

ORIENTALISM AND NOSTALGIA
IN BRITISH TRAVEL WRITING ON THE BALKANS

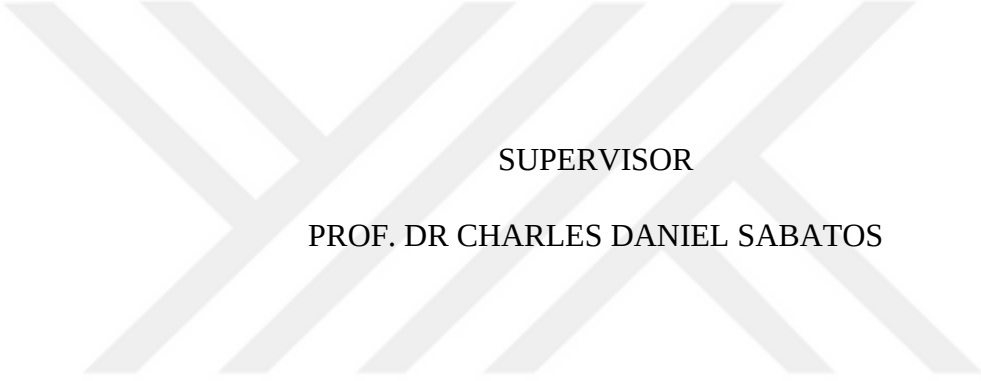


HALUK IHSAN TALAY

YEDITEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
İSTANBUL, 2022

ORIENTALISM AND NOSTALGIA
IN BRITISH TRAVEL WRITING ON THE BALKANS

HALUK IHSAN TALAY



SUPERVISOR
PROF. DR CHARLES DANIEL SABATOS

SUBMITTED TO GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
IN
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

YEDITEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
ISTANBUL, 2022

PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Date: 01.12.2022

Name/Surname: Haluk Ihsan TALAY

ÖZET

Bu tezin temel amacı, özel olarak Patrick Leigh Fermor'un *A Time of Gifts* (1977), *Between the Woods and Water* (1986) and *A Broken Road: From the Iron Gates to Mount Athos* (2013) isimli kitaplarından oluşan gezigünlüğü üçlemesinde ve Georgina Harding'in *In Another Europe: A Journey into Romania* (1990) isimli gezigünlüğünde gözlemlenen oryantalist ve nostaljik durumları incelemek ve bu İngiliz yazarlar tarafından yansıtılan ulusal ve toplumsal imgelere yorum yapmaktır. Bu çalışma temel olarak Edward Said, Andre Gingrich ve Maria Todorova gibi isimlerin oryantalizm teorilerine ek olarak, Joep Leerssen'in imagoloji teorisi ve Svetlana Boym'in nostalji teorilerini kullanmaktadır. Bununla beraber bu tez, imagolojik örnekler vererek ve bu imgelerin yaptığı katkıları belirterek ilgili eserlerdeki oryantalist durumların altını çizmek ve bu koşulların nostaljik durumlar ile nasıl etkileşime geçtiğini gözlemlemek amacındadır. Bahsedilen oryantalist durumlar, iki dünya savaşı arasındaki dönemdeki ve Soğuk Savaş'ın son dönemindeki koşulları göz önünde bulundurarak incelenmektedir ve çeşitli milletler tarafından üretilen imgelerin bu oryantalist ve nostaljik anlatılara nasıl katkıda bulunduğuna vurgu yapılmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: İngiliz Gezi Yazıcılığı, İmagoloji, Patrick Leigh Fermor, Nostalji Oryantalizm,

ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this thesis is to examine the orientalist and nostalgic conditions as well as images reflected in British travel writers, specifically in Patrick Leigh Fermor's travel trilogy consisting of *A Time of Gifts* (1977), *Between the Woods and Water* (1986) and *A Broken Road: From the Iron Gates to Mount Athos* (2013), and briefly in Georgina Harding's *In Another Europe: A Journey into Romania* (1990). This work mainly utilizes theories regarding orientalism such as those of Edward Said, Andre Gingrich and Maria Todorova, in addition to Joep Leerssen's theory of imagology and Svetlana Boym's theories of nostalgia. Furthermore, this thesis aspires to underline the orientalist conditions in the said works, by providing imagological examples that support these conditions and how they interact with nostalgic conditions felt or observed by authors. The orientalist conditions are handled in correlation with the conditions of the interwar period and the end of the cold war while the images reproduced by various peoples are underlined as contributing factors for both orientalist and nostalgic discourses.

