analysis. After introducing the authors and their works I will discuss three functions of the *rehbers* at hand: (1) as a guide for the student; (2) as a travel account and guide for the traveller and (3) as political writings. Based on these functions, the importance of *rehbers* as a source for the historian will be elaborated, under the assumption that the guides are not sources for the cities described but rather acting as mirrors for the Ottoman perception of Europe and their own society. The conclusion stresses the possibility of including *rehbers* into the research on Ottoman travel writing on Europe and the Ottomans' view of Europe in general.

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6 The guides are written in Ottoman Turkish and contain French terms and names. ʿĀrif's 141 pages strong guide does not include a table of contents, pictures or illustrations. Ḥilmī's work is with 272 pages Ottoman text, a French part, a list of recommended literature, a table of contents, a list of abbreviations and corrections the most extensive guide. Many illustrations and photographs complement it. Türk Yūrdu's work consists of 79 pages and several photographs. We cannot say anything substantial about the reception of the study guides, but the fact that Ḥilmī's study guide was republished (1320 and 1321) seems to prove its importance. Servantie points to a further reprint called *Cenevre'de Taḥsil Rehberi* in 1328/1912. I could not find that version; it may therefore be the case that he mistakes it for Türk Yūrdu's guide (Servantie 2007: xlviii, n. 102).

7 The works haven't received much attention in research. For ʿĀrif's work, its structure and aim, see Kreiser 1996: 388. For his guide as an example of anti-imperialism as an aspect of Young Turk ideology, see Hanioğlu (2001: 303). For Ḥilmī and Türk Yūrdu's guides as examples of Turkish nationalism, see Kieser (2005). The guides appear in the context of the Ottoman education system and its orientation towards the French model, e.g. Ergün (1990).

8 In Necmeddīn ʿĀrif's guide the term *rehber* can be found already in the title (ʿĀrif 1904/05). Ḥilmī uses the term *ḳılāvūz* in his introduction (Ḥilmī 1903: 7). Türk Yūrdu call their guide *küçük rehber* (small guide) (Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 3).

Introducing the authors

The author of the first study guide for Paris, Necmeddīn ʿĀrif, was born in 1871, in Istanbul.[9] He studied at the higher military school of medicine (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiyye-i ʿAskeriyye*) and after graduation worked in a hospital. After 1897 his name is mentioned in connection with opposition movements against ʿAbdülḥamīd II.[10]

By 1899 ʿĀrif had gone to Paris and specialized in the field of urology and venereal diseases. It is not known whether he left Istanbul because of political reasons, but official documents suggest that he had to flee. They also indicate, however, that he was given an exemption from military service despite his escape and got the permission to pursue his studies in Paris. Additionally, he received a stipend from the Ottoman state until 1901.[11] At the end of the 19th century Paris was one of the centres of Young Turk exiles, so ʿĀrif's time abroad was spent in a politicized environment. He had contacts to leading Young Turks and seems to have been involved in conflicts between different branches of the Young Turks. In 1900 ʿĀrif went to Cairo, partly to act as a mediator between the Young Turks of Geneva and Cairo. There, he probably met Ṭūnalı Ḥilmī.[12]

After 1902 Cairo became a centre for Young Turk publications.[13] ʿĀrif was co-publisher of the journal *Türk*, which propagated a Turkish-nationalist and anti-imperialist position.[14] Despite his activities, ʿĀrif again was awarded a stipend from the Ottoman state,[15] and remaining in Cairo he wrote and published his study guide for Paris. After the Young Turk revolution, ʿĀrif returned to Istanbul and until his death in 1926 he worked as a doctor and was a member of the local administration of Istanbul.

Ṭūnalı Ḥilmī,[16] author of the first study guide for Geneva, was born in 1871 in Eskicuma (today Bulgaria). His family fled to Istanbul in 1877. Like ʿĀrif he attended the military medicine school and was active in opposition organiza-

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9 A short biographical note can be found in Erden (1948: 296f.), Hanioğlu (1995), and Hanioğlu (2001) contain further information.

10 Several students including ʿĀrif were arrested. He was the only one who was set free (Kuran 1945: 36). Many Young Turks studied at the higher military school of medicine – many of them fled to Europe and Egypt (Ramsaur 1957: 21).

11 BOA, DH.MKT. 21 Za 1316h. (1899), 2184/80; BOA, DH.MKT., 15 Za 1316h. (1899), 2182/79; BOA, DH.MKT., 02 B 1319h. (1901), 2544/99; BOA, DH.MKT., 01 Ş 1319h. (1901), 2555/65. I have not been able to see the original files yet; I just used the summaries from the Başbakanlık Arşivi website, http://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/katalog.

