

# Ways of Sightseeing



DIPLOMARBEIT

## Ways of Sightseeing

ausgeführt zum Zwecke der Erlangung des akademischen  
Grades einer Diplom-Ingenieurin unter der Leitung

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E259-04 Institut für Architekturwissenschaften  
Architekturtheorie und Technikphilosophie

eingereicht an der Technischen Universität Wien  
Fakultät für Architektur und Raumplanung

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Wien, am 27.05.2024



# Abstract

Diese Arbeit befasst sich mit dem Akt des 'Sightseeings', der im antiken und allgegenwärtigen Konzept der 'Theoria' verwurzelt ist, das Vision und intellektuelle Untersuchung miteinander verbindet. Sie schlägt Wege vor, um eine abstrakte Haltung gegenüber dem Phänomen des Tourismus durch Archivrecherche und spekulative Dokumentation zu formulieren und zu artikulieren. Durch die Untersuchung von drei Reiseberichten aus der fernen und frühen Vergangenheit setzt sich die Arbeit mit dem vermittelten Begriff des Raums auseinander, in dem die frühen Reisenden 'schauten, ohne zu sehen' und verschwommene Inseln der Realität verfassten, die sie in sich trugen. Darüber hinaus wird in dieser Studie eine virtuelle Figur eingeführt, Penelope, die die Mythologie des Tourismus als ein potentes Laboratorium für Spekulationen über die 'Wege des Sightseeings' und die Erfindung von Abstraktionsmethoden aufbaut, die eher Vorstellungskraft als wirtschaftliche Beziehungen erfordern. Diese Arbeit schließt mit einer Zusammenführung der Untersuchung von Reiseberichten und der Figur zur Darstellung des fantastischen Archivs der Reisen und präsentiert eine Synthese, die die Prämisse verkörpert, dass das, was sehenswert ist, eine gute Geschichte zum Erzählen ausmacht.

This thesis concerns the act of sightseeing, rooted in the ancient and ubiquitous concept of 'theoria', which combines vision and intellectual inquiry. It proposes ways of formulating and articulating an abstract stance with regard to the phenomenon of tourism through archival research and speculative documentation. By examining three travelogues from the distant and early past, the thesis aims to engage with the mediated notion of space, where early travellers 'looked without seeing', composing blurry islets of reality they carried within themselves. Parallel, this study introduces a virtual character, Penelope, who engages the mythology of tourism as a potent laboratory for speculating on Ways of Sightseeing and inventing methods of abstraction that require imagination, rather than economic relations. This thesis concludes by merging the study of travelogues and the character into the rendering of the fantastic archive of travels, presenting a synthesis that embodies the premise that what is worth seeing is a good story to tell.

# Invocation

To the world,  
the ancestors already  
turn out to be  
interesting strangers  
when remote and gently defamiliarized.

Their names and deeds  
are haunting our books,  
their monuments  
uncannily in our cities  
still remain.

Thus, recognizing and making  
our kinship with them is  
the real thing,  
a stretch, a recomposition of kin  
which costs thought and commitment.

The effort, the force, of imagining  
lateral relatives,  
a solitary business,  
that is potentially public,  
open to all sides.

This verse results from an intimate encounter between two texts:  
an introductory excerpt from *Ibn Battûta: Travels in Asia and Africa*,  
1325-1354 written by the translator H.A.R. Gibb in 1929 and excerpts  
from *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene* written by  
Donna Haraway in 2016. Through substitutions, it explores their inter-  
ference patterns on the topics of kinship, heritage and imagination.  
(For more on methods, see page 25)

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# 1 Ways of Sightseeing

**Ways of Sightseeing** propose that what is worth seeing is a good story to tell.

**Ways of Sightseeing** encompass Dream, Ruins, Ritual and Forest. Ways of Sightseeing are concerned with the vision with closed eyes, the ruins that gaze back at you, the ritual that unveils the attraction, and the forest that offers *the possibility of recognizing and attempting to enter into a dialogue with forms of intelligence absolutely different from one's own.*<sup>1</sup> **Ways of Sightseeing** are naturally and intrinsically related to the art of storytelling. When confronted with the perpetual question of what is worth seeing the response is to tell a good story!

This is a synthetic composition around strange words such as dreams, ruins, rituals, forest, the unoriginal, attraction, labyrinth, aura, elaborated through the tongues of Dean MacCannell, Alberto Pérez Gómez, Pier Vittorio Aureli, Maria Sheherazade Ciudici, Valentina Popescu, Rana Saadi Liebert, Roberto Calasso, Walter Benjamin. (For more on methods, see page 25)

*Ways of Sightseeing* deal with the condition of dream, and therefore operate in *the realm of the unoriginal*.<sup>2</sup> *Ways of Sightseeing* are inexhaustive, like the three magi who had the Epiphany and then had to return home in three different ways. *Ways of Sightseeing* are captured in travelogues and are concerned with the in-between condition of travel and writing, the epiphany of the three magi, the epiphaneia, in this case the boundary screen between the geometric domain of travelling and the harmonic domain of writing.



Snuggling Magi, having been warned in a dream to avoid Herod, returned to their homeland by a different route in Salzburger Missale (Bd. 1) - BSB Clm 15708. Image cut-out and edit by the author of this thesis.

*Ways of Sightseeing* operate in the domain of leisure, also known as otium<sup>3</sup>, where the dream refers indiscriminately to relaxation/ socialization and also the scholē, the contemplation, such as in monasticism, out of sight, the most individualized and intimate ways of attempting to *grasp and make sense of the world*.<sup>4</sup> *Ways*

*of Sightseeing* challenge isonomia - we are all equal before the attraction,<sup>5</sup> acknowledging the gap that separates us from the other-as-attraction.<sup>6</sup> *Ways of Sightseeing* can be envisioned through their uplifting, via imagination, when we cast fresh meaning to the attraction and temper it through storytelling.

*Ways of Sightseeing* are triggered by ruins, which force themselves as obstacles, creating the case of the attraction. *Ways of Sightseeing* are concerned with ruins not as real relics of the past, but rather as unexpected vessels of attraction to be unearthed. *Ways of*



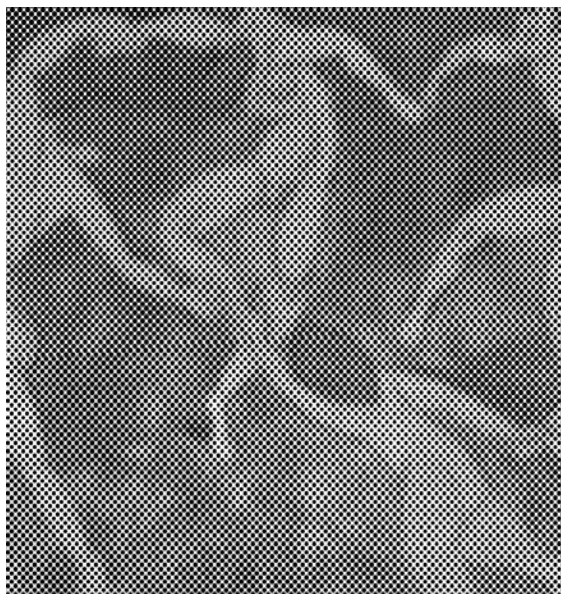
The Temple of Zeus, Olympia, Frédéric Boissonnas, 1910. Image cut-out and edit by the author of this thesis.

*Sightseeing* are stimulated by the inconceivable<sup>7</sup>, the ruins, and promote circulation around them. Turning wonder into wandering, *Ways of Sightseeing* make viable cases, paradoxa, concerned with *small topics, falsehood and jokes, opening the road to originality*<sup>8</sup> and disregarding authenticity. Incited by curiosity, *Ways of Sightseeing* delve into historiography, but preferring the fabrication of myths, they become a chimeric type of literature: the travelogue. Ways of sightseeing weave the case of the attraction around the unexpected, based on inventiveness rather than actual counterparts. *Ways of Sightseeing* train the ability to entertain unreal scenarios without

*demanding their correspondence to past, present, future actualities*,<sup>9</sup> challenging one's belief in possibility, by voluntarily being deceived while emotionally and sensually engaged. *Ways of Sightseeing* produce speech on wonders, paradoxical instruments, to enter a dialogue that confers a parallel and autonomous status to *the 'other' having an intelligence different from one's own*.<sup>10</sup> The outcome of *Ways of Sightseeing* is the most probable historical outcome of this particular development of culture: the pseudo-(paradoxical) reconstruction of authentic otherness.<sup>11</sup>



*Ways of Sightseeing* are attracted by the presence of the real thing and therefore invent rituals to maintain its power of metamorphosis. *Ways of Sightseeing* do not follow a prescribed path, but rather they are dancing out uncharted territories, as in the case with the art of storytelling. What has been in the past, *out in the open*, a broad plain for the dance, reveals itself in the performance of the ritual:

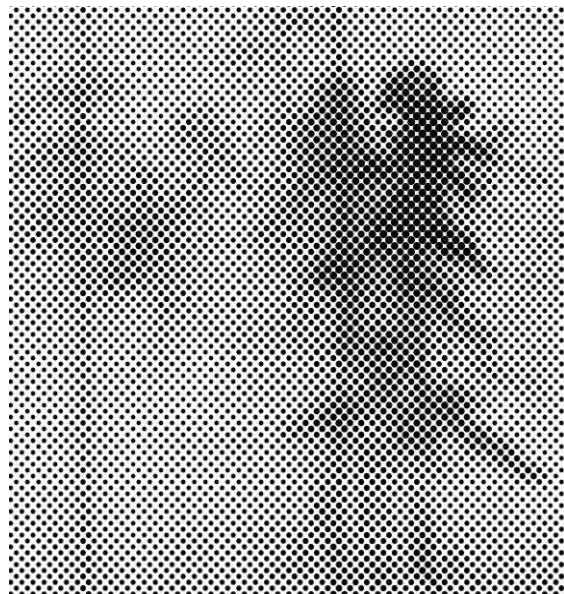


Dance, Henri Matisse, 1910. Image cut-out and edit by the author of this thesis.

the labyrinth<sup>12</sup>. *Ways of Sightseeing* outline the secret following exhausting digressions and anecdotal asides, stretching away from and towards a trajectory to tell a good story. *Ways of Sightseeing* visit the secret twists of the labyrinth and the frontal evidence of the Acropolis through cyclicity in time and linear bodily performance in space. *Ways of Sightseeing*, the ritual, is performed to remember the open space for the dance and to invent *the code within the dance that*

*contains the secret of the labyrinth*.<sup>13</sup> *Ways of Sightseeing* challenges the archive to create a milieu in which memory is not only stored but could also be accessible and re-activable.<sup>14</sup> *Ways of Sightseeing* strive to collectively incorporate the fragments of the real into a unified experience, yet they are doomed to eventual failure. Even so, they celebrate differentiation.<sup>15</sup>

*Ways of Sightseeing* are haunted by the other's aura, as with phantoms, and take place in the forest. Since the concept of aura of natural objects is defined by a unique manifestation of remoteness,<sup>16</sup> regardless of proximity, *Ways of Sightseeing* are not concerned of getting closer. *Ways of Sightseeing* aspire to explore *the depths and intimate contours of curiosity, subjectivity and motivation*<sup>17</sup> within branches, shadows, and complex relationships without fading the aura. Within the paradigm of the forest, *Ways of Sightseeing* look at the gap in the relationship between 'other' as *the attraction*,<sup>18</sup> insulated from demographics, to delve into kernels of subjectivity.



Pine trees, Hasegawa Tōhaku, around 1595  
Image cut-out and edit by the author of this thesis.

Within this gap lie the lost objects of desire, and they can only be accessed through symbolic representation.<sup>19</sup> Through imagination, *Ways of Sightseeing* desire articulations and formulations for 'the breathing in the aura of the forest'; the fable, the travelogue.

*Ways of Sightseeing* train an ancient and ubiquitous experimental mode that produces reproductions of the aura at any moment. Yet, the reproductions produced remotely embrace fluctuation and vagueness;<sup>20</sup> they are the auras themselves. *Ways of Sightseeing* operate individually to democratize the desire for the other, as *an attempt to grasp and make sense of the work and our place in it*.<sup>21</sup> *Ways of Sightseeing* desire a shift to subjective existence to vision new possibilities for shared subjectivity.



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- <sup>3</sup> On 'otium' inspired by Pier Vittorio Aureli and Maria Shéhérazade Giudici in 'The Form of Otium Labor and Leisure in Greek and Roman Domestic Space', in *Work, Body, Leisure*, ed. Marina Otero Verzier and Nick Axel (Rotterdam: Het Nieuwe Instituut, 2018), 154–62.
- <sup>4</sup> Dean MacCannell, *The Ethics of Sightseeing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 6.
- <sup>5</sup> MacCannell, *The Ethics of Sightseeing*, 5.
- <sup>6</sup> MacCannell, *The Ethics of Sightseeing*, 7.
- <sup>7</sup> On the 'inconceivable' and the 'attraction' inspired by Elias Zafiris. 'Wondering and Wandering Around the Vortex' (Chapter 1) in *Mathematical Thinking, An Involution for Architects* (Unpublished manuscript), ATTP (TU Vienna) Notes.
- <sup>8</sup> Valentina Popescu, 'Lucian's Paradoxa: Fiction, Aesthetics, and Identity', 1 January 2009, 6–7, [https://www.academia.edu/28536345/Lucians\\_Paradoxa\\_Fiction\\_Aesthetics\\_and\\_Identity](https://www.academia.edu/28536345/Lucians_Paradoxa_Fiction_Aesthetics_and_Identity).
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- <sup>10</sup> MacCannell, *The Tourist*, xxi.
- <sup>11</sup> MacCannell, *The Tourist*, xxi–xxii.
- <sup>12</sup> On the 'dance', the 'labyrinth' and the 'code' inspired by Roberto Calasso, *The Marriage of Cadmus and Harmony*, Translated by Tim Parks (New York: Knopf, 1993), 11.
- <sup>13</sup> On the 'dance', the 'labyrinth' and the 'code' inspired by Calasso, 55.
- <sup>14</sup> On 'memory' inspired by Stiegler, Bernard 'Anamnesis and Hypomnesis'. *Ars Industrialis*. <https://arsindustrialis.org/anamnesis-and-hypomnesis> Accessed May 27, 2024.
- <sup>15</sup> On 'ritual' inspired by MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 13.
- <sup>16</sup> On the 'aura' inspired by Walter Benjamin et al., *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, (New York: Schocken Books, 2012), 188.
- <sup>17</sup> MacCannell, *The Ethics of Sightseeing*, 4.
- <sup>18</sup> MacCannell, *The Ethics of Sightseeing*, 7.
- <sup>19</sup> MacCannell, *The Ethics of Sightseeing*, 11–12.
- <sup>20</sup> On the 'forest' as a spatial formation inspired by Ishigami, Jun'a. 2019. *Kenchiku no atarashii ōkisa: = Another scale of architecture*. Tokyo: LIXIL Shuppan.
- <sup>21</sup> MacCannell, *The Ethics of Sightseeing*, 6.

## Whereabouts, Aims and Organisation of this Thesis

*Ways of Sightseeing* propose ways of formulating and articulating an abstract stance with regard to the phenomenon of tourism.

Tourism, once simply about 'seeing the world', has already become a powerful force that commands how the world is being shaped. This work challenges the prevailing tonality, patterns, and motifs used to address tourism, suspecting, as Dean MacCannell puts it, that tourism holds some noneconomic *keys to understanding recent changes in the ways in which we shape humanity*<sup>1</sup> and they can be accessed through the ancient and ubiquitous act of sightseeing. *Ways of Sightseeing* eclipses phenomena such as globalization, territorialization, colonization, exploitation, and mass consumption; yet these serve as underlying gravitational forces that underscore the urgency of the topic. This work discusses tourism and is particularly motivated by the features of travelling that require imagination - such as exploration, engaging with the 'other', self-shaping, learning by experience and liberation from labour - which cast fresh meaning to human experience and by the ingenuity of writing to communicate experience through narrative.

*Ways of Sightseeing* suggests that even though tourism certainly reproduces fallacies it also harbours a palpable inventiveness that motivates liberating speculation. The 'mythology of tourism' here serves as a laboratory for inventing experimental methods of abstraction. With the speculation that the age of exploration has come to an end and there is nowhere to travel, *Ways of Sightseeing* are being challenged through the investigation of the travelogue, crafting a virtual character, *the scholar of the future*<sup>2</sup>, who dares to speak to the 'phantoms' of tourism, these delicate noneconomic relations that haunt the

<sup>1</sup> Dean MacCannell, *The Ethics of Sightseeing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 3.

<sup>2</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression, Religion and Postmodernism*. Translated by Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 39.

leisurely collective striving for a transcendence of modernity. Even if the scholar is doomed to fail, she invents methods which tend to celebrate differentiation.

The following theoretical inquiry results out a love affair between two books. The first, *Hellados Periegesis*, a travelogue, written by Pausanias in the second century sparks the desire to explore ways of sightseeing from the distant past, a time when travellers ‘looked without seeing’ composing blurry islets of reality they are carrying inside them. The second book, *The Ethics of Sightseeing* written by Dean MacCannell in 2011, offers a stimulating perspective on the act of sightseeing by emphasizing its peculiar tendency to democratize desire - as one stands *equal before the attraction*, one discovers something by *acknowledging the gap that separates one from the other-as-attraction*.<sup>3</sup> It suggests *the rise of the new tourist city, as a space that is a worthy interlocutor for the emergence of new subjectivities and new, yet undreamed, identities*.<sup>4</sup>

This work is organised into three chapters: the introduction to the *Ways of Sightseeing*, the study of Travelogues and the synthesis of the House of Postcards. The introductory chapter begins with the synthesis text, immediately inviting the reader to delve into the realm of *Ways of Sightseeing* that are about to unfold, followed by this introduction to the general outline of the thesis. In the next two chapters, the virtual character of Penelope takes over the *Ways of Sightseeing* as a symbol for the speculation that ‘the age of exploration has come to an end’. Penelope is projected here as the ‘scholar of the future’ who leads the reader of this thesis through the chapters without claiming

3 MacCannell, *The Ethics of Sightseeing*, 7.  
4 MacCannell, *The Ethics of Sightseeing*, 115.

to use standardized methods. Penelope’s tale, overshadowed by her husband’s adventures, is encoded in shadows and haunted by phantoms. She dares to speak to the ‘phantoms’ of tourism by labelling the objects of her study according to her tourist interests, claiming that *this not only does not contradict or limit her scholarship but will in truth have conditioned it, at the price of some still inconceivable complication that may prove the phantom to be correct*.<sup>5</sup>

*Ways of Sightseeing* operate in the realm of dreams, that of the *unoriginal*<sup>6</sup>; file the case of attraction as a lost object of desire; does not follow a prescribed method, but rather dances out repetitively rituals; encounters the forest by acknowledging phantoms in the canopy and the umbra of the trees. This thesis fabulates the character of Penelope, tuning her voice to narrate the *Ways of Sightseeing*. It weaves together the dreams, the desires, the dances and the phantoms of wonderers and scholars of the last two thousand years. According to modern conventions, Penelope acknowledges her successors, *she paraphrases or quotes directly*. *For the most part, however, the references are oblique*<sup>7</sup>, and even though some words are immediately identifiable, the use of them is haunted by interference patterns between the sources, which remain despite the vast temporal or thematical distance, or emerge through invention and chance. Through intimate encounters with the sources, Penelope, projected as the ‘scholar of the future’, dares to speak the phantom languages inherent in these sources and composes her texts around strange words. She is grateful to the great and the lesser-known authors for the pleasant *visits to their visions*<sup>8</sup>, acknowledging that this thesis would not have been possible without their contribution.

5 Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 39.  
6,7,8 Alberto Pérez Gómez, *Polyphilo, or, The Dark Forest Revisited : An Erotic Epiphany of Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1992), 305.

Penelope understands the act of sightseeing, the core tourist activity, as a derivative of pilgrimage having as its basic concept *theoria*<sup>9</sup>, which combines vision and intellectual inquiry. Thus, she studies travelogues and seeks out narratives of tourists to formulate 'Tourist Patterns'. Having been trained in weaving and unweaving, Penelope is not interested in the form. She is intrigued by the genre of travel writing, resistant to any rigid definition and resilient by its ability to metamorphose. Thus, when contemplating on travel writing, she engages with the activity of travelling, which often is a dirty one, and articulates 'Tourist Talks'. Penelope is already quite confident with the mechanics of the epos and establishes bridges between 'ekphrasis' and 'rhapsody' - 'the Dream, the Ruins, the Ritual and the Forest' - by gathering quotations from other scholars in the 'Glossary of Tourist Motifs'. Having invented formulations of 'Tourist Patterns', articulations for 'Tourist Talks' and the 'Glossary of Tourist Motifs', 'Penelope's House of Postcards' is a tale rendered in a speculative documentation of her palace as the fantastic archive of travels.

## Penelope studies Travelogues

### Three Tourists and the Tables of Tourist Patterns

The research starts in the E.J. Finopoulos Collection of history and travel books in Athens, followed by the selection of three travelogues, establishing the case for seeing the three respective travellers or writers as 'Three Tourists'. The three travelogues are *Hellados Periegesis* written by Pausanias in the second century, *Seyahatname* (*The book*

<sup>9</sup> From Greek *theoria* «contemplation, speculation; a looking at, viewing; a sight, show, spectacle, things looked at,» from *theōrein* «to consider, speculate, look at,» from *theōros* «spectator,» from *thea* «a view» in <https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=theoria>.

*of travels*) written by Evliya Celebi in the 17th century and *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople* written by Lady Craven in the 18th century. Studying these three travelogues in the context of tourism devises a scheme to navigate the ambiguous genre of travel writing, by examining travelogues as literary constructs, the traveller's life and the eras in which they lived, and the links between various texts created for or influenced by travel.

The scheme consists of 'Introductions and Digressions'. The 'Introductions' refer to the measurable and comparable features of travel narratives and the 'Digressions' serve as commentaries, accompanied by 'Figures', that highlight the peculiarities of the respective travelogues and diverge entropically from the main thematic trajectory. The scheme is carefully curated by titles for both the introductory and the digressional part, reflecting the diversity and evolution of ways of sightseeing across the three travelogues and hinting at their interrelations. Finally, this scheme manifests itself in the synthesis of the 'Tables of Tourist Patterns', one composed of the table of contents and the other of details from the 'Figures', graphically formulating the creative ways of being a tourist.

## Dirty Travel and Tourist Talks

'Dirty Travel and Tourist Talks' is a gesture that focuses on tuning an adequate tonality to celebrate the chimeric nature of travelogues, liberated from the fruitless efforts to confine them within a fixed definition. This is explored by way of substitution, specifically by substituting excerpts of the introductory text of *Dirty Theory: Troubling Architecture* written by Hélène Frichot in 2019, with various texts around travel and

writing. *Dirty Theory's* empowering voice stimulates the development of a theoretical tonality that conserves a certain sense of travel writing theory yet refrains from purifying a specific form. Thus, the text 'Dirty Travel and Tourist Talks' is elaborated upon through the premise that travel is dirty, celebrating the intriguing impurities that emerge within travel writing when discussing traveller, author, fact, fiction, belief, and heritage.

### Dream, Ruins, Ritual, Forest and the Glossary of Tourist Motifs

Moreover, the research evolves by exploring travel writing through the epic mechanics of 'ekphrasis' and 'rhapsody', establishing the case that, although diverging significantly from the epic, travel writing is deeply dependent on its mechanics, mastering at an amusing balance between wholeness and poetic expression, without ever aiming exclusively at either. Ekphrasis, a crucial rhetorical device, is used to translate experience or knowledge into written form, thereby creating an autonomous entity that conveys the essence and form of the experience rather than replicating the original experience itself. Rhapsody entails the art of weaving travel into a narrative, shaping how the structure of the text renders the journey's content comprehensible and engaging for an audience.

This work engages with the ekphrasis and rhapsody by establishing four conceptual themes of orientation for ways of sightseeing - 'the Dream, the Ruins, the Ritual and the Forest'. These themes derive from ekphrastic and/or the rhapsodic realm and serve as bridges between them, as well as with the 'mythology of tourism', since they are also abstracted in relation to *the symbolic terrain traversed by tourists, in*

*their imagination and in their reality, as an analogue of the unconscious with the potential for unexpected flashes of wit and insight.*<sup>10</sup> Initially extracted from three books of architectural theory - *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* written by Francesco Colonna in 1499; *Journey to the East* written by Le Corbusier, in 1911; *Another Scale of Architecture* written by Jun'ya Ishigami in 2019; and the first travelogue, namely Pausanias' *Hellados Periegesis*, they are further elaborated through quotations from texts of various disciplines. The collection of these quotations fabricates the 'Glossary of Tourist Motifs', which provides the conceptual background for the composition of the introductory text *Ways of Sightseeing*, declaring the scenography of abstraction derived from the 'mythology of tourism'.

### Penelope's House of Postcards

This thesis concludes with the synthesis of 'Penelope's House of Postcards'. When everything is already explored and mapped, an attempt to invent adequate ways of sightseeing emerges. What is worth seeing is a good story to tell. The epos digresses into postcards and the world is condensed into the house. *Ways of Sightseeing* return to where the research commenced, to the ultimate destination, the archive. Ten speculative documentary texts accompany ten pictures of the E.J. Finopoulos collection, taken by the author of this thesis. The typical Athenian apartment of the 1960s lends itself adequately for speculating on Penelope's house as a fantastic archive of travels and her weaving as the logos of travel writing.

<sup>10</sup> MacCannell, *The Ethics of Sightseeing*, ix.

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## 2 Penelope studies Travelogues

The age of exploration has come to an end and there is nowhere to travel. At the dawn of imagination and at the sunset of contemplation, *Ways of Sightseeing* metamorphose. The 'scholar of the future' mines the fantastic archive of travels and speculates on the 'mythology of tourism'. She studies the narratives of 'Three Tourists' and formulates the 'Tables of Tourist Patterns'. She engages with the 'Dirty Travel' and articulates 'Tourist Talks'. She extracts 'the Dream, the Ruins, the Ritual and the Forest' from the epic mechanics; and fabricates the 'Glossary of Tourist Motifs'.

## Three Tourists and the Tables of Tourist Patterns

|     |                                                                                                                                                                |
|-----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 046 | An Introduction to <i>Hellados Periegesis</i> written by Pausanias in the second century and other Digressions of other Travelogues                            |
| 100 | An Introduction to <i>Seyahatname</i> written by Evliya Celebi in the 17th century and other Digressions of other Travelogues                                  |
| 156 | An Introduction to <i>A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople</i> written by Lady Craven in the 18th century and other Digressions of other Travelogues |

This thesis fabulates the character of Penelope, tuning her voice to narrate the *Ways of Sightseeing*. It weaves together the dreams, the desires, the dances and the phantoms of wonderers and scholars of the last two thousand years. According to modern conventions, Penelope, acknowledges her successors, she paraphrases or quotes directly. For the most part, however, the references are oblique, and even though some words are immediately identifiable, the use of them is haunted by interference patterns between the sources, which remain despite the vast temporal distance, or emerge through invention and chance.  
(For more on methods, see page 25)

The research starts in the E.J. Finopoulos Collection of history and travel books in Athens. This initial phase focuses on familiarizing with the entire spectrum of travel writing during a two-month scholarly residency. This significant archive, containing 20.000 volumes of books and 5.000 maps and printed matter from the 15th to the 19th century, is the life's work of the collector E.J. Finopoulos located in the centre of Athens. The archive spans travel literature across the broader Hellenic world, featuring variations of the same titles (including different imprints, subsequent editions, different translations) and is organized with a detailed cataloguing format and thematic indexes that emphasize on travel itineraries, time frames of the travels, biographical details, motives and motivations of travel.

The following study of travelogues approaches the act of sightseeing by employing the 'mythology of tourism', transcending the disciplinary restrictions of anthropology, sociology, philology, archaeology and more. The selection of the three travelogues is based on speculation about the peculiar nature of the literary pursuit and travel quest within these texts, framing them as residues of liminal conditions related to identity, culture and gender. The three figures are projected as 'Three Tourists' to build the common framework within which the study of this residue will unfold, devising tourist formulations around these travelogues.

Consequently, the texts and their respective authors are drawn from the body of travel writing before the 19th century, when the roles of pilgrims, scientists, literati, military escorts, aristocratic exiles, students still overlapped, and travel writing was not yet clearly distinguished in scientific and literary works. Since they all travelled and inevitably,

in addition to their main mission, spent their leisure time sightseeing, they all fall under the term 'tourist'. Specifically, the 'Three Tourists' - namely Pausanias, Evliya Celebi and Lady Craven - dedicated their lives to travel and writing. Their travelogues were created primarily to document their journeys, distinguishing them from other scientific or fictional travel narratives that conformed to specific disciplines, such as an oratory for a particular city, a coastal navigational manual or an architectural documentation of antiquities of a city.

This study begins by assessing the three travelogues separately through a common scheme structured in 'Travelogue', 'Traveller' and 'Travel writing'. It examines travelogues as literary constructs, the lives of the travellers and particular historical contexts that shaped their actions, as well as links between various texts created for or influenced by travel. Each 'Travelogue' is elaborated through its title, structure, subject matter, selectivity and method. The 'Traveller' is explored through the biography, the manuscript, and the empire of the respective period, while 'Travel writing' delves into the literature of the respective era, aspects of the genre and literary influences.

The scheme is elaborated in two trajectories framed by 'Introductions and Digressions'. The 'Introductions' provide a solid foundation, presenting the measurable and comparable features of the travel narratives. The 'Digressions' serve as commentary, varying in length and style, to unravel the broad discourse on travel writing, stressing the peculiarities of the respective travelogue through their relevance to current 'tourist' issues. These sections diverge from the main foundational trajectory to explore aspects of the context and contemporaneity, highlighting the proximity and divergence of certain travel writing

themes in relation to the era of tourism.

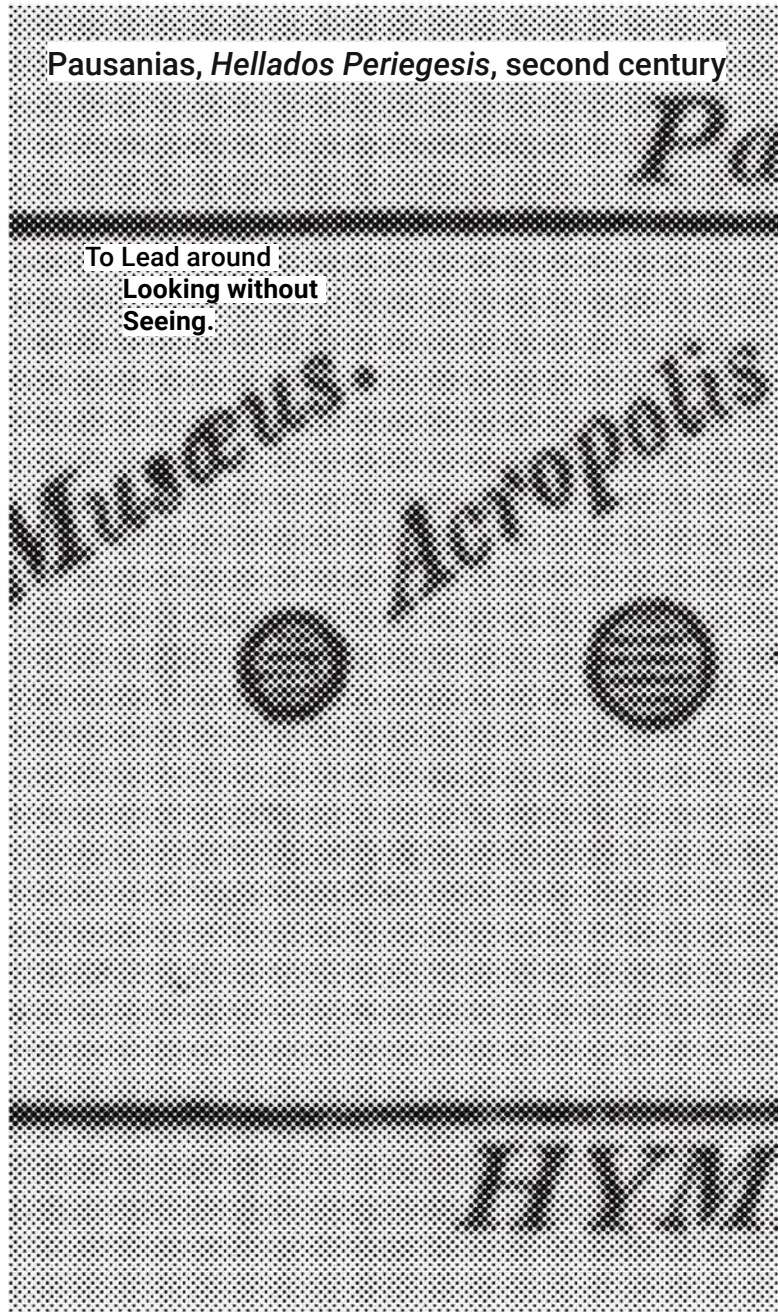
The 'Digressions' are further complemented by 'Figures', which often act as triggers for commentary or stimulate particular thoughts about the introductory part. These 'Figures' cover a variety of media including paintings, book covers, photos and maps, and span different epochs. Some correspond to the period of the respective travelogue, while others are contemporary. The selection of 'Figures' is governed by their convenience to the discourse, treated without preconceptions, ensuring no hierarchy based on production technique, popularity, or source significance. Having been similarly edited, these 'Figures' merge entropically, with no predetermined order.

The scheme is carefully curated by titles for both the introductory and the digressional part, reflecting the diversity and evolution of ways of sightseeing across the three travelogues. The scheme manifests itself in the synthesis of the 'Tables of Tourist Patterns', one composed of the table of contents and the other of details from figures corresponding to the study of the three travelogues. The 'Tables of Tourist Patterns' partition the 'Three Tourists' ways of sightseeing into equal, discrete areas, graphically formulating the creative ways of being a tourist. The titles or figures of each approach are arranged next to one another, hinting in a non-hierarchical manner to the interrelationships among the different approaches.



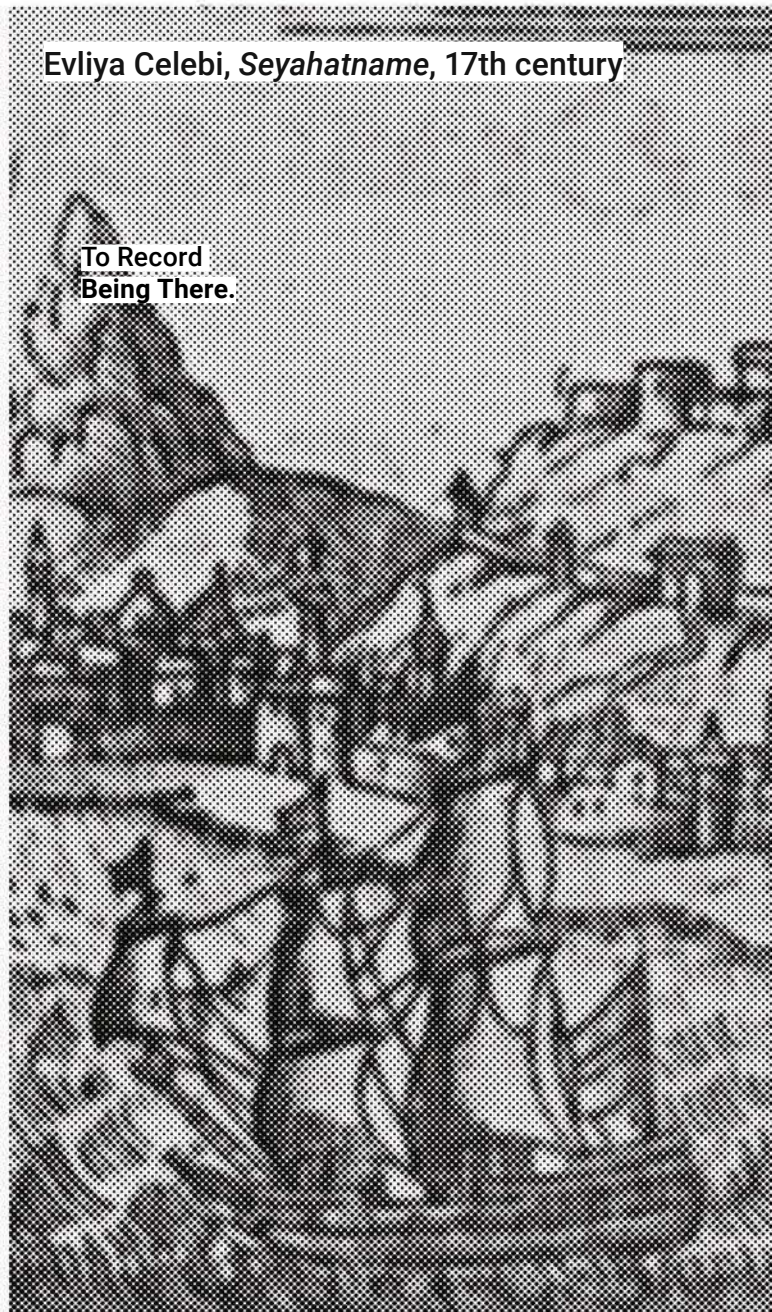
Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, second century

To Lead around  
Looking without  
Seeing.