Keywords: British Travel Writing, Imagology, Patrick Leigh Fermor, Nostalgia, Orientalism

To my precious family and my best friend, as always.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr Charles Daniel SABATOS for his everlasting support, guidance and contributions to not only this thesis but to my academic works as a whole. Without his contributions, this thesis could not come to fruition and I will be forever grateful for all his meticulous evaluations, comments and criticism.

Also, I would like to express my sincerest thanks to my parents Gülşen TALAY and Ismail TALAY who continuously supported my education ever since I was a little kid. Without their unconditional support and love, not only this thesis but my educational journey would be rendered impossible.

Lastly, I would like to thank my dearest friend İlayda GARİP, who continuously supported me to pursue this journey ever since we met. I will be forever thankful to her for her unending support and friendship.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	ix
Table of Contents.....	x
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER ONE.....	12
1.1.Orientalism, Frontier Orientalism and Balkanism.....	12
1.2. Orientalist, Frontier Orientalist and Balkanist Discourses in Patrick Leigh Fermor’s and Georgina Harding’s Works.....	22
CHAPTER TWO.....	43
2.1 New Historicism, Imagology and the Image of the Turk.....	43
2.2 Image of the Turk Observed and Reproduced in Leigh Fermor And Georgina Harding.....	56
CHAPTER THREE.....	73
3.1 Restorative, Reflective and Refractive Nostalgic Conditions.....	73
3.2 Patrick Leigh Fermor’s Orient and Byzantium.....	84
CONCLUSION.....	99
REFERENCES.....	104

INTRODUCTION

I can't remember under what mountainous
eiderdown or in what dank cell I slept the night.

- Patrick Leigh Fermor

It certainly wasn't an easy journey for Patrick Leigh Fermor, to traverse the majority of continental Europe on foot at the age of 18, especially after the horrors of the First World War and the disaster looming in the future. This adventure or the idea to begin this arduous travel, however, was not unique to Patrick Leigh Fermor, in fact, it was fed by a great tradition of British travellers and travel writers, hatching from the shell of their island into a much broader world. The tradition of travelling as a journey that develops one's character is of course nothing new. *The Iliad*, *The Odyssey* and non-European legends such as *The Epic of Gilgamesh* are among the first examples of literary texts that incorporate travelling as a form of self-development and growth of one's character. This approach to travelling is a common theme that we can observe in the majority of travelling writing. In modern and pre-modern Europe, on the other hand, we can observe that travelling and writing about travels was not only an element of one's fashioning their own characters, but it also was an opportunity to explore the terra incognita. Specifically for Britain, it was a means to overcome the channel that separated it from the rest of Europe and experience the complex social and political conditions in Europe, a diverse continent with various ethnicities, cultures and civilizations. Additionally, it not only shaped the imaginary boundaries of Britain but also influenced the major perspectives regarding Europe as a continent, together with its geography, culture and boundaries. Certainly, the majority of Patrick Leigh Fermor's idea of travelling not only in Europe but traversing into the actual Orient itself was influenced by a number of great British travel writers. After all, it was not a coincidence that Patrick Leigh Fermor was imagining Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu under a tree, with a somewhat Turkish dress, reading Homer. While it is possible to argue that Lady Montagu was among the pioneers that fed the idea of a journey into the Orient with her *Turkish Embassy Letters* (1763), it would be unfair to claim that she was the only one that influenced these ambitious travel writers. Lordy George Byron, for example, not only changed British poetry with his skills, but it also created a new perspective for future British

travellers with his works such as *Don Juan* (1819), fuelling the desire to experience and observe the Orient. While his remarks and descriptions regarding this close Orient and its unique way of life were influential, it was Robert Byron who stoke up the flames of philhellenic tradition with his *The Station* (1928), creating a pathway with his descriptions of Byzantine legacy and Greek monasteries, for future travel writers like Patrick Leigh Fermor.