12 ʿĀrif wrote to Sükūti in June 1901 about Ḥilmī's stay in Cairo (Hanioğlu 1995: 333, n. 296).

13 In 1903 he is supposed to have helped publishing the Journal *ʿOṯmānlı* in Cairo, an opposition publication.

14 Hanioğlu (2001: 64–66, 73). For *Türk* see also Vámbéry (1906: 359f.).

15 BOA, DH.MKT., 25 S 1323h. (1905), 951/41. According to that document ʿĀrif went to Egypt for educational reasons.

16 Tunalı Ḥilmī's biography is well known, see e.g. Hanioğlu (2001) and Hanioğlu (1995), as well as Turkish encyclopedias (e.g. Önder 1982: 492f.). Lately a monograph on his life and works has been published (Ateş 2009).

tions. In 1895 he fled to Geneva, where he continued his political activities[17] while studying law and pedagogy.[18]

In 1897 the Hamidian government bestowed upon Ḥilmī a permanent salary on the condition that he did not publish opposition writings. However, he ignored this and was deprived of the salary, although according to an official document only one year later he was once more the recipient of a monthly stipend from the state.[19] This seems to be part of a silent agreement between the state and its opposition to avoid open confrontation, a usual practice during the Hamidian period (1876–1908).[20]

As secretary to Mīzāncı Murād, the leader of the Geneva branch of the Committee of Union and Progress, Ḥilmī co-published the journal *ʿOṯmānlı*. In 1898 he went to Cairo and established a branch of the Young Turks there. In the course of further arrangements with ʿAbdülḥamīd II, Ḥilmī worked at the Ottoman embassy in Madrid in 1900. Again, because Ḥilmī never stopped pursuing his opposition activities, in 1901 he was forced to give up his position in the embassy for good.

After changes of leadership within the Young Turk movement, many members, including Ḥilmī, searched for other possibilities of political activity. To this end, he published several of his works in French and revived the publication of *Eẕān* in Geneva. During this time he also published his study guide and travelled to Egypt several times.

Ḥilmī returned to Istanbul in 1909, where he entered civil service as a district administrator and continued publishing. As a member of the Ottoman and later Republican parliament he was active in public life until his death in 1928. Ḥilmī was a quite ambiguous person who propagated Ottomanism, Turkish nationalism and Islamism.[21]

The authors of the second guide for Geneva were members of the student organization Türk Yūrdu.[22] From the late 19th century onwards Geneva had been a popular destination for Ottomans interested in studying abroad, and the number of Ottoman students there grew after the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. Türk Yūrdu was founded there in 1911.[23] At a congress of several chapters of Türk

17 He published in Young Turk journals, founded the *ʿOṯmānlı Iḫtilāl Fırḳası* (Ottoman revolutionary party) and was the publisher of its journal *Eẕān*.

18 Önder (1982: 492f.), on the contrary, claims that he had studied sociology and pedagogics.

19 BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK., 02 R 1316h. (1898), 57/35.

20 Hanioğlu (1981: 35). See also Georgeon (2003: 340) and Findley (1989: 227). For Ḥilmī in particular see Imhoff (1913: 173).

21 Hanioğlu (2001: 51f.); Karaman (1997). For a bibliography of Ḥilmī's works see Ateş (2009: 251f.); Hanioğlu (1995: 374) and Hanioğlu (2001: 513) as well as Mardin (2001: 317f.).

22 This organization is described in detail by Kieser (2005). Several works on Turkish nationalism also mention them; see e.g. Sarınay (1994); Arai (1992) and Tunaya (1984).

23 Other Türk Yūrdus were founded in Lausanne, Neuchâtel, Paris, Berlin, Gent and Montpellier.

Yūrdu in Europe, the following aims of the organization were formulated: to lay the foundation for a social revolution in the Turkish world and to awaken a national consciousness, calling on Turkish students in Europe to serve their nation. These goals are also mentioned in Türk Yūrdu Geneva's short manifesto (Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 76–79) in which they stress their proximity to other Turkish-nationalist organizations inside the Empire.[24] Until its demise in 1923, Türk Yūrdu organized conferences and lectures and published several writings in Ottoman and French.[25]

Introducing the guides[26]

The Ottoman state began to send students to Europe in the early nineteenth century. It was a short-term strategy to produce well-educated men at short notice until the reforms of the Ottoman educational system bore fruit. The students expected to have a greater advantage of gaining high positions in the state apparatus on their return, to have a deeper insight into the sciences and thus be able to serve their country. Around the 1870s, the state began to doubt the usefulness of sending students to Europe (Şişman 2004: 4f.; 79), doubts which only increased during the Hamidian period, when the state made efforts to control the educational system and to curb European influence therein. The notion of generating loyal subjects seemed at odds with studying in Europe (Deringil 1998: 96). At that time, individual decisions by Ottomans to study in Europe became more urgent and we can see the boundaries between going to Europe voluntarily to study and being forced to go in the sense of exile become blurred as a result of activities opposing the Hamidian system (Kieser 2005: 38). Following the Young Turk revolution in 1908, the practice of sending students to Europe was revived.