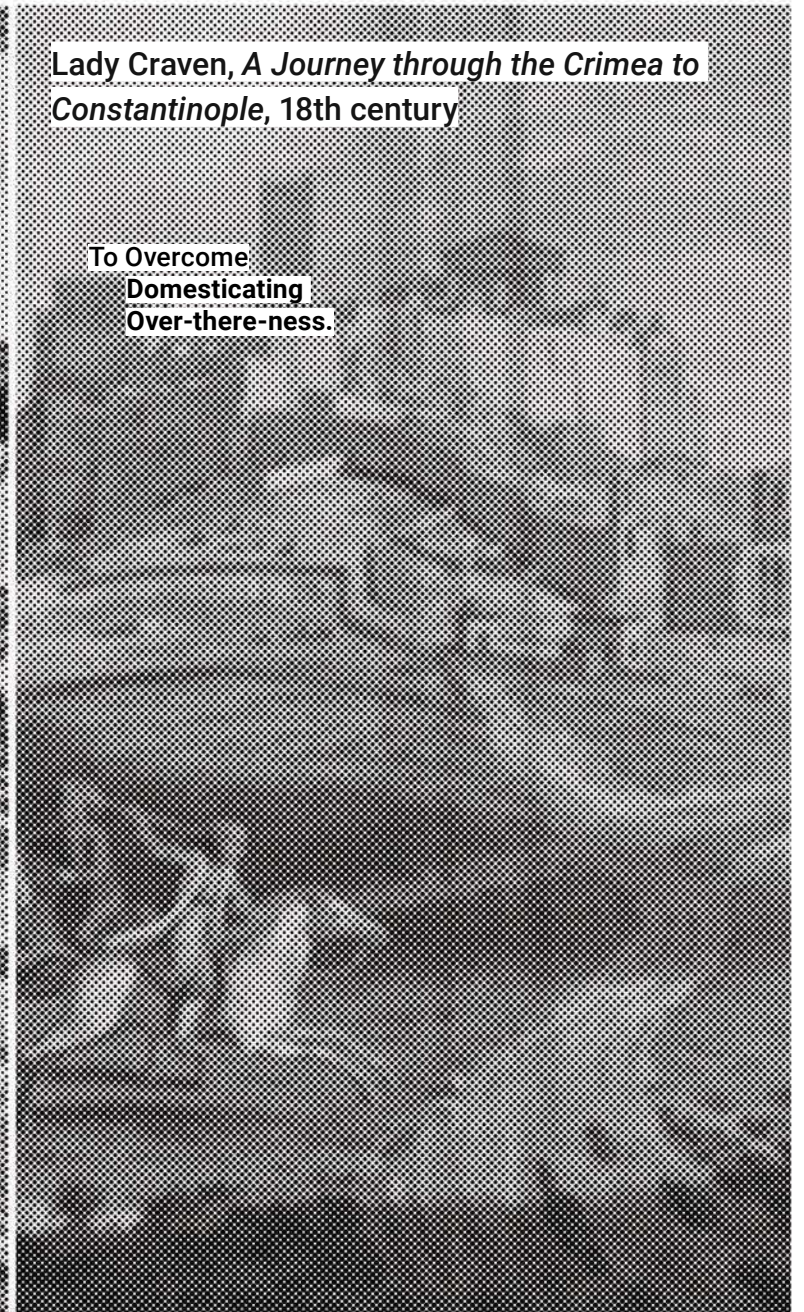
Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, 17th century

To Record  
Being There.



Lady Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, 18th century

To Overcome  
Domesticating  
Over-there-ness.





*Hellados Periegesis*

Imaginative  
Geography  
Object and  
Landscape.

Past Things  
worth Seeing  
Ruined  
Representation.

Sacred Tourist  
Parallel Lives.

Greek Renaissance  
Local Time.

No First Travelogue  
Rewriting  
Landscapes.

All Greek Matters  
Articulation by  
Mimicry.

Periegesis  
Turning Travel  
into Text.

A Copy in the Library  
Public Memory and  
Oral Anamnesis.

Performance  
Virtual Creativity.  
In-between Past  
and Present.

Navigation and  
History  
Truth-bearing  
Wonders.

*Seyahatname*

Temporal Topography  
Itinary and  
Personal.

Everything Present  
Everyday Locality.

Professional Tourist  
Multifaceted  
Personality.

Seven Climes  
Rituals of Waiting.

In-between Cosmo-  
graphy and Geography  
Speculating a  
Milieu.

Ottoman Empire and  
its Hinterlands  
Preserving Irony.

Thematic Cataloguing  
Turning Topic  
into Attraction.

A Copy in a Private  
Collection  
Bearing Witness.

Poetry  
Impersonal Diary.

Routes, Navigation  
and Diary  
The Mediterranean  
in Prose.

*A Journey through the Crimea to  
Constantinople*

Epistolarity  
Distance and  
Moment.

Personal Curiosity  
A Tourist  
Attraction.

Tourist in Exile  
Alienated self.  
Fashioning  
Identity.

New World  
Modern Times.

Towards  
Self-discovery  
Inventing  
Character.

The Traveller and  
the Domestic  
Public Interior.

Idiosyncratic Vision  
Turning Destiny  
into Destination.

Publishing  
Owning  
Memorabilia.

Picture  
From View to  
Vision. Framing  
Atmosphere.

Antiquities and  
Orientalism  
In the Footsteps of







## An Introduction to *Hellados Periegesis* written by Pausanias in the second century and other Digressions of other Travelogues

To Lead around TITLE  
**Looking without Seeing.**

TRAVELOGUE

Imaginative Geography STRUCTURE  
**Object and Landscape.**

All Greek Matters SUBJECT MATTER  
**Articulation by Mimicry.**

Past Things worth Seeing SELECTIVITY  
**Ruined Representation.**

Periegesis METHOD  
**Turning Travel into Text.**

TRAVELLER

Sacred Tourist BIOGRAPHY  
**Parallel Lives.**

A Copy in the Library MANUSCRIPT  
**Public Memory and Oral Anamnesis.**

Greek Renaissance EMPIRE  
**Local Time.**

TRAVEL WRITING

Performance LITERATURE  
**Virtual Creativity. In-between Past and Present.**

No First Travelogue GENRE  
**Rewriting Landscapes.**

Navigation and History LITERARY INFLUENCE  
**Truth-bearing Wonders.**

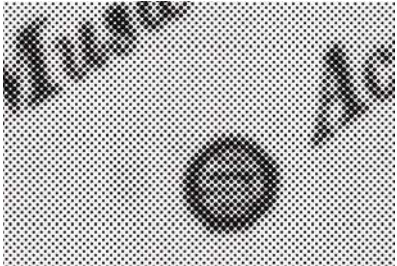
LIST OF FIGURES  
LIST OF REFERENCES  
BIBLIOGRAPHY

To prevent misconception, I added in my account (syngraphe) of Attica that I had not mentioned everything in order but had made a selection of what was most noteworthy. This I will repeat before beginning my account (logos) of Sparta; for from the beginning the plan of my work has been to discard the many trivial stories current among the several communities, and to pick out the things most worthy of mention—an excellent rule which I will never violate.

Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 3.11.1.<sup>1</sup>

It is claimed that *Hellados Periegesis*<sup>2</sup> is the oldest surviving travelogue; nevertheless, categorizing it among the literary works of its time still poses a challenge. The author refers to his work as ‘logos’ (account) and ‘syngraphe’ (written text), both broad terms that do not imply a specific literary genre (Pretzler, 2007, 3). Etymologically, the Greek word ‘περιηγέομαι’ means ‘to lead around’ or ‘to mark the outline’, implying that the reader is led around a certain perimeter, similar to a tour guide orally describing the sights on-site.

Fig. 1.0



Looking without Seeing. A sketch is probably a way of representing the way early travellers witness the passage through space, whether real or imaginary (Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner 2001, 19). Just as orators memorised the outline of a speech or a train of thought by transforming land-

scape into discourse, any object or event is transcribed into a direct channel to myths or (hi-) stories in which identity (Ibid., 19) is remembered, inhering imaginative geographies.

<sup>1</sup> All quotations from the original text *Hellados Periegesis* by Pausanias are taken from the following publication: Pausanias. 1918. *Pausanias. Description of Greece*. Translated by Jones, W. H. S. and Omerod, H. A. The Loeb Classical Library [Greek Authors]. London; New York: William Heinemann; G. P. Putnam's Sons. The quotations are referenced according to the numbering of the contents.

<sup>2</sup> Henceforth, the title *Hellados Periegesis* will be abbreviated as *Periegesis*.

Imaginative Geography STRUCTURE

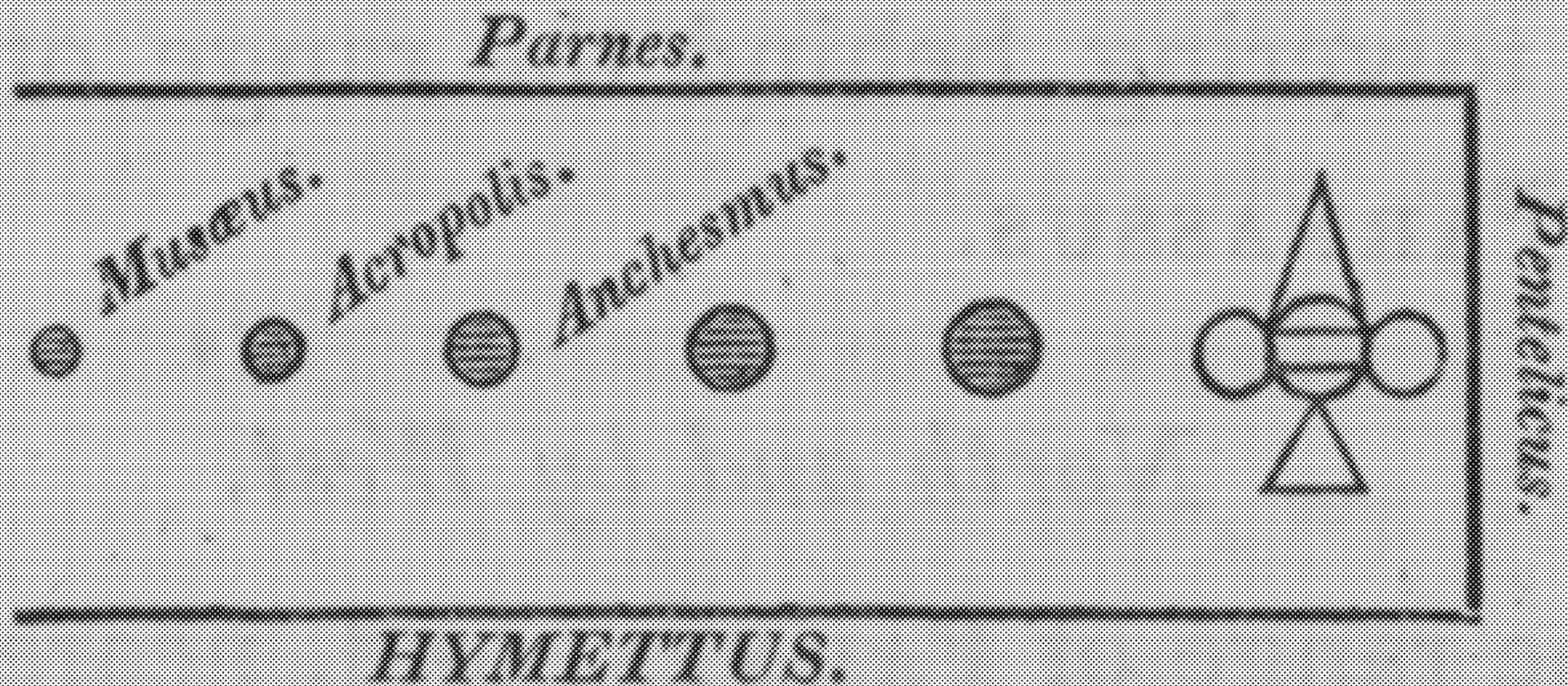
Such in my opinion are the most famous legends (logoi) and sights (theoremata) among the Athenians, and from the beginning my narrative has picked out of much material the things that deserve to be recorded.

Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 1.39.3

Pausanias' *Periegesis* comprises ten books, each dedicated to the description of a specific region. The narrative follows a complex itinerary through various parts of central and southern Greece on the Balkan peninsula. This itinerary is well described in Maria Pretzler's *Pausanias: Travel Writing in Ancient Greece* (Pretzler 2007, 4) as follows: In Book I, Pausanias explores the city of Athens, then moves on to parts of Attica and Megara. Book II covers Corinth and some of its neighbours, including the Argolis. From there, Pausanias starts a clockwise tour around the Peloponnese, passing through Laconia with Sparta as its focal point (Book III) and then proceeding to Messenia (Book IV). The detailed description of Elis spans two books (V, VI), with meticulous attention to Olympia. Book VII, focusing on Achaia, concludes the round trip along the coasts of the Peloponnese. Pausanias then turns inland to describe Arcadia (Book VIII). Returning to central Greece, Book IX is devoted to Boeotia, with particular emphasis on Thebes. The final book features Phocis, including a description of Delphi and a brief overview of Ozolian Lokris. Pausanias *Periegesis* is composed with a particular balance between comprehensive enumeration of sites, the retelling of myths-histories, and the urge to present the course of his travels experientially (Elsner, 1992, 11). Thus, the composition of Pausanias' writing is characterised by the combination of 'logoi' and 'theoremata' that are worth seeing, recording, remembering (Pretzler, 2007, 10). Theoremata refer to the things that are looked at, the sights, while logoi, encompass the stories related to the embodiments looked at. The 'most noteworthy' theoremata along Pausanias' itinerary encompass a variety of



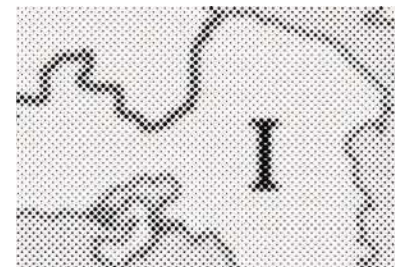
Fig. 1.0 A mnemonic sketch of the city of Athens.





elements, such as temples, monuments, paintings, votive offerings, inscriptions, collectively ascribing (Pausanias') Greek topography. Logoi are the 'most noteworthy' stories of historical, religious, mythological, art historical, ethnographic interest, that are crystallized around the theoremata that encapsulate them, even when they sometimes transcend the boundaries of the Greek world. In terms of form and structure, the logoi are commonly divided into two different types. Each book begins with a historical introduction to the region or city, presenting the main features that will be highlighted as noteworthy in that particular area. As the journey unfolds, Pausanias adds comments on single monuments and sites, creating what are known as digressions and serve as discursive narratives within Pausanias' itinerary. The term 'digression' refers to an interruption of the flow of the traveller's route and the descriptive narrative, but it does not imply a lack of discipline (Pausanias & Jones, 1918). Pausanias carefully selects their specific locations throughout the entire text in order to maintain the desired balance between logoi and theoremata, ultimately adhering to his main objective of providing a comprehensive description of all Greek matters. It seems that logoi and theoremata are both equally important, since throughout the ten volumes of Pausanias' *Periegesis* almost the same proportion between logoi and theoremata is maintained (Akujärvi, 2005, 7). However, the proportion varies in each volume, reflecting the unique features of each region in order to contribute to the creation of an adequate narrative. In these terms, the most notable example is Book IV (the Messeniaka) in which *the monuments are separated from, and subordinated to, the long and complex history of the Messenian people, their exile and return* (Alcock et al., 2001, 7). The length of the logoi, the discourses, varies from an introductory sentence to the twenty-nine chapters on Messenian history, making up almost the whole book.

Fig. 1.1



**Object and Landscape.** Structuring a book by carefully selecting objects and stringing them together along paths of imagination. The selection is driven by the traveller's ideology, and the tying together into a narrative is held by the contours of a particular landscape. Then, the reader threads her own path as she navigates in the imaginative geography driven by her desires.



Fig. 1.1 Imaginative geography: the ten books of *Hellados Periegesis* map out geographical areas.





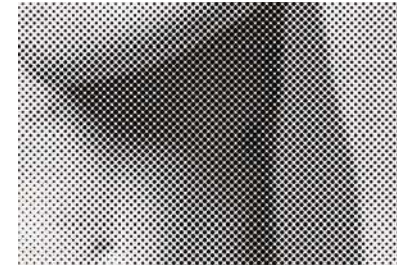
*But my narrative must not loiter, as my task is a general description of all Greece.*

Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 1.26.4

There is no preface or epilogue in the *Periegesis*; thus, the purpose or reflection of this work is never explicitly stated to the reader. The first book begins in media res, with Pausanias approaching Attica by sea, while the final book ends abruptly with the account of Ozolian Lokris. However, amid the description of Acropolis in the first book, Pausanias drops a hint of his undertaking, providing a general description of Greece - 'all things Greek'. It is crucial to note that all *Greek matters were certainly not limited to the areas described in Pausanias' Periegesis* (Pretzler 2007, 6). During the Roman period, the most prominent centres of Greek culture were located in Asia Minor and around the eastern Mediterranean (excluding Athens), areas not mentioned in the *Periegesis*. When comparing Pausanias' *Periegesis* to the Greek world presented in Homer's Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad*, second book, c. 8th century BC), considered the first image of Greek geography and still the primary geographical authority in Pausanias' time, it becomes apparent that Pausanias oriented his itinerary accordingly but omitted areas such as Thessaly, Aitolia and Euboea. It seems that regardless of the ancient definition of Greece one may choose, it does not align precisely with Pausanias' selection (Pretzler 2007, 6). Furthermore, documenting the encounters of one's own culture rather than a foreign one was a special undertaking, even though travelling for the sake of sightseeing appeared to be popular in the second century. Pausanias' attempt to describe 'all things Greek' mainly revolved around antiquarian and religious interests. During his travels, Pausanias embarked on a quest to report on remains of Greek culture. He documented historical, folklore details, inscriptions, rituals, customs, and various superstitions associated with the sites. These accounts were likely derived from books he read and oral legends

he picked up during his travels. He showed less interest in the natural features of the land or the everyday life of his contemporaries.

Fig. 1.2

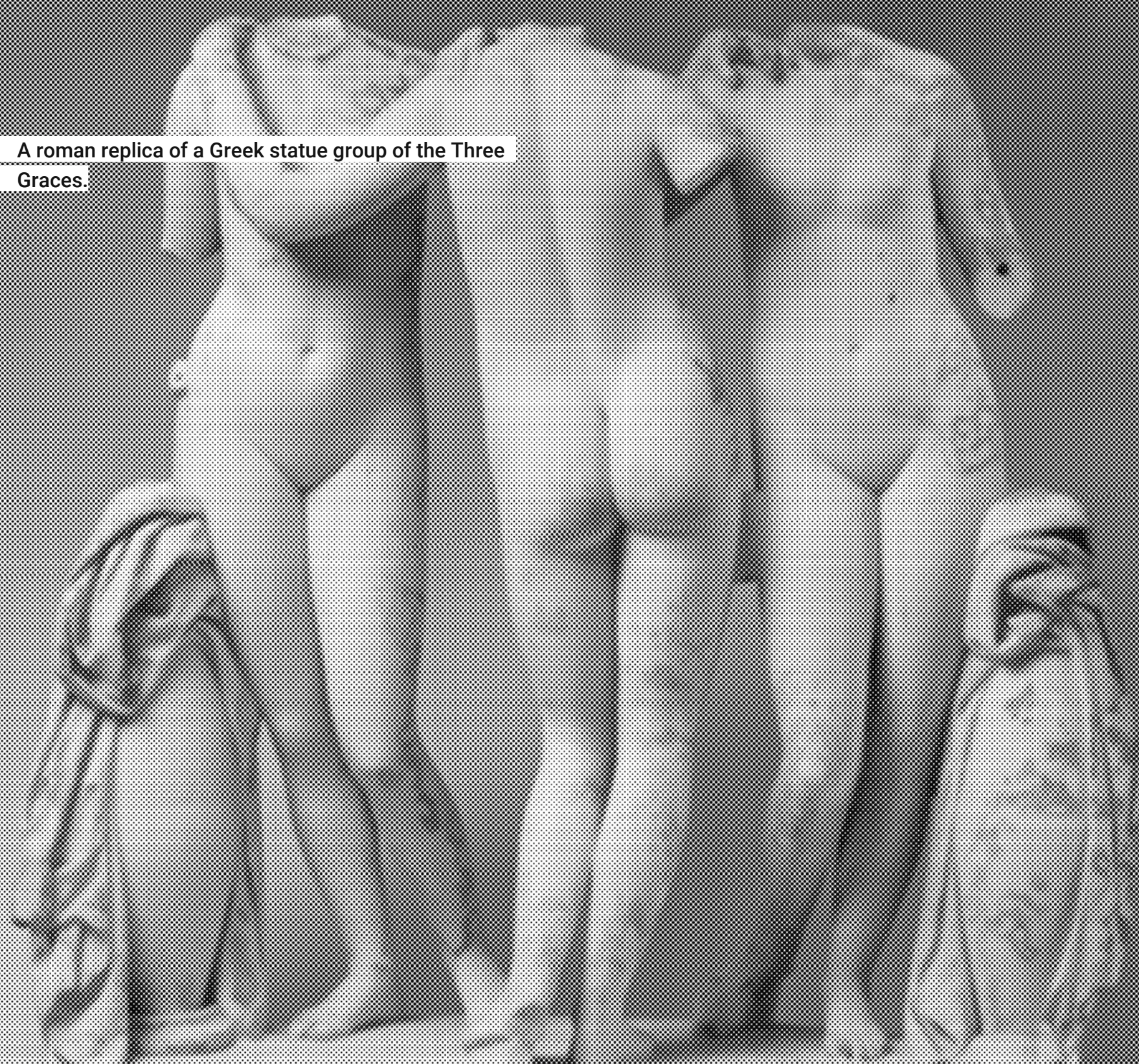


**Articulation by Mimicry.** The book *Life of Appolonius* deals with the biography of the charismatic teacher and religious reformer, recounting his alleged travels across the known world in the first century (Italy, Spain, Nubia, Syria, Mesopotamia and India). Philostratus, a Greek sophist

who authored this biography in the second century, asserts: 'to a wise man Greece is everywhere', reflecting the notion of Greek identity during the Second Sophistic. 'Greekness' during the Roman empire could be characterized by two fundamental criteria. The first involves the Greeks of the classical past - the inhabitants of the old poleis. The second encompasses the Greeks of the contemporary Roman empire - an elite group from various cities in the eastern Empire, bound together by their ability to write and speak in Attic Greek, the *archaizing dialect originally used in the fifth and fourth centuries BC* (Goldhill, 2001, 273). These two aspects of Greekness were intertwined through the education of the elite, known as Paideia. This education not only included the appropriation of the past through the study of a body of texts, artworks, and values originated in classical Greek antiquity, but also involved transcending the classical paradigms through scholarly investigations and devices such as parody and allegorization. Affiliations with Greekness were observed, explored, challenged and projected, constructing a shared system of reference that linked inherited tradition with the production of a new cultural stance. During the Roman Empire and the heightened interest in Greek culture, countless Greek sculptures were copied, preserving the past while simultaneously fostering the development of new modes of representation through mimesis, the art of imitating. In this context, the Greek writings of the educated, *pepaideumenoí*, like Pausanias and Philostratus, played a transformative role in shaping the topography of the Empire. Their work serves as an articulation of the complex contemporary Greek identity of the Roman Empire - at least for the wise man.



Fig. 1.2 A roman replica of a Greek statue group of the Three Graces.





## Past Things Worth Seeing SELECTIVITY

*Many are the sights to be seen in Greece, and many are the wonders to be heard; but on nothing does Heaven bestow more care than on the Eleusinian rites and the Olympic games.*

Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 5.10.1

*The image itself was wrought by Pheidias, as is testified by an inscription written under the feet of Zeus: –Pheidias, son of Charmides, an Athenian, made me. The temple is in the Doric style, and the outside has columns all around it. It is built of native stone.*

Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 5.10.2

*They burn on the altars incense with wheat that has been kneaded with honey, placing also on the altar's twigs of olive, and using wine for a libation. Only to the Nymphs and the Mistresses do they not pour wine in libation, nor do they pour it on the altar common to all the gods.*

Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 5.15.10

*In the portico lies a huge bone of a sea-monster, and after it an image of the Dream-God and Sleep, surnamed Epidotes (Bountiful), lulling to sleep a lion.*

Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 2.10.2

*The sea in fact at this strait is the stormiest of seas; it is made rough by winds bringing waves from both sides, from the Adriatic and the other sea, which is called the Tyrrhenian, and even if there be no gale blowing, even then the strait of itself produces a very violent swell and strong currents. So many monsters swarm in the water that even the air over the sea is infected with their stench. Accordingly a shipwrecked man has not even a hope left of getting out of the strait alive. If it was here that disaster overtook the ship of Odysseus, nobody could believe that he swam out alive to Italy, were it not that the benevolence of the gods makes all things easy.*

Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 5.25.3

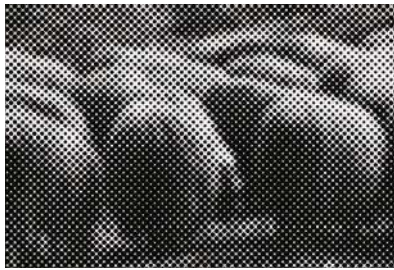
Throughout the entire work of the *Periegesis*, Pausanias aims to identify and describe 'all things worth seeing, remembering, or recording' along his itinerary in Greece. Two predominant principles emerge, guiding the selection of monuments deemed most memorable, notable or remarkable and consequently deserving inclusion in the narration of the

*Periegesis*. Firstly, Pausanias exhibits an antiquarian taste that leads him to favour the old over the new. Secondly, his religious interests direct his focus towards sacred sites rather than profane ones. While traversing the Greek province of the Roman Empire, Pausanias encounters numerous scattered monuments from the past. His primary concern is to preserve the essence of 'Greekness' embodied by these monuments, considering that many have suffered damage over time or have faded from the collective memory of the Greek people themselves. In contrast to his contemporaries who also engage with art from Greece's glorious past, Pausanias displays an interest in older periods, particularly when it allows him to uncover and present less widely information. Consequently, his artistic taste in painting and sculpture concentrates on works from the fourth and the fifth centuries BC, when Lucian, one of antiquity's most refined art critics, mentions no artist beyond the fourth century BC (Pausanias and Frazer 1898, xxxiv). Above all, Pausanias considers sacred sites and monuments the most memorable and worthy of mention. Thus, when he visits sanctuaries and temples, Pausanias provides his most elaborate and intricate descriptions, covering details of the *buildings and their decoration, the tombs, the altars, the votive statuary, other offerings*, rituals and associated stories (Casson 1994, 296). However, while guiding his readers through a region, Pausanias also records some profane sites encountered along his route. He offers reasonably comprehensive accounts of towns, villages, roads, rivers, mountains, and bays. When describing a city, Pausanias briefly mentions civic buildings dedicated to civic or private life, such as marketplace, colonnades, law courts, government offices, fountains, public baths, theatres, racecourses. Natural beauty receives the least attention throughout Pausanias' work. Features of the countryside are included only when they have religious, mythological or traditional connection. In these descriptions, Pausanias introduces wonders of nature and foreign lands, such as huge bones. Notably, as the work progresses, Pausanias



begins to pay increasing attention to the landscape and the natural resources of the country he is describing.

Fig. 1.3



**Ruined Representation.** In the early 19th century, the Swiss photographer Frederic Boissonnas, partly commissioned by the Greek authorities, played a crucial role in both constructing the Greece's image abroad as a tourist destination

and illustrating the modern Greek identity. Charmed by the Mediterranean light and shadow play, Boissonnas extensively travelled in Greece, capturing the newly established state of Greece. His photographs blended the ancient Greek heritage with the contemporary reality of rural life, depicting the ancient Greek ruins and monuments in their natural environment. Boissonnas' photographs evoke the same ambivalence or tension regarding what is worth mentioning, characteristic of travel writing, making them a type of modern travelogue themselves. On one hand, the ruins are seen as objects imbued with meaning through the selective process of the traveller/photographer, combating the loss of memory. On the other hand, the ruins gain interest not so much for their intrinsic qualities but rather because they already occupy a place in the literary representation. Travel writing, therefore, links the continuity of collective memory to the temporality of representation, as almost then the medium, in this case photography, as opposed to the place or traveller, which shapes the significance of what is represented.

## Periegesis METHOD

*My narrative will follow the order in which the Eleans are accustomed to sacrifice on the altars.*

Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 5.14.4

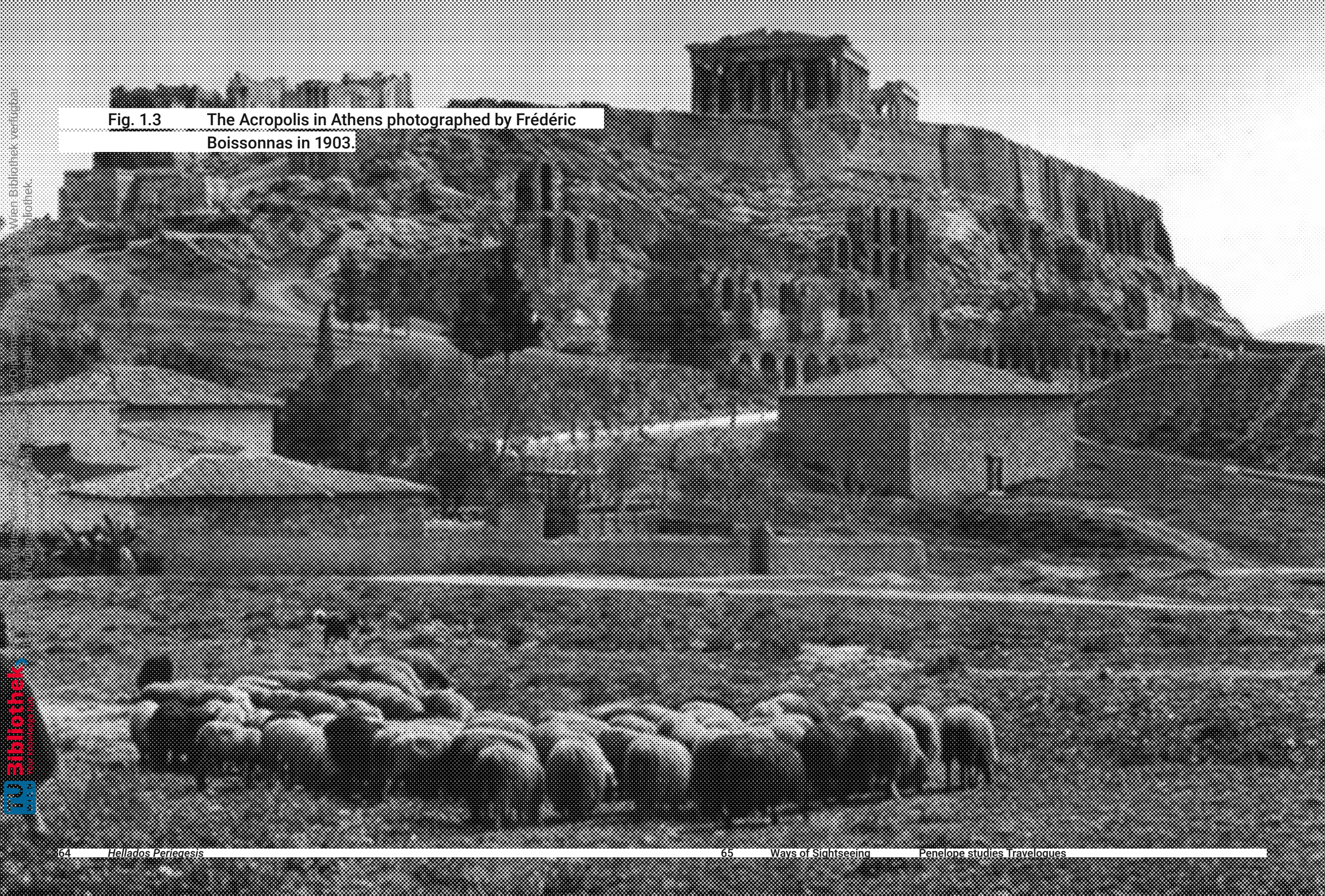
*The reader must remember that the altars have not been enumerated in the order in which they stand, but the order followed by my discussion is that followed by the Eleans in their sacrifices.*

Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 5.14.10

Pausanias most likely had a plan for his entire work when he began writing. It is reasonably assumed that he carefully selected the sites and monuments (theoremata) he would describe, along with the corresponding historical or mythical accounts (logoi) to be included in each specific passage. The ten books were likely written in order, as there are *over thirty cross-references* (Pretzler 2007, 7) between them, referring to passages that had not yet been written at the time of referencing. Pausanias opted for the periegetic form to organize his narrative, intending to guide the reader on an imaginary tour by describing everything he deemed noteworthy along his route. However, unlike other periegetes who commonly wrote monographies on single places and monuments, Pausanias sought to encompass the most memorable places and monuments throughout Greece. The first book demonstrates Pausanias' initial stage of experimentation with a scheme to accomplish his vast undertaking, that will eventually become his standard. By the second book *the arrangement of the material becomes more systematic, the range of interests wider and the descriptions more detailed* (Pausanias and Frazer 1898, xxiii). He adopted the topographical order of description, and he prefaces his account of each city with a historical/mythical description, varying in length depending on the significance of each region. Pausanias' periegetic method, as described by Casson in *Travel in the Ancient World*, follows a specific pattern. *He takes the shortest road from the frontier to the capital, noting whatever there is of interest along*



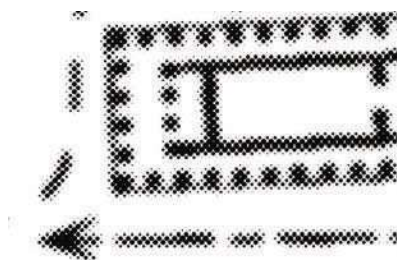
Fig. 1.3 The Acropolis in Athens photographed by Frédéric Boissonnas in 1903.





the way. He continues straight to the centre of the city - in most cases the marketplace - describes what there is to be seen, and then works through the various streets that lead out from it. Having finished with the capital, he turns to the rest of the territory within its jurisdiction. He follows out and back each chief road that radiates from the capital to its borders with neighbouring city-states, pointing out the notable villages, towns, and monuments that one passes on the way. When he has followed the last such road to the frontier, he steps across and begins all over again with an adjacent city-state (Casson 1994, 297). The sequence of descriptions in Pausanias' work doesn't represent his actual journey, yet it is evident that the author has personally visited most of these locations. (Casson, 1994, 299). Instead, it is a complex literary construct, fashioned for the sake of clarity, ensuring that routes do not intersect, minimizing potential spatial confusion and providing readers with a clear understanding of the *relative positions of the described places and things* (Pausanias and Frazer 1898, xxiv).

Fig. 1.4



Turning Travel into Text. The narrative takes the form of a walk, following the topographical order of the objects encountered. The travel writer aims to accompany the tourist on a walk and captivate the reader home. This complex literary construct is designed according to the experienced topography, yet the moment it translates into a narrative, it takes on autonomy and yields an imaginary geography, an appeal to the reader. The tourist and the reader must find their own way through the walk and the narrative, stimulated by their own imagination.

on autonomy and yields an imaginary geography, an appeal to the reader. The tourist and the reader must find their own way through the walk and the narrative, stimulated by their own imagination.