Born during the First World War, an 18-year-old Patrick Leigh Fermor started his journey in December 1933, deciding to walk from the Hook of Holland to Constantinople, only with a couple of clothing items, some letters and a volume of Horace. His memories regarding the beginning point of his journey, the Netherlands were often coupled with the sad fate that befell the entire continent in the following years, in consideration of the fact that Leigh Fermor actually started to write about his journey to Constantinople much later than the actual dates of his travels. When he started to write the first book of his trilogy, in accordance with the diaries his younger self had written, *A Time of Gifts* (1977), he wasn't a young man travelling idly across Europe, instead, he had seen the horrors of the Second World War, even actively participating at it on certain occasions. His reimagination of the journey he took when he was younger, often reflected his ideas as an old man, especially at the second stop of his journey, Germany. In 1933, he witnessed a glimpse of the Nazi Party's rise to power in Germany. Unbeknownst to him at the time, many of the places he visited would be destroyed in less than a decade, and many of the people he befriended on his journey would be slain in the war, if not lucky enough to survive. His memories regarding Western Europe were brief, compared to his remarks regarding the rest of his journey. After Germany, he traversed into the Austrian territory in early 1934. Austria, especially Vienna, represented the previous political and long-standing imaginary border between the West and the East. In Vienna, he not only had the chance to observe the impact that the Turkish sieges left the city with, but he also actively participated in those sieges by reimaging them in the very place where they occurred. This initial contact with the Orient was one of the many that dazed Leigh Fermor, which would further shape his views regarding the definition of the Orient, its borders and its cultural influence still present in continental Europe. His visit to Vienna was followed by his journeys into Slovakia and Czechia which was his first contact with the Slavic world. Subsequently, Leigh Fermor

entered into the marches of Hungary, crossing the historical frontier between the East and the West and entering into the Orient's historical sphere of influence. His travels in Slovakia and Hungary were filled with historical reimaginings of the past and present peoples of the region. While he could see Hunnic horse archers stampeding in Hungary, he was also closely observing these borderlands for their importance regarding the history of *Mitteleuropa*.

While the first book of his trilogy includes his travels from the Hook of Holland to Hungary, the second book, *Between the Woods and Water* (1986) marks his entry into the Balkan cultural sphere. The recounts regarding his journeys in Transylvania provide the audience with a significant representation of Eastern Europe during the interwar period, with its various ethnicities, cultures and peoples as well as its problems. Leigh Fermor spent most of his time in the region by hopping from one count's castle to another's, visiting and commenting on the important landmarks as well as cultural aspects of the region. As he travelled eastwards, the cultural remnants of the Orient only grew stronger, adjacent to the Byzantine heritage and the Orthodox lifestyle of the region. As he observed more and more of the Carpathians, he was getting aware of the fact that Eastern Europe differed from Western Europe regarding its history, culture and current condition during the interwar period. It was a common occurrence for him to meet a community of Romani or Hungarians living in Western Romania and of course, the Turks living on some remote island on the Danube in a time capsule, away from all the problems that troubled the modern world. His encounters with the Orient, of course, did not stop as he moved eastwards, getting ever closer to Constantinople, the main destination of this long journey. In the troubled region where the Balkans and Central Europe meet, he re-imagined the history of the region, Latins colonizing the Carpathians, Huns marching in from the steppes of north-western Europe and their cousins according to Leigh Fermor, the Turks, creating one of the most powerful forces in the history of the Orient and leaving their influence in the region, even after their Empire was destroyed. For Leigh Fermor, this area was an important one as not only it represents his very first step into the cultural sphere of the Orient, but it also enabled him to experience a different Europe, possessing cultural elements from the West, the Byzantines and the Ottomans. His travels in this region were, for the most part, haunted by the ever-living image of the Turk as a prominent cultural

factor as it is not possible to image the Orient from a Central European and Balkan point of view by excluding the element that created this exact perception of the Orient.