The three study guides were composed and produced in this context. Each of them served to convince their readership of the merits of studying in Europe and to act as a technical and informative tool for those who were actually going. As a result they consist of a mixture of objective information and subjective judgments. The works were written by individuals who themselves studied in Europe, and so it is only natural that personal experiences and perceptions influenced the contents.

Each guide focuses on the description of a certain European city as a place of study and as a place of residence, providing recommendations regarding local lifestyle and how to get by. The third motive is the city as the destination of a

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[24] Mentioned are the movements *Yeñi Lisān* and *Yeñi Ḥayāt* as well as the organization *Türk Ocāğı*. For *Yeñi Lisān* see Öksüz (1995), and for *Yeñi Ḥayāt* see Hepkon (2005). For *Türk Ocāğı* see e.g. Tunaya (1984: 432–438), and Arai (1992: 71–81).

[25] For a bibliography of their publications see e.g. Kieser (2005: 186).

[26] I used hard copies of the three study guides, which I received from the Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul. For that I am indebted to Ramazan Bey.

journey, and to that end advice regarding how to travel to the city as well as a description of the city and its sights are provided. The whole content is framed by the authors' individual perceptions of Europe in general and in comparison with the home country.

Yet there are, of course, differences between the guides. ʿĀrif's and Türk Yūrdu's guides follow a clear structure. Both begin with an introductory chapter in which the authors stress the importance of studying in Europe, its dangers and benefits, and their individual perceptions of Europe in general (ʿĀrif 1904/05: 12–13; Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 2–13), followed by a religious legitimation of studying in Europe (ʿĀrif 1904/05: 14f.; Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 7). The language is clear and prosaic, with a clear focus on providing information in an understandable and well-arranged way.

In contrast to the guides by ʿĀrif and Türk Yūrdu, Ḥilmī raises literary claims in his study guide. He wants to convince his readership to go abroad not only through content and practical information but also through detailed descriptions of the beauty of Geneva and its surroundings. Information is continuously mixed with the author's impressions. Instead of an introductory chapter Ḥilmī starts by describing the process of writing his study guide and its usefulness for the reader as well as with his claim to provide all the important information *sine ira et studio* (Ḥilmī 1903: 12). Although stressing that the work includes his personal views, Ḥilmī expresses the hope that those "will not be opposed to neutrality" (Ḥilmī 1903: 13).

Rehber *as a guide for the Ottoman student*

The notion 'study guide' or '*taḥṣīl rehberi*' is consequential for two reasons: on the one hand the authors themselves call the works *rehber* and *ḳılāvūz* (Ḥilmī 1903: 7; ʿĀrif 1904/05: title; Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 3), and on the other hand their contents are just that. Guidebooks are characterized by a focus on the functional aspect, they impart knowledge and skills and provide practical advice (Klingenböck 2005: 2, n. 1). So do the study guides: they primarily consist of the description of the higher educational institutions of Paris and Geneva, from requirements for entry, study guidelines, curricula, to fees and further study-relevant information.

Likewise, the main body of ʿĀrif's study guide for Paris describes the different educational institutions of the city. It seems that the enumeration is comprehensive. It also includes descriptions of institutions which foreign students cannot attend, e.g. the *École coloniale*.[27] The near-completeness of his guide can be further illustrated by comparing it to a French study guide for foreign students by Georges Duflot from around the same time (Duflot: 1911). It is remarkable that

[27] ʿĀrif (1904/05: 55–135). For the *École coloniale*, see (ibid.: 114).

ʿĀrif does not mention the *École des langues orientales*; despite being for French students only, one would think that he would at least mention its existence. Apart from this oversight, the descriptive part of ʿĀrif's guide is very similar to the corresponding part in Duflot's book. So similar, in fact, that it is possible he had access to an earlier version of it.

He adds, however, sporadic judgments regarding whether an institution is very good or suitable for Ottoman students. The recommendations are very similar to the subjects the Ottoman state itself favoured, e.g. natural sciences, engineering, medicine and law.[28] In general, however, the author confines himself to enumerating the subjects without further commentary.

Türk Yūrdu's guide for Geneva is similarly structured: The main part again consists of mostly neutral information describing the educational institutions in Geneva (Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 18–69). Of all institutions, only two are highly recommended: the faculty of medicine and the *Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau*, an institute for educational studies.[29] Here we can find parallels to Ḥilmī, whose guide was probably known to Türk Yūrdu.