## TRAVELLER

### Sacred tourist BIOGRAPHY

*The old statues no longer existed in my time, but those I saw were the work of no inferior artists. There is also a sanctuary of Earth, Nurse of Youth, and of Demeter Chloe (Green). You can learn all about their names by conversing with the priests.*

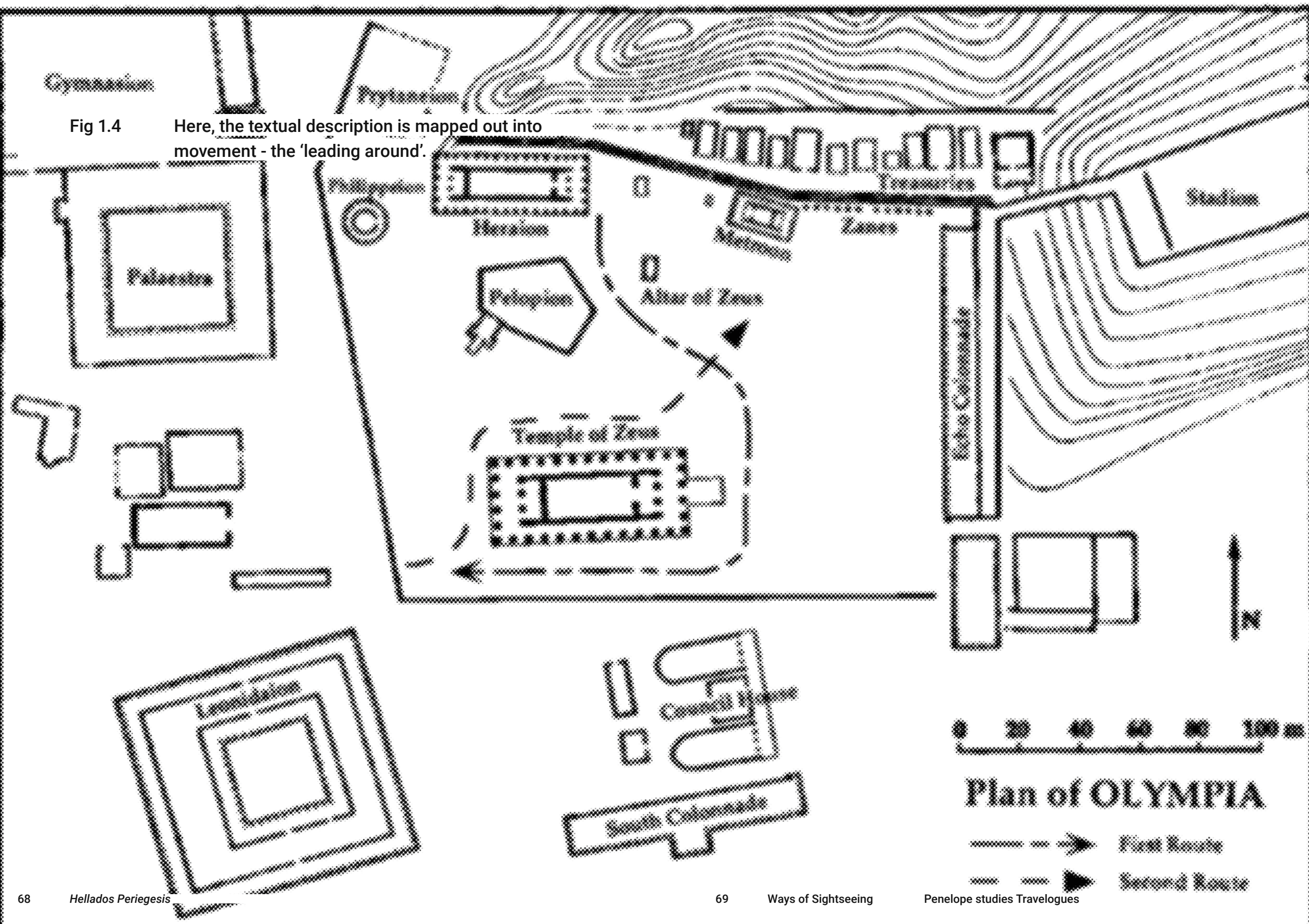
Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 1.22.3

There is no certain information about the origin of the travelogue, *Periegesis*, as the author himself does not provide his name, patronymic or place of birth. The name of the author, Pausanias, was preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium, the first recorded reader of *Periegesis*, who showed interest in the geographical details contained in the Pausanias' work and referred to it in his *Ethnika* around 535 AD, probably about 350 years after *Periegesis* was written (Georgopoulou, Guilmet, and Pikoulas 2007, 52). What little is known of the Pausanias' private life has been approximated only by the scattered hints scholars have been able to gather and by conjecture in the ten books of *Periegesis*, his only known written work. Pausanias was born around 115 AD and by all accounts died after 180 AD. He considered himself Greek (Georgopoulou, Guilmet, and Pikoulas 2007, 39), as he knew the Greek Attic language and had received a formal Greek education, known as Paideia, which, regardless of the student's ethnicity, bestowed upon them a Greek identity (see also Commentary of All Greek matters). Furthermore, based on wide range of references in his work, it can be inferred that Pausanias had thorough education and was very well read. Having the leisure to devote his life to travel, it is evident that Pausanias was a wealthy man and probably belonged to the urban elite whose members of the province of Asia minor at that time possessed the Roman citizenship. From the numerous allusions in *Periegesis* that Pausanias makes to places and objects in foreign lands, it becomes evident that he had travelled extensively, far beyond the area that is covered in his written work. However, there is no



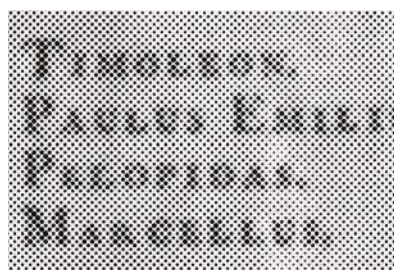
Fig 1.4

Here, the textual description is mapped out into movement - the 'leading around'.



indication of the exact number, order or chronology of his major travels. We know that in the east, he ventured as far as Syria and Palestine, visited Egypt and Libya and, in the west, he had seen Rome and various other parts of Italy. It goes without saying that he had extensively journeyed to Asia Minor, his birthplace, as well as to the Aegean islands and throughout Greece, a significant portion of which he dedicated his writing to. The essence of travel during the ancient Greek and Roman times remains an enigma to the modern understanding, covering a spectrum that includes pilgrimage, tourism and sightseeing. Most travels were indeed motivated by religious beliefs. Yet, polytheism offered multifaceted opportunities for *pilgrimage that tended to be characterized by joy and celebration* (Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner 2001, 41), such as athletics, festivals. Most travels were sponsored by the polis, which also regulated religious behaviour in Classical Greece. Pilgrimage was *a matter of reciprocal communication between states* (Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner 2001, 42) and was performed in groups. The key concept of Greek pilgrimage tradition was 'theoria', a ritual activity which combines vision and intellectual inquiry. The visual emphasis of pilgrimage, the act of sightseeing, melded the belief of sacredness of a place with the recreational curiosity towards shared traditions of cultural identity. This was Pausanias' main preoccupation, at least as far as his written testimony indicates.

Fig. 1.5



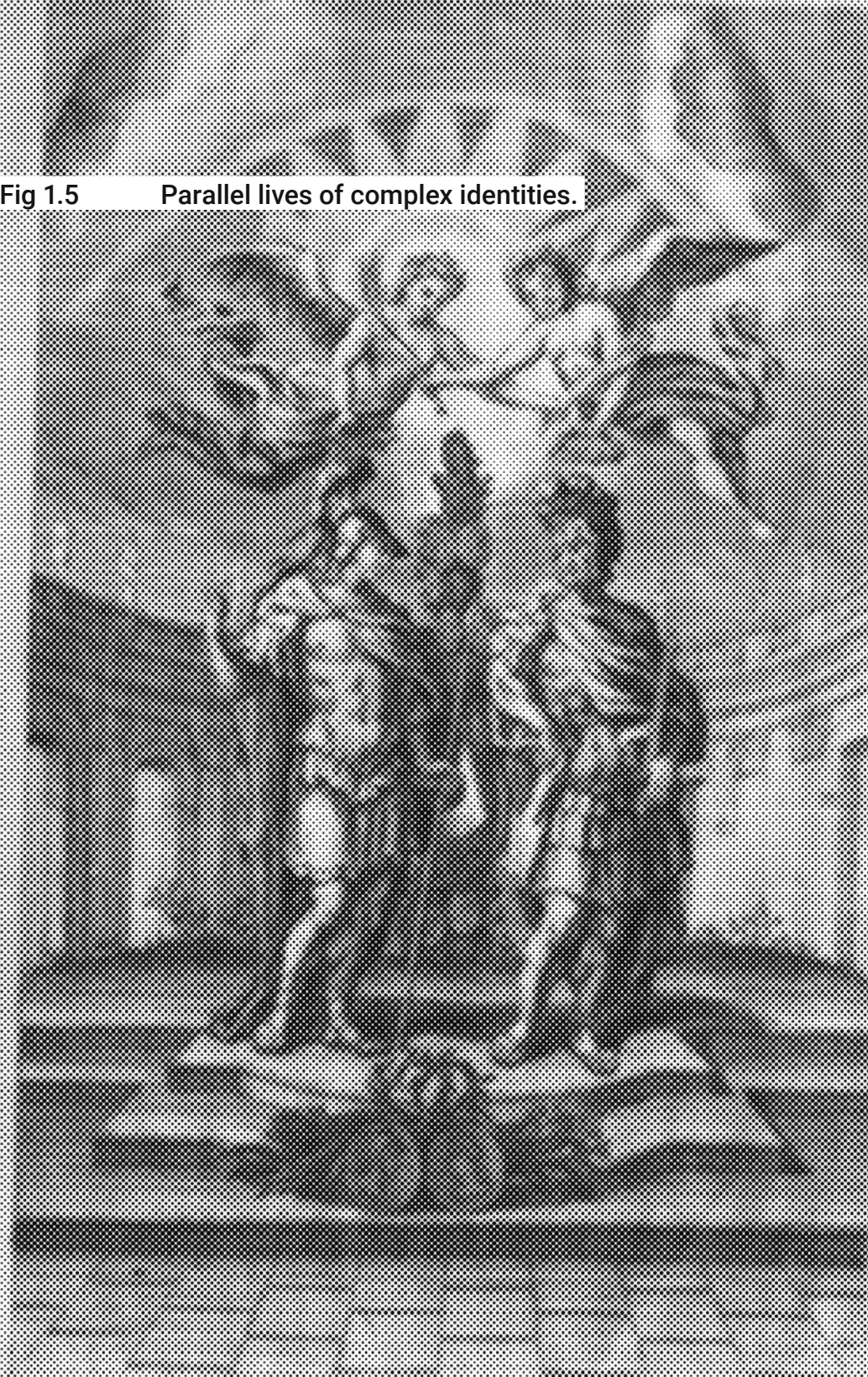
*Parallel Lives*. A series comprising 48 biographies of notable Greeks and Romans, authored by Plutarch in the 2nd century AD. Originated from Boeotia, a Greek province within the Roman Empire, Plutarch represents the Greek elite who held Roman citizenship, much like Pausanias.

Educated in the formal Greek education known as Paideia, he assumes the role of guardian of classical heritage, bridging culture from the past to his present. As a Roman citizen, Plutarch has to make sense both of Greece's

loss of political autonomy and the complexities of Greece's pursuing local office under Rome. Despite a deep attachment to his homeland, Plutarch travelled widely in the eastern Roman Empire and Italy. *Parallel Lives* showcases Plutarch's exploration of identity, one which is not static, but rather dynamic and complex, and constructed through his character portrayals. By juxtaposing Greek and Roman noblemen, he navigates the continuum of culture and identity from past to his present, revealing the contradictions, similarities and differences between the two cultures. Choosing to write biographies rather than histories, Plutarch seeks to uncover the essential character of different men rather than to recount great historical events that shape a unified identity. Perhaps, similar to the historian who travels in order to train his research methods, the biographer travels to train his sensibility to discern the signs of the soul in people within a place, aiming to capture the essence of character and the complexities of identity through his biographical narratives, as opposed to create identity, as in History, which can only be expressed in a fixed and unified way. In the same context, Pausanias chooses a form of travel writing that does not deal with the biographies of the citizens nor fully encompasses history. It seems rather that the *Periegesis*, itself, is the literary expression of a parallel life.



Fig 1.5 Parallel lives of complex identities.



# PLUTARCH'S LIVES:

VOLUME *the* THIRD.

CONTAINING

|                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| TIMOLEON.        | ARISTIDES.       |
| PACULUS EMILIUS. | MARCUS CATO.     |
| PELOPIDAS.       | PHILOPOEMEN.     |
| MARCELLUS.       | T. Q. FLAMINIUS. |

*Transfared from the GREEK.*

*With NOTES Historical and Critical*  
From M. D'ACIER.

L O N D O N.

Printed for J. TONSON in the Strand.

MDCCLXXII.



## A Copy in the Library MANUSCRIPT

*What I am about to say has never before been committed to writing, but is generally credited among the Athenians.*

Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 1.23.2

*Wishing to know better than most people who the Satyrs are I have inquired from many about this very point.*

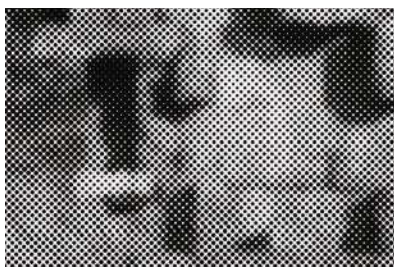
Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 1.23.5

*A legend concerning it says that it fell from heaven; whether this is true or not I shall not discuss.*

Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 1.26.6

Even though Pausanias' *Periegesis* dates back to the second century, the preservation of the manuscript known to us can be traced back to the sixth century, when Stephanus Byzantium encountered a copy of the *Periegesis* that had survived over time in Istanbul. In the 15th century, the manuscript reached Italy through an Italian traveller. 18 manuscripts were subsequently produced during the Renaissance from this single copy, which was ultimately lost. The text itself does not reference the title of the work or the author's name, leaving open the possibility that an original introduction may have been lost.

Fig. 1.6

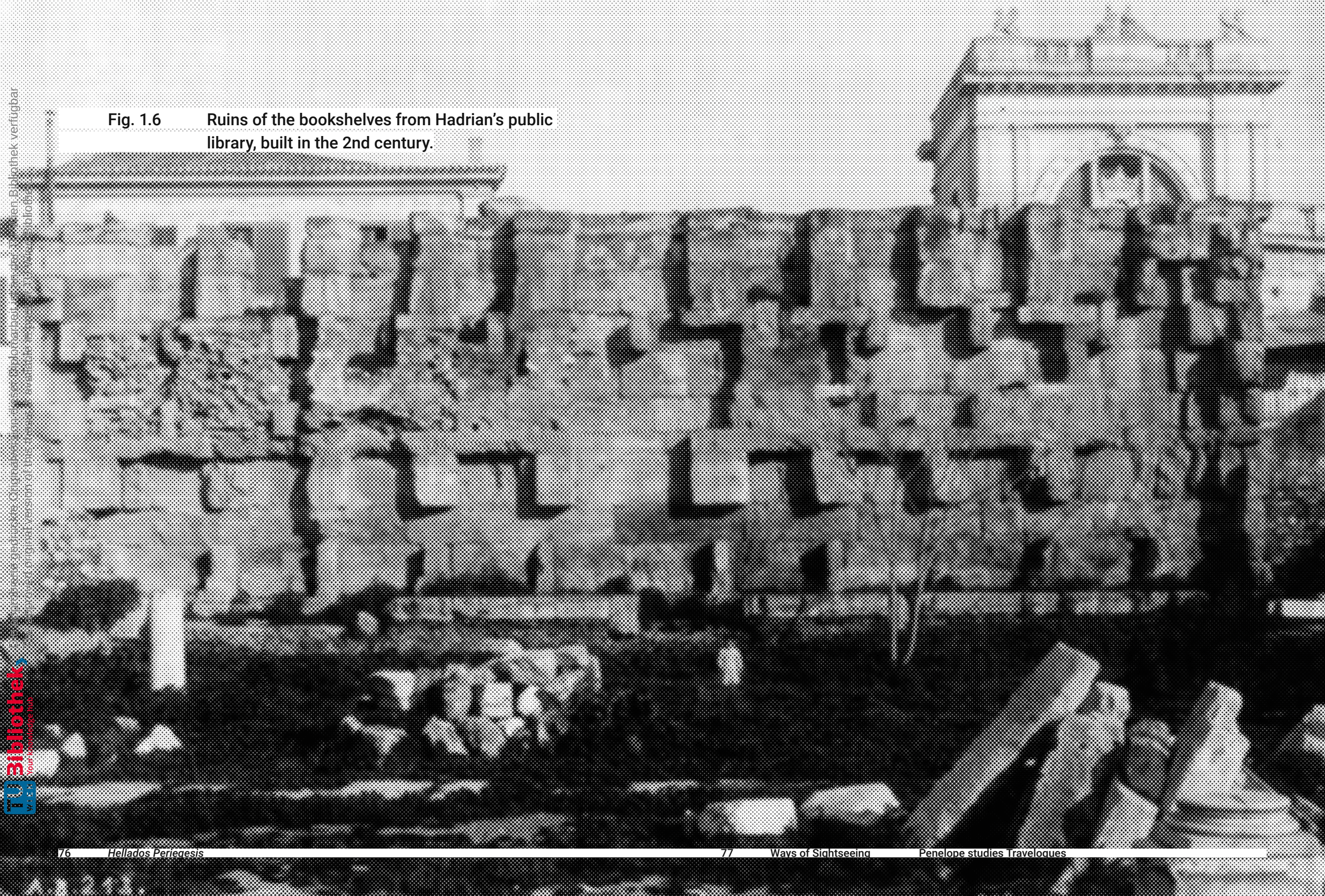


**Public Memory and Oral Anamnesis.** The establishment of public libraries during the Roman Empire reflects the educational ideals that celebrated the knowledge of a canon of classical texts. However, even during its most literary period, ancient Greek and Roman culture remained inherently an oral culture, valuing learned discourse and public speaking particularly high (Pretzler 2005, 240). It is indicative, that the literacy of the *pepaideumenoi*, the educated, was measured by their mastery in rhetorical skills, a performance best showcased in front of an attentive audience. Even by envisioning the library in the Roman Empire, the available evidence does not suggest a crowd of readers. Instead, libraries housed gatherings of listeners, as they also served as venues for authors to recite their works,

a fundamental form of publication in the ancient world (Dix 1994, 287). In this cultural milieu, travel writing serves as a medium of transmission between oral and literary tradition. Travel writers, in their quest of knowledge, consulted on-site already published books about the places they visited. However, most importantly they met local people and consulted them for information about the site's history. The informants' profile is not clear, it ranged from people, only superficially acquainted with literature motivated by a small salary to respected local antiquarians (Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner 2001, 39). Thus, the travel writer had to reconcile conflicting local traditions and stories that may have been deliberately manipulated for various purposes. To address these complexities, the travel writer often resorted to comparing oral traditions with literary texts or provided an insightful commentary to navigate these intricacies within their own written works. In doing so, travel writing marks a point, in the very complex relation between oral and literary culture, when oral tradition enters literature. By connecting local stories with tangible elements, such as monuments, artworks, place names, festivals and rituals, travel writers crafted memorial landscapes for his readers. This landscape, at the very least, offered a glimpse into how local people invested their environment with meaning and what they deemed worthy of sharing about their communities (Pretzler 2005, 247).



**Fig. 1.6** Ruins of the bookshelves from Hadrian's public library, built in the 2nd century.





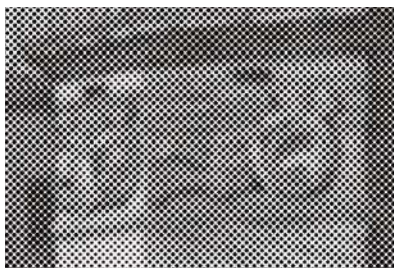
## Greek Renaissance EMPIRE

*Among the ruins are several things not worth mentioning, besides a figure of Lyncus upon a slab.*

Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 2.25.5

Pausanias lived in the second century, during the reigns of the Roman emperors Antoninus Pius (86-161 AD) and Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) who ruled between 138 AD and 180 AD. After a period marked by numerous wars fought by the Romans and the second largest Roman expansion in history, the second half of the second century prospered by consolidating these gains. During this time of peace and imperial favour, Greek art and literature once again flourished. Following the cosmopolitan life dictated for all his wealthy and educated compatriots at that time, Pausanias also travelled to Greece, a province of the Roman Empire, in search of its glorious past (Georgopoulou et al., 2007). Never before could all the monuments of ancient Greece's turbulent but glorious history have been studied so fully as in the second century. However, apart from the overall wealth acquired by the Roman Empire, the second century also witnessed a general depopulation due to the civil brawls and wars. Consequently, travellers also encountered *shrunk or ruined cities, deserted villages, roofless temples, shrines without images and pedestals without statues, faint vestiges of places that once had name and played a part in history* (Pausanias & Frazer, 1898, xcii).

Fig. 1.7

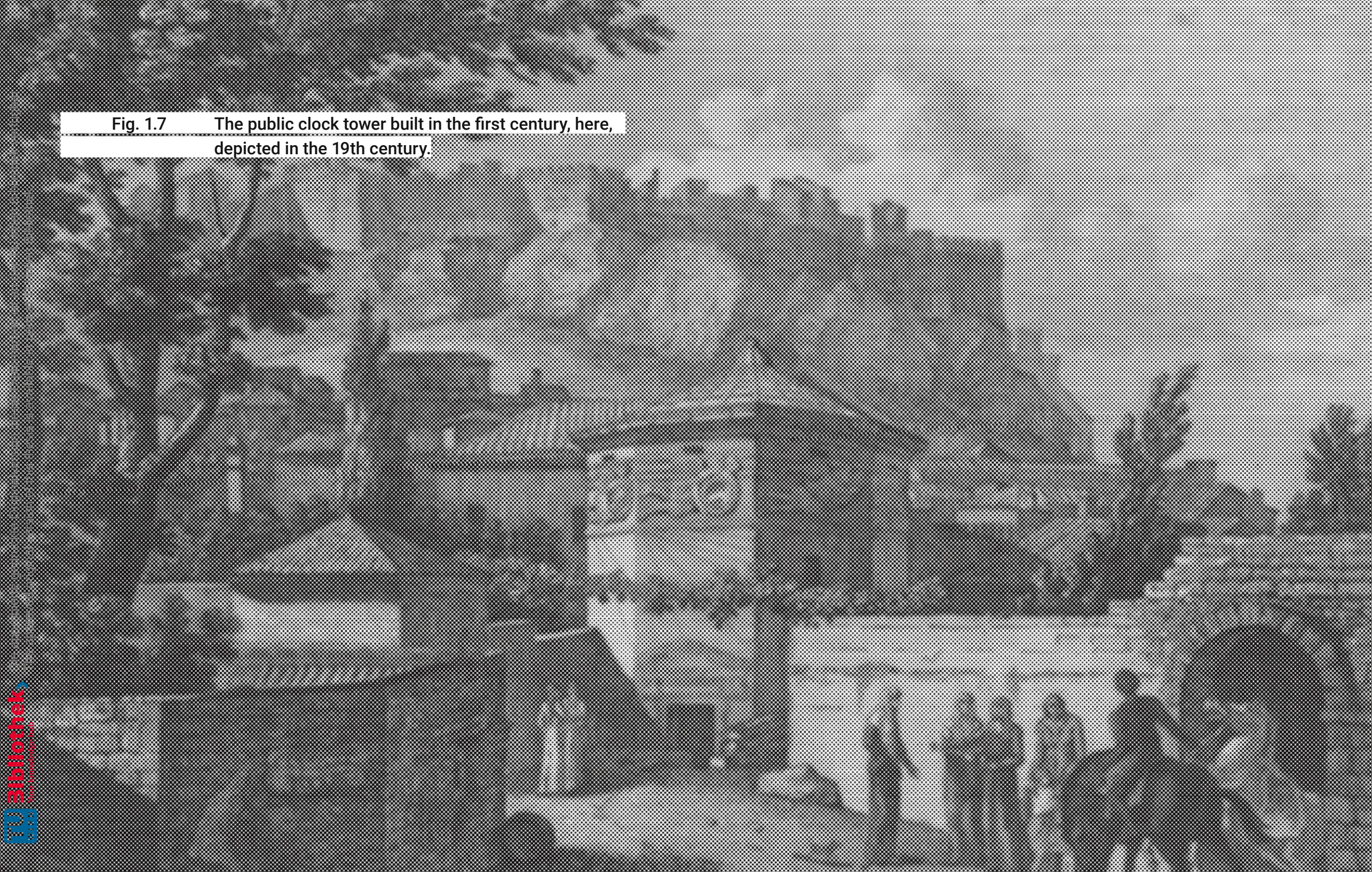


**Local Time.** The tower of the winds, also known as the Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrehestes, is a testimony to ancient time-keeping. Constructed in the 1st century AD within the Roman Forum of Athens, this architectural marvel was equipped with eight sundials, a water clock, and a wind vane. Permanently situated in public space, this practical instrument represents the rich visual imagery of time and universe that people encountered in the ancient public life. While the measurement and structuring of

time on the scale of days is represented through technical devices, the scientific approach to categorizing time into distinct epochs evolved through the medium of written word, the prose. Gradually differentiating itself from verse and mythos, prose writing promoted a critical and comprehensive mode of inquiry, as in history, which required firsthand data collection and source analysis. This dialectical character of prose in antiquity, although not yet directly concerned with the human past, enabled an understanding of time as constructed epochs. This conception of time reflected the identity of a community based on shared principles, transcending merely inherited metaphysical characteristics, and was aligned with the subsequent development of the written word that would differentiate fiction and scientific writing in the centuries to come.



Fig. 1.7      The public clock tower built in the first century, here, depicted in the 19th century.



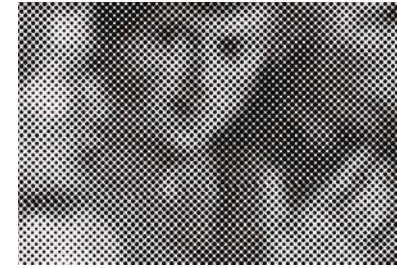


*As to the age of Hesiod and Homer, I have conducted very careful researches into this matter, but I do not like to write on the subject, as I know the quarrelsome nature of those especially who constitute the modern school of epic criticism.*

Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 9.30.3

Pausanias literary activity fell within the period of the Second Sophistic, a term that refers to the Greek writers who flourished between 60 and 230 AD. Like Pausanias, most of the known sophists came from Asia Minor, especially Pergamon, Smyrna and Ephesus or Athens and were skilled rhetors who were touring throughout the Roman Empire, as declamation was their most prestigious literary activity. Among the most renowned Second Sophists were Lucian of Samosata (125-180 AD), Plutarch (46-119 AD) and Herodes Atticus (101-177 AD). The sophists were just as willing to deliver an impromptu speech without any preparation as they were to present a topic of their choice after the most careful preparation. They wanted to shine in public, to show off their brilliant rhetoric, and then to receive the lively applause and a considerable fee (Habicht, 1985). Although having the same background, Pausanias' travels and writing differed substantially from his contemporaries in content, method, and style. He decided on a very specific theme, pursued his goal with serious perseverance for about 20 years, but never reached the literary level of the great stylists of his time, such as the satirist Lucian, whose numerous written works entailed comic dialogues, rhetorical essays, and prose fiction.

Fig. 1.8



**Virtual Creativity. In-between Past and Present.** The *Lives of the Sophists* is a semi-biographical account of Greek sophists written in the 2nd century AD by Philostratus. The work is structured into two parts: the first deals with the ancient Sophists of the fifth and fourth century

BC, such as Gorgias, and the second with the Second Sophistic during the first and second century AD, exemplified by figures like Herodes Atticus. According to Philostratus, the essence of the sophist lies in her stance towards truth; unlike philosophers who investigate the truth, sophists embellish it and take it for granted. The distinguished characteristic of the Second Sophistic is the practice of declamation - performing fictional speeches often set in the classical period, where speakers assume the persona of a historical figure (Konstan and Saïd 2006, 27). Sophists, Roman citizens from the Greek provinces of the Roman empire, wrote in the attic Greek and have obtained the Paideia, the Greek formal education, of the elite. The events of the fifth and fourth centuries BC, the (Greek) past, provided rich material for their countless declamations. Yet, the tools to fashion the classical subject matter of these speeches, relied on rhetorical techniques and linguistic media pertained to the contemporary context and were evaluated by the standards of the contemporary educated audience. This mode of representation crafted a likeness of a virtual world, not merely a copy of the past but an active process resulting in a new creation. The past, as shaped by the sophists' words was maintained at a distance from the actual past through the frame of representation. This carefully bounded and distanced approach to invoking the past in sophist performances invented a safe zone for experimenting with forms of the past, where contradictions with the present were irrelevant.



Fig. 1.8 During a Symposium, the Sophists demonstrated their rhetorical skills.



## No First Travelogue GENRE

*After I had intended to go further into this story, and to describe the contents of the sanctuary at Athens, called the Eleusinium, I was stayed by a vision in a dream. I shall therefore turn to those things it is lawful to write of to all men.*

Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, 1.14.3

Just as there is no clear definition of travel writing today, there was no established genre in ancient Greece (Pretzler, 2007, 11). Nevertheless, long before Pausanias' *Periegesis*, there were numerous texts that dealt with the act of travelling or recorded an observer's encounter with a particular landscape. *From the Odyssey and the early geographical tradition to the novels and city panegyrics of the Roman period and through to pilgrims' accounts from late antiquity, the ancients found many ways of turning travel experiences, real or imaginary, into texts* (Pretzler 2007, 11). In terms of content and structure, Pausanias' work more precisely aligns with periegetic literature, which properly developed in the Hellenistic period and focused on the description of the mainland, relying on firsthand knowledge gained through travel. Thematically, periegetic literature primarily addressed topics such as monuments, works of art and customs of a specific region. The disciplinary boundaries of topography, geography, history, and mythology were fluid. Thus, the fundamental features of the *Periegesis* encompass references to the topographical arrangement of sights along a route and inserted comments that interrupt the route, linking these sights with their historical, mythological and ethnographical context. Of the once rich periegetic literature, only fragments in the form of extracts, quotations, author's names, and titles have survived to this day, with Pausanias' *Periegesis* being the notable exception. Among the periegetes who focused on Greece, the most famous are Diodorus (first century BC), who wrote about towns and monuments of Attica toward the end of the fourth century, and Heliodorus, who, a century later, composed a periegesis on the works of art

in Athens' Acropolis. In the second century, the renowned periegete was Polemon of Ilion (second c. BC), credited with several works, including *The Athenian Acropolis*, *The Pictures in the Monumental Gateway (to the Acropolis)*, *The Sacred Way (from the sanctuary at Eleusis to Athens)*, *The Painted Portico in Sicyon*, *Spartan Cities*, *The Treasure Chambers at Delphi*, *Settlements in Italy and Sicily* and *Guidebook to Troy* (Casson, 1994, 294). Based on the available information, the periegetes authored monographs focusing to a specific place, sometimes solely to a specific monument, presenting them alongside accounts of local history, practices and customs. Polemon, in particular, exhibited *great enthusiasm for stelae, the slabs of stone with official inscriptions carved upon them that were to be seen in public places* (Casson 1994, 294) and he diligently engaged in copying them. Furthermore, Polemons' periegetic writings encompassed a comprehensive view of Greece, including the classical Greece as well as Magna Graecia (the coastal areas of southern Italy populated by Greek settlers) and the coast of Asia Minor.

Fig. 1.9



**Rewriting Landscapes.** The photographer Frederic Boissonnas and the diplomat Victor Berard, who translated *Odyssey* into French, embarked together on a journey to explore the places that, according to Berard's scientific theory, have inspired Homer in crafting his epos, *Odyssey* (c. 8th century BC). Their investigation exploited the interplay in photography, between reality and imagination, to read history in the landscape, and to see mythology through the power of nature. Travelogue regenerating yet another travelogue.





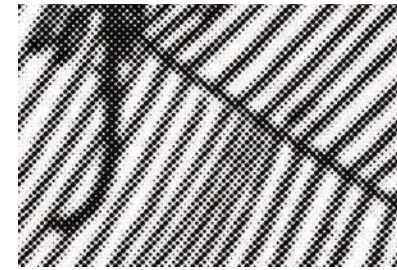


*Among the fish in the Aroanius is one called the dappled fish. These dappled fish, it is said, utter a cry like that of the thrush. I have seen fish that have been caught, but I never heard their cry, though I waited by the river even until sunset, at which time the fish were said to cry most.*

Pausanais, *Hellados Periegesis*, 8.21.2

The tradition of travel accounts likely originated from seafarers' logs, which recorded and preserved information about circumnavigating the seas to aid orientation for future voyages. This appears to be the origin of the periplus, an ancient literary genre that originated in Asia minor and focused on describing coastlines. The ancient Periploi were mostly plain lists of places along the coastline and distances between them, occasionally including some additional details about settlements or landscapes, without any reference to a specific voyage. While Pausanias touched on the practical aspects found in more utilitarian handbooks like the Periploi, the careful structuring of his text and its discursive effects seem to draw heavily from the distant model of Herodotus (484-425 BC), who also came from Asia Minor and devoted his life to writing *Histories*. Although the *Histories* are considered the first work of historiography, detailing the Greco-Persian wars, they also exhibit many features of travel writing. Herodotus spent years travelling throughout the Persian Empire to gather his information. His method of recording introduced the ability to distinguish between stories transmitted orally by individuals and information drawn from direct observations. He also placed great emphasis on his own opinions and on research. Furthermore, he introduced the intertwining of mythology and history by discussing monuments. Even though Pausanias was deeply influenced by Herodotus' methodology, Pausanias' approach to recording tends to lean more towards being a strict mediator of information obtained either through observation or reading, rather than a fluent commentator on things, like his predecessor.

Fig. 1.10



**Truth-bearing Wonders.** In the second century, Lucian of Samosata (125-180 AD) wrote the novel *A True Story*. Lucian, a Syrian satirist, rhetorician and pamphleteer, wrote exclusively in Attic, an ancient Greek dialect. *A true story* stands as a satire, mockingly targeting outlandish tales that presented fantastical or mythical events as genuine occurrences. Within this satirical work, Lucian skilfully explores the inherent ambiguity surrounding the authorial reliability in travel writing. Travel narratives speculate on credibility, relying on personal experience and autopsy as integral components. Nevertheless, it remains perpetually unclear whether those narratives are based on actual events, substantiated by personal experience or literary sources, or mere fabrications of the imagination, attributed to the theme of the journey. Conversely, it becomes evident that imagination is an essential feature of travel writing, which enables creative and inventive ways to describe the unfamiliar, bringing the essence of a place or experience to life. Furthermore, writing always addresses an audience and within the process of writing, the fictional is rendered on the factual, all-in pursuit of crafting a text that is both comprehensible and enjoyable. While this blending of fact and fiction represents the artistic freedom in the context of fictional writing, in the realm of travel writing, it becomes the very essence of its existence - an ever evolving, unsettled equilibrium, that continuously redefines this fluid literary genre.





Fig 1.10 Spiders spinning a web; weaving a story.



## LIST OF FIGURES

- Fig 1.0 Original Image in Clarke, Edward Daniel. 1814. *Travels in various Countries of Europe Asia and Africa..., Russia Tahtary [sic] and Turkey..., Greece, Egypt and the Holy Land..., vol. III*, London, R. Watts for Cadell and Davies. (travelogues.gr)
- Fig. 1.1 <https://www.worldhistory.org/image/7225/pausanias-locations-in-his-description-of-greece/>
- Fig 1.2 <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/256403>
- Fig 1.3 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Acropolis\\_1903.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Acropolis_1903.jpg)
- Fig 1.4 Original Image in Alcock, Susan E., John F. Cherry, and Jaś Elsner. 2001. *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece*. New York: Oxford University Press, p.16.
- Fig 1.5 [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Plutarchs\\_Lives\\_Vol\\_the\\_Third\\_1727.jpg](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Plutarchs_Lives_Vol_the_Third_1727.jpg)
- Fig 1.6 Original Image in Borg, Barbara, ed. 2004. *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic*. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, p.311.
- Fig 1.7 Original Image in Stuart, James / Revett, Nicholas. *Les Antiquités d'Athènes, mesurées et dessinées par J. Stuart and N. Revett, peintres et architectes. Ouvrage traduit de l'Anglais, par L.F.F...., vol. I, Paris, Firmin Didot, 1808*. (travelogues.gr)
- Fig 1.8 Original Image (Book cover) in Philostratus. 2017. *Lives of the Sophists*. Independently published.
- Fig 1.9 Original Image in the exhibition book 'Fred Boissonnas and the Mediterranean. A photographic Odyssey', MOMus-Thessaloniki Museum of Photography, 2022-2023.
- Fig 1.10 Original Image in Lucian, of Samosata, Charles Whibley, and Francis Hickes. 1894. *Lucian's True History*, London: Privately printed, p 40.