The last book of his trilogy, *A Broken Road: From the Iron Gates to Mount Athos* (2013) was an important addition to his trilogy as it not only concludes his journey from the Hook of Holland to Constantinople, it also provides greater insight to Leigh Fermor's inner world as a traveller. It was, indeed, a broken road as Leigh Fermor, after spending many years in Kardamyli, in his beloved Greece, passed away in England in the summer of 2011. The book was posthumously published and it was edited by Leigh Fermor's biographer Artemis Cooper and Colin Thubron. It continues Leigh Fermor's journey from Romania. He enters Bulgaria shortly after and he encounters more and more of the Orient and the Turk, but what is more important is that it is the last country before his final destination. In Bulgaria, he not only visits Orthodox monasteries but also experiences the rich cultural structure of the country, having the chance to spend some time with the Turks themselves. Not long after spending some time with Bulgarian shepherds and Greek fishermen, he enters the very home of the Oriental; Turkey. Interestingly, as he enters the Turkish domains, his journal entries grew few in numbers, to the point that there is no chapter dedicated to Istanbul in the last book of this trilogy. The absence of his remarks and comment regarding Istanbul, the final destination and the very reason for his journey surprises the audience. Istanbul, or Constantinople as he always referred to the city, was the main motivator for his journey as a means of re-inventing the Hellenistic Byzantine utopia. His nostalgia for a place he never lived in, never seen but always re-imagined, is shaken by the foundations upon acknowledging that, despite his wishes, the Byzantine heritage he was looking for was nowhere to be found in Istanbul. At this point, the influences of Robert Byron enter the picture and he decides to travel to Mount Athos in Greece where he partially fulfils his nostalgic dream even though even this remote region possesses heavy influence from the Orient.

While Georgina Harding is better known for her fictional works such as *Painter of Silence* (2012) or *Land of the Living* (2018), her *In Another Europe: A Journey To Romania* (1991) is an important travel text regarding the two states of the European Orient as it is possible to make a comparison between Leigh Fermor's Romania and Harding's Romania.

Harding started her journey to cycle from Vienna to Istanbul in the late 1980s and she provides a grim representation of the influence of the collapsing Eastern Bloc in Romania. This 50-year time gap between both representations signifies a grim change in the condition of the country. Leigh Fermor's remarks about Romania present the audience with a relatively stable country whereas Harding observes the harsh realities of its society. The two representations also have different closeness to Orient and to the West which was reflected by both Harding and Leigh Fermor.

One of the main purposes of this thesis is to examine the Orient itself, with its definitions, descriptions, cultural elements and significant changes through Leigh Fermor's trilogy and, briefly, Harding's books. The first chapter of the thesis discusses what we know about Orientalism by utilizing Edward Said's ideas provided in his *Orientalism* (1978). It further discusses the valid elements of as well as criticisms directed at Edward Said's account of orientalism and how applicable it is as a general concept for different interactions between the East and the West. For this purpose, it employs theories of various authors such as Andre Gingrich with his frontier orientalism and Maria Todorova with her balkanism. It aspires to underline the important elements provided by Said regarding the Orient and evaluate its applicability to other nations considered to be Orient. Edward Said's orientalism, while having strong arguments concerning the relationship between the Western and Eastern cultures, mostly focuses considers Arabic peoples as Oriental. While this has certain truths in it, various other authors pointed out the inapplicability of this approach to other regions as we can see from Leigh Fermor's remarks concerning the Oriental, namely the Turkish Orient. As such, Andre Gingrich provides another type of orientalism called frontier orientalism in his *Frontier Myths of Orientalism* (1998) and utilizes it for Central Europe. This type of orientalism provides a significant change in the manner of its subjected oriental as Leigh Fermor's remarks underline the fact that Oriental was a threatening force in Central Europe. This approach seems much more suitable for the condition of Central Europe as a frontier between Western civilization and the Oriental threat. Accordingly, the Orient presented by Leigh Fermor is not a distant one and it has a different definition than the one argued by Said, as it is not a weak force. Furthermore, Maria Todorova's *Imagining the Balkans* (1997), examines the intercultural relationships in the Balkans, which Leigh Fermor spends a decent amount of time during his travels.

While we can observe that Gingrich's theory of orientalism is much more applicable to Central Europe, Todorova's balkanism is more suitable to the Balkans as Leigh Fermor comments on the region as being a crossroads between various cultures and ethnicities, having heavy influences from both the West, Russia and the Oriental Turks. In a similar fashion, Georgina Harding's work is also briefly examined under the light of Maria Todorova's balkanism, as Harding presents her audience with a Romania riddled by internal strife, poverty and even hunger.