Ḥilmī, too, describes in detail the educational institutions of Geneva in his study guide. But in contrast to the other two guides he constantly comments on the information and adds to it his personal views and assessments, thereby showing his readership the shortcomings of the Ottoman educational system in contrast to that of the Swiss. Ḥilmī's personal views and recommendations are mirrored most clearly in the 30-page appendix "A profession in 8.5 months", in which he pleads the case for studying pedagogics in Geneva. To his mind, this is the science which can "save" the Empire (Ḥilmī 1903: 230–261).

Besides practical information on the way of life in a particular European city, like accommodation, food, living expenses and non-university activities, the guides also give rather general information on possible modes of living in Europe. Due to the choice of Europe as the place to study the guides had to take into account reservations of their readership. Thus, Europe was not just some place to study; it was a foreign culture and civilization, a foreign lifestyle and religion. Despite the so-called processes of modernization which the Ottoman Empire sought to learn from Europe, and despite the growing knowledge of Europe available to the Ottomans, Europe still was defined as the Other in contrast to the Self (see e.g. Berkes 1964: 352–356). As a result the study guides felt the need to give their readership an understanding of this Other and to demonstrate a way to facilitate contact with it.

All authors are aware of the "otherness" of Europe, but they do not regard it as dangerous. They understand the fears of parents and students regarding the re-

28 E.g. for the faculty of medicine: ʿĀrif (1904/05: 72–90); for the faculty of law: (ibid.: 55–64).

29 Faculty of medicine: Türk Yūrdu (1912/13: 33–37); *Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau*: (ibid.: 55–59).

ligious and moral otherness of Europe, but in their view the danger does not emanate from Europe per se, but from the way students cope with their European environment. Hence, as long as students sent abroad are morally and religiously stable, there are no dangers posed by the new environment; it is possible to be a good Muslim even inside Europe.[30] Türk Yūrdu and Ḥilmī even regard Geneva as one of the most secure and suitable places for Muslims (Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 18; Ḥilmī 1903: 30; 121f.; 124f.; 253).

The danger of losing one's national identity, and as a result undergoing a negative "Europeanization," is only mentioned by ʿĀrif, although he uses the same argument: as long as students are filled with love for the fatherland and Islam there is no danger of adopting Europeanness (*firenklik*) (ʿĀrif 1904/05: 43f.). ʿĀrif appeals to the student's strength of character as well as to the parents who should raise their children to be strong in their beliefs. His recommendation regarding a certain way of living is clear: Adaptation to the European way of life is undesired. He writes "The relation we have to Europeans should be like our relation to fire. Let us benefit from their light and warmth, but let us not get too close so that we burn" (ʿĀrif 1904/05: 13).

Taking into account all the other activities, e.g. lectures and conferences, Türk Yūrdu organized for Ottoman Turkish students in Geneva, it becomes clear that they wanted to ideologically influence the students. In their study guide they recommend that students bring their Turkish wives in order to avoid marriage with "foreign" and "harmful" women (Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 11). Furthermore, they take a pragmatic approach regarding how to live in Europe. Although they acknowledge the differences in lifestyle, they stress that it is possible to live in Europe as they do in the Ottoman Empire (Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 16). If the Ottoman student knew which lifestyle he had to follow and why he came to Europe, not "for decoration", not "to follow the fashion of 'having seen Europe'", not even "for the label of 'having studied in Europe'," but in order to study properly, there would be no dangers (Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 8). For further aid in orientation Türk Yūrdu suggests students visit their organization, which can provide assistance for the students wishing to live and behave properly.[31] ʿĀrif as well as the members of Türk Yūrdu implicitly regard themselves as the best examples of how to study and live in Europe without losing one's own identity, religion, or culture.

In contrast, Ḥilmī is not afraid of losing anything at all. He holds a positive view of Europe and, consequently, of living and studying there; in a "special part" he gives recommendations on living in Geneva (Ḥilmī 1903: 187–229). He especially stresses non-educational activities the students should attend, e.g.

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30 Ḥilmī (1903: 252f.); Türk Yūrdu (1912/13: 13). ʿĀrif does not elaborate on the question whether it is possible to practice Islamic belief in Europe, but he does not state the opposite either.

31 Türk Yūrdu (1912/13: 18). ʿĀrif on the contrary pleads for the founding of an institution which should supervise the Ottoman students in Europe (ʿĀrif 1904/05: 41).

dance courses or the theatre – activities which were often criticized as dangerous distractions from studying. Ḥilmī does not deny the foreignness of Europe, but instead of warning against it he believes that students should embrace it. For him, studying does not only mean studying at educational institutions but learning from the experience of living in Geneva.