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## An Introduction to *Seyahatname* written by Evliya Celebi in the 17th century and other Digressions of other Travelogues

To Record TITLE  
**Being There.**

TRAVELOGUE

Temporal Topography STRUCTURE  
**Itinerary and Personal.**

Ottoman Empire and its Hinterlands SUBJECT MATTER  
**Preserving Irony.**

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To Record TITLE

*'Occupy yourself with visiting the graves of the great saints. Record all the shrines that you visit; also the stages of your journeys, the lowland plains and the lofty mountains, the rocks and the trees. Write down descriptions of the towns and cities, their climates and their noteworthy monuments, who built their fortifications and who conquered them, and what their dimensions are. Compose a scroll recording all these things, and call it Book of Travels.'*  
Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 2.<sup>1</sup>

*Even so, I consulted with my conscience and said: Why in the course of my journeyings should I waste the precious time of my life? In addition to travel (seyahat) let me also engage in pilgrimage (ziyaret – includes visiting the shrines of holy men as well as the Hajj pilgrimage) and trade (ticaret).*  
Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 9.

It is claimed that the *Seyahatname* is the most extensive and ambitious travel account written in any language, occupying a unique place in the realm of travel literature. 'Seyahat' translates to 'voyage' and traditionally refers to the journeys undertaken by a Sufi, a devotee of Islamic mysticism, in pursuit of guidance and illumination (Dankoff 2009, 103:247). In contemporary terms, it can alternatively signify tourism, driven by curiosity. Other common traditional Islamic motivations for travel include 'ticaret' and 'ziyaret', corresponding to 'commerce' - the pursuit of wealth, and 'pilgrimage' - fulfilling religious obligation, respectively (Celebi 2011, xix). Within Islamic tradition, the most spiritually significant event, the journey motivated by the 'Hajj' - the pilgrimage to Mecca - is termed the 'Rihla', serving as both a physical journey and a literary genre dedicated to documenting such an expedition, akin to a diary (Dankoff 2009, 103:247). While Islamic conventions undoubtedly shape its content, the *Seyahatname* also bears the imprint of an extraordinary personality. Driven by an insatiable curiosity and an unwavering passion

<sup>1</sup> All quotations from the original text *Seyahatname* by Evliya are taken from the following publication: Celebi, Evliya. 2011. *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels by Evliya Celebi*. Translated by Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim. New York: Eland Publishing. Quotations are referenced according to the volumes of the 10 books of *Seyahatname*.

for travel, the travel writer's foremost motivation was to offer a comprehensive description of the Ottoman Empire and its hinterlands during its greatest expansion in the 17th century. Upon venturing beyond his hometown, Istanbul, it was his father who encouraged him to chronicle his travels, suggesting the title *Seyahatname* 'The Book of Travels', for his account (Celebi 2011, xii). Given the unprecedented nature of his travelling endeavor, the genre of his writing had to be invented as well.

Fig. 2.0



Being There. Preserving the memory of 'being there' by engraving a copy of presence. In the travelogue, both the book and the recorded object are witnesses in the quest of authenticity. But authenticity is thought to be elsewhere, and the quest lies in participating in a collective ritual - connecting one's own representation of the object already imagined by others.







## Temporal Topography STRUCTURE

*And now, having studied some of those histories, I begin the account of my birthplace, the envy of kings and harbour of vessels, mighty fortress of the province of Macedon – Istanbul.*

Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 1.

Evliya's *Seyahatname* comprises ten books, each dedicated to an account of various journeys across the Ottoman Empire and its hinterlands. The narrative framework adopts the form of an itinerary, unveiling the traveller's agenda at each destination. After settling permanently in Istanbul and later Cairo, Evliya Celebi began the task of organizing, correcting, and completing the vast amount of material he had collected during his travels, shaping it into the coherent form of the ten volumes of the Books of Travels. Despite the repetition and crisscrossing of his itineraries over forty years, his accounts maintain coherence and interconnection (Celebi et al. 2011). The composition of his writing is characterised by two organising principles, which contradict yet reflect his literary influences, resulting in an engaging piece of literature. The *Seyahatname* can be studied through both a spatial-topographical organization based on geographical texts and a temporal-chronological arrangement derived from the Arabic Rihla calendar tradition (Celebi et al. 2011, xviii). While a division may be necessary due to the extensive volume, it is not solely based on the chronological order of his travels. Instead, *there are organizing principles within and among the books that provide the armature of the work* (Dankoff 2009, 246). The geographical-topographical structure of *Seyahatname* is well-described by Robert Dankoff in *From Mahmud Kaşgari to Evliya Çelebi*. Book I and the final Book X are the framing volumes that are dedicated to two cities, Istanbul and Cairo, respectively. These two books are the only ones *provided with a chapter organization and appear to be modelled on each other in various respects* (Dankoff 2009, 246). While the structure of

the remaining Books II-IX is not as tightly organized as the framing volumes, there is clear evidence that the author aimed to provide a particular shape to each book. It would not be inaccurate to characterize Book II as *'Anatolia and the Celali Rebels'* (a series of rebellions in Anatolia in the 16th and 17th century), Books III and V as *'The Career of Melek Ahmed Pasha'*, Book IV as *'Safavid Borderlands'*, Book VI as *'Hungary and the German Campaign'*, Book VII as *'Habsburg Borderlands, Crimea and beyond'*, Book VIII as *'Greece and the Conquest of Crete'*, and Book IX as *'Pilgrimage'* (Dankoff 2009, 246).

Fig. 2.1



**Itinerary and Personal.** The literary form of the diary, known as 'Rihla', developed in Islamic literature between the 12th and 14th centuries. The term 'Rihla', meaning 'travel', can be used almost interchangeably with the expression 'talab al-'ilm', meaning 'search for knowledge' (Eickelman & Piscatori, 1990, p.

120), and is also associated with 'hajj', the religious journey to Mecca. The Rihla involves the fixing of a date, taking research notes and recording experiences during the journey for religious purposes. It is a concept that does not contradict but brings together Islamic literature, religion and science in a commonplace during the Middle Ages. The best-known example of 'Rihla' was compiled by Ibn Battuta in the 14th century, in which four different kinds of quests are identified (Netton 1991, 21). These quests could be resolved in the interplay between the established and the unexpected, and between the impersonal and the personal. The journey was motivated by religious purposes, the search for the sacred shrine. Thus, the main itinerary was based on previous such journeys, the impersonal, collectively established route to Mecca. However, the traveller, in her natural quest for knowledge, transcends the predetermined itinerary and makes her own one. On a personal level, the traveller, as a scholar, seeks recognition through the recording of her experiences - the act of writing in her diary. In order to have an impact, she conforms to the established norms; however, driven by her personal wanderlust, she inscribes within her diary narrative at least vague traces of apertures to the boundaries of her self. Through these openings, the traveller discovers and defines herself and, perhaps, even inevitably touches the 'other'.



Fig. 2.1 A fictional vagabond travelling and narrating amusing anecdotes, making his living by his wits.





*Thus I began the travail of travel, zealous to record the ancient monuments of the Well-guarded Kingdoms (i.e., the Ottoman Empire) – with its hans and mosques and medreses and other buildings, including latitudes and longitudes and the lengths of days and of rivers – for Lofty zeal is part of the Faith. And I searched out the wonders and marvels of the world, mounting my wind-swift steed, traversing the spheres and wandering from constellation to constellation like the seven planets; cutting stages and rolling stations; giving voice to my jewel-tongued pen; now describing the lands, now visiting the shrines of the prophets, now reciting the Koran; recording the hour and degree and minute of the castles that I stopped in and the mountains that I crossed; and drawing charts and figures like those in Mappa Mundi and Geography and the books of Atlas and Minor.*

Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 9.

*In the years of my journeyings I saw thousands of strange places and experienced thousands of wondrous events. Because we humans are creatures of forgetfulness, lest their traces be effaced and their names be concealed, I began to make a record of noteworthy items – both man-made and God-made (i.e., naturally occurring) – and to write them down in order to provide memory-clues, using well-worn expressions and a middling style, in accordance with the dictum, talk to people according to the measure of their intellects.*

Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 9.

Evliya's *Seyahatname* delves into the description of both the Ottoman Empire and its hinterlands, alongside chronicling the traveller's life and wanderings over approximately 40 years (Dankoff 2006). *Seyahatname* covers much of what was considered the Ottoman realm during Evliya's era, stretching from north to Azov (Russia) in the Crimea, south to Ibrim in Lower Nubia (Egypt, Sudan), and reaching Baghdad (Iraq) on the eastern frontier, as well as Stolni Beograd (Hungary) on the western frontier. However, Evliya's aspirations as a traveller extended beyond the Ottoman realm alone. He also ventured into the land of the Kalmyks North of Azov (Russia), travelled to the Funj Sultanate in the Sudan, undertook

two official missions to the Safavids in Persia (Syria) and joined the Ottoman embassy to the Habsburgs court in Vienna (Austria). Yet *Seyahatname's* narrative begins with the birth of the traveller embarking on his first journey. As the travels and narrative unfold, personal information is intricately woven into the topographical accounts, providing readers with insights into Evliya's private life and travel experiences.

Fig. 2.2

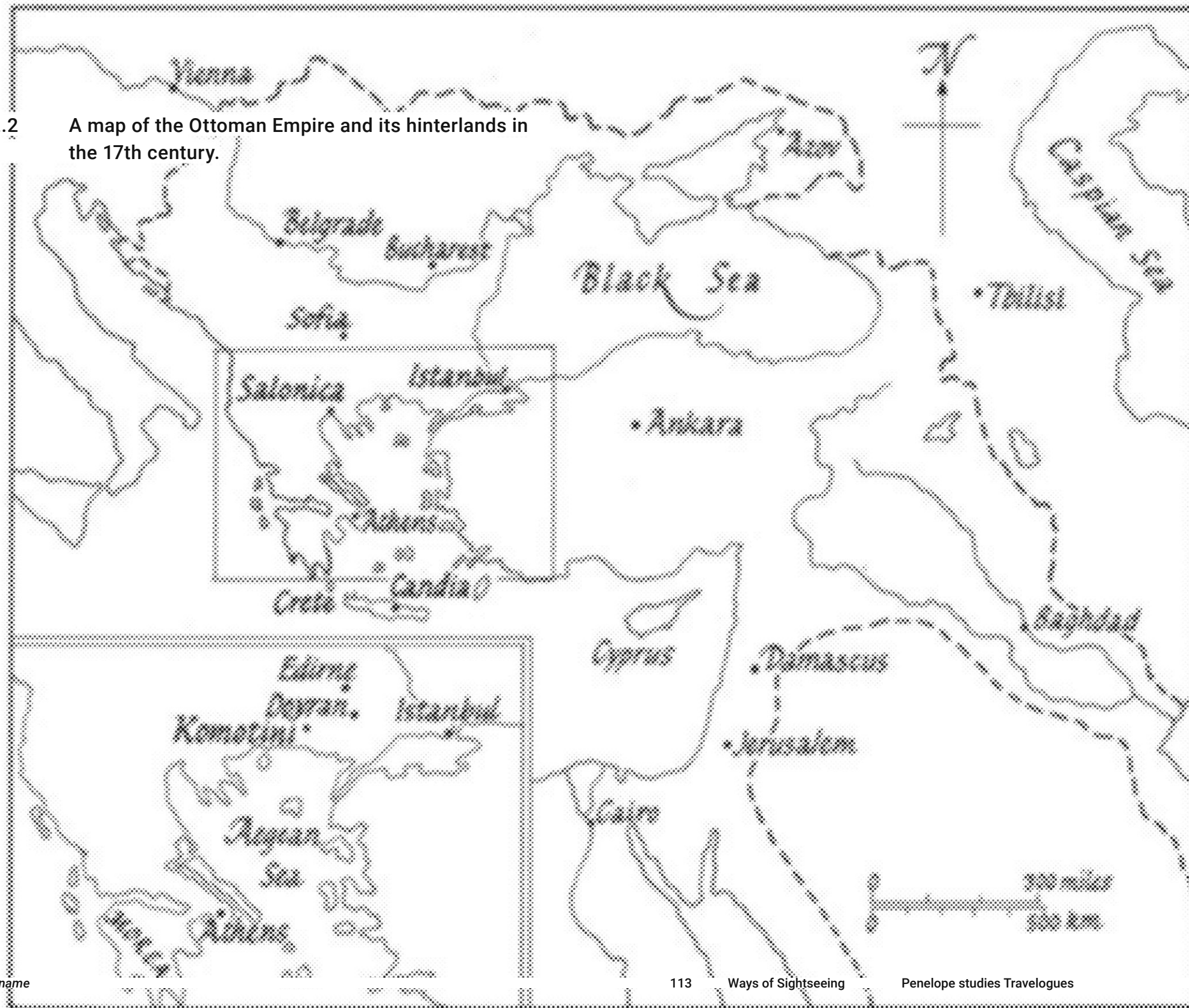


**Preserving Irony.** In the 17th century, the Ottoman Empire confronted a period of crisis, requiring administrative adjustments and political transformations, while still maintaining its immense territorial size. Amidst the backdrop of an increasingly interconnected world, territorial

conflicts and wars thrived. The Ottoman empire was engaged in warfare with the Habsburgs in the west and faced conflicts with the Safavids in the east. Thus, the empire's fringes became crucibles for evolution. Only a few Ottoman travellers ventured into the realm of the 'other' and reached the borders of their known world. Following the Muslim cosmographic tradition, which held a particular fascination for the unknown, these intrepid travellers were tasked with describing the marvels they encountered. Evliya employed humour to depict the shifting landscape of the known world and the wonders he witnessed in the unfamiliar one. He satirized the Kadizadelis, a *seventeenth century puritanical reformist religious movement of the Ottoman empire, for their narrow-mindedness and fanaticism* (Dankoff 2006, 70), as well as the strange customs surrounding the disposal of their dead among the Kalmyks, a Mongolic ethnic group. Throughout the text, irony permeates the narrative as flashes of consciousness, with the travel writer hinting at the transformative state of an otherwise stable order of things and asserting the reliability of his testimony of strange customs without necessarily believing in them himself. As the interconnected world becomes widely known, the described (fictional) unfamiliar world fades away and the order of things inevitably evolve. Nevertheless, the sense of the miraculous still remains, unburdened by the need to justify illusory direct experiences.



Fig. 2.2 A map of the Ottoman Empire and its hinterlands in the 17th century.





Everything Present SELECTIVITY

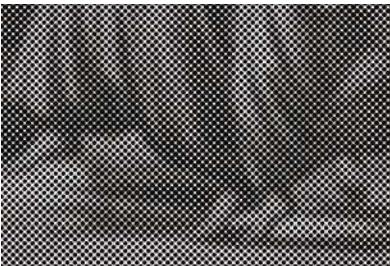
*On a building of wonders. Below this mosque, just inside the castle gate, are the classrooms of the physicians and philosophers. The windows, set in the walls, are of fine white marble. After the conquest, the Ottomans stored their gunpowder in this school and made it an armoury. One day, by God's wisdom, it was struck by lightning and some parts of it were destroyed. It is now used as a caravanserai (roadside inns along major trade routes, that doubled as hubs for the exchange of goods, ideas, and culture). This large building is also a marvellous sight, beyond description.*

Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 8.

While traversing the territories of the Ottoman Empire, Evliya encountered a rich tapestry of cultures, including Christians, Jews, Muslims, Armenians, Greeks, Serbs, Hungarians, Arabs, Kurds and Turks ((Celebi et al. 2011, xiv) His primary focus was on capturing the daily lives of the people and the contemporary characteristics of Ottoman culture. He is not particularly interested to preserve or uncover the historical aspects of the places he visits. As a city dweller himself, Evliya's travels primarily unfolded within urban areas, with the city serving as the central axis of his exploration and the lens through which he comprehended the world. Consequently, his descriptions of towns emerged as the defining literary aspect of the *Seyahatname*, adhering to a well-defined methodology. While exploring cities, Evliya's attention was drawn to urbanity, a concept intertwined with notions of prosperity and cultivation. He measures the vitality of urban life based on the number and quality of buildings. Thus, his interest extends to various facets of the city life, including residences, monuments, shops, and notably communal establishments like imarets, the public soup kitchens. Furthermore, he ventured beyond the city walls to explore gardens and parks, actively engaging in the recreational pursuits emblematic for urban life. Beyond mere topography and fortifications, Evliya's curiosity delved into human geography, documenting on vesture, culinary traditions, craftsmanship, occupations and societal stratification, medical practices and sanita-

tion, naming conventions, linguistic customs and the social fabric of the city. In rural settings, Evliya explored further aspects of Ottoman culture, with a focus on amenities catering to travellers, including mentions of yaylas (summer pastures) or cifliks (farm-estate) where Evliya himself sought lodging. When confronted with distant borderlands of the Ottoman Empire, his fascination with human geography persisted, albeit imbued with a heightened sense of imaginative interpretation. He masterfully interwove factual observations with flights of fancy to craft narratives that illuminated the unfamiliar realms he encountered.

Fig. 2.3

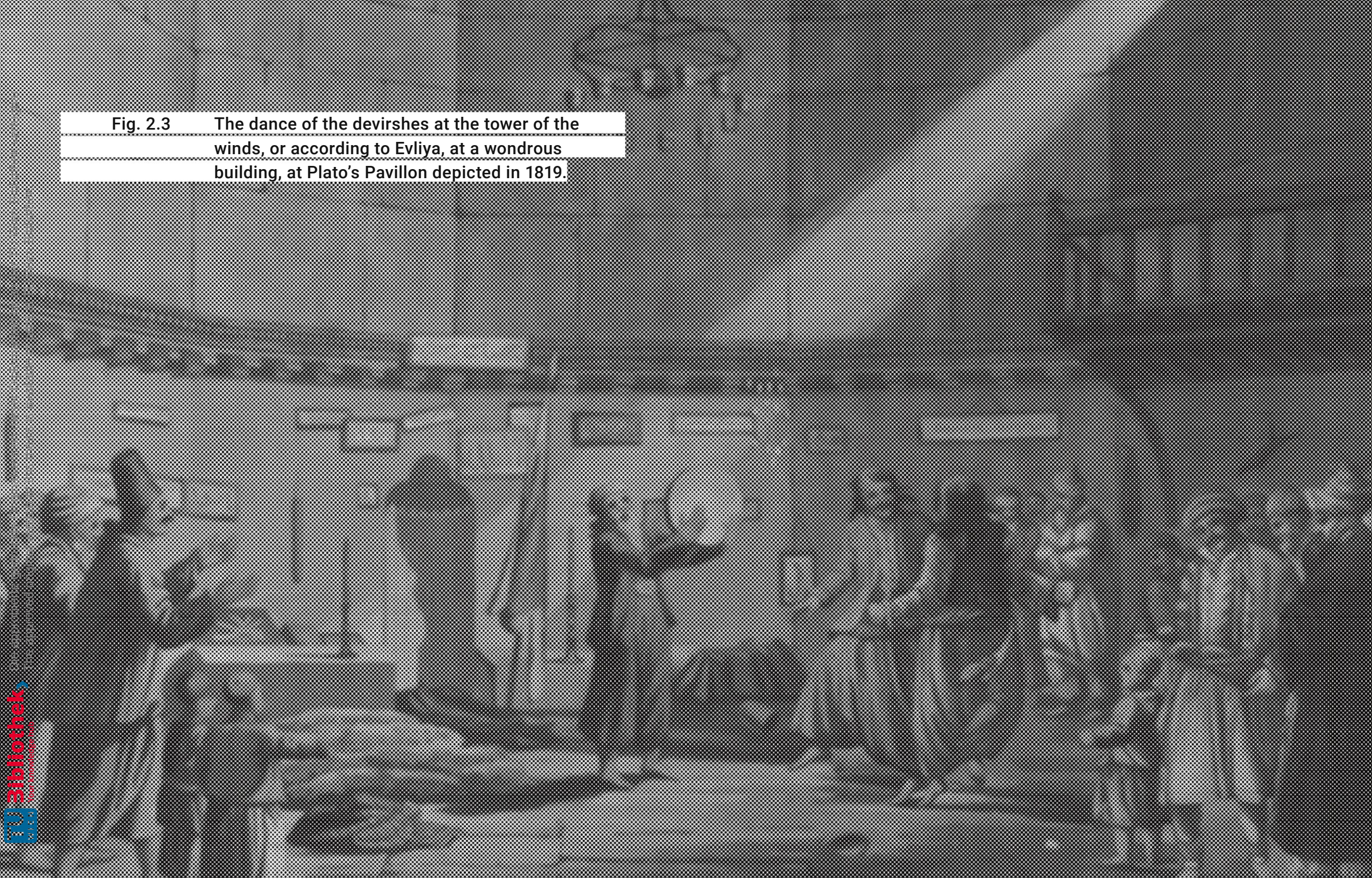


**Everyday Locality.** The tower of the winds in Athens served as an ancient timekeeping and meteorological device, situated in the city's public space. In the 19th century, it was repurposed as a dervish lodge (teki-je) where dervish dances were performed. Centuries earlier, the Ottoman traveller,

Evliya Celebi, marvelled at this wondrous structure, offering a meticulous description of its appearance based on his firsthand observations. However, the function of the building remained uncyphered at that time. Evliya speculated about its function, drawing from ancient Greek inaccuracies and vivid myths that have been preserved through oral tradition. This site serves as a testament to the diverse perspectives that coexisted during an era when all knowledge was shifting towards Westernization, primarily driven by scientific methods. The engagement with the everyday life records the endurance of the built structure and carries the significance of what is worth preserved, even for the sake of imagination.



**Fig. 2.3** The dance of the devirshes at the tower of the winds, or according to Evliya, at a wondrous building, at Plato's Pavillon depicted in 1819.





*I have honestly noted down what I saw written in the registers, in a part of the repository of the High Gate's property and the papers of the archbishop.*

Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 8.<sup>2</sup>

*For it is fifty-one years now that this humble one, full of fault, having so-journed in the seven climes, has brought these rough copies to completion. After so many travels I have now withdrawn into obscurity. It is not vouchsafed to me to study chronicles and histories, nor have I recorded in this my Book of Travels any other traveller's adventures or any other writer's compositions. Only I have, where appropriate, added Koran commentaries and prophetic Hadiths that I learned from my master Sheikh Ali al-Shumurlisi, with his permission. Aside from that, these rough copies are all the record of my own adventures and of my travels which I have taken pains to record in such shameless detail. Apologies are acceptable among the noble – may my apology be acceptable, may I be remembered with a benediction.*

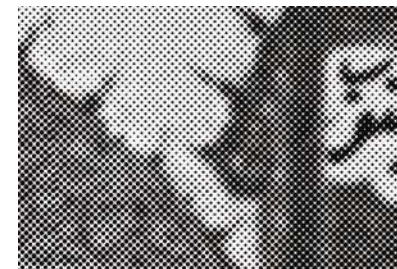
Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 10.

Evliya's motivation to travel was primarily driven by his desire to be a world traveller (Celebi et al. 2011, xii). He seems to be imbued with wanderlust, a term etymologically meaning moving aimlessly. This notion of 'wandering' sets the tone for his travels and, to some extent, his own life, as he journeyed for over 40 years throughout the Ottoman Empire. However, he approaches his descriptions of places with a very specific idea, which is reflected in the structure of his record. When describing the spatial and topographical aspects of the towns he explores, Evliya demonstrates a very systematic approach of thematic cataloguing. Dankoff describes the pattern he consistently followed. He starts with *the history and administrative organization of the town, its names in various languages and their etymologies, and its geographic position* (Celebi 2011, xvii). Following that, he proceeds with a depiction of the town's

<sup>2</sup> Quotation taken from Celebi, Evliya. 1994. *Οδοιπορικό στην Ελλάδα 1668-1671: Πελοπόννησος, Νησιά Ιονίου, Κρήτη, Νησιά Αιγαίου* [Travels in Greece 1668-1671: Peloponnese, Ionian Islands, Crete, Aegean Islands]. Translated by Dimitris Lupis. Athens: Hekati. Translated in English by the author of this thesis.

geographical layout, with special emphasis on its fortifications, including descriptions of the administrative, religious and educational buildings, the climate, the appearance and customs of the population, proper names and speech habits, the different groups of people according to their professions, commercial and outdoor leisure spaces (Celebi 2011, xvii). He concludes with *graves and shrines, along with biographies and hagiographies of the dead* (Celebi 2011, xvii). It seems that Evliya had a checklist to fill out, and there are even instances where only headings remain, followed by a blank space when no information has been obtained. Evliya writes about what he sees and hears with precision. Furthermore, he is fond of statistics and so he gathers data on everything. As a result, he becomes an accurate informant and a rigorous recorder when it comes to the present information about the population, economic and housing situation of each place, or measuring lengths. His access to authoritative sources and contacts is partly responsible for his accuracy. However, when it comes to the past and bygone civilizations, Evliya is more likely to rely on myths than historical facts or to omit them altogether. This inconsistency in his sources is reflected in his writing, in which he often exaggerates folk traditions and presents them as if they were historical. Additionally, in order to bring the text to life, he often references events as if he had been a witness. Nevertheless, Evliya does not fabricate any information. He faithfully quotes what he had heard, which may not be historically correct, but nevertheless gives an accurate picture of the common place of that time.

Fig. 2.4



Turning Topic into Attraction. The narrative adopts the structure of a list, mirroring the topographical layout of a cityscape. Thus, the reader is tempted to employ thematic cataloguing as navigation tool when exploring any given city. In doing so, she is about to overlook the allure of forgotten attractions. Evliya's thematic cataloguing serves as the guiding force



Fig. 2.4 A list of an endowment deed - voluntarily fund for the development of the city of Istanbul.





for the itinerary forming the table of contents for a city, which is intricately interwoven with the current human geography. The traveller, like a rhapsode, performs the itinerary and the rendering of the visited city is imprinted in the travel narrative accordingly.

## TRAVELLER

### Professional Tourist BIOGRAPHY

*And when I heard a description of the seven climes and the four corners of the earth, I longed to travel with all my heart and soul. So I became utterly wretched, a vagabond crying out, 'Might I roam the world?'*

Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 1.

Then Bedir Bey, God bless him, said, 'It's true. Evliya Çelebi is a wandering dervish and a world traveller. He cries the chant of every cart he mounts and sings the praises of every man who feeds him. Wherever he rests his head, he eats and drinks and is merry.'

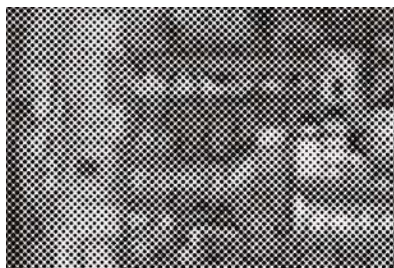
Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 5.

It is claimed that *Seyahatname* (*The Book of Travels*) is probably *the longest and most ambitious travel account written by any author in any language* (Celebi et al. 2011, x). Covering the Ottoman Empire and its hinterlands, the travelogue provides extensive geographical and ethnographical information alongside insights into the author's travel experiences and private life. The recounting begins at the age of 30, when Evliya departed from his hometown, Istanbul, embarking on the documentation of his travels. Throughout the ten volumes, Evliya provides also glimpses into his childhood and early education before travelling, born in Istanbul in 1611 and raised in the Sultan's palace during the reign of Sultan Ahmed I. His father, Dervish Mehmed Zilli, served as the chief palace goldsmith, while his mother was one of the servants in the harem. Despite joining the palace service as a young man, Evliya never advanced to officer status. He received a medrese education (similar to high school in Islamic countries) and comprehensive training in Islamic and Ottoman sciences and arts, focusing on Koran-recitation and music. It is highly likely that Evliya deliberately avoided an official appointment to freely pursue world travels. From the age of 30, with his first travel, Evliya's life revolved around seeking patrons and missions that would facilitate and fund his travels. In his travel account, Evliya interweaves his travels to Anatolia and the Holy Land with stories related to his Turkish ancestry and pious acts of family obligations. For example, he visits



Iznik to repair the mosque of his forefather Ya'kub Ece, explores his ancestral town of Kütahya where his father's brother resided, and journeys to Jerusalem in search of his grandfather's brother's grave, which he then restores. Throughout his travel account, Evliya makes various references to his grandmother, siblings, brothers, and sisters. Addressed with the Turkish honorific title 'Celebi', equivalent to the English title 'gentleman', Evliya's appellation signifies his refined taste and literary accomplishments as a courtier, musician, and litterateur. This title was primarily addressed to prominent people, whose careers did not strictly align with the recognized lines of religion, military, or bureaucracy. Due to his fine voice, entertaining manner, and family ties to the Ottoman palace, Evliya easily joined the retinue of various pashas who served as provincial governors within the Ottoman Empire or as emissaries in the hinterlands of the empire. During these travels he served them in various capacities, such as *secretary*, *imam* (prayer-leader), *muezzin* (call-to-prayer), *messenger*, *courier*, and as *musahib* (faithful companion, confidant, and storyteller) (Celebi et al. 2011, xi). Devoting over 40 years (1640-1680) to a life of travel and writing, Evliya eventually settled in Cairo, where he spent his final years completing his travelogue.

Fig. 2.5



**Multifaceted Personality.** Menazilname is a collection of 107 miniatures depicting the route taken by the Ottoman army during the Sultan's campaign in Iraq in 1534. Ottoman miniature art often depicts urban landscapes, following the commonplace that the Islamic tradition is an urban religion (Dankoff 2006, p. 71). Miniature painters did not aim to realistically depict living beings, according to Sufi worldview, they are impermanent and not worth devoting effort to. Matrakci Nasuh's map of Istanbul is an excellent example of the resulting stylized and abstract depictions, emphasizing on the architecture structures and environment of Istanbul. In the 17th century, growing up in Istanbul within the Ottoman Empire would undoubtedly

have been a complex and fascinating journey of the resident's personality development. Istanbul, known as Constantinople at that time, was a melting pot of various cultures, religions and ethnicities, exposing individuals to a wide range of customs, languages and beliefs. Moreover, being the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul acted as a hub for education, arts and trade between Europe and Asia. It also served as the model for the complex hierarchical structure of the Ottoman society and often became the epicentre of political intrigues and power struggles. The 'man of the world', the Istanbulite, embarked his journey with values firmly rooted in urbanity and civilization (civitas). Equipped with a grounded understanding of his origins, he was able to have a broad perspective of the world and coexist with the unknown. By dedicating his life to travel, he was empowered to navigate seamlessly between his Muslim beliefs and the refinements of civil culture. His passion, wanderlust, conformed to familiar Islamic parameters, but also provoked his reliance on worldly ties, satisfactions and sufferings. Quite naturally, he set out on travels to the fringes of the world, with the city serving as the central theme of his travelogue and the compass for making sense of the world. Through the biographical aspects of travel writing, alongside the travel itinerary, a life journey unfolded. The travel writer's understanding of the world permeated the text, transcending the categorical filters of a literary genre and relying instead on the curatorial skills of the travel writer himself.



**Fig. 2.5** A miniature painting from the 16th century depicting the city of Istanbul.





## A Copy in a Private Collection MANUSCRIPT

*He gave me seven rare and valuable books of chronicles and said, 'Go forth, may your affair come out right. A Fatiha!'*

Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 1.

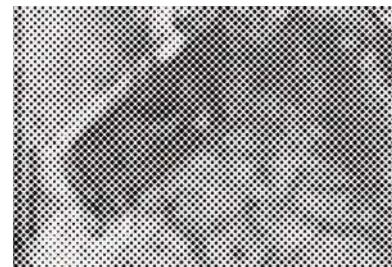
*Later on a worm gnawed into Solomon's staff, who thus fell to the ground.*

*The learned men buried him next to his father David. These events are told at length in many estimable books.*

Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 9.

The autograph manuscript of *Seyahatname* was likely held in the private collection of one of Evliya's last patron in Cairo for nearly 60 years (Dankoff 2006, 188). In 1742, eight of ten volumes of the autograph manuscript were brought to Istanbul and copied. It was not until 1814 that Evliya's work was translated from Turkish into another language. Joseph von Hammer, an Austrian diplomat, was the first to translate and publish excerpts of the eight volumes of *Seyahatname* in German. Between 1896 and 1938, a print of the complete Turkish text appeared, and the work was translated again, although it had a lot of deficiencies and lacked critical editing. In the 1970s, the study of the manuscripts and translations of Richard F. Kreutel and Pierre Mackay signified the first critical approach towards Evliya's work (Celebi et al., 2011, xxi). From 1999 to 2007, a new edition based on the autograph manuscript and a critical evaluation of other manuscripts was published (Celebi 2011, xxi). Several translations into modern Turkish have been completed, and various portions of the work have been rendered into different languages, typically limited to the respected geographical section rather than the entire narrative of the *Seyahatname*.

Fig. 2.6

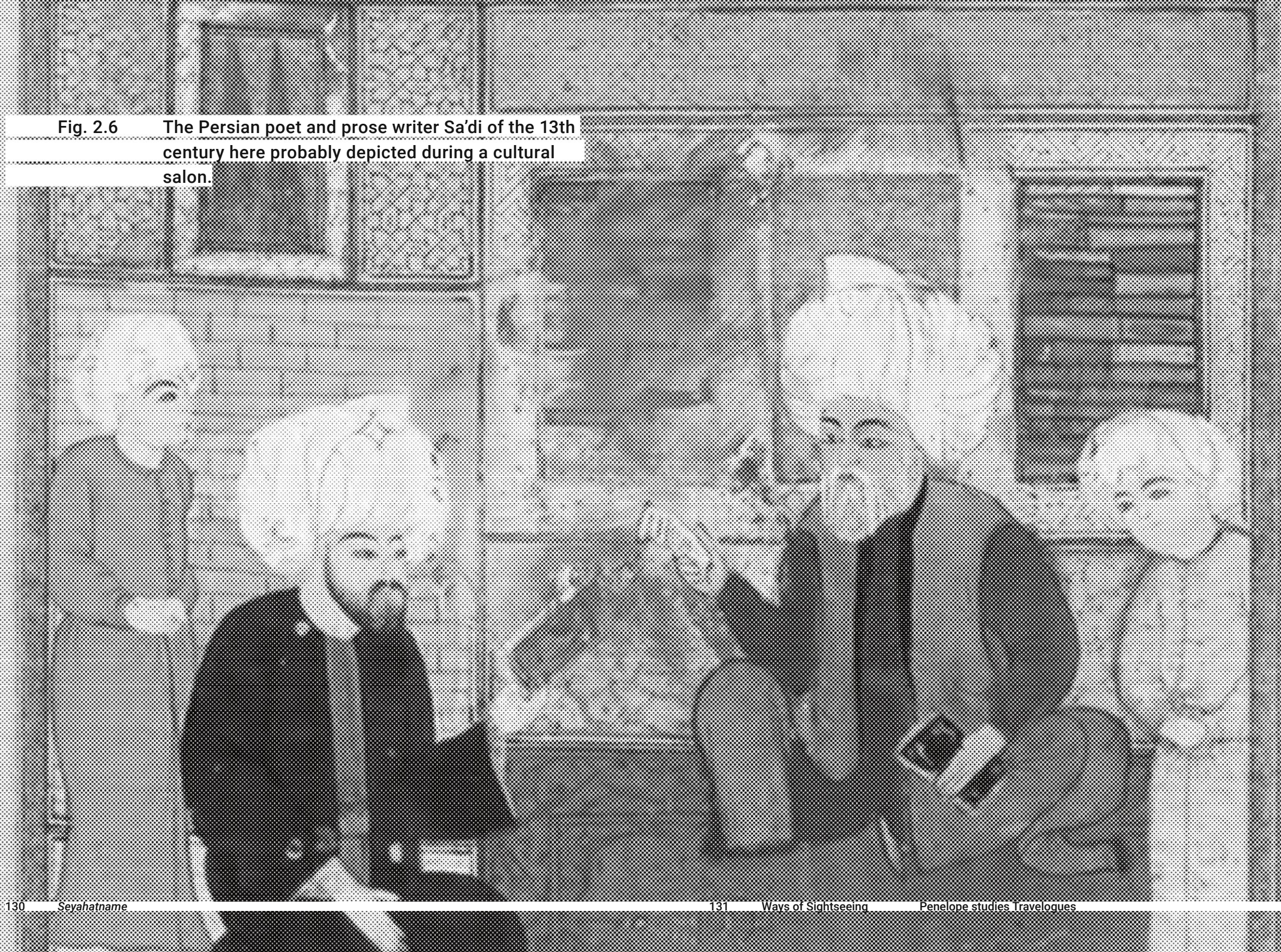


**Bearing Witness.** The transmission of knowledge across the Ottoman Empire primarily took place through informal gatherings, playing a crucial role in promoting imperial cohesion, particularly when central authority within a vast empire was limited. During the

early modern years (1400-1800), an era when work and leisure had not yet been fully differentiated, and the modern social division in upfront and backstage (according to Goffman) had not yet been firmly established, informal social gatherings facilitated the cultural exchange of unlike things between unlike attendees in a semi-public space. These gatherings encompassed the showcasing of objects, ideas, values as well as the negotiation of business deals and political decisions. All of this occurred within the same informal setting among the Ottoman elite, characterised by both relations of affection and of authorial hierarchies. Within this climate, the circulation of books also took place. Patrons would encourage and commission specific books while displaying books from their private collection. This cultural exchange was performed in the form of a spectacle, offering gifts, whether physical or verbal, that the audience might never have encountered elsewhere in the Empire. Furthermore, the act of witnessing the spectacle added layers of meaning to the objects, due to the human relations upon which the cultural exchange was based, and these relationships were indeed sustained over time (Pfeifer 2022, 18).