Furthermore, the creation of different perceptions regarding the Orient and how they are represented in cultural materials is closely related to one important factor; the national images that create the perception of the Orient. This prominent image regarding the Orient appears to have the form of the image of the Turk in Leigh Fermor's work as it was one of the dominant cultural elements in both Central Europe and the Balkans. The otherness of the image of the Turk can best be explained by Joep Leerssen's theory of imagology, a science which examines, analyses and discusses the origins, developments and changes of national images produced and reproduced by various societies. The image of the Turk in this regard is definitely an old one, which in its course, mixed and merged with other images attributed to the various historical Others of Europe. This very image becomes one of the most important elements that change Leigh Fermor's perception regarding the places he travels, as he encounters the remnants of the old Turkish empire quite often. This image and the Oriental discourse it is utilized to produce, appear to have a unique position with Europe's relationship with the East as not only it did not rise to prominence during the colonial era, as it was the case with most of the images regarding the Others, it was, in a sense, as old as the idea of Europe itself. The idea of Europe, as a Christian civilization, or Europeans' auto-image regarding themselves, is dependent on the image of the other since it is not possible to create self-images without first comparing them with the images of others. Underlining similar and different aspects regarding both enables societies to fashion themselves, as Greenblatt uses the phrase, an identity. The dichotomy between these two identities, namely a Christian European one and a barbarian Oriental is reflected quite frequently in Leigh Fermor's works as he reimagines the Asiatic hordes destroying and pillaging their way across the previous Byzantine realms. While much has been said about the image of the Turk in Western

Europe, a region that is somewhat distant from the Turkish realms, it is possible to argue that the relationship between this image and how it is perceived in Central Europe and the Balkans, regions actually ruled by the Turks for a significant period of time as opposed to being a distant one, is still a flourishing topic. The discussions regarding the relationship between these regions and the image attributed to their primary Other is important as they would allow further discussions regarding the national identities and historical perceptions of the nations located in the said regions. Additionally, having a different primary image of the Other from Western Europe opens up new possibilities to discuss what Orientalism means for these nations, as quite clearly they have different histories than the Western colonial powers.

While the second chapter discusses the importance of this image of the Turk regarding localized Orientalism that can be encountered in Central Europe and the Balkans, the third chapter of the work takes a more personal turn towards Leigh Fermor's motivations for this journey. As a person fascinated with the Hellenic culture and Byzantine heritage, Leigh Fermor's nostalgic feelings towards this utopian Oriental society are examined in accordance with the relevant localized forms of orientalism and the strong existence of the image of the Turk. Svetlana Boym's opinions on the nostalgic condition can be utilized to shed light on Leigh Fermor's own position regarding his nostalgia. While being a philhellenic author, it can be observed that the nostalgia which fuelled his quest to unearth the long-lost Byzantine heritage of the East, is not safe from being influenced by the existing image of the Turk. The orientalist condition observed in the Balkans as well as the prominent image of the Turk haunts Leigh Fermor's nostalgic feelings towards Byzantium and the very destination of his journey, Istanbul. Leigh Fermor's nostalgic feelings which partially stem from recent destructions caused by the First World War are arguably contributors to his search for a better, more peaceful and open Orient. However, as he travels eastwards, he appears to realize that his restorative approach to the Byzantine empire starts to lose its balance as he observes more and more of the Orient and the Oriental, namely the Turk. As his nostalgic feelings become more distorted, he acknowledges a bitter conclusion to his quest in Istanbul; the Byzantium he was looking for is gone. This initial failure in his quest to "return home" does not discourage Leigh Fermor however, as there is one more place he has to search for this ideal utopia. It is only

in Mount Athos, a secluded monastic region in Northern Greece, that Leigh Fermor is able to quench his nostalgia to some degree. The Byzantine heritage that is still lingering in the many monasteries of Mount Athos, partially thanks to its isolation from the rest of the world, is ultimately the thing that provides Leigh Fermor rest. However, this Byzantine heritage is not a pure Hellenistic ideal as it is strongly influenced by these Oriental conditions and the image of the Turk, securing their place in the common heritage of the Orient, which Leigh Fermor happily accepts and embraces.

The introductory chapter of this thesis briefly talks about the British tradition of travel writing, as well as summarises the subject works of Patrick Leigh Fermor and Georgina Harding. Furthermore, it aims to briefly explain the theoretical background that the chapters of this thesis discuss the literary works with. Edward Said's, Andre Gingrich's and Svetlana Boym's understandings regarding the oriental condition provide ample opportunity to discuss the application of these theories in a broader sense. While Said's orientalism is mostly focused on Western colonial powers, Andre Gingrich emphasizes the orientalist discourse in Central Europe and Maria Todorova analyses the same in the Balkans which appear to have significant differences. As a supportive element for these orientalist discourses, the prominent images regarding the Others of the said regions, on which their identity was partially self-fashioned, and imagological science which examines these specific images, are prominent for such discourses. The image of the Turk, being one of the most influential elements that drive these orientalist discourses both in Central Europe and the Balkans, is also influential on nostalgic feelings that people have regarding the idealized past versions of these regions as both imagology and nostalgia looks into the past to observe the future, despite the fact that they have different purposes, motivations and methods. The nostalgic condition, in this regard, is not only influenced by the past historical events that actually occurred but it is also affected by our discourses regarding these incidents, and the images, both positive and negative that we produce for relevant nostalgic objects.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1.Orientalism, Frontier Orientalism and Balkanism