In spite of their differences, the common aim to serve the Ottoman student as an aid to living and studying in Europe is clearly visible in all three study guides. They do not give any information on financial or organizational aid by the state in regard to studying in Europe, implying perhaps that they address primarily Ottoman students (and their parents) who were willing to study on their own initiative and had the own financial means to do so. One can also assume that the audience of the study guides was made up of individuals already interested in studying in Europe but who had not taken the practical steps yet for any number of reasons and reservations. Even if none of the three guides states clearly what kind of "Ottoman students" – and in many ways also "Ottoman parents" – they address, it becomes clear through their argumentation. ʿĀrif mostly focuses on *Muslim* Ottomans, a conclusion supported by the fact that he starts with the *Basmala* and focuses on an Islamic religious argumentation and justification of studying in Europe much more than the other two guides. It is obvious that ʿĀrif writes from a Muslim point of view and addresses a Muslim readership.[32] Due to their involvement with the Turkish nationalist movement, Ḥilmī and Türk Yūrdu instead mostly refer to *Turkish* Muslims as their addressees. In the case of Türk Yūrdu's guide this becomes evident in the subtitle called "A Small Present to Turkish Youth." Ḥilmī dedicates his guide to "our youth" and closes his introduction by claiming that Geneva is the best place to study for "a Turk, a person from the East" (Ḥilmī 1903: cover and 15).

Rehber *as travel guide and travel account*

It was not only Europe's 'foreignness' that the study guides focused on – they also treated it as the destination of a journey, providing practical advice on and descriptions of the journey's various stations. Thus, ʿĀrif's work includes a detailed section providing the necessary information about departure from Istanbul, as well as travel to and arrival in Paris. It also has a chart of times and places of departure of steam ships and their ticket prices. Similar information can be found in Türk Yūrdu's guide.[33] Ḥilmī as well as Türk Yūrdu give information on the city and its environment, sights and places which should be visited. Ḥilmī describes Geneva and its surroundings, provides information on the political system of Switzerland,

[32] ʿĀrif (1904/05: 3–13) (introduction/*muḳaddime*), 14f. (Noble hadiths/*Aḥādīṯ-i şerīfe*).

[33] Description of the journey and stations of the journey: ʿĀrif (1904/05: 16–31) (*Departure and Arrival*); Türk Yūrdu (1912/13: 73–76) (*Journey*).

its population and history as well as on everyday life and cultural activities.[34] Only ʿĀrif limits himself to referring the readers to the Baedeker when visiting Paris.[35]

The focus of all three books, however, also lies on the places of arrival themselves – independent from their function as places of study. Those practical pieces of advice regarding travelling to Europe and staying there for a certain period of time bear elements of travel guides – "devices fixed in a written form, which do not directly report on travelling but pragmatically accompany it" (Brenner 1992: 281). As a result they were not only a source for the student but also for any Ottoman traveller who wanted to visit Paris or Geneva. Also the information on how to behave and live in Europe was useful for any traveller.

However, the parts related to travelling to Europe and the description of the places of arrival also hold characteristics of travel accounts. Especially Ḥilmī's study guide acquires the character of a travelogue. On the basis of his individual perception as well as information gained from other sources the places are described in a detailed manner. Travelling to foreign places and discussing them are leading motives of travel literature.[36] Similar to many travelogues, parts of the guides are "written presentations of authentic travels" (Brenner 1992: 9). All three authors did undertake the described travels to Europe and lived for a certain time in the European cities Paris and Geneva. Much information is gained through personal experience.

Travels to different regions of the world were a result of manifold motives: political exile, studying, journalistic travels just to name a few. In the 19th century, travel literature in its fictional and nonfictional forms was widespread. In travelogues (*seyāhatnāme)*, Ottoman intellectuals' experiences and perceptions of Europe and other regions all over the world were described. The parallels to the study guides are obvious. The *seyāhatnāme*s of the 19th century were directed at a wider audience, at the newly emerging middle-class intellectuals, and wanted to impart knowledge – especially on Europe and rules of conduct for the contact with the indigenous population and the life style abroad.[37] Similar to Ḥilmī's approach in his study guide for Geneva *seyāhatnāme*s often shared the belief that travelling itself and seeing other countries could educate the traveller. By writing *seyāhatnāme*s and sharing experiences the authors facilitated the reader's possible future travels to those places. That seems to be a more or less general characteris-

34 Especially Ottoman art in the Genevan museums as well as Ottoman–Arabic books and manuscripts in the libraries of Geneva are mentioned (Ḥilmī 1903: 46; 49).

35 Description of the cities: ʿĀrif takes no more than a page for the description of Paris and its sights (ʿĀrif 1904/05: 27). Ḥilmī describes Geneva and its environment in a detailed manner (Ḥilmī 1903: 16–58). Türk Yūrdu describes Geneva and its sights in a short chapter (Türk Yūrdu 1912/13: 13–16).