Fig. 2.6 The Persian poet and prose writer Sa'di of the 13th century here probably depicted during a cultural salon.





## Seven Climes EMPIRE

*Since it is in the fifth true clime (refers to the seven traditional zones of latitude extending north from the equator) and seventeenth conventional clime (refers to the twenty-eight regions or countries of the later Muslim geographers) the latitude is (–) and longitude is (–). The climate is very mild, the people's complexion ruddy, the lovely boys and girls praised around the world.*

Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 2.

*The cosmographers place this country too in the middle of the seventh clime. Being a coastal region, the climate is mild, growing sugar cane, lemons and citrons, pomegranates, olives, figs and cotton.*

Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 6.

*Of all, the monastery named (St) Stephan in the very centre of the city is such a grand and ancient structure that nothing like it has been or will be built in Turkey, Arabia and Persia, or in the seven climes of Christendom. Travellers coming by land and sea say that it has no equal in the inhabited quarter of the world, and it is true.*

Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 7.

By the mid-seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire extended from the outskirts of Vienna to the Indian Ocean and from the northern coast of the Black Sea to the first cataract of the Nile in the south. Due to rapid conquests, the Ottoman realm attained an enormous size, encompassing the seven climes. These climes were integral to the traditional Iranian geographical system, representing the entirety of the Earth during that period. Thus, the Ottoman Empire occupied a position at the crossroads of intercontinental cultures and trade routes, inheriting a well-established network of roadways and sea routes dating back to Roman times. These networks primarily served official military, bureaucratic and religious purposes. However, there were also utilized for private activities, including commercial and touristic endeavours. Evliya participated in all these activities and recorded them.

Fig. 2.7



**Rituals of Waiting.** The Muvakkithanes were time-setting lodges built during the Ottoman Empire in various cities. These 'time rooms' were situated in public spaces and their main purpose was to determine the time for daily prayers and to conduct astronomical

activities. The respective sultan was responsible for the construction and maintenance of the building, while the 'muvakkit' was responsible for calculating the time. Along with the boom of muvakkithane construction, the production of chronogram poems, 'tarih', also increased. These poems, a sentence or inscription, contained an encoded date - the code being the numerical value of letters of the alphabet. In Ottoman chronograms, each letter of the last line had a known numerical value, and when these values were added together, they produced a date, typically the year of the construction or renovation of the building for which the chronogram was composed (Wishnitzer 2015, 26). Such poems were inscribed on the respective building and carried the obvious benefit of showcasing the sultan's benevolence, thus serving as an advertising medium. Thus, the calculated time in the muvakkithane, in synchrony with the heavens (related to religion and cosmography) and political power, was translated into 'usable' time for daily life. The muvakkithane represents a coherent temporal culture in which natural rhythms, cyclic and linear images, religious and mundane doctrines were inseparable (Wishnitzer 2015, 8) - a coherence that has been lost in the modern society.





Fig. 2.7 Photo of a Muvakkithane in Chania, Crete.



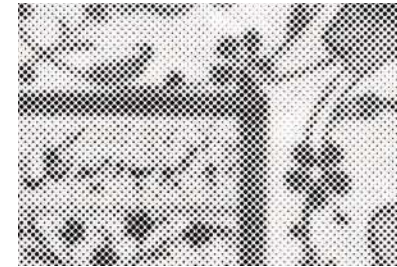
*Due to the delightful climate, the orchards and rose-gardens here are beyond number. The entire city is like the garden of the many-columned city of Iram (lost city) and the parks and picnic places are like the gardens of Meram (in Konya, Turkey), Aspuzu (in Malatya, Turkey) and Sudak (in Crimea). The Persian-style pavilions of Shirin and courtyards of Vamık and Azra (lovers celebrated in poetry) are bywords of beauty. One of them is the pavilion in the mayor's garden where we were housed; it has the following chronogram in the calligraphy of Qutb al-Din Muhammad Yazdi: O place of Shirin, lofty arch. Year 982 (1574–5)*

Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 2.

Evliya's literary activity fell within a period of transformation in Ottoman Turkish literature. Until then, literature primarily consisted of poetry, which was characterized by a clear aesthetic form (Tezcan 2007, 1). Although the Ottomans wrote extensively in prose on topics such as history, theology, mysticism, biography, and travel, poetry remained the focal point of literary thought. The literary transformation coincided with intellectual activities shifting to different social circles. Traditionally, the court set the literary aesthetics, specifically within the gazel genre, known for its lyrical and concise form and themes of love and religion. Court-appointed poets were tasked with producing poetry. However, in the 17th century, individuals from the middle and lower ranks of the bureaucracy began to emerge as authors, whose literary contributions might have otherwise gone unnoticed in Ottoman biographical records. Some of these authors sought to legitimize their writing by emphasizing their proximity to significant events of the Ottoman court. As the social composition transformed, so did the content and style of literature. This shift was fuelled by a growing sentiment that the readership was tired of the old themes and desired something new and different. In this context, the *Seyahatname* was written, shifting the literary focus towards personal experiences. It represents a major turning point in the devel-

opment of ottoman literature and signifies the divergence between the roles of the writer and the poet. Evliya found his unique voice, expressing ideas and experiences that had been previously deemed unsuitable for written documentation.

Fig. 2.8

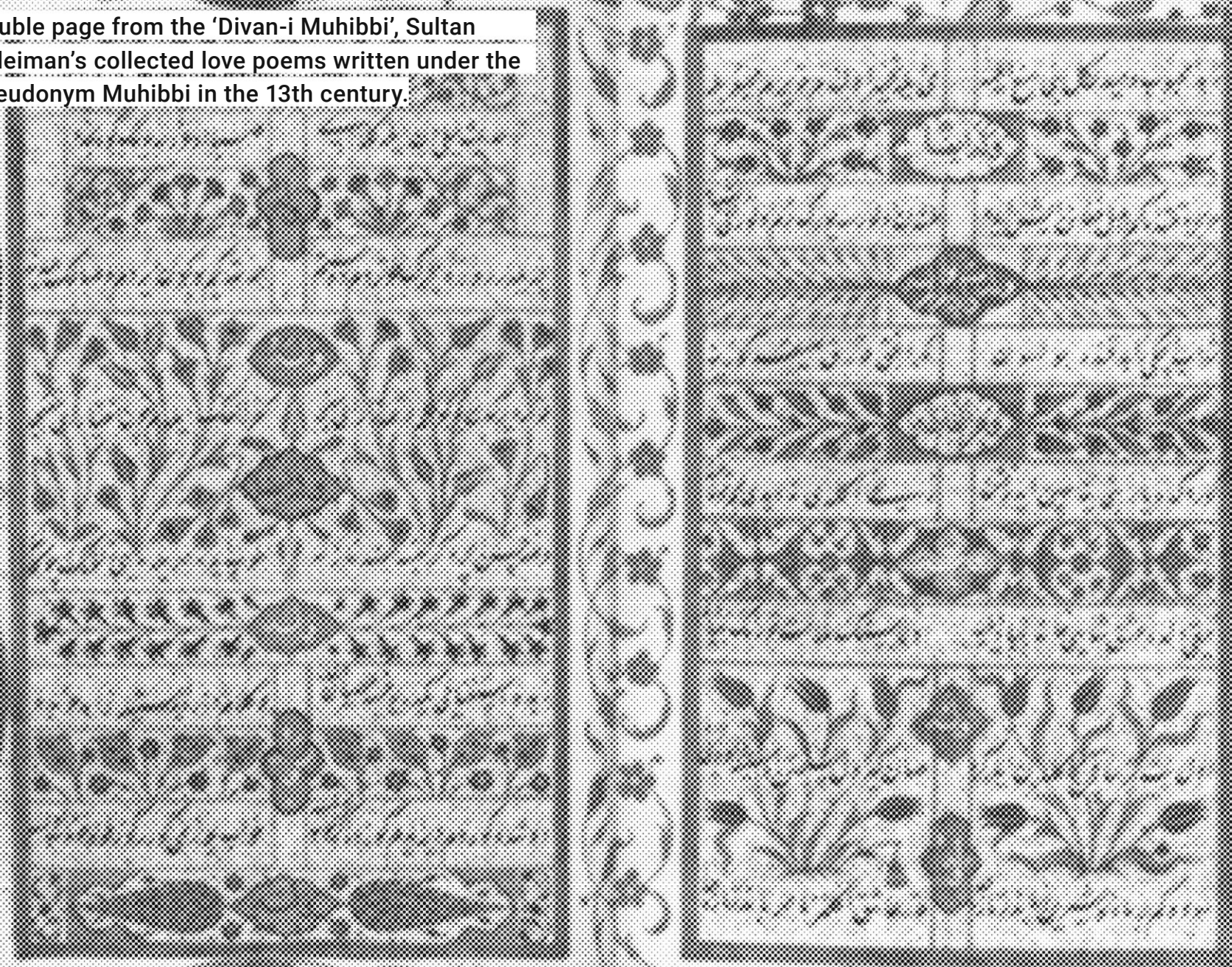


**Impersonal Diary.** The diary, as a literary form, emerged in the Western literature during the Renaissance, coinciding with a growing sense of individualism and self-awareness. It developed as a counterpoint to the communal and public record-keeping practices of the Middle

Ages. In contrast, Islamic and Ottoman diaries, flourishing already between the 12th and 14th centuries, did not resonate with Western biographical traditions (Kafadar, 1989, p. 146). These diaries were linked to the subsequent development of historiographical literature and by the 17th century began to appeal to scholars of the middle classes, shifting away from the elite Ottoman circles. This transition paved the way for new forms of fiction, moving beyond the dominant poetic expressions influenced by Ottoman patronage (Tezcan 2007, 8). Islamic and Ottoman literature, including diaries, is deeply connected to travel writing, reflecting the remarkable mobility of the scholarly Islamic class (Eickelman and Piscatori 1990, 152). These travel diaries blend real experiences with imaginative elements, transforming journeys into fictive narratives. While grounded in individual experiences, these stories resonate with shared practices and are often viewed as collective journey for those unable to travel themselves. The travelogues link travels to the broader Muslim community, highlighting both shared and distinct cultural elements and fostering a sense of cultural locality. Even when travelers reach boundaries and explore regions beyond the Islamic realm, their narratives stay rooted in the interior space of the familiar, since the prose language was still at the service of clichés. Early diaries often addressed interpersonal and intersocial conflicts, but the detached, self-critical perspective that characterizes later Western diaries only emerged during the Renaissance. The fluctuation between serious and frivolous, solemn and mundane, personal and impersonal that modern readers find amusing, yet



Fig. 2.8 Double page from the 'Divan-i Muhibbi', Sultan Suleiman's collected love poems written under the pseudonym Muhibbi in the 13th century.





remote, in Ottoman diaries may indeed indicate a unique inner harmony. The diarist seems unable to detach from the self and observe from an outside realm, thereby blurring such distinctions. This sense of harmony, emerging from insularity and fragmented self, suggests a preoccupation with the collective rather than individualism. Tracing the paths of early personal travel literature may offer insights into how individuals navigated the boundaries of the impersonal self to define their own identities.

## In-between Cosmography and Geography GENRE

*Our aim was not to write history in historical terms and phraseology, but only to make a few brief notes.*

Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol 8.

*The sages of old spent the length of their lives travelling in these countries, measuring altitudes with their astrolabes and learning about God's bounties, making maps and writing the books of Geography and Pa[d]riye and Koloniye (i.e. Ptolemy on the Old World and Christopher Columbus on the New). This humble one, full of fault, also has taken great pains to record the villages, towns, cities, mountains, rivers, and stages north and south that I have traversed in the course of my travels, in order to expound upon the countries where I have sojourned and to set down their contours in writing. I have also recorded many castles and countries, rivers, mountains and lakes, as in the Mappa Mundi, in the fashion that I have seen done by my master Nakkaş Hükmizade Ali Bey. If God permits me to complete this journey of the Nile and Funjistan, I plan to record their features (in such a map).*

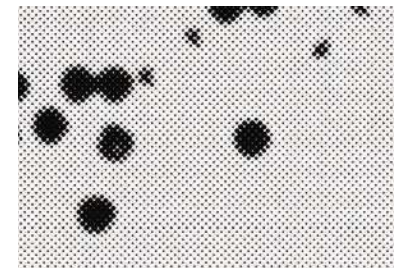
Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 10.

Islamic cosmographic writing merges two distinct traditions (Dankoff 2006, 217): Islamic cosmology and the mathematical-geographical knowledge of Greek antiquity. Islamic cosmology is concerned with early reports about the creation, the cosmos, and natural phenomena, driven by contemplative or philosophical reasoning. The Greek geographical tradition posited the earth as the centre of the concentric spheres which carry the celestial bodies - the fundamental entities of the cosmological models developed by Plato, Eudoxus, Aristotle, Ptolemy, Copernicus - laying the groundwork for the modern scientific method which is based on empirical evidence. The golden age of Islamic geography, spanning from the eighth to the 14th century, revolved around Baghdad as its cultural hub and drew from Greek and Indo-Iranian sources. Arab geographers of this era, highly influenced by the Greek understanding of the earth as a celestial body, refined its division, and the cartographic techniques (Celebi et al. 1994). The theoretical foun-



dation of Islamic geography and astronomy lies in Claudius Ptolemy's *Geographia*, written in 150 AD in Greek. This comprehensive work - a gazetteer, atlas, and treatise on cartography - compiled the geographical knowledge of the Roman Empire during the second century. Since the ninth century, *Geographia* has been translated numerous times, becoming widely known among Arab geographers, who have continuously edited and revisited it. Notably, in the 17th century, the Ottoman court commissioned a book on general geography that contributed to establishing European scientific concepts in the field of Islamic geography, diverging from the classic cosmographic method and introducing Copernicus' sun-centered system to the Ottoman thought. Katip Celebi, a 17th century polymath, began writing *Cihannuma* in 1635, compiling numerous Western books on geography that he had acquired during military campaigns. In contrast, some years later, Evliya began writing his *Seyahatname* still following the traditional Islamic cosmographic paradigm, based on narration rather than mathematics. He avoids the European scientific approach, blending factual elements with personal anecdotes and imaginary folklore. Intriguingly, Evliya who actually ventured into the uncharted territories of 'his' world and based his writing on personal observations - a precursor to scientific methodology - also passionately incorporated fiction and pious speculation in his narrative. Since the essential purpose of the cosmography is *to impress the reader with the miraculous, exotic, or simply entertaining* (Dankoff 2006, 221), the 'other' was depicted as *elements from legends which had no place in the known universe but were clearly believed to exist or have existed as historical realities* (Dankoff 2006, 222).

Fig. 2.9



**Speculating a Milieu.** The architect Junya Ishigami conceived a building as if planning forest. *Another scale of architecture* is a treatise proposing ways of putting architecture and phenomena, such as a grove of trees, into a dialogue, revealing meaning for another scale. In this endeavour,

architecture becomes a new environment, in which the boundary between nature and artificiality is blurry. The image of architecture as a shelter does not suit anymore and the bond between places and cultures has been put in crisis. Perhaps then architecture can be imagined as a milieu, *an environment, that any living being structures, composes, but also what mediates - in a technical sense, it is a means - so creating a real in-between world* (Neve 2023, 191–92), as a node of forces, actions, desires and values.



Fig. 2.9 A map of a forest.



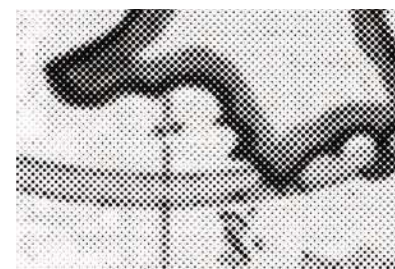
*As they say in the Hindi language, Izid Alla kipanah chalti hun ('I desire the refuge of God'). Praises without end to the Lord Creator, by whose assistance these scattered folios of ours, having turned many colours like dervish robes, are now completed in Cairo, the rare one of the age. The writing of it, the beginning and end of it, was in the year (—) when the governor of Egypt was (—) Pasha, may God vouchsafe him what he desires. But in the eyes of the intelligent it is not complete. I only hope that they will attribute its shortcomings to the length of my travels, and will disregard the lack of fancy phrases and fine expressions; that they will cover its faults with the skirt of forgiveness, and will scratch out its errors with the pen-sharpener of improvement.*

Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 10.

Evliya's geographical-topographical approach in *Seyahatname* was influenced by Ibn Khordadbeh's *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik* (Roads and Kingdoms), an important Muslim reference from the ninth century that includes maps and descriptions of the major routes of the Muslim world at that time to assisting pilgrims on their way to Mecca. Furthermore, the Ottoman interest in Europe, the Mediterranean, Central Asia and the Middle East led to the development of maritime cartography, ethnological mapping and the recording of land arteries, as best expressed in the work of the navigator Piri Reis in his *Kitab-ı Bahriye* (Book of Navigation) written in the 16th century. Alongside marine cartography, works of land geography were presented, which aim to inform about distant lands and their peoples with their strange habits. Thus, following the development of geographical formulas and grids, Evliya's *Seyahatname* is also deeply concerned with human geography, encompassing history, customs, and folklore throughout the Ottoman Empire. In addition to its geographical-topographical function, the *Seyahatname* aims to provide a complete record of Evliya's travels. For the autobiographical mode, the *Seyahatname* is influenced from the medieval Muslim genre known as the tradition of Rihla, which is the recording of performing the pil-

grimage to Mecca, in the form of a diary writing. The most prominent Arabic travel text of this kind is that of Ibn Battuta, who in the 14th century, travelled throughout the Islamic world and recorded a wealth of information in his travelogue titled *A Gift to Those Who Contemplate the Wonders of Cities and the Marvels of Travelling* (known as *The Rihla*) offering valuable insights into various regions and cultures. Following Ibn Battuta's paradigm, Evliya also chose the first-person account of his itineraries, and his adventures *follow narrative patterns that tend to anecdotal, sliding into satire or fantasy* (Celebi 2011, xviii), which is typical of the Rihla tradition.

Fig. 2.10

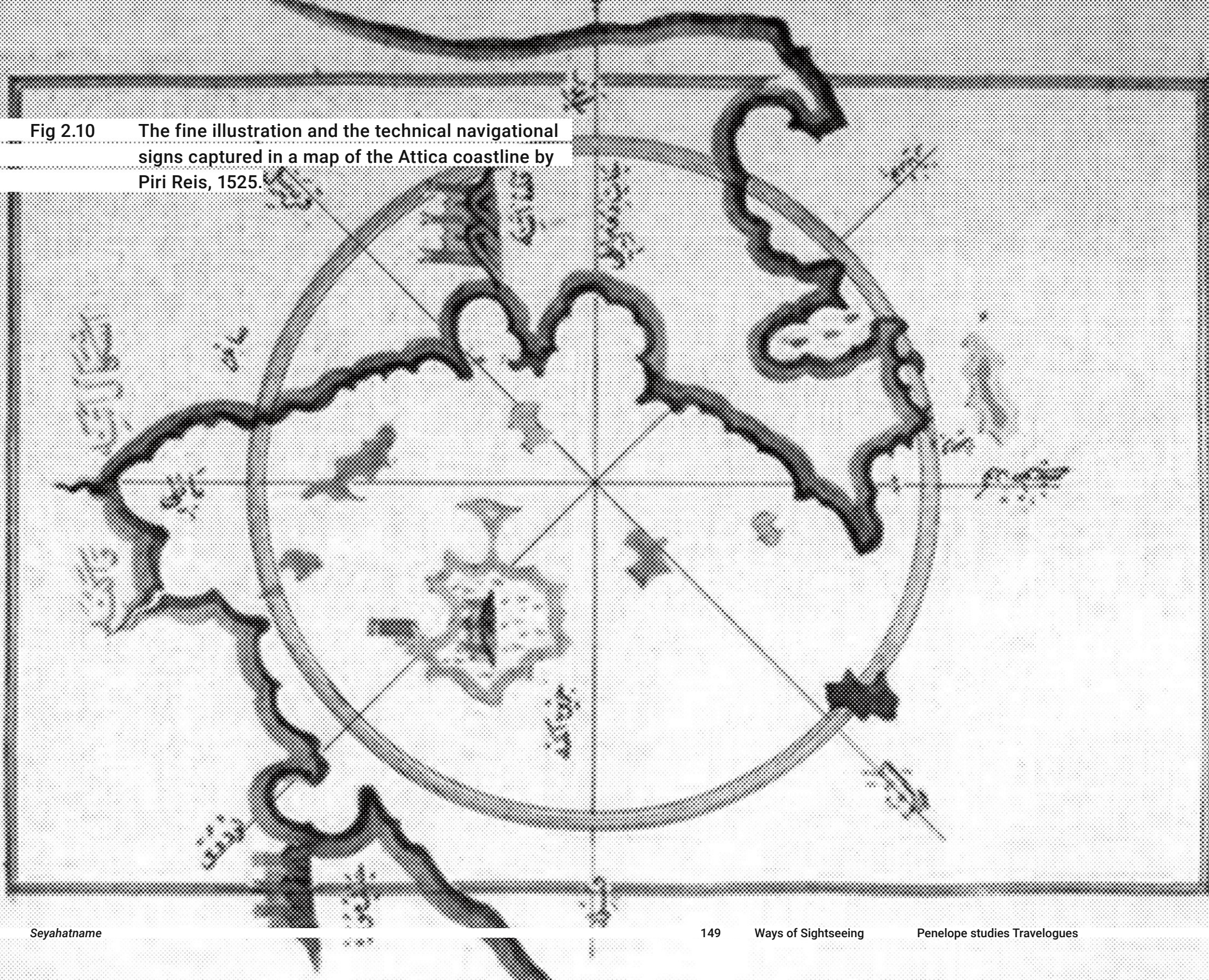


*'While we have completely explained matters concerning compasses, maps, winds, and reefs in this book in verse, we have treated the Mediterranean in prose'* (Piri Reis and Özükan 2013, 27). The Piri Reis' *Book of Navigation* was written in the 16th century as a testament of the science of

navigation and the mariner's art. It is renowned for its artistic style of maps and the technical knowledge it contains. Following the established literary aesthetics of the Ottoman Empire, a part of this technical book was composed in the form of poems. While the poetic value of this work may not be exceptional, the deliberate use of poetry for the general mariner's art and prose for the coastal descriptions reveals the aesthetics and ethics of travel writing that predate the modern distinctions between appeal and comprehension, discovery and transcription, leisure and knowledge, culture and science. This exemplar of travel writing can be viewed as an immediate link to the literary form of the epos of antiquity. Not in the sense of the wholeness of knowledge and expression, but rather due to the engagement of two key features of epos: Ekphrasis and Rhapsody. In this case, travel writing oscillates between the poetic and the technical, as it involves transcribing and mediating between vision and contemplation, as well as between performing and imagining.



**Fig 2.10** The fine illustration and the technical navigational signs captured in a map of the Attica coastline by Piri Reis, 1525.





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- Fig. 2.0 Original Image in Enderlin, Jacob. 1686. *Archipelagus Turbatus, Oder Deß Schönen Griechen-Lands, verwüstete und Erödete Wasser-Felder, Auf welchen zu sehen seyn, Deß Egeischen und anhangender Meeren, Insulen, und angränzender Länder, besonders auch deß Peloponnesi, oder Halb-In sul, Morea, Vornehmer Stätten, Festungen, Bergen, Wasser-Flüssen, Thieren, Vöglen, Fischen, Bäume, Früchten, Antiquitäten und Raritäten. Dermahliger zustand und Gelegenheit. Dem curiosen Leser zur Nachricht und Belustigung, Historisch, und in vielen schönen warhafften Mappen und Rupffer-Figuren nach jeniger Zeit Beschaffenheit vorgestellet*, Augsburg, Jacob Enderlin. (travelogues.gr)
- Fig. 2.1 Miniature of the Maqamat al-Hariri, or 'Assemblies', a collection of fifty tales (re-) written at the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century by al-Hariri of Basra. The main fictional character Abu Zayd of Saruj of Abu Zayd of Saruj who wanders the world armed with his mastery of the Arabic language deceiving those he encounters to earn some rewards. The stories, under this disguise, often discuss serious topics. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maqamat\\_al-Hariri](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maqamat_al-Hariri)
- Fig. 2.2 Original Image in Celebi, Evliya. 2011. *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels by Evliya Celebi*. Translated by Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim. New York: Eland Publishing, p. 254.
- Fig. 2.3 Original Image in Dodwell, Edward. 1819. *Views in Greece, from Drawings by Edward Dodwell Esq. F.S.A &c.*, London, Rodwell and Martin. (travelogues.gr)
- Fig. 2.4 Ali Bey b. Abdurrahman's endowment deed in Istanbul dated 1569. (<https://istanbultarihi.ist/559-foundation-and-city-the-history-of-istanbul-foundations>)
- Fig. 2.5 Original Image in *Menazilname* also known as the 'account of the stages of Sultan Süleyman Khan's Iraqi campaign,' with miniature paintings by Matrakçı Nasuh, a 16th-century Bosnian statesman of the Ottoman Empire, polymath, mathematician, philosopher, teacher, geographer, cartographer, swordmaster, navigator, inventor, painter, farmer and miniaturist.
- Fig. 2.6 Image in Pfeifer, Helen. 2022. *Empire of Salons: Conquest and Community in Early Modern Ottoman Lands*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Fig. 2.7 Image reprinted from Servet-i Fünun 191 (15 Teşrin-i Evvel 1310/27 October 1894) in Wishnitzer, Avner. 2015. *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca: Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, p.31.

- Fig. 2.8 Double page from the '*Divan-i Muhibbi*', Sultan Suleiman's collected poems written under the pseudonym Muhibbi, illuminated by Kara Memi. Istanbul, 1566. Istanbul University Library in Blair, Shelia S. *Islamic Calligraphy*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006, p. 515. [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Double\\_page\\_from\\_the\\_%22Divan-i\\_Muhibbi%22\\_by\\_Suleiman\\_\(I%C3%9C\\_Ktp.\\_T.5467\).jpg](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Double_page_from_the_%22Divan-i_Muhibbi%22_by_Suleiman_(I%C3%9C_Ktp._T.5467).jpg)
- Fig. 2.9 Original Image in Ishigami, Jun'ya. 2019. *Kenchiku no atarashii ôkisa: = Another Scale of Architecture*. Tokyo: LIXIL Shuppan, p. 57.
- Fig. 2.10 Original Image in Piri Reis, '*Kitâb-ı Bahrîye*' or '*Book of the Sea*' or '*Book of Navigation*' 1500s. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Athens\\_by\\_Piri\\_Reis.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Athens_by_Piri_Reis.jpg)



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## An Introduction to *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople* written by Lady Craven in the 18th century and other Digressions of other Travelogues

To Overcome TITLE  
**Domesticating Over-there-ness.**

TRAVELOGUE

Epistolarity STRUCTURE  
**Distance and Moment.**

The Traveller and the Domestic SUBJECT MATTER  
**Public Interior.**

Personal Curiosity SELECTIVITY  
**A Tourist Attraction.**

Idiosyncratic Vision METHOD  
**Turning Destiny into Destination.**

TRAVELLER

Tourist in Exile BIOGRAPHY  
**Alienated Self. Fashioning Identity.**

Publishing MANUSCRIPT  
**Owning Memorabilia.**

New World EMPIRE  
**Modern Times.**

TRAVEL WRITING

Picture LITERATURE  
**From View to Vision. Framing Atmosphere.**

Towards Self-discovery GENRE  
**Inventing Character. Through Objects.**

Antiquities and Orientalism LITERARY INFLUENCE  
**In the Footsteps of...**

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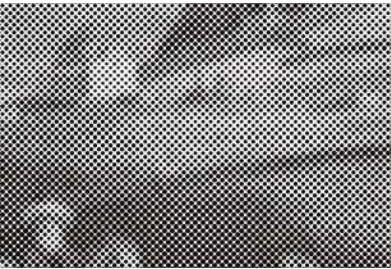


Mine at present is a geographical intercourse with the world; and I like to find the road I travel smooth-

Lady Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, Letter XXXIII <sup>1</sup>

The title of Lady Craven’s travelogue, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople: In a series of letters from the Right Honourable Elizabeth Lady Craven to his serene Highness the Margrave of Brandebourg, Anspach, and Bareith*<sup>2</sup>, written in 1786, may not be exceptionally unique. However, it seems to fulfil the marketing purposes of publishing. The inclusion of the correspondent’s name highlights the authority of her aristocratic descent, while referencing the destination as far as Constantinople and employing the epistolary form serve as effective promotional tool. Given the rarity of women travelling such distances and documenting their experiences, as well as the popularity of the epistolary form among female writers, along with the previous success of Lady Montagu’s *Embassy Letters* - a series of letters from a journey to Constantinople 30 years prior to Lady Craven’s journey - the elements mentioned in the title are likely to appeal to the 18th-century readership.

Fig. 3.0



Domesticating Over-there-ness. By painting a view of a landscape, the painter becomes the first beholder of a close yet spurious world. Similarly, the genuine phantom of distance and absence in travel writing arises when the traveller’s relentless search for a quintessential view inevitably casts a non-objective portrait of herself within a written letter. The threshold is over here.

<sup>1</sup> All quotations from the original text *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople* by Lady Craven are taken from the following publication: Craven, Elizabeth. 1789. *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople. In a Series of Letters from the Right Honourable Elizabeth Lady Craven to His Serene Highness the Margrave of Brandebourg, Anspach, and Bareith*. London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson. Quotations are referenced according to the numbering of the letters.

<sup>2</sup> Henceforth, the title *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople* will be abbreviated as *A Journey through*.

Epistolarity STRUCTURE

*The greatest part of the public has my permission to doze over the following sheets, as I expose them to the malice of my enemies, without reserve, merely to oblige many of my friends, who, knowing I had taken a long and extraordinary journey, have desired me to give them some account of it. The best I could give, and in the most agreeable manner to myself, was by transcribing part of my letters to you.*

Lady Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, Dedication

Lady Craven’s *A Journey through* is composed in the form of epistolary travel report, characterized by an *informal tone and episodic structure* (Bohls 1995, 149). The narrative moves back and forth between travel account, anecdote, social comment and personal reflection. The publication consists of 68 letters, all addressed to a single correspondent. The letters are numbered and arranged chronologically and geographically, following the author’s travels in both time and space. Throughout the travel narrative, the number of letters devoted to a region and the length of each letter vary. The travel narrative begins in Paris, which was the actual starting point of the traveller’s adventures, and ends in Vienna, where she mentions her visit to Anspach in Germany. In Anspach, Lady Craven met her benefactor and protector, where she spent years as a court entertainer. Following the order of her travels, there are 17 letters from France, 9 letters from Italy, 2 letters from Vienna, 2 letters from Warsaw, 13 letters from Russia and the Crimea, 8 letters from Constantinople (now Istanbul), 4 letters from Athens, 4 letters written from Terrapia (now Tarabya, a district in the province of Istanbul), 2 letters from Bulgaria and 4 letters from Transylvania. There are several letters with no indication of the place where they were written and some letters refer to travel experiences from more than one place. Furthermore, there are letters dedicated to a specific site or a special encounter with a noble person. For example, in Athens, Lady Craven dedicates one let-



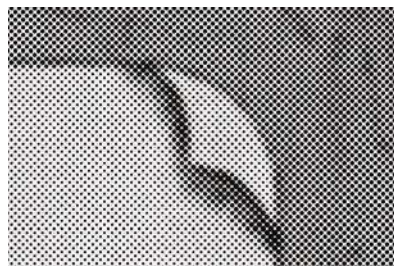
Fig. 3.0 A view of Athens has become the view of the Acropolis.





ter solely to the temple of Minerva and another one to her experience in the Turkish public baths.

Fig. 3.1



**Distance and Moment.** Athens, May 20, 1876. Structuring a book around a series of letters chronicling the traveller's journey captures the passage of time through space. Yet, the narrative is held together by the spatial and temporal absence of the addressee. The phantom of the addressee

haunts the narrative, subtly weaving a love story that unfolds across the imaginary distance and guides the further development of the itinerary by the phantom's desire for continuous stimulation. The private moments shared through the intimate act of letter writing constitute a semi-public sphere. Within this space, the reader merges with the lover and the narrated tourist attraction stimulates the unconscious' boundless desire.