In this first chapter of my thesis, I will attempt to read Patrick Leigh Fermor's and Georgina Harding's travelogues from an Orientalist perspective, in addition to its recent regional and local variations. After giving a brief history of the relationship between the East and West, I will make an attempt to define the borders and frontiers between the East and the West according to Leigh Fermor's remarks and observations as well as to the conditions of the interwar period in Europe. This chapter will rely on various theories and commentaries concerning the relationship between the East and the West, especially Edward Said's Orientalism, Andre Gingrich's frontier Orientalism and Maria Todorova's Balkanism. Theories under discussion will be explained in detail, comparing and contrasting the differences and similarities between these closely related yet different opinions. By questioning the concept of the Orient, I will inquire whether the existing opinions and ideas concerning the Orient are suitable to comment on and read Leigh Fermor's remarks concerning the East, its culture, history and peoples and their relationship with their Western counterparts. Furthermore, this chapter will focus on and examine the elements of the orientalist, frontier Orientalist and the balkanist discourses that can be found in Leigh Fermor's works, underlining specific instances where the said theories are suitable or unsuitable to apply.

In 1933, Patrick Leigh Fermor started his journey to walk to Istanbul from the Hook of Holland. The first book regarding his travels, *A Time of Gifts – On Foot to Constantinople: From the Hook of Holland to the Middle Danube*, was first published in 1977. In the second book of his trilogy, *Between the Woods and the Water – On Foot to Constantinople from the Hook of Holland: the Middle Danube to the Iron Gates*, which was published in 1986, Leigh Fermor describes his journey from South Eastern Czechoslovakia to the borders of Bulgaria. Unfortunately, Leigh Fermor passed away before publishing the last book of his trilogy, *The Broken Road – Travels from Bulgaria to Mount Athos*, which was posthumously published in 2013 in accordance with his unfinished manuscript.

At first, this chapter will focus on Edward Said's concept of orientalism to examine Leigh Fermor's travelogue. As such, it will attempt to define, comment and discuss the Orient from the eyes of a British person during the interwar period in accordance with the Saidian orientalism, while questioning the applicability of the concept. Subsequently, as Leigh Fermor approaches Central Europe, the changes in his orientalist perspective will be commented on and again, the reality of Leigh Fermor's remarks will be compared with the Saidian orientalism. Furthermore, a relatively applicable concept, Andre Gingrich's frontier orientalism will be utilized to highlight Leigh Fermor's remarks on Central European countries such as Czechia, Slovakia, Hungary and Austria. As Leigh Fermor continues his journey eastward, a new approach will be acquired to talk specifically about the Eastern regions. Maria Todorova's concept of balkanism will be employed to analyse the conditions which Leigh Fermor encounters in the Balkans until he reaches the final destination of his journey, Istanbul. In this regard, special attention will be paid to Romania by comparing Leigh Fermor's remarks in the interwar period with another depiction from the late 1980s, Georgina Harding's *In Another Europe: A Journey to Romania* (1991). Harding's work will allow this chapter to further comment on the differences that occurred in the region between these 50 years, having suffered great blows in the Second World War and the subsequent Soviet influence. The chapter will conclude by evaluating the discussed topic, comparing and contrasting the different methods used to analyse the relevant regions and their applicability will be commented on.

In order to talk about the relationship between the East and West, one needs to at least, even if it is insufficient, broadly define what they mean by East and West. In addition to being navigational terms, these words and their older variants have been used to define specific geographical regions, their peoples, cultures, histories, religions, etc. However, in accordance with the existing literature, it is possible to broadly highlight the term West or Western as Europe or European, even in its primitive forms. Similarly, it is also possible to define East or Eastern as concepts which are, by nature, not European or as anything and everything that resides outside of what is defined as West or Western. There is a dichotomy or binary relationship between the said terms and the meanings they possess as Michel Foucault in his *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1966), concerning the linguistic process of designation, stresses:

That is, all designation must be accomplished by means of a certain relation to all other possible designations. To know what properly appertains to one individual is to have before one the classification – or the possibility of classifying – all others (Foucault, 2005, 138).