36 For a typology of different forms of travel literature see Link (1963: 7–11), for a critique of this typology see Neuber (1989: 51f.).

37 Sagaster (1997: 30). For more detailed information on Ottoman *seyāhatnāme*s on Europe see the contributions of Bâki Asiltürk and Caspar Hillebrand in this volume.

tic of travel accounts. Indian travel writing to England at around the same time or European travel accounts contain similar characteristics.[38] Consequently, it is not only the study guides that include characteristics of travelogues, but travelogues also contain elements of guidebooks: In his famous travelogue *Avrūpāda bir Cevelān* Aḥmed Midḥat provides information on major tourist sites as well as a short history of the cities he visited.[39] Another very important example is the Egyptian scholar al-Ṭahṭāwī who clearly states the purpose of writing his travelogue on Paris as the following:

> "When (…) I decided to go, some relatives and friends, especially our shaykh al-ʿAttâr (…) told me to observe with great detail everything that would take place on this trip, everything I saw and encountered that was strange and wondrous, and to write it down so that it could serve to discover the face of this region, of which it is said that it is as beautiful as a fiancée, and in order for it to remain a guide for travellers wishing to go there."[40]

Al-Ṭahṭāwī is also a good example that illustrates how the study guides do not only stand in a broader tradition of travel writing inside the Ottoman Empire but also in a broader Muslim tradition. They justify travelling to and studying in Europe – the land of infidels – religiously as part of *riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*, the religious obligation of travelling in search of knowledge which was a common trope in other "Muslim" travelogues of that time. Al-Ṭahṭāwī justifies his journey by the Hadith on seeking knowledge as far as China – the same Hadith the authors of the three Ottoman study guides use constantly.[41] The parallels are not very surprising taking the fact that al-Ṭahṭāwī's travelogue was translated into Ottoman-Turkish shortly after its publication in Arabic and had a wide circulation (Newman 2002: 16).

Another parallel between the study guides and travelogues which should be mentioned here is that both provide information for those people who are not able to travel by lending them their eyes while reading the travelogues or study guides:

> "I was approximately 16 years old. One day I got hold of a small book by Tunalı Hilmi – *Studying in Geneva*.[42] I cannot remember exactly what was written in it, but I know that while reading it I was moved by a fierce and deep desire for Geneva and its cultural institutions. To live and to study in Geneva was my youth's main goal. Months, maybe years after, I still thought about that. I looked at postcards of Geneva, read encyclopaedic articles on the city and my desire grew from day to day".[43]

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38 For Indians see Burton (1996: 129; 133). In a European context see for example Peckham who mentions Farrer's "Tour of Greece" (1882) which contains an appendix titled "useful information to intending travellers" (Peckham 1999: 176).

39 Findley (1998: 23). For the original see Midḥat (1889).

40 Al-Tahtâwî ([n.d.]: 6), as cited in Newman (2002: 15f.).

41 Newman (2002: 18). For the Hadith in the study guides see ʿĀrif (1904/05: 12; 14); Ḥilmī (1903: cover and 14); Türk Yūrdu (1912/13: 12).

42 Karaosmanoğlu names Ḥilmī's work *Studying in Geneva*, but he most probably means *Āvrūpāda taḥṣīl*.

43 Karaosmanoğlu (1967: 223f.). For the reference to Karaosmanoğlu see Kieser (2005: 38).

This quotation is from the memoirs of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889–1974), a Turkish writer and diplomat. He shows what kind of effect a study guide could have on its readers. To use the words of Aḥmed Midḥat Efendī: "Reading travelogues became a surrogate for travelling" (Herzog – Motika 2000: 151).

Rehber *as political writing*

Last but not least the study guides are political writings. The 19th century Ottoman Empire felt a strong need to reform the state in order to ensure its existence. Many state and opposition circles chose Europe as their point of orientation. Reforms of the educational system were at the core of state efforts. Also non-state actors and opposition groups propagated the use of education in order to transform and "save" the empire (see e.g. Deringil 1998: 93–111). As in the whole process of reforms, the question of what to take from Europe and what to preserve of the Ottoman Empire was dominant in the discussion on education. In this debate the authors of the study guides positioned themselves. The decision for education as a tool to save the country was not only a proposal for a solution in the sense of educational policy. By choosing Europe as the place of study and the Turkish-Muslim Ottomans as the addressees the study guides gained a political-ideological and partly oppositional connotation.

Mostly in the introductory parts of their works the authors state their views on their own state in comparison to Europe. The latter is often seen in terms of religious difference or unbelief, as a place of civilization and as one of knowledge. The description of Europe is one of the most subjective issues in the study guides. Individual experiences coupled with political, religious, ethnic or national positioning of the authors play a crucial role.