## The Traveller and the Domestic SUBJECT MATTER

*Beside curiosity, my friends will in these Letters see at least for some time where the real Lady Craven has been, and where she is to be found—it having been a practice for some years past, for a Birmingham coin of myself to pass in most of the inns in France, Switzerland, and England, for the wife of my husband*

Lady Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, Dedication

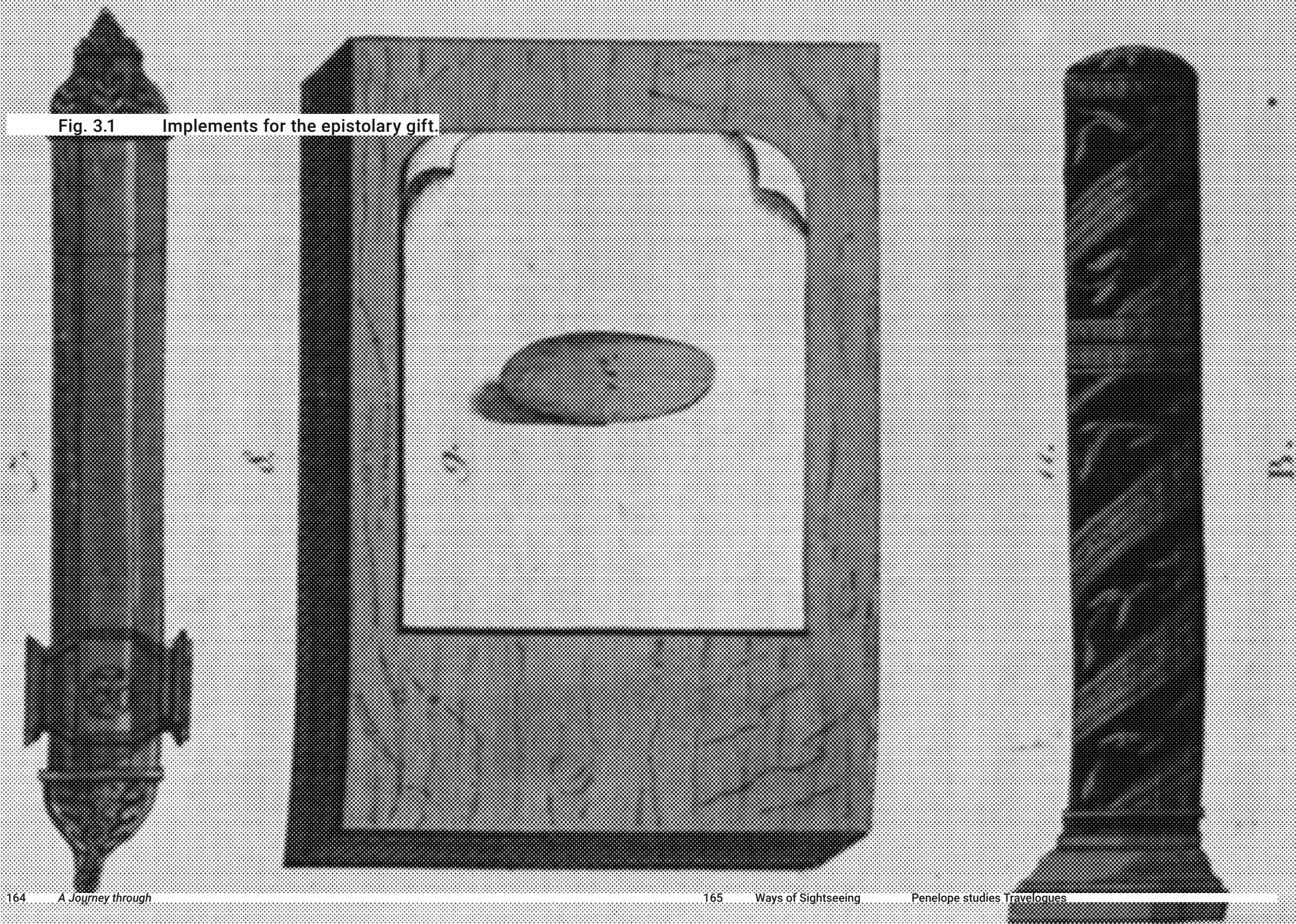
*These Baths are the great amusement of the women, they stay generally five hours in them; that is in the water and at their toilet together—but I think I never saw so many fat women at once together, nor fat ones so fat as these.*

Lady Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, Letter LVI

In her dedication, Lady Craven outlines two primary motivations for the publication of her travelogue. Firstly, having undertaken a *long and extraordinary journey* (Craven 1789, 5), she seeks to provide her friends with a faithful portrayal of her experiences. Secondly, she wants to reveal *where the real Lady Craven has been* amidst the rumours, as a double - a '*Birmingham coin of herself*' - *passes the inns of Europe pretending to be her* (Craven 1789, 5), a nod to her husband's mistress. This interplay between the invented fearless traveller and the passive 'real-life' Craven, fashioned by rumours, profoundly influences the subject matter and shapes her travel narrative. Unlike her male contemporaries who focused on mapping and surveying, Lady Craven engages with the domestic and quotidian aspects of the places she visits, aligning with the expectations of her gender. Yet, her narrative persona transcends mere gender definitions. Lady Craven is also in pursuit of *new forms of aesthetic pleasure* (Kolocotroni and Mitsi 2008, 9), actively differentiating herself from other (female) authors, and marking a shift from neoclassicism to the picturesque. By vividly sketching architecture and scenery, as well as critically evaluating sculpture and painting (O'Loughlin 2018, 72), she reestablishes herself as an authoritative and discerning figure of classical knowledge and a connoisseur of taste. Lady Craven utilizes music, art, architecture, and fashion as carriers to showcase her



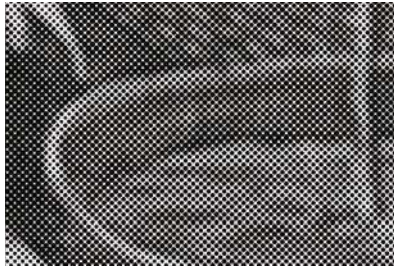
Fig. 3.1 Implements for the epistolary gift.





expertise in the prevailing aesthetic discourses (O'Loughlin 2018, 72). Throughout her letters, conversation thus serves as a means of social intercourse that transcends inequalities of age and experience while still respecting appropriate distinctions based on taste, education, gender, and rank.

Fig. 3.2



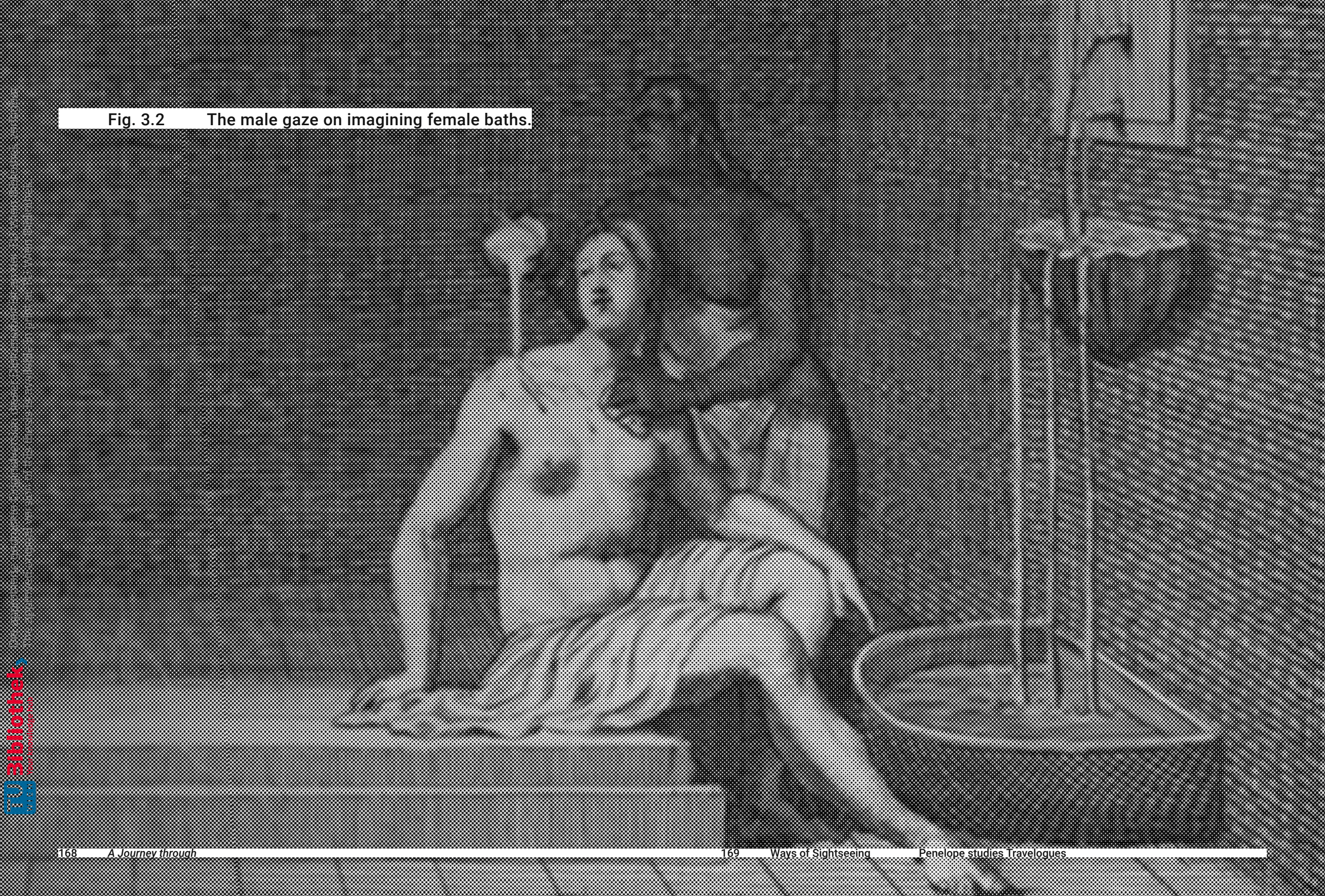
**Public Interior.** Baths are liminal spaces, where life becomes more interactive due to the meeting of different elements and physical conditions - hotness and coldness, the naked and the concealed body, the mystical and the mundane, cleanliness as religious duty and dirt as civil effect,

the private ritual of washing oneself and the public character of communication. In the 18th century, the female traveller, excluded from the public urban and scientific discourse, carved out her discursive space between the male urban flaneur and the grand tourist by sojourning and observing the domestic everyday activities of foreign countries. The female travel writer commonly traced everyday events such as the bathing in the East and reported on them, unveiling the domestic for public display through her written word. Unlike the rigid scientific documentation of monuments conducted by her male counterparts, Lady Craven's approach to describing baths served as a bridge between intriguing architectural features and the human experience. The bodies of the 'other', as well as her own presence, inevitably became part of the narrative, creating a public self through the credibility of witnessing the interior. While her common emphasis on 'ugliness' differs from the male gaze on Eastern baths, which mainly mystified and eroticized the bodies of the other, it is infused with the imperial voice, rejecting the act of bathing as a self-indulgent amusement and representing a decaying culture. Lady Craven establishes her aesthetic authority by excluding the interior space of the hammam and its respective cultural ritual from her aesthetic ideals within her letters. Nevertheless, female travel writing seems to have paved the way for a new form of tourism - *a more democratic style of travel than the Grand Tour* (Mitsi 2008, 48), the standardized educational itinerary undertaken by the male elite. By addressing *the ambiguity of the discourse*

*of cleanliness* (Mitsi 2008, 60), respectively dirt, and exposing herself to the intimacy of the interior, the female traveller is observing the 'other' and is being observed in return, refusing to undress and conform to the hammam rules, she is probably becoming the ultimate spectacle.



Fig. 3.2 The male gaze on imagining female baths.





*The brilliancy of the petrifications, the jagged shapes of the rocks, through which we saw the men, the darkness of part of the grotto, and the illuminations which reflected light in new places every moment, displayed the strangest and most beautiful scenery that can be imagined—*

Lady Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, Letter LIV

*Here we rested, and a small hole on the ground was pointed to me as the entrance of the Grotto. I was obliged to crawl in, a strong cord was fastened to the outside, and several sailors and Greeks preceded us with flambeaux; it required a good deal of courage and dexterity to proceed, sometimes I sat, and slid down small points of rock, which were the only support for hands or feet- in two places the descent was perpendicular- there rope-ladders were fastened, and in one or two places, through holes on the left, we could look down perpendicularly into the Grotto—where I arrived safely, refusing constantly to be assisted, for I thought myself in greater safety in trusting my own hands and feet than to the assistance of other, who had enough to do in preventing themselves from slipping.*

Lady Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, Letter LIII

Travelling through Europe and the Ottoman Empire, Lady Craven aimed to share her experiences with friends via letters. By adopting the epistolary form, the author's narrative themes are mainly driven by her curiosity and lacking rigidity. Unlike her contemporary male travellers, who embarked on their journeys with specific objectives, Lady Craven, *is less troubled with preconceived ideas as to what is most important to observe* (Kolocotroni and Mitsi 2008, 24), allowing her to pick up material much more indiscriminately. Gender constraints led her to focus primarily on domestic spaces and daily life, areas often inaccessible and unexplored by male travellers. Throughout her letters, Lady Craven also sought to redefine her own identity through travel, establishing a literary rivalry with Lady Montagu, another prominent female travel writer who penned a series of letters 30 years earlier. Montagu's travelogue, *Embassy Letters*, serves as a critical point of reference for Craven

to stage and differentiate her cultural and aesthetic authority through travel writing. The 18th century is marked by an increased interest in antiquities, which both Lady Craven and her predecessor shared. However, Lady Craven's appreciation of antiquities depended on their *value as commodities* (Kolocotroni and Mitsi 2008, 27) rather than their classical order. Overall, Lady Craven prefers nature to culture and man-made spaces, thereby underlining the passage in the second half of the 18th century from the neoclassical to the picturesque. Notably, in 1795, William Gilpin defined the picturesque in his essay 'On Picturesque Beauty' as expressive of that '*peculiar beauty which is agreeable in a picture*' (Marshall 2002, 414), differentiating it from sheer natural beauty or the beauty derived from historicity and the application of the man's established 'classical canon'. For Lady Craven, landscapes were the ideal backdrop for showcasing her aesthetic taste, though she also searched for the picturesque qualities in interiors, such as the public Turkish baths in Athens. Additionally, unlike her female predecessor, Lady Craven perceived the other culture as synchronous rather than as relics of her own culture's history. Nevertheless, she was not free from the biases of her own culture.

Fig. 3.3



A Tourist Attraction transforms a site into a commodity, adding value beyond its physical location. This transformation is driven by the desire to capture and possess elements of the experience, whether as memories, souvenirs, or, in Lady Craven's case, a whimsical desire to own 'a finger or a toe' from a statue in the temple of Athena, driven by her appreciation of its beauty. By reinserting a physical dimension to the aesthetic and geographical discourse, Lady Craven treats antiquities as admirable objects - valuable curiosities to be possessed. Her visit to the Grotto of Antiparos exemplifies the appreciation of natural beauty consistent with the picturesque ideals of the 18th century. She describes the grotto's dazzling petrifications



Fig. 3.3 The grotto is an emblem of timeless beauty in the 18th century, transcending history and classical constructs.



and jagged rocks as part of a beautiful scenery, highlighting the physical and adventurous aspects of exploring such a natural space, where courage and physical effort –crawling and following a cord into the darkness– are necessary. Thus, the tourist attraction extends beyond mere possession but rather towards the desire to embody the creation of a character– the intrepid traveller herself. The indiscriminate selection and description of sites by female travel writers in the 18th century introduces a physical dimension to geographical discourse, transforming sites and experiences into commodities on the one hand, but also reinforcing a kind of creativity, a less tangible vision of the world that is sheltered in the imaginative realm of writing. As evident in the contemporary world that will come after Lady Craven, the authoritative market value brings also with it the insatiable desire to cast new meanings produced by the transgression of boundaries in relation to the ‘other’.

## Idiosyncratic Vision METHOD

*Now I am on the wing, I will fee courts and people that few women have feen, as I may never have an opportunity of travelling again; and I will make the best use of my time; few as the months are I can allow myself to run about in, I will employ them, I hope, to my satisfaction and your amusement.*

Lady Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, Letter XXV

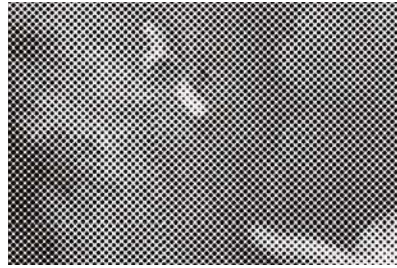
*The Emperor gives a private audience for ladies that are presented to him. There was only myself and the lady [Madame Granieri, the Sardinian minister’s wife] who accompanied me that went into his room together; we met Princess Esterhazi coming out. The Emperor was close to the door; and after bowing very civilly, he made us sit upon the sofa, and stood the whole time himself; I remained three quarters of an hour.*

Lady Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, Letter XXIX

It is not clear whether Lady Craven had a plan or whether she simply acted on Walpole’s insistence to publish her letters she had written while travelling in the Ottoman Empire. She probably had no specific plan, and hence there is no indicative scheme in the descriptions of the places or in the narrative of the publication. However, there are some identifiable literary elements that reveal some method. While walking in Athens, Craven *constantly converts historical time into personal time, appropriating and domesticating the foreign* (Kolocotroni and Mitsi 2008, 29). Lady Craven is more systematic in her efforts to redefine herself as an intrepid traveller and establish herself in the aristocracy, at least abroad. In her letters, she does not omit to mention the network of aristocrats she encounters in the European world and to emphasize the lack of formality in her meetings with the representatives. The privatisation of royal power constitutes a form of public display through personal intimacy. This *production of status through personal intimacy is a favourite technique of Craven’s* (O’Loughlin 2018, 81).



Fig. 3.4



**Turning Destiny into Destination.** The narrative takes the form of actual life, tracing the path of exile's destiny. Thus, the reader is tempted to view the travelogue as a life manual. In doing so, she is on the verge of allowing the hero's character to break free from the traveller's self. Lady

Craven has lived a life in exile and has journeyed across Europe. Thus, *A Journey through* encapsulates the epic battle between the self-conscious yet restrained self and the self-loss of the intrepid traveller.

## TRAVELLER

### Tourist in Exile BIOGRAPHY

*P.S. You may think me very odd in saying a voyage is a bitter draught to me—you will be much more surprised when I tell you I hate travelling; but you know why I travel.*

Lady Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, Letter XLIV

*I dine very often with Prince Kaunitz, and as I am naturally as sincere as he is, our conversations do not grow languid. There is nothing that ever did really flatter me so much, as when people of his age and experience forget for half an hour, the distance which time and knowledge must naturally put between us; and as I have often been rallied by—, upon my taste for old beaus, I think I am justified in his eyes, when I place him at the head of them, and say I am proud they should lose their time with me; while, I confess, I hate the conversation of boys.*

Lady Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, Letter XXIX

Elizabeth Berkeley, later known as Lady Craven and eventually the Margravine of Brandenburg, Ansbach, and Bayreuth, was an English noblewoman, a famous writer and playwright. Born in Mayfair, London, in 1750, she displayed an early affinity for poetry and a passion for acting—pursuits not typically embarked by women of her era. Despite societal norms, Lady Craven pursued her interests and became a successful playwright, especially known for her theatrical works and her comedic works including farces, pantomimes and fables. Her literary output was broad, including poems, stories, advice books and travelogues, reflecting her wide-ranging interests and highlighting the constraints faced by female authors in the 18th century, being excluded from the most established literary genres, typically reserved for men. While her literary achievements were recognized, Lady Craven's private life attracted more public attention, marked by scandals broadcasted through the press, gossip as well as her autobiographical works. In 1767, she married William Craven, an English nobleman, leading to a turbulent marriage marked by infidelity on both sides. After their separation in 1783,



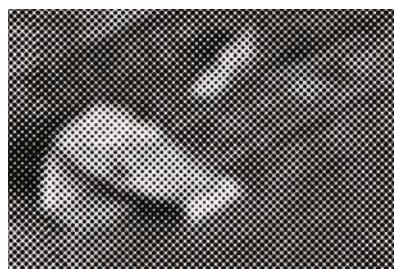
**Fig. 3.4** The desire disguised in the leisurely activity;  
liberated or constrained in the scandalous?





Lady Craven was forced to leave Britain, embarking on extensive travels for over 30 years. During her journeys, she continued writing and publishing, including comical poems and other comical verses published in journals. However, she is best known for her travelogue *A Journey through*, a series of letters compiled into a travel narrative through Europe, addressed to a single correspondent, her future husband, Christian Frederick Margrave of Ansbach. Her travels spanned France, Italy, Austria, Poland, Russia, the Crimea, Turkey, and various territories under the Ottoman Empire, including a notable visit to Athens, establishing herself arguably as the first female travel writer to explore Greece on her own for secular reasons and document her experience. Throughout her travels, Lady Craven enjoyed the support of the international aristocracy and respect from influential female figures such as Marie Antoinette in France, the Princess de Radziwill in Warsaw, the Empress Catherine II, and the Princess Dashkova in St. Petersburg, along with powerful men including the King of Poland in Warsaw, the Emperor Joseph II, Prince Kaunitz and the Sultan in Constantinople. In 1787, after three decades of travel, Lady Craven visited Ansbach in Bavaria as a guest of Margrave of Ansbach. Following years of romantic involvement and the deaths of their previous spouses, they married in 1791. The couple lived lavishly in various English towns before Lady Craven acquired a Neapolitan villa after her second husband's death, residing there until her passing in 1828.

Fig. 3.5



**Alienated Self. Fashioning Identity.** 'A pensive lady on a sofa' is a painting by Jean-Etienne Liotard, a Swiss artist resided in Istanbul from 1738 to 1742. Liotard portrayed his clients with props, objects of everyday life that he acquired in the Ottoman Empire, fashioning himself as the 'Turkish Painter'. The painting's small format (235 x 190 mm) and its careful composition, featuring a Turkish garment, an abandoned

book, and needlework, capture the delicate interplay between masquerade and intimacy, self and female identity, as well as travel and writing. The connection between women and textiles serves as a profound material metaphor for cultural identity, knowledge, and exchange (O'Loughlin 2018, 231). In the creation of the travel book, the heroin's journey involves concealing herself through the invented identity. However, the pursuit of a fixed identity, whether as a subject or an object, proves elusive. The traveller's self, driven by free will and possessing her own knowledge and intelligence, emerges as an invention of the body in motion, sustaining identity. On the other side, the identity of the travel writer manifests as the inanimate mimesis of the ideal self, an object perpetually subject to reinvention. The travel writer narrates the border condition of human desire to explore and mediate, posing a threat to the authentic self through the continual invention of identity (Park 2009).



**Fig. 3.5** The female travel writer and the fabric; consistently weaving the costume or 'habit' as a material metaphor for cultural identity, knowledge and exchange at home and abroad.





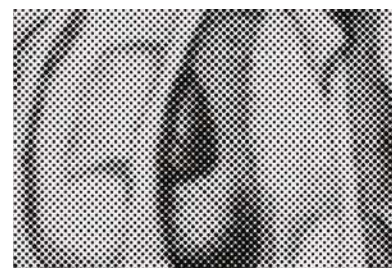
*Custom has long given a Preface to every book that has been published—It is likewise accompanied with a Dedication. I have always thought the last made the first unnecessary—Indeed both may be dispensed with, if an author does not think his stile requires an apology for offering to the Public a work, which his humility or justice may lead him to think fit only to put his readers to sleep.*

Lady Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, Dedication

After eight years of touring, Lady Craven published her travelogue, *A Journey through*, in 1787 with the encouragement of Horace Walpole, a private publisher. Walpole immediately recognized the value of her literary voice and the distinctiveness of her distant journeys as a female traveller. In the 18th century, travel writing, often in epistolary form, was a common genre for female writers. Notable examples include *The Embassy Letters* by Lady Montagu (1763), the *Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone* written by Anna Maria Falconbridge (1794) and *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark* written by Mary Wollstonecraft (1796). Typically, aristocrats disapproved publishing for financial profit, preferring to circulate their works within closed circles of friends, *relying on semi-public networks of family and connections, political and literary* (O'Loughlin 2018, 65) as their purpose was the applause having no need for financial support. Thus, Lady Montagu's letters were published after her death and 45 years after her journeys. Despite these norms, Lady Craven embraced her public identity as a female travel writer, distinguishing herself from her aristocratic peers. Her display of talents was a way to gain financial support and power, as her other incomes were an established amount set by her husband. Her travelogue gained immediate popularity, partly due to its relevance to British interest in the declining Ottoman Empire. Additionally, the late 18th century witnessed an expansion in women's travel writing, a phenomenon which resonated with the public's desire

for original and vibrant travel narratives instead of the typical composition of travelogues based on fictions or reproductions of other traveller's accounts. Lady Craven's letters and autobiographical works also reflect the development of publicity as a powerful cultural force, contributing to a broader democratization process and the ferment leading to the French Revolution. This period saw an increase in newspapers and society journals, reaching a more diverse audience with a wide range of interests. Following the success of *A Journey through* English editions, which received positive reviews in prominent journals, translations in French and German were published within the same year (Kolocotroni and Mitsi 2008, 21).

Fig. 3.6

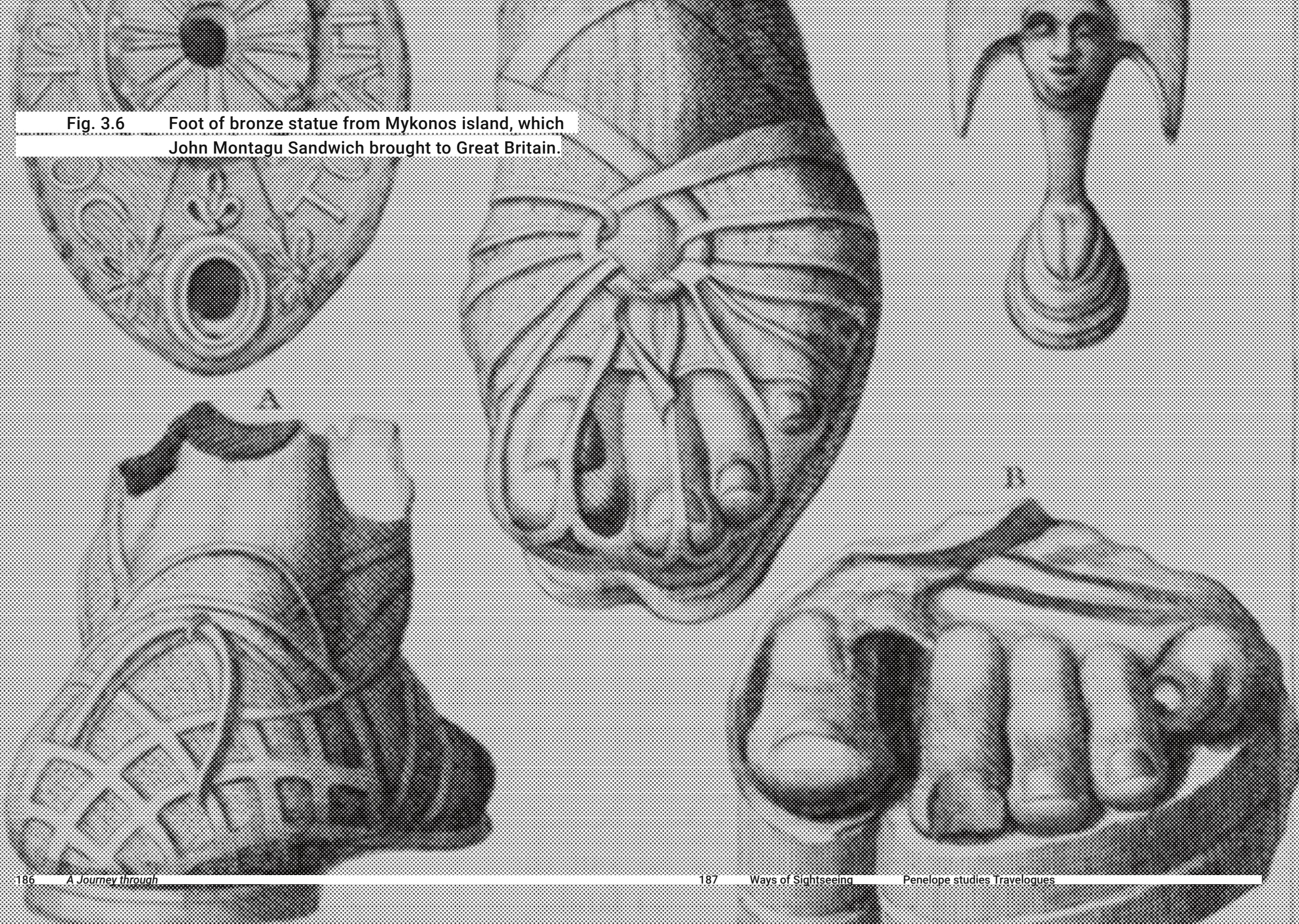


**Owning Memorabilia.** While journeying through the East in the 18th century, John Montagu took a bronze foot from a statue on Mykonos Island and brought it to Great Britain. This artifact was then featured in the publication *A Description of the East, and other countries* written in 1743 by

Richard Pococke, a British bishop and travel writer. Similarly, Lady Craven, in her travelogue, captured the beauty of the Parthenon's sculptures, expressing her desire to own even 'a little finger or a toe' of these ancient relics. This allusion for specific (bodily) parts of sculptures may signify a shift in the appreciation of antiquities, from viewing them primarily as cultural treasures to also valuing them as commodities. The increasing commodification of such items reflects the growing desire to collect curiosities, highlighting the fascination with singularity, which does not necessarily reveal itself as a common truth, but rather resides in the individual quest for the extraordinary amidst the ordinary. These curiosities, whether parts of the body, animate or inanimate objects, or anthropomorphised objects imitating the human form - these powerful fictions of self - not only serve as a malleable commodity but also as subjects of empirical investigation into both human and material realms. In the 18th century, collections often consisted of disparate parts without necessarily forming a cohesive narrative. Each component, even something as small as a 'little finger', was considered integral to the body



Fig. 3.6 Foot of bronze statue from Mykonos island, which John Montagu Sandwich brought to Great Britain.





(of the collection), playing a vital role in shaping perceptions of the world and contributing to the development of (human) consciousness. Notably, the travel book itself, containing recollections of distant lands, personal experiences, and reproduced memories, and being an object in its own right, could be loaned to the public for a fee in what was then known as 'circulating library'. These private collections were later integrated into the 19th century museum institutions and taxonomized through communal narratives, establishing communal perception of the world shaping national identities.

## New World EMPIRE

*Yes, I confess, I wish to see a colony of honest English families here; establishing manufactures, such as England produces, and returning the produce of this country to ours—establishing a fair and free trade from hence, and teaching industry and honesty to the insidious but oppressed Greeks, in their islands-waking the indolent Turk from his gilded slumbers, and carrying fair Liberty in her swelling sails as she passes through the Archipelago and the Mediterranean, to our dangerous (happily for us our dangerous) coast—This is no visionary or poetical figure—it is the honest wish of one who considers all mankind as one family, and, looking upon them as such, wishes them to be united for the common good; excluding from nations all selfish and monopolizing views*

Lady Craven, A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople, Letter XLIII

*And we returned to the Consul's, very much concerned at the excessive injustice and ignorance of the Turks, who have really not the smallest idea of the value of the treasures they possess,*

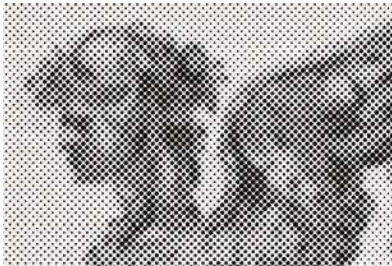
Lady Craven, A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople, Letter LV

In the early 18th century, the newly founded Great Britain, the island nation situated off the northwestern coast of continental Europe, exerted significant influence in mainland North America, the West Indies, and India. This dominance was secured through England's overseas possessions and trading posts established in the late 16th and 17th centuries. However, by the close of the 18th century, in 1775 the American War of Independence resulted to the loss of the Thirteen Colonies, marking the decline of the so-called First British Empire. While the First British Empire primarily focused on agricultural pursuits such as growing crops and establishing farms and plantations in the foreign fertile lands, the evolving Second British Empire followed a distinct trajectory. The later British Empire focused more on the trade of commodities and expanded its reach to colonize regions such as Australia, Asia, the Pacific, and eventually Africa. The emphasis on valuing commodities in the 18th century in Europe characterizes the early modern world and also signi-



fies the evolution of modern travel. Thus, the secularization of travelling went beyond trading purposes, involving activities such as the unfiltered collecting of everyday items from other cultures, fauna, flora and traditions. This unsophisticated collecting activity transitioned from exploratory exhibitions to methodical scientific exhibitions, flourishing then in the 19th century. These exhibitions focused on the systematic categorization of things, contributing significantly to the formation of the modern mind.

Fig. 3.7



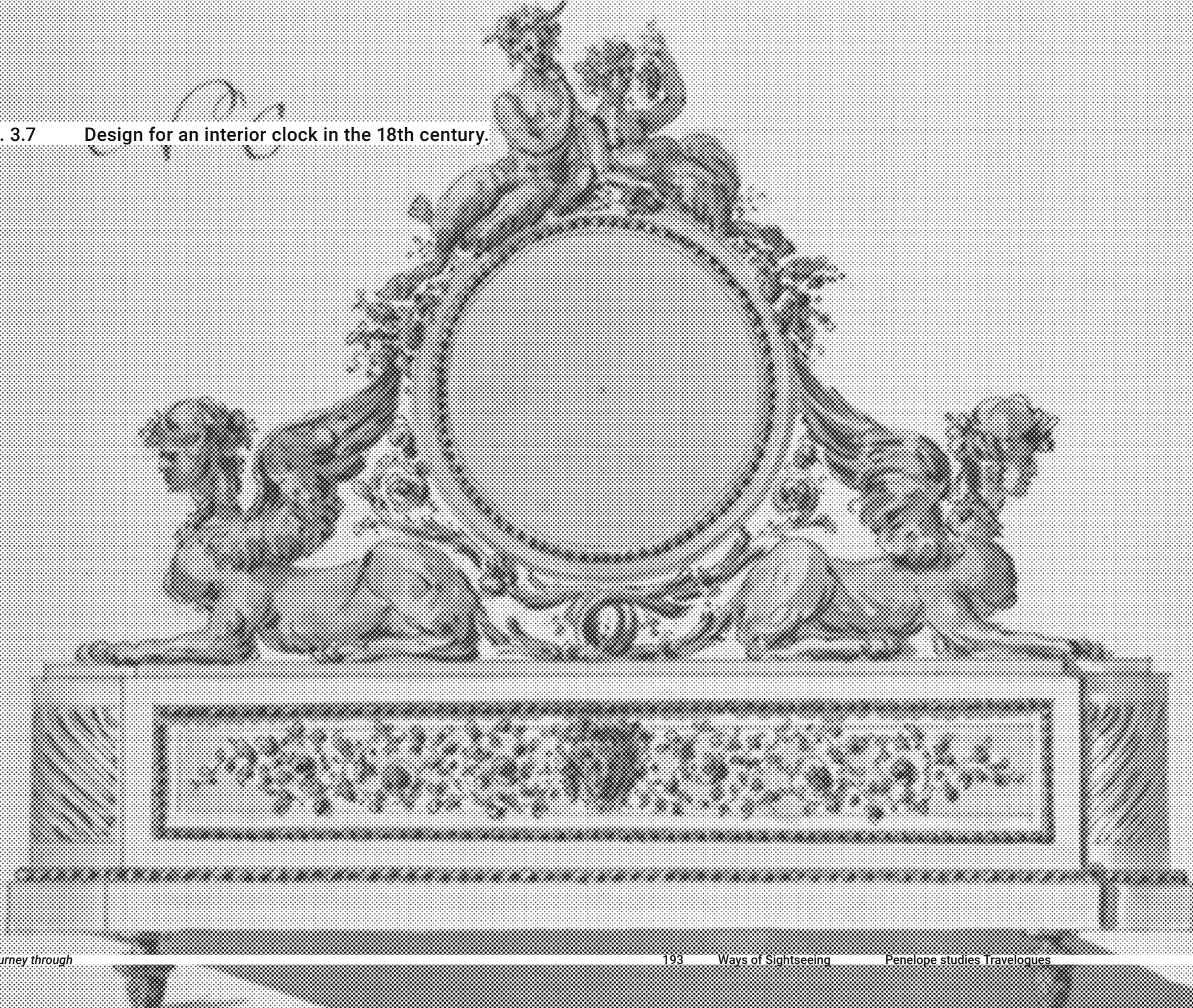
**Modern Times.** The interior clock, serving as the tool for telling time, encapsulates the transitional era from traditional to modern times, carrying inherent contradictions. The highly technical device, crucial for keeping schedules and organize daily routines, initially became a must-have commodity for

the 18th-century aristocracy. Despite the 17th and 18th century being a prime period for the development and production of the mechanical clock, owners directed their focus more towards the decorative design of the timepiece, attentively disguising the mechanism. These embellishments featured symbols from the mythological alphabet, including flowers symbolizing transience, wings symbolizing the fleeting nature of time, and the mysterious, enigmatic symbol of the Sphinx representing the unknown and the passage of time. While modern time consciousness, grounded in the concept of time as a timeline progressed towards the new total homogenized form - an object of human reform, the leisurely routine of the aristocracy and the decorative shell of this object seem not yet fully detached from the cosmos, maintaining a compatibility with 'traditional' time, at least symbolically. In this context, the practice of familiar letter writing, often initiated by the 18th-century aristocracy due to their means to publish, is marked by the conflicts arising from the emergence of modern consciousness. On one hand, individual experiences and everyday life receive more attention; however, on the other hand, the relation between the experience and epistemological evidence is being questioned, leading to a new dichotomy between self-discovery and scientific research. Although the daily life of the aristocracy creates a public discourse that is doomed to fade,

the public presentation of the busy servant's daily routines, which required precision like clockwork, coincides with the complete division of travelogues into either fictional or epistemological narratives, and the emergence of the linear novel reflecting the profound social technological changes of the industrial revolution, often from the perspective of the underprivileged.



Fig. 3.7 Design for an interior clock in the 18th century.