As such, it is possible to argue that a relation, even though a very loose one, between these two designations, namely the East and the West, must exist as it would not be possible to define one without the other. Similar to this binary linguistic association, the geographical regions, cultures, peoples, values and even behaviours attributed to one of the said terms must have a relation with the other or they must be placed in a relative position to the other. This distance or relative position between the said geographies and cultures can even be observed in ancient texts, in the form of comparisons between the said opposing concepts. The famous ancient Greek philosopher and doctor Hippocrates, in *On Airs, Waters and Places* compares and comments on the features attributed to what he considers as the West and the East and further contrasts them with his own identity:

I say, then, that Asia differs very much from Europe as to the nature of all things, both with regard to the productions of the earth and the inhabitants, for everything is produced more beautiful and large in Asia; the country is milder, and the dispositions of the inhabitants also are more gentle and affectionate (Hippocrates, Passage #12, Lines 5-9).

It is important to note that, this comparison between the East and the West (or as Hippocrates states; Europe and Asia), is one of the first definitions of the relevant regions, in which Hippocrates considers his own region, namely Greece, as Europe and Asia Minor or Anatolia as an Eastern or non-European country. He also comments on the peoples of the said regions, stating that the Asiatic (Eastern) race is weak and that because of their rules, are slaves rather than masters (Hippocrates, Passage #16, Line 11). In addition to the importance of this ancient definition and comparison, it is also worth noting that this perception regarding the definitions of the said regions endured the test of time and influenced our contemporary views regarding the same. The features of these two binary regions and the subsequent national, regional and religious images they produced will be discussed in great detail in the second chapter of this thesis, however, it is extremely

important to note that, for the sake of the argument, it is possible to observe this relationship between the East and the West in our most contemporary sources.

Edward Said's *Orientalism* is one of the most famous and influential works on the history of the relationship between the East and the West, from the early colonial era to Napoleon's conquest of Egypt, from the very first modern interactions between the Western Orientalists and local populations of the Orient. It is important for the purposes of this chapter to talk about Said's concept of Orientalism which stresses a significant and peculiar power relationship between the East and the West. In his work, *Orientalism* (1978), he defines what he means by the word Orientalism in a detailed manner:

Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient (Said, 2019, p. 3).

Accordingly, it is possible to argue that Said's notion of Orientalism is based on a strong and historical power relationship between the East and West, as it is required to be more powerful to rule, dominate and have authority over a certain geographical region, a society or a culture. Despite the fact that these two regions existed as opposing factors for each other for millennia, it is also possible to claim that Western Europe's dominance over the near Orient started with the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the Turks, interestingly another Oriental society which ruled over the Orient as well as parts of Europe for centuries. Said, however, greatly focuses on the relatively later interactions between the West and the East as he writes about a certain period of history in which the West had total dominance over the East, a region which Said defines in accordance with its historical definition utilizing the works of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Byron and others (Said, 2019, p. 31). Said further comments on the power relationship between the East and the West and argues that, historically, Europe had always had the stronger hand and thus dominated the East (Said, 2019, p. 40). At this stage, it is crucial to stress the fact that what Said describes and defines as the West strictly applies to colonial Western powers such as England and

France and while the term Oriental can be applied to a variety of societies, in his work it is often used to describe the Arabic regions of the Near East. The relationship between these Western powers and Arab nations has historically been based on power, a power which the West had over the East and the regions that Said defines as, respectively, the strong and the weak partner (Said, 2019, p. 40).

Furthermore, while it is possible to apply this Saidian dichotomy of strong and weak partners to the regions, it is also possible and correct to argue that this theoretical approach is unfit for other nations that, today, we consider European or Western. The Slovak literary scholar and Indologist Robert Gafrik (2020) objects to the application of Said's structure of power between the East and West for different regions and argues: "Said's model of orientalism requires a united European, Western identity at the beginning of the history, which assumes an integral relationship between Ancient Greece and Modern Western Europe since Said sees modern imperialist Eurocentrism even in the oldest European texts" (Gafrik, 2020, p. 178). As he points out, countries such as Bulgaria in the Balkans and Slovakia in Central Europe which we can safely categorize as European today, were not in a position of power over the East, which suggests that while Said's notion of Orientalism may be applicable for the Western European nations, it loses its theoretical balance upon approaching the regions of the Balkans and Central Europe.