While ʿĀrif and Türk Yūrdu – besides their admiration for Europe as a place of knowledge and education – take an anti-European standpoint, often in the sense of anti-imperialist critique and nationalist arguments, Ḥilmī tends to laud Europe in order to criticize political and social deficits of the Ottoman state. But the authors have two things in common: Firstly, with regard to education and knowledge, Europe was an ideal model but at the same time a competitor who has to be outdistanced (Ḥilmī 1903: 258). Secondly, while dealing with Europe, the authors implicitly try to concretize how they identify themselves and whom they want to address: Turkish-Muslim Ottomans. Hence, they are an example of how travels, especially in the 19th and early 20th centuries, contributed to the development of a sense of difference between Self and Other. "The travellers were in many ways catalysers of identity formation and of a more politicized self-perception in the Ottoman Empire" (Fattah 1998: 51).

Thus, we can say that the three works are more than study guides: First of all they are a *vade mecum* for travelling to and studying and living in Europe. In addition they are travelogues by which the authors inform on their own experi-

ences in Europe. These parts are a plea for studying in Europe, and in the historical context they acquire the character of political writings.

Rehber *as a historical source*

The importance of the study guides as historical sources is evident. Harbsmeier explicitly makes the case for the use of travelogues as sources for the author's individual way of thinking and indirectly for the mentality of his home country and not as sources for the described countries, understanding travel descriptions as forms of unintended cultural self-portrayal (Harbsmeier 1982: 1f.). Nevertheless, it is not possible to take the guides as travelogues entirely, nor do I want to claim to read the authors' mentality or a collective mentality between the lines in these sources. Yet Harbsmeier shows how it is possible to use the study guides as historical sources, not as a source for a European city or its educational system but rather as an evidence of how a certain group of Ottomans perceived Europe and its usefulness for their home country. Consequently the works allow for an insight into the multifaceted and contradictory relationship of the Ottoman Empire with Europe, leaving us with the main question of "how the individually experienced reality was perceived by the travellers, how it was pictured and handled, and not in how far the travellers' description corresponds to the reality of that time" (Calikbasi 2004: 10).

If we want to read the study guides as historical sources in order to find out how the authors perceived the benefits of Europe for the Ottoman Empire and with which arguments they wanted to convince their readership of these benefits, it is fruitful to apply certain methods of discourse analysis.[44] According to Landwehr, in historical discourse analysis, discourse is understood as "the sum of statements which are organised systematically regarding a certain subject" (Landwehr 2001: 97f.). He looks at discourse itself, as well as at its constituting statements, as social products which follow certain rules. Consequently, discourse describes "the regularity/orderliness of clusters of statements which regulate what can be thought, said and done"[45] and is characterized by "which statements appear at what time and what place" (Landwehr 2001: 97f.).

As a criterion for conducting a historical discourse analysis Landwehr names a sufficient quantity of texts which are characterized by "diachronic sequences and synchronic frequency of connected statements" (Landwehr 2001: 106). The study guides do not fulfil this criterion. Their statements, rather, are part of the Ottoman discourse of how to save the empire, which was dominant in the 19th and early 20th century. Thus, the text analysis is not conceived as a discourse analysis in any

[44] In his introduction to historical discourse analysis Landwehr tries to develop a method for historical discourse analysis by resorting to discourse theory – mostly Foucault and Bourdieu (see Landwehr 2001).

[45] Landwehr (2001: 98), cited after Stäheli (2000: 73, n. 3). Stäheli uses Foucault in his definition of discourse.

strict sense, but as a preliminary stage of it. It is only possible to explore one aspect of the wider discourse, and with this limitation in mind, this article focuses on Europe's usefulness in search for possibilities to save and strengthen the Ottoman Empire. This aspect has to be further modified because it is not the discourse on what role Europe could play in this process which is presented, but rather the individual opinions of a limited number of persons. However, the statements of the study guides can be understood as part of a wider discourse. Consequently, it is possible to revert to methods of historical discourse analysis, since it is not the aim to analyze the study guides regarding their internal characteristics but rather as the "product of a concrete intellectual-linguistic attempt to come to terms with reality and as a fragment of comprehensive discourses." By putting the texts in their historical context, it is possible to make their "intentional effects more transparent and [their] transported ideology more visible" (Jäger 1993: 6).

As a consequence, the concrete analysis of the study guides has a double focus: the context in which the texts were written and in which they took effect, and the contents of the three study guides in regard to a catalogue of questions, e.g. how is Europe perceived and how is the Ottoman Empire perceived; how are the cities described; what fields are regarded as useful; how is this legitimized and so on. That these questions are asked serves to explore the portrayal of Europe's benefits for the Ottoman Empire within one text. At the same time these questions reveal parallels and differences in argumentation and emphasis in the three study guides.