Picture LITERATURE

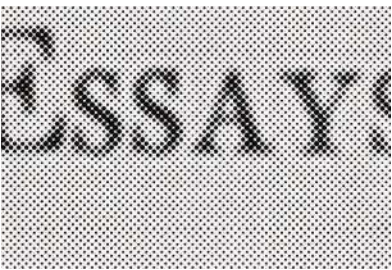
*Monstrous rocks rise over and on each side of this craggy arch; these seem to bend forward to meet or crush the curious. Whichever way I turned my eyes, I saw gigantic and fantastic shapes, which nature seems to have placed there to astonish the gazer with a mixture of the melancholy, terrible, and cheerful; for the clearness and rapidity of the river makes it a lively object, and where there is a flat place on the banks, though not above a few feet in circumference, the peasants have planted trees or sowed gardens—you lift up your eyes, and see the most perfect contrasts to them -the birds, which hovered towards the upper part of the rocks, were scarcely perceptible.*

Lady Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, Letter XI

Lady Craven’s literary activity unfolded within a pivotal phase in the evolution of literature, characterized by the rise of fiction and of a genre - ‘the novel’ or ‘der Roman’. Although the terms ‘Roman’ and ‘Novel’ are now used interchangeably, in the first half of the 18th century, these terms were significantly distinct, marking the separation between the realistic novel and the more fantastical romance. This distinction highlights the development from the antiquated romances of the Middle Ages towards the modern, albeit hybrid, literary form that mixes the real and the imaginative, heralding the novel as an invention. The early indiscriminate use of ‘novel’ and ‘romance’ critiqued the shared qualities of foolish novels and monstrous romances, both shrouded in a mix of poetic and prosaic language with exalted rhetoric that degenerated into sensationalism and pseudo-romantic eroticism (Schulz 1973, 85). Nonetheless, during this period, a convincing distinction between the realistic novel and the unrealistic romance still prevailed. The realistic novel drew from journalism, satire and drama, thriving in an environment where the essay form was flourishing. Rooted in factual and historical modes of the 17th-century natural philosophy, the novel still ventured into narratives of events and characters that were fictitious, challenging

established standards of epistemology and prose. By weaving subjective experience into narratives that mimicked the language of truth, the early English novel masqueraded subjectivity as an objective construct (Park 2009, xvii). These pioneering novels often used satirical literary devices as a means of criticising, demonstrating, and exploring the genre’s capacity for sentimentalism and drama. This was achieved through the incorporation of dialogue into prose, rendering ‘real’ life. The notion of the ‘character’ was a crucial element in the 18th-century novel. While the author of the romance crafted extravagant plots and characters, the author of the novel acted more as a collector of real life, transforming the experience of life into fascinating psychologically plausible narratives. This approach to character and plot mirrored a model of subjectivity that existed long before it came into full development as a literary form, suggesting that the ‘unfamiliar’ or the ‘new’ naturally stimulates the imagination so as to invent forms of expression by filling the soul with an agreeable surprise and gratifying curiosity. As the early novelist Tobias George Smollet aptly put it, the novel is ‘a large, diffused picture, comprehending the characters of life’, encapsulating the essence and enduring appeal of the genre.

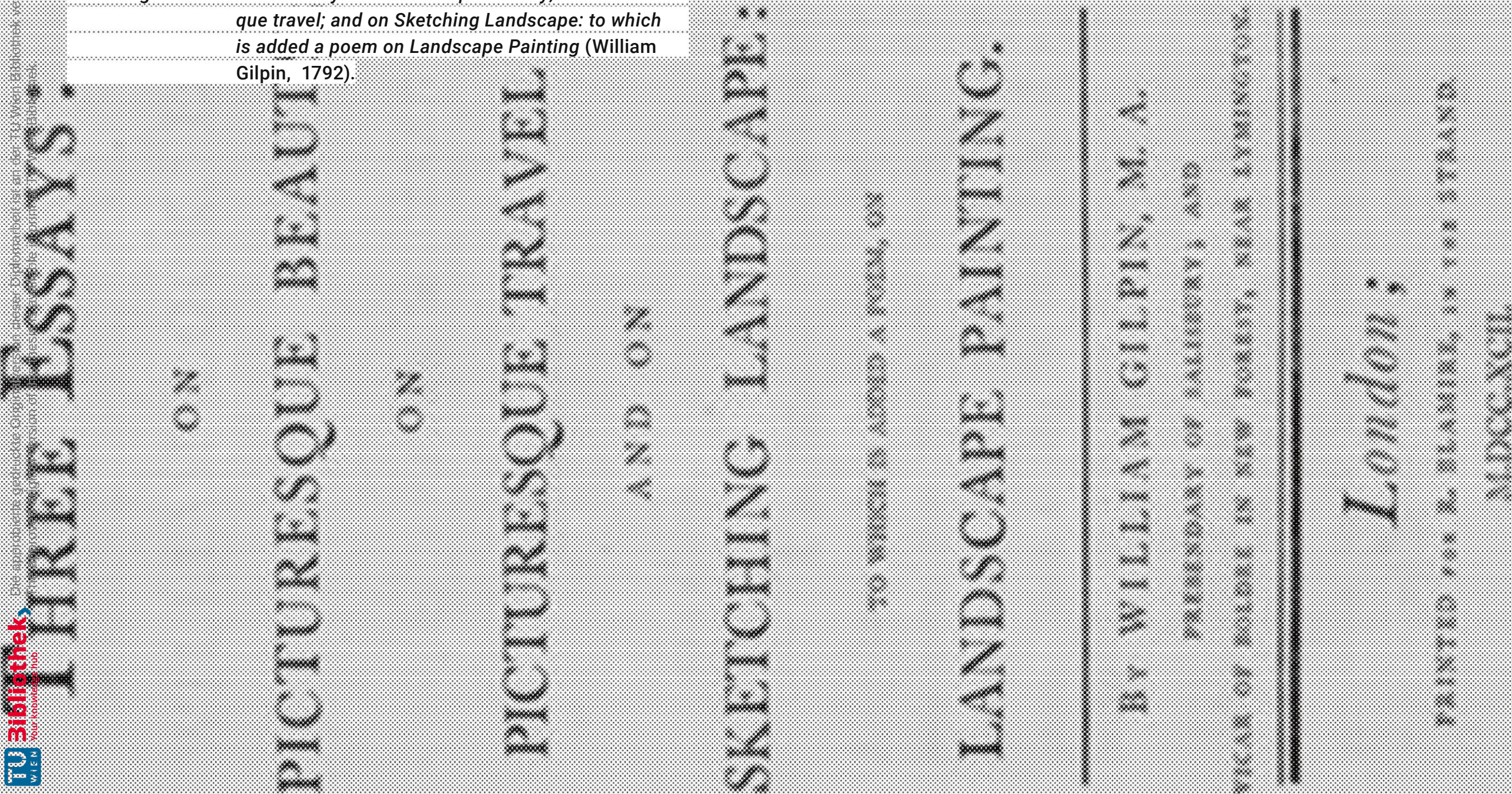
Fig. 3.8



**From View to Vision. Framing Atmosphere.** In 1792, William Gilpin wrote the *Three essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque travel; and On Sketching Landscape: to which is added a Poem, on Landscape Painting*. During the 18th century, the emerging discipline of aesthetics was framed in terms of the ‘sublime’ and the ‘beautiful’. The former corresponded to feelings of pain and terror, while the latter was associated with pleasure evoked by smoothness, softness, cleanness and fairness. Yet, another intermediate aesthetic category soon emerged, grounded in three principles derived from the qualities of nature - roughness, sudden variation and irregularity. Claiming the space in-between by blending and *formulating*



Fig. 3.8 *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a poem on Landscape Painting* (William Gilpin, 1792).





the feelings of the beautiful and the sublime, the picturesque created a design genre for both real/physical spaces and represented spatiality (Hiçsönmezler and Ek 2023, 188). While literature was evolving into the new genre of prose, the novel, the picturesque became closely associated with painting and poetry, introducing a new art form - landscape gardening. In this sense, the 18th century saw the creation of gardens imitating the roughness of nature. Despite the numerous paradoxes and criticisms triggered by Gilpin's definition of the picturesque as the *beauty capable of being illustrated in painting* (Gilpin and Blamire 1792, 3), even contradictory in his own essay, the picturesque introduced a discourse that transcended the dichotomy of the 'sublime' and the 'beautiful'. By incorporating the act of travelling in the contemplation of picturesque beauty, the aesthetic discourse extended to all sensations, not merely the sight, and prevailed throughout nature, resonating more with the notion of atmosphere as an experience-based quality and compositional style. Thus, the picturesque was associated with a multi-sensory, synesthetic experience created after a spatial visit, establishing an interaction between the traveller and the landscape that is not limited to her view and its representation. *The picturesque became the universal mode of vision* (Ross 1987, 271), based on the 'presentness', the interaction of bodily sensations and the natural environment, framing the atmosphere through the force of imagination.

## Towards Self-discovery GENRE

*My patient contemplation of objects, which the silent and cold hand of time only can produce, was very favourable to the artist who was taking a drawing of the interior of the grotto, intended for Mr. de Choiseul's second volume of his publication, du Voyage Pittoresque de la Grece, where I am to be seated at the foot of what they call le Grand Autel -Would, my dear and honoured friend, you had been sitting by my side, for I fear no pen or pencil can do justice to the immensity of objects I saw, nor the beauty of them.*

Lady Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, Letter LIII

Lady Craven's *A Journey through* was published during a remarkable period for travel and travel writing. The 18th century witnessed a profound transformation in the art of travelling, giving rise to a new generation of travellers. The educational travels, famously known as The Grand Tour, gained immense popularity, attracting young upper-class European men primarily to central Europe and shifting the purpose of travel from religious, trading, or business-oriented to one centred on personal pleasure and self-discovery. While still predominantly accessible to the elite, the expansion of publishing allowed the masses to embark on virtual journeys through reading. As a result, travel writing flourished, characterized by its *popularity, diversity, curiosity, and experimental impulses* (O'Loughlin, 2018, 7). With the increasing number of travellers and the evolving nature of journeys, travel writing evolved both in content and format to cater for the growing audience. Alongside the established travel accounts characterized by factual, objective, and technical elements such as atlases, maps, guidebooks, and navigational manuals, a considerable portion of travel writing focused on personal, subjective experiences. These newer accounts took the form of letters, memoirs, imaginative narratives or adaptations of old adventures. This diversity in travel writing was further accentuated by the varying styles employed, ranging from lyrical and comic to picaresque novel. However, the diversity in travel writing eventually led to a shift from the once cosmographic travel account, which seamlessly blended factual and fiction-



al elements into a narrative, to a clear division of travel writing between scientific and literary narratives. This distinction that emerged during the 18th century and established in the 19th century remains relevant even today, with some noteworthy exceptions. During the phenomenon of 'literalization' (Χατζηπαναγιώτη-Sangmeister 2015, 70) of travel writing in the 18th century, there was a notable expansion of women's travel writing. Excluded from the communities of specialists and the usual prestigious genres of aesthetic theory such as the discourse, treatise, or inquiry, female authors were engaged in the - until then - marginalised genre of travel writing. As the bibliography demonstrates, a substantial number of women have left us with accounts of travel in destinations ranging from continental Europe to Russia and Turkey; through the Atlantic to the West Indies, Africa and American colonies; to India and Australia (O'Loughlin 2018, 7). With the popularisation of travel writing during the 18th century and by reaching a broader audience, female travel writers could finally practice debate and criticism through the acceptable genre of travel writing and shape the genre itself through the search for new sources of aesthetic theory. (Female) travel writing marks out a shift towards domestic, embodied experience of space, time and the 'other'.

Fig. 3.9



**Inventing Character. Through Objects.**  
In 1981, Sophie Calle, a French artist, took a job as a hotel maid in Venice. Over three weeks, she recorded, using a camera and a tape recorder, whatever she encountered in the rooms assigned for cleaning. Wallets, unsent postcards, wastebaskets, closets, unlocked luggage became the materials for the artist's imagination, giving rise to invented characters representing the Venice tourist. The temporality of the hotel-stay and the act of writing in the 'moment ' are powerful features of travelling and writing, maintaining their invariant significance in artistic expression even as the time of

exploration has come to an end. While the character of the 18th century was fashioned in novels by disguising her within the rationality of experienced life, the character of the 20th century is speculated upon through the uncovering of her personal belongings. In the realm of travel, writing, and art, objects serve as mediators that bridge the gap between reality and imagination, fluidly transitioning from being collected as foreign luxuries to being transformed into semaphores - bearers of signals.



Fig. 3.9 Temporalities.





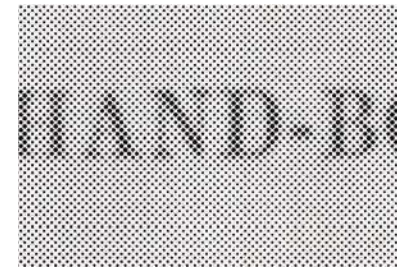
*I am arrived here at last, through a very beautiful country; but must observe, that whoever wrote L. M-'s letters (for she never wrote a line of them) misrepresents things most terribly—I do really believe, in most things they wished to impose upon the credulity of their readers, and laughed at them—The stoves of this country, which she praises so much, are the most horrid invention you can conceive.*

Lady Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, Letter XXVIII

In the 18th century, despite the significant growth of female travel writing, the genre remained male-dominated. Travelogues of this era typically fell into two categories: those based on previous travellers' accounts, authored by reliable scholars providing cultural interpretations, and those focused on scientific documentation by explorers primarily concerned with ancient monuments and the strict on-site scientific methods. Meanwhile, due to Britain's trading relations with the East, there was a shift of literary interest from classical Greek and Roman culture towards the Orient. This shift not only mirrored but also unfolded a literary space for female travel writing, thematically transitioning from religious obligations to a plurality of secular models. In this context, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's travelogue *Embassy Letters*, written between 1716 and 1718 stands out as the first example of a *female secular account of travels about the Muslim Orient* (Melman 1992, 2). Born in 1689, Lady Montagu, an aristocrat, writer and a poet, embarked on a diplomatic mission through Europe to Turkey in 1716 with her husband. Her letters, addressing friends and relatives, gained recognition for describing women-only spaces in the Ottoman Empire, establishing Turkey as a destination for courtiers and accomplished travellers (O'Loughlin 2018). Lady Montagu's work, initially unpublished, gained popularity in the 1760s, posthumously marking the rise and evolution of the travel writing genre, in which female writers acquired a form of literary authority. Lady Craven, very aware of Montagu's work, appears

to draw inspiration of it. In the Italian sections of her journey, she even gives the impression of reading Montagu's Letters by plainly referencing the text. Following Montagu's legacy, Lady Craven also ventures to the Orient, and her writings focus thematically on the picturesque and the domestic. Yet, in her effort to establish herself as a travel writer, Lady Craven also uses the legacy of her predecessor by fostering a sense of rivalry, questioning the validity of her travel testimonies as well as her aesthetics and cultural understanding.

Fig. 3.10

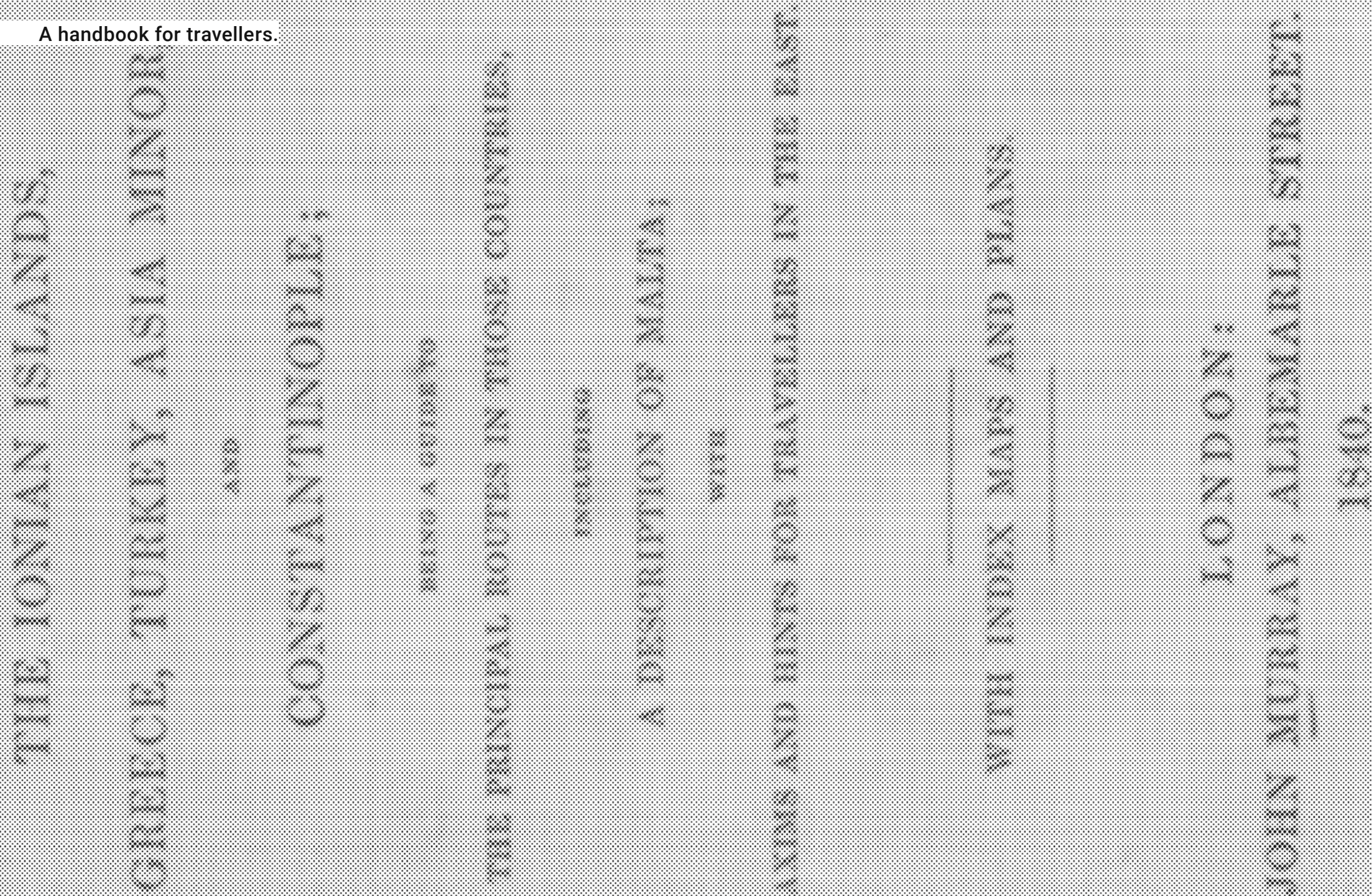


*In the Footsteps of...* In 1836, Murray's *Handbook for Travellers* was published in Britain, marking one of the earliest tourist guides. This pocket-sized volume, resembling an encyclopaedia, included city maps, sites of interest and travel service details. Although the Romantic era, root-

ed in the 18th-century belief that truth was no longer objective, celebrated an author's authentic voice and subjective viewpoint, the tourist guide opted for straightforward intertextual reports - a format that did not claim any originality or authenticity. This feature, intertextuality, is a foundational aspect of travel writing, used initially to map out destinations and itineraries, whether by revisiting familiar places or by exploring the unknown. As travel narratives evolved, parody and satire emerged as predominant strategies of intertextuality, serving to compare and reflect upon new experiences in contrast with those of previous travellers. The tourist guide, while being the most explicit form of travel writing, emerges as the least imaginative within the genre. However, what makes travel writing truly engaging through intertextuality is precisely the delicate balance it strikes in each instance, between the already familiar and the newly described. The originality and authenticity in travel writing lie equally in the newly described place and the fresh perspective offered. The truth of each composition, formed through a dialogue between past, present, future, continually forges the warm relationship between author-narrator and reader anew.



Fig. 3.10 A handbook for travellers.





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- Fig. 3.1 Original Image in Castellan, Antoine-Laurent. 1812. *Moeurs, usages, costumes des Othomans, et abrégé de leur histoire; par A. L. Castellan, auteur de Lettres sur la Morée et sur Constantinople; Avec des éclaircissemens tirés d'ouvrages orientaux, et communiqués par M. Langlès. Six vol. In-18, ornés de soixante et douze planches, vol. III*, Paris, Nepveu. (travelogues.gr)
- Fig. 3.2 Original Image in La Mottraye, Aubry de. 1727. *Voyages du Sr. A. de La Mottraye, en Europe, Asie & Afrique. Où l'on trouve une grande variété de Recherches géographiques, historiques & politiques, sur l'Italie, la Grèce, la Turquie, la Tartarie Crimée, & Nogaye, la Circassie ... comme aussi des relations fidelles des evenemens considera bles arrivées pendant plus de xxvi. années qui l'auteur a employées dans ses voyages; comme de la Révolution en Turquie...*, t. I-II, The Hague, T. Johnson and J. van Duren.
- Fig. 3.3 Original Image in Craven, Elizabeth. 1789. *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople. In a Series of Letters from the Right Honourable Elizabeth Lady Craven, to His Serene Highness the Margrave of Brandebourg, Anspach, and Bareith. Written in the year M DCC LXXXVI*, London, G. G. J. and J. Robinson. (travelogues.gr)
- Fig. 3.4 A cut from the Original Image: Fragonard, Jean-Honoré. The swing, c. 1767, Wallace Collection, London.
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- Fig. 3.7 Original Image in Alastair Laing, Martin Meade, J. W. Niemeijer, Christopher White, Michael Jacobs, Karin Wolfe, Michael Snodin Drawings for Architecture, Design, and Ornament. 2 vols., Aylesbury, 2006, cat. no. under no. 127, p. 184. (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/345614>).
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- Fig. 3.10 Title page in Bohls, Elizabeth A. 1995. *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716–1818*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



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## Dirty Travel and the Tourist Talks

This text results from an intimate encounter with the book *Dirty Theory. Troubling Architecture* written by Helene Frichot in 2019. It explores the application of *Dirty Theory* in light of my interest in her work and its relevance to the act of Sightseeing. Through substitution, this composition is held together by the interference patterns between *Dirty Theory* and travel writing theory. (For more on methods, see page 25)

On space in-between the articulation of ambiguity  
by inducing imaginative awareness of particular phenomena.  
On resilience woven unstable, like an appeal for attraction.  
On criticism the haunted fantastical archive of travels.  
On a raffish open house.  
On imaginative reasoning experiencing non-appearance.  
On the paradoxical genre authorial freedom.  
On tourism constructing the heritage of the radical otherness.  
On the real thing making sense of the unnecessary detail.  
On unexpected vessels attraction to be unearthed.  
On entanglement releasing life.  
On travels imagining the other.  
On sightseeing inventing differentiation by experiencing  
already-written landscapes.  
On travel and writing autonomous relations.



On space in-between - the articulation of ambiguity by inducing imaginative awareness of particular phenomena.

There is a certain anxiety over travel writing's potential to contaminate and complicate models of experience, understanding and knowledge (Liebert 2010). It is *linked to the making and remaking of the traveling subject, celebrating the alternating moments of doubt and certainty as the journey unfolds* (Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner 2001, 242) Because of its occupation of a 'space in-between' - the space of *transculturation* (Pratt 2007, 6) - travel writing, even in its most imperial gestures, can reveal an *ambivalence, a sense of its own authorities and assumptions being called into question* (Duncan and Gregory 1998, 5). Although travel writing can *display considerable erudition, it doesn't necessarily follow the disciplinary codes of conventional scholarship* (Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner 2001, 318). To move past *the reticence in taking the literature of travel seriously as a genre with its own particularities - including its specific ideological concerns, generic preoccupations, and formal challenges* (Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner 2001, 3) - travel writing is to be judged as a piece of *imaginative writing* (Raban 1988, 259).

On resilience - woven unstable, like an appeal for attraction.

Literary pieces, forms of active imagination, *take both fact and fiction as their objects* (Liebert 2010). The travel writer is usually something of an avid weaver, not only creating a particular form - following the development of a sustained tradition of travel narratives - but also fashioning distinct modes of thought and utterance that change through practice itself (Brummett 2009). These include periegesis, itineraria, epistolaries, notes, journals, diaries, handbooks, apodemica, engrav-

On criticism - the haunted fantastical archive of travels.

On a raffish open house.

On imaginative reasoning - experiencing non-appearance.

ings, diplomatic reports, etc. Within these diverse forms, a *fraught relationship* between fact and fiction emerges (Liebert 2010), manifesting differently in each case as a tension between scholarship and literature, discourse and narrative, then and now, travel and book, topography and ideology, statistics and the personal, public display and private intimacy, contributing to the enduring appeal and resilience of the unstable genre of travel literature (Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner 2001).

(An old lesson modern criticism keeps forgetting, caught up as it is in a will to formal restrictions) What is once a genial confusion in the next moment may well be shunned by criticism as haunted, regarded as a resort of easy virtue. The travel writer follows factual material, traces the authenticity of fiction, explores the wild fictional directions that the status of possible facts seems to take in the artificial or imaginative reconstruction of her journey (Raban 1988). She is unafraid of overriding or binding together at will all her interests from the fantastical archive of travels (Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner 2001).

Travel writing messes with mixed disciplines. Accommodating geography, philosophy, ethnography, natural sciences, literary sciences, topography, arts, architecture, etc, travel writing is just a *notoriously raffish open house where different genres are likely to end up in the same bed* (Raban 1988, 253).

Belief and (travel) literature have an existing long-term relationship, whether rendered as voluntary deceit, or imaginary autonomy or the lack of an actual counterpart. Belief and experience - beyond



the uptight habits of the heroic traveler's will to actuality - admits possible (non-)appearances in the mind here and then.

Travel writing helps literature think about the ordinary gestures of memory, nostalgia, hope, and fear, that represent what is absent. Most powerfully, following travelling in possibility (unconcerned about its actuality) can be an imaginative reasoning (that does not present itself to the senses), a profound relationship with the particularity of our experiences (*without demanding their correspondence to past, present, or future actualities* (Liebert 2010, 197)).

Travel writing represents what is absent from the sensory perception through anecdotal asides in the structure of the thematic itinerary, but better still, travel writing constructs imaginative geographies through digressions from the actual topography, from site to site and shapes the narrative persona of the travel writer as a spectacular object in its own right.

Travel writing is wary of the strictures of disciplinatio, preferring instead indisciplinatio, a paradoxical approach to the problems. It's scattergun, if not scatological. Travel writing dismisses and critically, knowingly, rejects the genre, because the choice of a literary model necessarily imposes constraints on authorial freedom, the travel writer avers.

Why go on vacation? Beyond the island of culture, we never risk to go on vacation, unless escorted, wandering into the predictability of leisure. Yet islands in this age of concatenating

On the paradoxical genre - authorial freedom.

On tourism - constructing the heritage of the radical otherness.

On the real thing - making sense of the unnecessary detail.

information technology challenges, obsolescence of privacy protection, comfort of global networks, turn out not to be secured after all. Island, land, heritage all proffering opportunities for the cultivation of identity: There is more than a wiff of the modern impulse in this territorialisation of heritage. Identity is condemned to be captured, elsewhere, only for a fleeting glimpse, reflected in the purity of others. Tourism thus offers a possible tantalizing labour in the reconstruction of authentic otherness. The production of cultural heritage through tourism demands *a capacity to recognize and accept otherness as radically other*, attempting a dialogue between *forms of intelligence absolutely different* from each other (MacCannell 2013, xxi).

The fact, the real thing, is the required model in which contingent particular fictive scenarios can be invented and eventually shaped as poems. (Travel) literature, you see, is neither truth nor deceit; like poems it deepens on the composition, the relations at hand, in what comes together to form a comprehensive discourse. The technical representations, the real-world parts, may not be sufficient for the soul to engage, to make sense at all. To present, to represent, to misrepresent - all these depend on the existence of the technical, which allows us *to recognize the fictional world as a world* (Liebert 2010, 208), just as much as the utterance of a truth-bearing lie. Without these gestures, not much would make sense, for good or bad, and you are bound to suffer the unnecessary details either way.



On unexpected vessels - attraction to be unearthed.

Travel writing that crosses disciplinary boundaries, challenges scientific decorum, contravenes literary norms. The inaccurate, the amateur, the tedious, the plagiarist, the digressive, the mediocre are at the same moment the accumulated ground upon which the powerful (the novel or the scientific writing) steady themselves in order to reach rarefied heights.

On entanglement - releasing life.

Travel narration carries factual and fictional weight, it is part of the stuff of all manner of corporeal relation, and it is also symbolic. It invokes unholy mixtures of fictions and facts, of words and what matters. *Jennifer Bloomer puts it plainly: "The world and the language are all tangled around each other". The tangle should be read as growing vine, a process of entanglement, as of that emerging from the mouth of the young woman in Botticelli's painting Primavera; either she is choking on, or else she is vomiting up, growing life (Frichot 2019, 9).*

On travels - imagining the other.

Travel through our senses with the body, through our heritage outside the house, through our imagination in every environment and through all that is read and written. At its best, travel writing could participate in the imagining of distinct modes of reasoning, *attempting to enter into a dialogue with what Dean MacCannell call the other: forms of intelligence absolutely different from our own (MacCannell 2013, xxi).*

On sightseeing - inventing differentiation by experiencing already-written landscapes.

Travel writing entails exploring already-written landscapes in the midst of which we lose and find ourselves, becoming and unbecoming. Travel writing is concerned with discovering distinct ways of sightseeing that challenge experience, away

On travel and writing - autonomous relations.

from incorporating fragments into a unified whole, in order to invent distinct kinds of imagination. Differentiation is what is celebrated in the doomed-to-eventual-failure attempt to construct a totality of experience (MacCannell 2013, 13).

There are travel writers, and they are diverse. I will attempt to travel with them. There are travel writers, who understand the fictive material of the travel work required, who can remind us of how some contact with travels can build up our imaginative reasoning and open autonomous relations beyond the habits of real experience. *Fühlt, was Wahrheit ist und was Fiktion* (Meier 2009). Feel what is truth and what is fiction. But because this is travel writing, the writing and the traveling are messed up, and the writer one day is a traveller the next, and a traveller one moment is a reader the next. Travel, writing and reading relations are transversal relations.



'Dirty Travel and Tourist Talks' is a theoretical text on travel writing that merges various theories on travel writing and tourism, held together by a common tonality rather than systematic analysis. The text is structured into 13 features of travel writing, elaborating on the premise that travelling is dirty and sparks 'Tourist Talks' intrigued by its impurities. It confidently 'messes with' travel writing's inherent impurities between author and traveller, fact and fiction, belief and heritage, by articulating the in-between realms that emerge. 'Dirty Travel and Tourist Talks' begins in media res and ends abruptly, suggesting that the tourist talks on travel writing can go forth perpetually, since there are all sorts of impurities to unearth, yet the tone remains adequate.



## Dreams, Ruins, Ritual, Forest and the Glossary of Tourist Motifs

This is a glossary structured by themes haunted by Francesco Colonna, Le Corbusier, Pausanias and Jun'ya Ishigami and composed by direct quotations on words haunted by the voices of Le Corbusier, Wallace Stevens, Elias Zafiris, Pier Vittorio Aureli, Dean MacCannell, Helene Frichot, Valentina Popescu, Rana Saana Liebert, Lucian of Samosata, Roberto Calasso, Mario Neve, Walter Benjamin, Franz Kafka, Michel Butor, Paul Valery, Charles Baudelaire. (For more on methods, see page 25)

Travel writing, like any genre, originates from and is intrinsically related to the epos, yet it significantly diverges from the epic's verse form and grand gesture - *a long narrative that encompasses all topics on a grand scale of time and place, featuring a larger-than-life protagonist and heroic actions.*<sup>1</sup> Travel writing 'messes with' various topics across different scales of time and place, commonly featuring less-than-life traveling actions. Even when claiming to represent wholeness, travel writing does not seek the type of completeness and condensation found in poetry; it either appears complete yet lacks the poetic essence of the epos, or, when fully in the realm of the poetic, it compromises on completeness.

This work suggests that every kind of travel writing employs the epic mechanics of 'ekphrasis' and 'rhapsody', exhibiting a particular balance between a kind of wholeness and poetic expression, which comes from the challenge to construct a narrative for a travel experience which corresponds to space and is comprehensible to read. 'Ekphrasis', a crucial rhetorical device, is used to translate the travel experience into written form, thereby creating an autonomous entity that conveys the essence and form of the experience rather than replicating the original experience itself. 'Rhapsody' entails the art of weaving travel into a narrative, shaping how the structure of the text renders the journey's content comprehensible and engaging for an audience. The equilibrium between the ekphrastic and rhapsodic gimmickry takes various interesting forms in travel writing, when describing a topography by rendering a linear walk and linking the topographical features to stories through digressional commentary, or when recording a city's features

<sup>1</sup> Etymology of 'epic (adj.)', *Etymonline*, accessed May 27, 2024, [https://www.etymonline.com/word/epic#etymonline\\_v\\_8778](https://www.etymonline.com/word/epic#etymonline_v_8778).



by providing anecdotes linked to them, or when crafting a character while making a place public through the description of personal experiences.

The epic mechanics are explored through the examination of four themes which are selected to illustrate the mechanical features of 'ekphrasis' and 'rhapsody' and serve as bridges between them. These themes - 'Dream, Ruins, Ritual, Forest' - are drawn from four books around architecture theory and travel writing. *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* written by Francesco Colonna in 1499; *Journey to the east* written by Le Corbusier in 1911; *Another Scale of Architecture* written by Jun'ya Ishigami in 2019; and the first claimed travelogue - namely *Hellados Periegesis* written by Pausanias in the 2nd century, respectively.

*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* is a treatise on architectural theory rendered into a narrative. The hero falls asleep and wakes up in a dream, wandering through a classical dreamland in search of love. Along the way, he encounters beautiful things - all sorts of architectural elements. The dream theme represents the battle between self-consciousness and self-loss inherent in the rhapsodist's performance, projecting an imaginative landscape as an event in the real world.

*The Journey to the East* is a collection of letters written by Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, the architect, later known as Le Corbusier, addressed to his mentor. The young architect travels through Eastern Europe and visits sites, contemplating on cultural heritage and architectural attractions. In front of the ruins, the traveller confronts the ambivalence between site and sight, while experimenting with ekphrastic elements in his letters as a creative means for articulating the case of the attraction.

*Hellados Periegesis* comprises 10 books, each one dedicated to the description of a distinct region in Greece. As the traveller navigates the topography of each place, linking locations with (hi-) stories, the landscape is seamlessly transformed into a discourse. The physicality of the ritual movement in space and the mental contemplation through stories compose the presence of the real thing in an imaginative geography.

*Another Scale of Architecture* is an architectural treatise that reveals the architect's - prophecy and vision, asserting that architecture is no longer confined to preconceived structural scales. It proposes the liberation of structural scales to encompass the diverse range of scales present in the natural environment. The forest phenomenon is manifested in an architectural project, The KAIT Workshop (Ishigami 2019, 51), designed structurally based on tree statics and programmatically reflecting the dynamic balance of a forest, embracing fluctuation and vagueness. Designing on another scale of architecture initiates a dialogue, on an equal footing, between the geometric and the harmonic realm - *forms of intelligence absolutely different* (MacCannell 2013, xxi) from each other.

Since everything is already explored and mapped, the four themes are abstracted in relation to *the symbolic terrain traversed by tourists, in their imagination and in their reality, as an analogue of the unconscious with the potential for unexpected flashes of wit and insight* (MacCannell 2011, ix). The dream stands as a motif for the battle of self-conscious and self-loss inherent in the rhapsodist performance and in the act of taking a vacation. The ruins stand as the motif of the tension between sight and site that results in an ekphrasis - the case of the at-



traction. The ritual stands as a motif for the battle between place and stories, unfolding the real thing in an imaginative geography, similar to the rhapsodic performance of the epos. The forest stands as a motif for the potential of articulating authentic otherness, as an ekphrasis, by transcending the boundaries of imagination.

To gain autonomy from the original books, the themes of 'Dream, Ruins, Ritual, and Forest' serve as the framework of a glossary and are elaborated further through abstract keywords. This 'Glossary of Tourist Motifs' consists of quotations related to the essence of the keywords, linking the four themes to additional texts on architectural theory, philosophy, literature, and poetry. The 'Glossary of Tourist Motifs' exclusively consisting of quotations proposes a way of engaging with concepts, not to find definite meanings, which here are inconceivable, but rather as a method of building the milieu at stake - a creative inquiry into abstraction. Thus, the 'Glossary of Tourist Motifs' provides the conceptual milieu for the composition of the introductory text *Ways of Sightseeing*, which captures the essence of the tourist realm, centering around the act of sightseeing.

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# Dream or Take a Vacation

## eyes which do not see

*EYES WHICH DO NOT SEE*

*LINERS*

*A great epoch has begun.*

*There exists a new spirit.*

*There exists a mass of work conceived in the new spirit; it is to be met with particularly in industrial production.*

*Architecture is stifled by custom.*

*The 'styles' are a lie.*

*Style is a unity of principle animating all the work of an epoch, the result of a state of mind which has its own special character.*

*Our own epoch is determining, day by day, its own style.*

*Our eyes, unhappily, are unable yet to discern it.<sup>1</sup>*

## the world as meditation

*I've spent too much time working on my violin and travelling. But the essential exercise of the composer – meditation – nothing has ever suspended it in me ... I live a permanent dream, which stops neither night nor day. – Georges Enesco<sup>2</sup>*

## mathematical weaving of the cosmos

*But still, they (pure ratios) can be envisioned through their uplifting – via imagination – on an epiphaneia, a boundary screen between the harmonic and the rigid geometric.<sup>3</sup>*

## otium

*Within a society that made politics into relentless social networking, retreating from public life became the prerogative of those who could afford the luxury of being alone.<sup>4</sup>*

## isonomia

*We are all equal before the attraction. ... Tourists of any age, ethnicity, class, or category discover something about themselves and the world by acknowledging the gap that separates them from the other-as-at-*

*traction. There is nothing in this gap but the entire field of ethics.<sup>5</sup>*

# Ruins or The case of the Attraction

## obstacle

*In the center of the communication topos is the directly inaccessible, the inconceivable. The inconceivable exerts an attraction when you wonder about something out of pure curiosity.<sup>6</sup>*

## unearthed

*What was once sacred and revered in the next moment may well be expelled as abject, judged to be without sense, useless. The dirty theorist follows the materials, tracks the soiled effluent, observing from where it came and the direction that it appears to be taking. She is unafraid of selecting at will from the sedimented archive of thinking.<sup>7</sup>*

## paradoxa

*Mathematical Thinking always starts with the making of a viable hypothesis, called doxa. What is called paradox, literally means 'para doxa', that is, parallel to doxa. What is parallel to doxa is the inconceivable. Paradox is the name given to the inconceivable, when instead of starting from wondering and wandering to circulate the inconceivable, we attempt to reach it in a linear way that is not distinguishing between different levels.<sup>8</sup>*

*Paradox is associated by Dionysius with small and difficult topics as opposed to those dignified, great, and therefore simple and straightforward.<sup>9</sup>*

*Isocrates goes even further by associating paradox with falsehood jest and joke as opposed to dignity and seriousness yet he admits that small and insignificant topics, unlike the orthodox ones, open the road to originality.<sup>10</sup>*



# Ritual or The real thing

## rhapsody

*The inquiry is designed to make us as well the rhapsode question how we believe (if at all) in the literary objects of our emotional involvement, leading us to examine the nature of our cognitive assessments of imaginary worlds.*<sup>11</sup>

## dance

*Then are you willing to leave off your abuse, my friend, and hear me say something about dancing and about its good points, showing that it brings not only pleasure but benefit to those who see it; how much culture and instruction it gives; how it imports harmony into the souls of its beholders, exercising them in what is fair to see, entertaining them with what is good to hear, and displaying to them joint beauty of soul and body? That it does all this with the aid of music and rhythm would not be reason to blame, but rather to praise it.*<sup>12</sup>

*No, those historians of dancing who are the most veracious can tell you that Dance came into being contemporaneously with the primal origin of the universe, making her appearance together with Love – the love that is age-old.*<sup>13</sup>

## labyrinth

*The veil of epiphany was rent and tattered now. If the power of metamorphosis was to be maintained, there was no alternative but to invent objects and generate monsters.*<sup>14</sup>

## milieu

*Milieu it must be here understood in a twofold sense: the milieu as the environment that any living being structures, composes, but also as what mediates – in a technical sense, it is a means – so creating a real in-between world.*<sup>15</sup>

# Forest or Articulation of otherness

## a pseudo-reconstruction of 'authentic otherness'

*But if the various attractions force themselves on consciousness as obstacles and barriers between tourist and other, that is, as objects of analysis, if the deconstruction of the attraction is the same as the reconstruction of authentic otherness (another person, another culture, another epoch) as having an intelligence that is not our intelligence, then tourism might contribute to the establishment of a utopia of difference.*<sup>16</sup>

## aura

*They believe that monuments and pictures present themselves only beneath the delicate veil which centuries of love and reverence on the part of so many admirers have woven about them. This chimera, Proust concludes evasively, 'would change into truth if they related it to the only reality that is valid for the individual, namely, the world of his emotions.'*<sup>17</sup>

*To perceive the aura of an object we look at means to invest it with the ability to look at us in return. This experience corresponds to the data of the *memoire involontaire*. (These data, incidentally, are unique: they are lost to the memory that seeks to retain them. Thus they lend support to a concept of the aura that comprises the 'unique manifestation of a distance.'...)*<sup>18</sup>

*In other words, the unique value of the 'authentic' work of art has its basis in ritual, the location of its original use value.*<sup>19</sup>

## phantom

*Writing letters is actually an intercourse with ghosts, and by no means just with the ghost of the addressee but also with one's own ghosts, which secretly evolves inside the letter one is writing.*<sup>20</sup>



Thus, the early tourist is succeeded by one who, conscious of the troubles he brings to the refreshing and educational place, dreams of leaving it intact, who wishes not simply to be the only outsider, but also to be a kind of invisible intruder, without weight, without tainting effect: a sort of phantom who leaves no trace, like the man who wants to walk in snow without leaving footprints. Under another guise, we find once again our mythology of the white page.<sup>21</sup>

## dialogue of the tree

I have noticed that there is not a thing in the world that has not been adorned with dreams, held for a sign, explained by some miracle, and this all the more as the concern with knowing the origins and first circumstances is more naively potent. And that is doubtless why a philosopher whose name I have forgotten coined the maxim: *IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE FABLE*.<sup>22</sup>

The pillars of Nature's temple are alive/ and sometimes yield perplexing messages/ forests of symbols between us and the shrine/ remark our passage with accustomed eyes.<sup>23</sup>

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### 3 Penelope's House of Postcards

When everything is already explored and mapped, an attempt to invent adequate Ways of Sightseeing emerges. What is worth seeing is a good story tell. The epos digresses into postcards and the world is condensed into the house. The House of Postcards consists of ten postcards - ten pictures of the E.J. Finopoulos collection are accompanied by commentaries on stories and symbols around Penelope through the lens of the Tourist Patterns, the Tourist Talks and the Glossary of Tourist Motifs. By digressing from the epic narrative, the interior of the Athenian archive is rendered into Penelope's fantastic archive of travels.

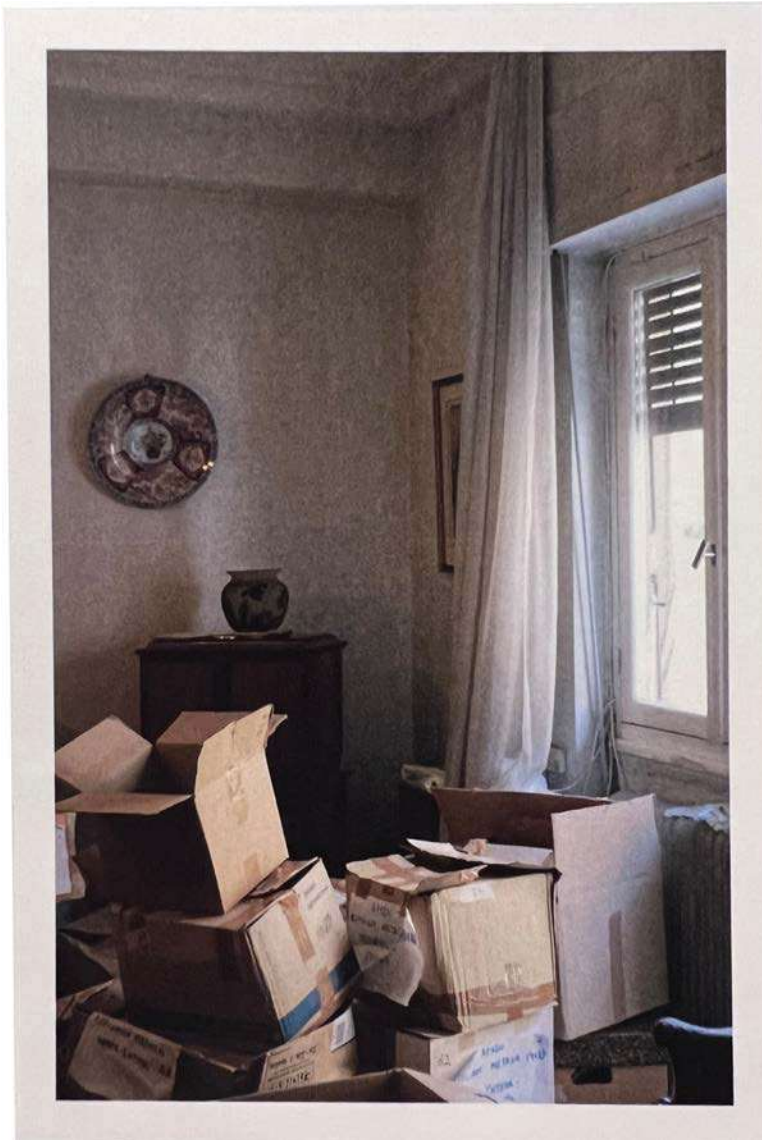
These are postcard compositions on patterns of interference between Penelope's (untold) stories and the logos of travel writing haunted by the intimate encounters with all books involved in the *Ways of Sightseeing*. Penelope is grateful to the great and the lesser-known authors for the pleasant visits to their visions, acknowledging that this thesis would not have been possible without their contribution.  
(For more on methods, see page 25)





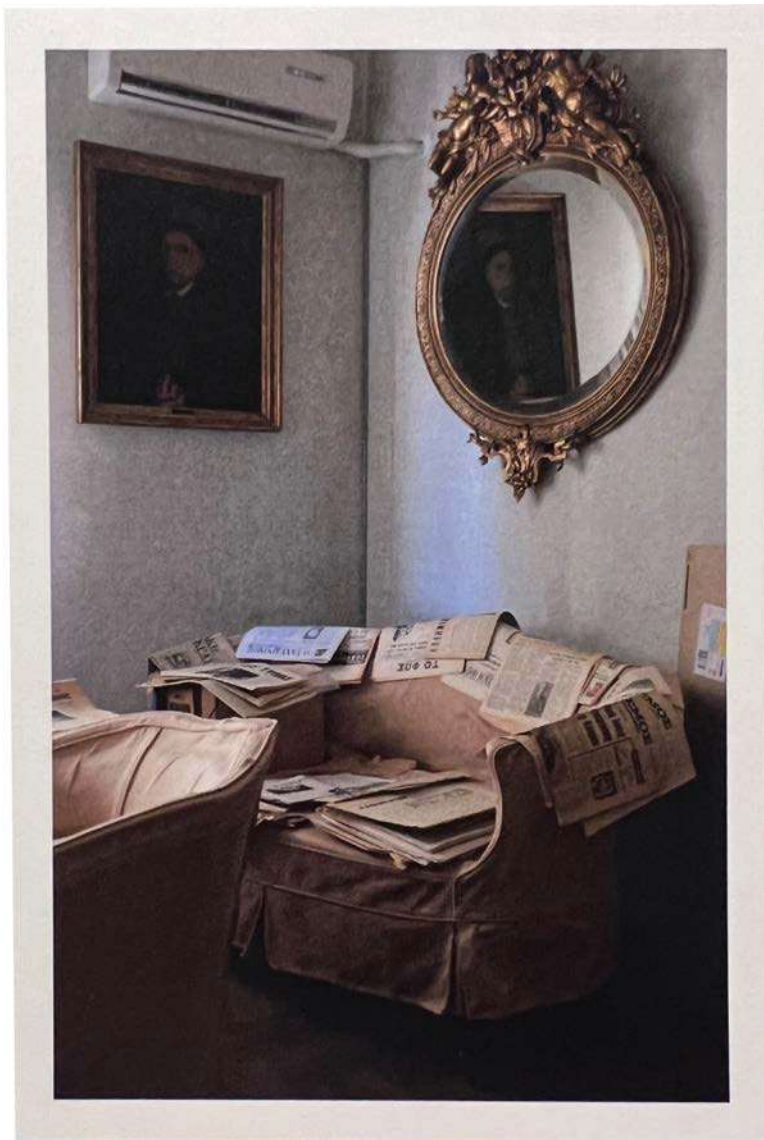
*The age of exploration has come to an end and Odysseus has nowhere to travel. Penelope is also at home, she can continue with the act of sightseeing, or else tourism. She has been training, like everybody else, for years; always in ultimate destination. Her home, her palace, an archive of travels, where travelling began and the writing commands the stories. She has been collecting gifts, objects and mostly stories, from her husband's travels, from the suitors, even from the maidens who went outside the palace now and then. Penelope has been arranging these gifts in promiscuous and fanciful ordering, covering every available surface of the interior. On tables, on chairs, on shelves, on the floor, intimate conversational groupings, other lined up next to each other, in parade style, or faced off as in battle, weaving her travel stories.*





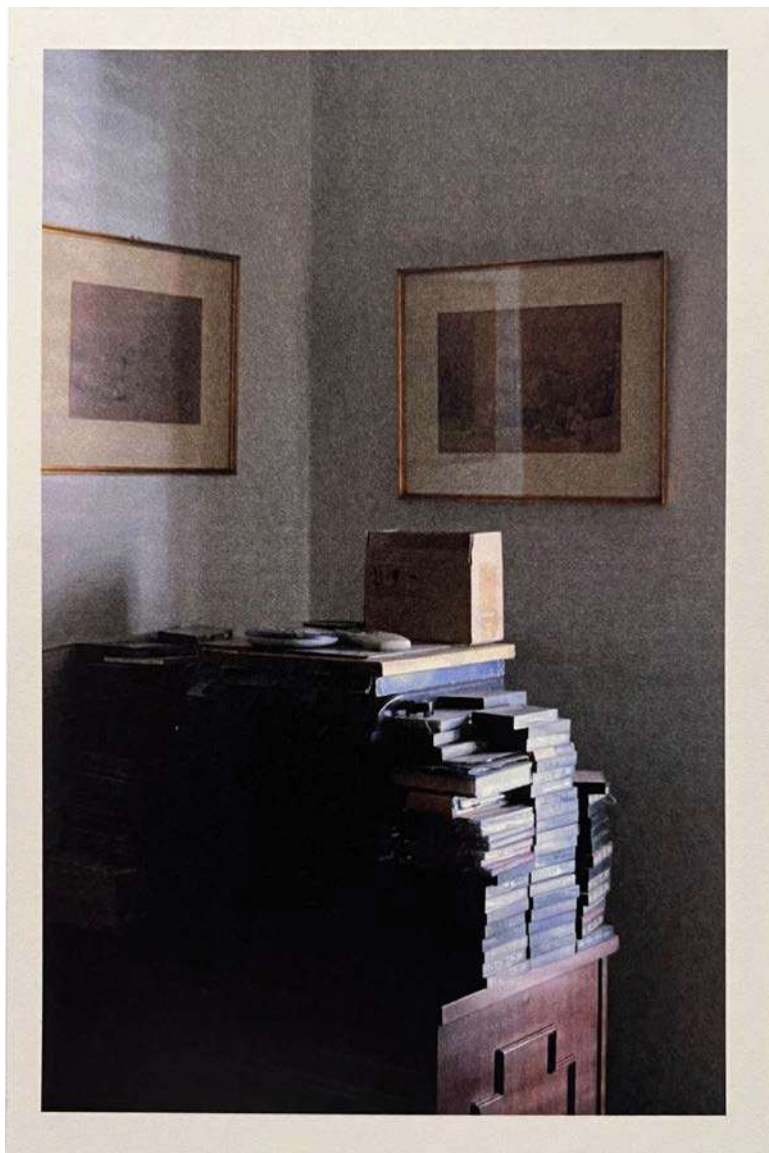
*Unworthy of logos. Penelope's logos is another logos. A word that does not respect highest values, because in the firmament of human greatness she speculates beyond the virtues of the conqueror, the owner, the master. Penelope's speech is astonishing because it is born from her own body, a happy body which is permeated by pleasures that are never acknowledged, even sometimes mocked. Penelope, listening to her body, feels all the voices of pleasure which her husband has probably condemned to silence. Penelope's stories are discussed among gifts, flaunting the pleasures associated with experiences external to and in love with life. In the ultimate destination, gifts are not evaluated on their value, but rather on their feature as unnecessary details, their possession demanding no love in return.*





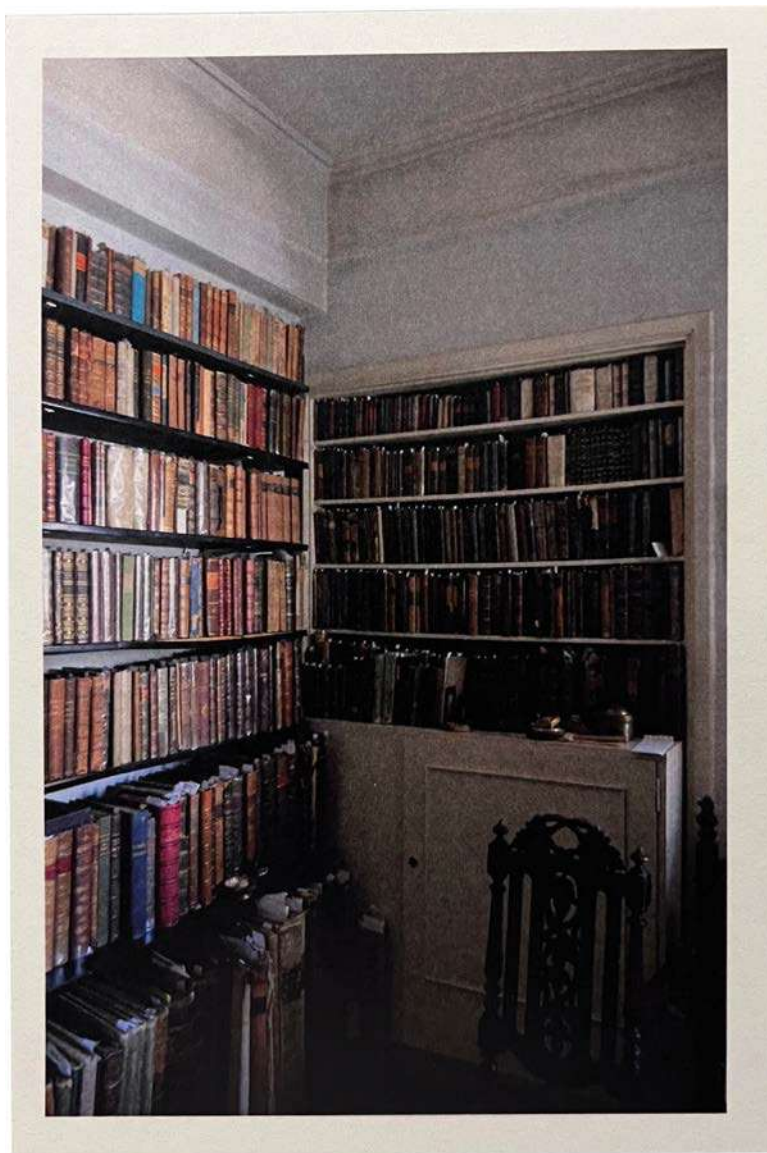
Penelope surrounds herself with phantoms, of distance and absence. The stories about her husband, of the lover, of the addressee, of the servants. Their stories, their gifts and their symbolic representatives adorn her palace. Although she is somewhat good-looking, Penelope, hangs mirrors on the walls, not to admire herself. After all, she is not Helene; Penelope, hangs the mirrors to amuse herself. The phantoms face themselves and each other, and their stories unfold and are told. And she will dare to speak back at them, and tell her story, claiming that this does not contradict the truth, but at the price of some yet inconceivable complication her story is real. Haunted stories may yet prove to have conceived the future. They are still in the fantastic archive of travels and her spirit is among them, devoted to their study. The scholar of the future.





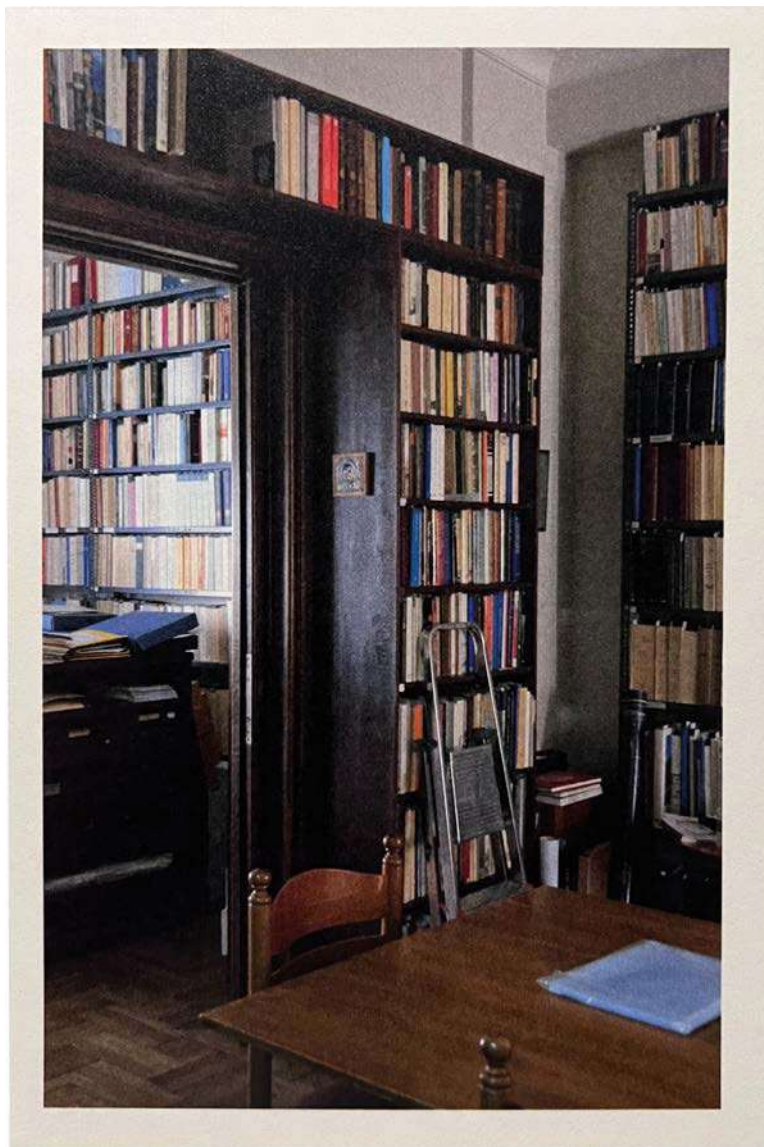
*Penelope's tale, overshadowed by her husband's adventures, is encoded in the shadows and haunted by phantoms. At noon, when the light is brightest, the epos permeates the world. When the sun is lower in the sky and the shadows are larger and more intense, the epos breaks into subtle travel narratives that are governed by the phantom's shadows. At dawn and sunset, Penelope spends her leisure time observing the shadow shapes change and the way they are projected onto different surfaces. She often has to deal with dirty soils. She unearths surfaces, that are smoother and do not reflect light well, ensuring that shadows appear quite sharp. At night she decodes the shadow games into delicate patterns and motifs, storing the phantom's shadows in geometric objects. Paintings, books and cassettes are all haunted media, scattered stories from the epos.*





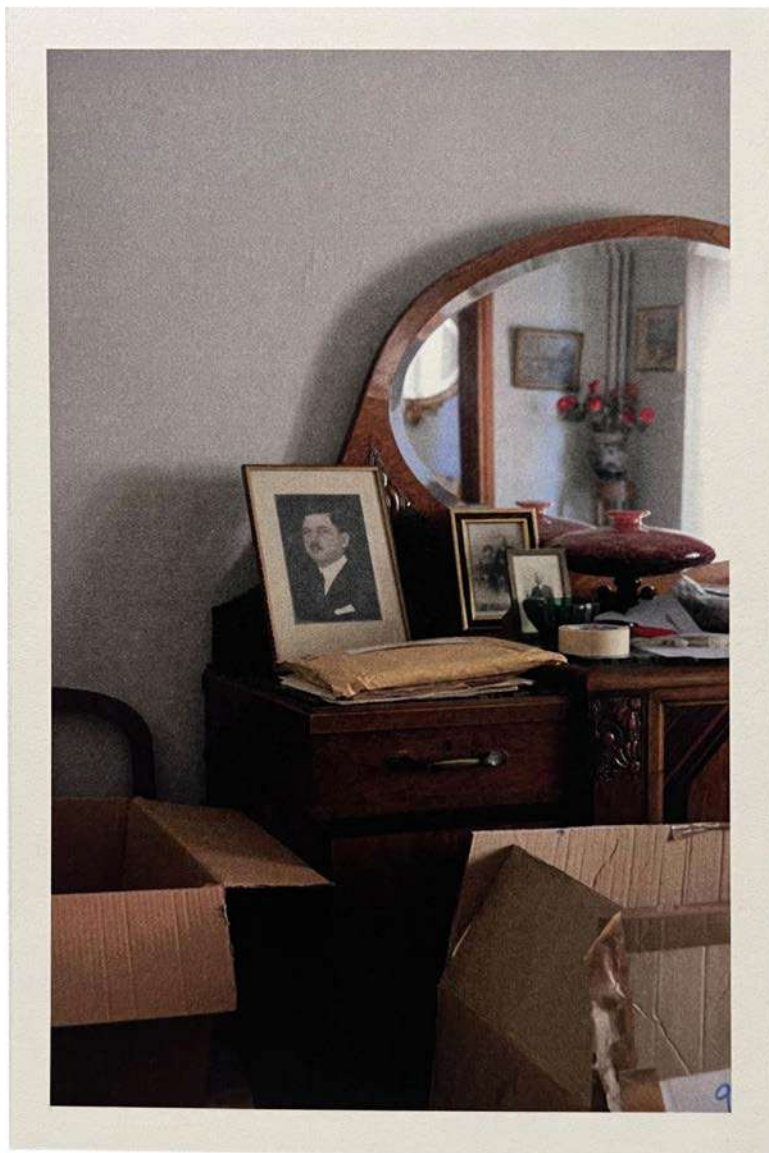
*There is a room in the palace where Penelope faithfully keeps all precious gifts. She is devoted to rearranging them from time to time, according to time, place, authorship, theme, subject, structure, style, mood or sender. She does not succumb to any specific constraint. She follows any exhortation to imitate, countless references, and speculative visions. On the basis of this activity, a long-term relationship is cultivated with a belief in possibility of stories that will be told and journeys that will be undertaken. The unwavering, non-negotiable, firm, touching faith in rearranging her gifts unfolds either as voluntary deceit, imaginary actuality or lack of an actual counterpart, so that what is absent is represented not by the ancient gesture, a cry, but by the future gesture of a laughter, as happens upon hearing a good story or experiencing travels.*





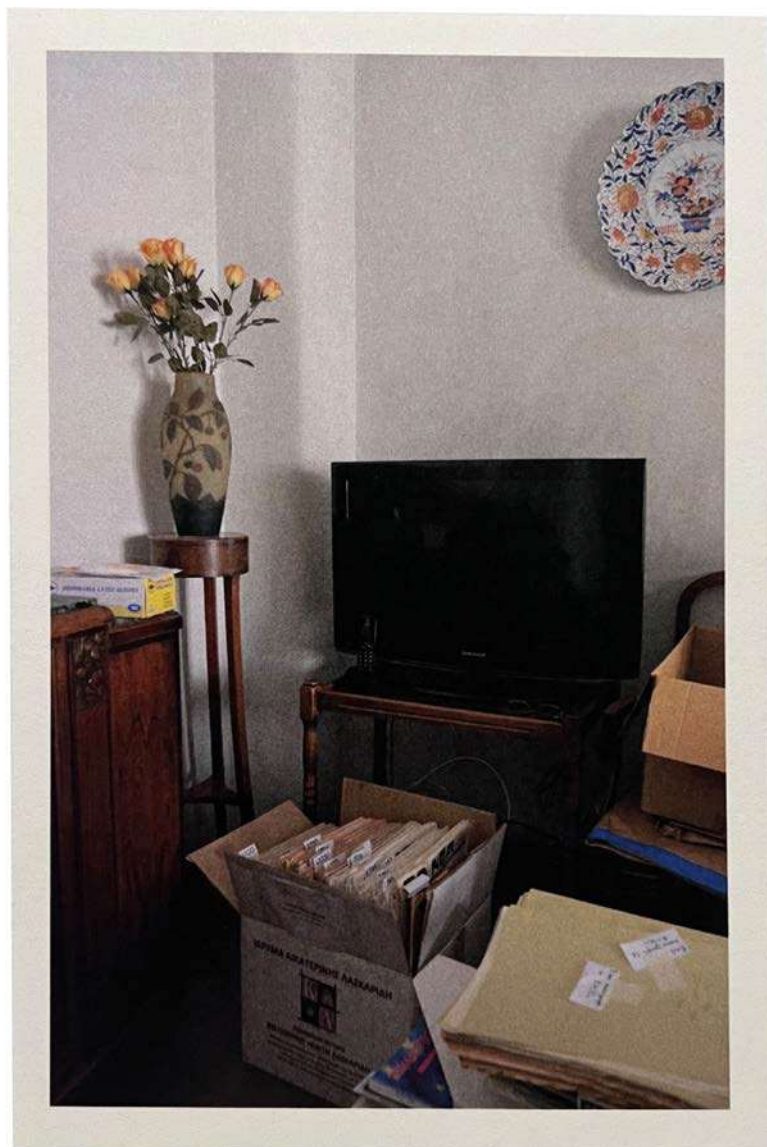
*But there is also a messy room in the palace- a room of her own, where Penelope exhibits her strange behaviours while hosting the most inappropriate, controversial gifts, tales and artifacts. She spends hours there, experimentally rearranging her collections to strike a delicate balance, crafting intricate twists and turns, seasoning her narratives, yet never too much. This room serves as the face of her demystification, a place dominated by ambivalence, where her own authorities and assumptions are being called into question. Disputes and challenges fill the air, yet this ambivalence fosters the existence of this room- a room where no guests are welcome, not even her husband. Nevertheless, Penelope is convinced; the maidens enter the room and mess up her careful arrangements. Despite her discomfort at this intrusion, she amuses herself with the paraphrases of her stories.*





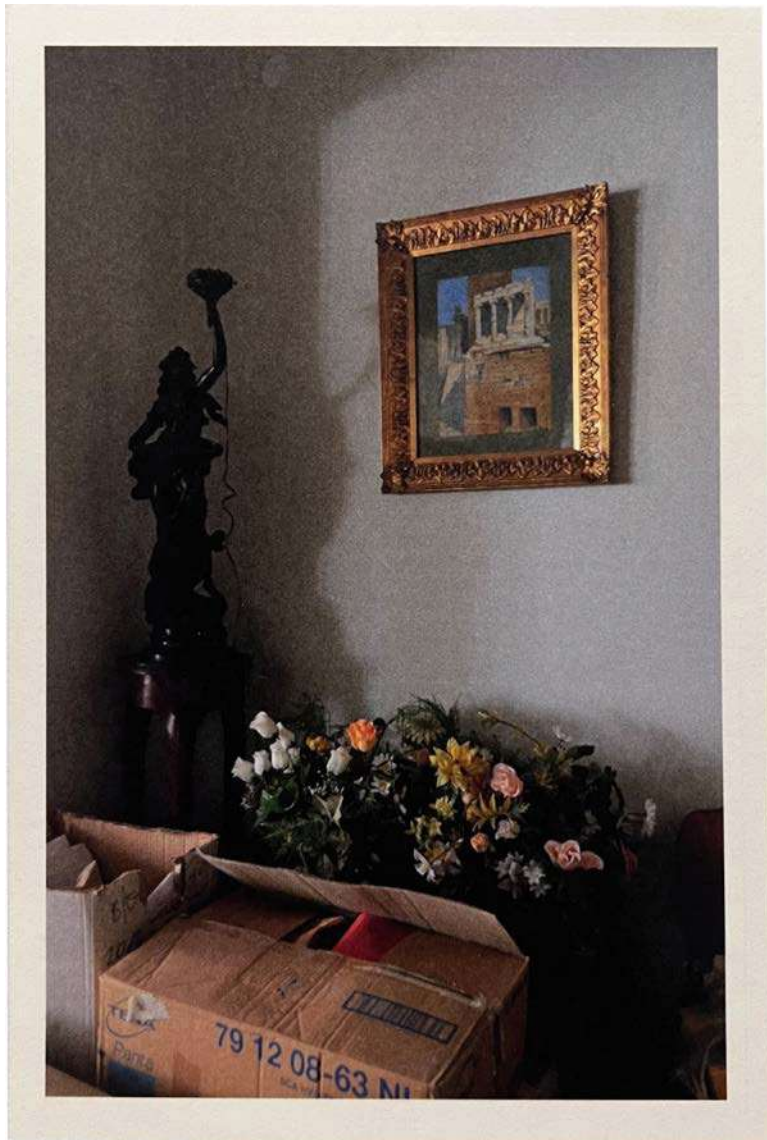
*Penelope likes to surround herself with beautiful things. They inspire her to invent delicate patterns for her fabrics. She is particularly attracted by ornaments that contain the unnecessary details of love plots to compose vivid stories, such as photos of people she loves or people in love, fresh flowers, carefully crafted furniture, or unexpected reflections of sunbeams pointing at the cover of her favourite magazine. Though she is bound to suffer naughty gossip about them, she does not just display beautiful things to provoke confusion, but rather dances around them with her maidens, even with some friendly suitors, to enjoy the movement of her body. The love plot unfolds inevitably to the rhythm of life, which does not necessarily involve sexual intercourse. She is making the case of the attraction.*





*Penelope has spent hours weaving. She has mastered all techniques and tricks around the loom. She and her maidens have enjoyed the labour of weaving everything for their needs, spending time and thought together till dawn. But now the technology has progressed and there are no more needs, only desires. In the abundance of things and stories, they share their leisure time unravelling fabrics, their patterns and motifs. Sometimes, as they unravel the thread, they are mostly amused when they encounter a mistake, a loose spot or a knot. These are signs of a laugh or a cry, sparking new stories to be told. Nowadays, they only weave new stuff to represent their desires, their quests, and they don't have to finish them either, they are full of loose spots and knots. Unlearning the technique, they fall for chance. They are ready to take a vacation by falling asleep.*





*Penelope and her maidens have not travelled much, yet their lives are infused in the most epic of journeys. Their palace is filled with tokens of truth-bearing lies and they are destined in narrating travel stories. The other story, which has not escaped oral composition and is scattered within the genre of travel writing. It is rooted in repetition. Each day, they weave travel stories only to unravel them at night, embodying the essence to retell them all over again the next day. The rhythm of their narrative retains the essence of home and the sense of belonging to a place. Perhaps this is the story of tourists, who do not need to wander around the world in search of the lost identity. It is the story of the ultimate destination concerned with the other that contains every lost object of desire. It is composed as a joke that captures desire and keeps distance from it. The real thing is the laugh.*





*A future gesture. I thought, as I gradually gained control of my senses: Penelope did this too. Twice: you don't weave all day and undo it all through the night; you take breaks and gossip with your maidens, and along towards dawn and sunset, when the shadows are more vivid, it all at once takes possession of your sides, your mouth, your veins, your eyes, your countenance, suddenly you burst into laughter; it is not rationally explicable. And I thought, as I gradually gained control of my senses, this is a future gesture, original, an unexpected glimpse into the unconscious, like a dream, a potent source of information. Ulysses did this too. But only once, inwardly, as a gesture, which implied a kind of triumph. He will learn it from Penelope...Not as a sign of character weakness as the suitors do. Penelope who really laughs, has the capacity to recognize and attempt to enter into a dialogue with forms of intelligence other than her own.*