Conclusion – putting rehber *in a broader context*

In this contribution, I have shown the possibility of using *rehber*s as historical sources in order to answer the central question of how the authors perceived Europe and its benefits for the Ottoman state – and how they perceived themselves in contrast to Europe. By highlighting the parallels to Ottoman/Arab travel accounts of that time I argue for integrating the study guides into the canon of travel literature on Europe in its fictional and nonfictional forms. Several of the contributions of this volume address questions to their sources which can also be posed to the study guides: For example, analyzing the factors which determine the categories of Self and Other[46] as well as the forms of justification of travelling to Europe.[47]

But despite their obvious similarities, the differences should not be forgotten. The strong focus on functional aspects distinguishes these study guides from the travel writing of that time. On the one hand this limits the possibilities of inter-

[46] See for example Bekim Agai's contribution.

[47] See for example Mehdi Sajid's analysis of Rašīd Riḍā's justification for his travel to Europe.

preting and analyzing the sources in the context of Ottoman or non-European perceptions of Europe in general; on the other hand it opens up the possibility of exploring other approaches.

As mentioned before, travelogues also contain, to a lesser degree, elements of guide books, which are directed to different audiences and address different issues, according both to the author's motivation for travelling and writing a travelogue and to the places to which the author travelled. It could be worth comparing the more pragmatic approaches to travelling found in both Ottoman and European travel accounts to those found in the study guide in order to find out in which areas the authors thought their readership needed guidance – an aspect which says a lot about the authors' perceptions of their reading audience and society in general. Another point of reference in this context could be *taʿlīmātnāmes*: e.g. the *Frānsaya seyāḥat taʿlīmātnāmesi* for an organized tour to France, which includes *inter alia* dress codes.[48]

Furthermore, a comparison between the study guides and Ottoman and European travel guides would be fruitful. An especially interesting example is a travel guide for Budapest which was published by the administration of the Austrian-Hungarian railway in Ottoman Turkish for Ottoman travellers, the number of which rose steadily after 1908.[49] Many Ottoman travellers to Europe also used the Baedeker[50] for their own travels and benefited from European travel guides as sources of information for their travelogues. Those guides could be interesting for the analysis of the study guides in two ways: beyond the choice of aspects in which the readers are believed to need guidance, the selection of recommended places and sights is meaningful, in the study guides as well as in any other travel guide. The comparison to e.g. Baedeker guides opens up for an intertextual approach which goes beyond the borders of Ottoman writings on Europe. In the case of ʿĀrif, who recommends the Baedeker and who we can assume also used the guide, its influence on his perception of Europe should be taken into account.[51]

The comparison with other "study guides" may be self-evident, but considering disciplinary and linguistic limitations it is also a demanding task. Looking back into the Europe of the 16th to 18th centuries one can find several handbooks for students or young aristocrats which served to guide them on their "Grand Tour" and helped them to profit from their educational stay abroad in order to serve their country of origin afterwards.[52] At around the same time that the Ottoman

48 N. N. 1910, 8+6 pages (in Ottoman Turkish and French). Another *taʿlīmātnāme* is *Romānya seyāḥati*, 1912 (Heyet-i Maḥsūsa tarafından, resimli seyāḥat proġram ve taʿlīmātnāmesi).

49 *Budapeşte Macaristan payitaḫtı*, see Kuneralp (1995).

50 E.g. ʿĀrif (1904/05: 27); Aḥmed İḥsan used the Baedeker e.g. for his description of London, see Servantie (2007: xxxii).

51 Servantie claims that Aḥmed İḥsan saw Europe through the lens of Baedeker (Servantie 2007: xl).

52 See e.g. Kutter (1980) and Warneke (1995: 1–14). James Buzard states that "the Grand Tour had aimed at producing better statesmen and masters of estates" (Buzard 1993: 102).

study guides were written, several European study guides were composed, too, which addressed students who wanted to study in another country within Europe. They mostly contain information on the educational institutions but also many practical pieces of advice for living in a foreign environment (see e.g. Roßmann 1907). But the most interesting comparison would be one with contemporary Russian,[53] Bulgarian (Paskaleva 1987: 60) and Indian study guides (Burton 1996: 127f.), which were written out of a similar position, with aims and underlying reservations similar to those of the Ottoman guides. It is clear from all this that the wish to learn from Europe was by no means unique.

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[53] Ivanov (2001: 37f.). Ščapov mentions seven Russian study guides published between 1898 and 1911, which included information on West European Universities, requirements for entry, curricula, and further practical advice (Ščapov 1983: 396f.).

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