The Austrian anthropologist Andre Gingrich uses the term frontier Orientalism to describe the reversed-orientalist structure observed in Central Europe. While according to Said's notion of orientalism, Orientals are defined as gullible and weak individuals with weaker minds compared to Europeans (Said, 2019, p. 38), Gingrich (1996) proposes a different Oriental which is objectively more suitable for the history and cultures of Central Europe than Said's Oriental:

He rarely is a distant Muslim (except for his role on the other side of the Mediterranean); he is rarely a non-Muslim (except for his role as Jew and Slav), and he certainly is not primitive: with its folk and elite images, frontier orientalism quite clearly distinguishes (with the help of early academia) between the Oriental and the Primitive (Gingrich, 1996, p. 120).

There are important elements regarding Said's and Gingrich's Oriental. While Said's Oriental is a primitive, backward individual who cannot even imagine understanding a civilized European mindset, Gingrich's Oriental, being a mostly masculine individual, is far from being primitive, in fact, in most cases, he is a malicious threat as Gingrich comments on Austria: "Firstly, metaphors of the evil, dangerous Turk occur in small, local arenas as frequently and as intensively as they do in central areas of Austrian society" (Gingrich, 1996, p. 107). Thus Gingrich's Oriental has opposing features to Said's Oriental, as it is a menace to the integrity of the nation and, as a Muslim, is a threat to the Christian population. Gingrich also states that this Oriental is rarely a distant one, contrary to Said's Oriental which is on a completely different continent, at a position which, even if it wasn't primitive, cannot pose any threats to European civilization. Gingrich's Oriental on the other hand is just on the other side of the frontier, hence the name frontier orientalism. This, however, creates a problem as frontiers or borders, especially in the past, were not clearly defined lines on maps and the Oriental individual, at some point, as a result of recent developments, wars, conquests, etc. lived on both sides of the frontier.

Gingrich tackles this issue by proposing two different yet connected sets of Orientals, namely the Good Oriental and the *bad Oriental*. Gingrich states that while the *bad Oriental*, namely the Turk, lives on the other side of the border, the Good Oriental living on "our" side of the frontier, such as Bosnians, who "stood by us, as our brave and courageous servant, when our achievements were threatened by other dangerous forces" (Gingrich, 1996, p. 118). These two sets of Orientals have different functions than Said's Oriental. Whereas Said's Oriental is in need of civilization and is utilized for exploitation, Gingrich's Oriental, though a dangerous and threatening foe on the external side of the frontier, can also be a courageous ally in times of need. This transformation, according to Gingrich is achieved by being "...subjected to colonial control" (Gingrich, 1996, p. 119).

Additionally, there are also differences between Said's and Gingrich's European. While Said's West European is a powerful colonizer with great empires, it is not possible to say the same about Central European. The Czech Indologist Martin Hřibek (2011), concerning the Czech nation, highlights this difference and argues that they had no "hangover after the loss of an Empire", stressing the fundamental difference between

Central European nations and Western European nations with a colonial history (Hřibek, 2011, p. 46). The Habsburg Central European is not a dominating, oppressive force for the Orientals with their massive colonial empires, on the contrary, it has, historically, been subjected to absolutist Oriental rule. These local differences between how Western and Eastern people interact with each other, especially on the very frontier between their civilizations, signify that while the Saidian orientalism has significant valid arguments, it is not possible to use it as a metanarrative for all regions of the world, let alone all regions of a single continent as arguments proposed against the applicability of Said's orientalism are equally valid in accordance with the historical realities of the relevant regions.

Another important point to note regarding Said's notion of Orientalism and its inapplicability for certain regions is the complex region known as the Balkans. As previously stated, Saidian orientalism is applicable to Western European nations and has essential flaws when it comes to its applicability to Central European nations; however, it becomes even more problematic when the subject is Eastern Europe or the Balkans. While Central European nations had limited contact with the powerful Oriental force and were even subjugated to its rule for a certain period, the condition for Balkan countries are more severe than that, as some of them lived under Turkish rule for half a millennium. This prolonged exposure to Oriental rule was and still is a prominent element that shapes the cultures, histories and characters of Balkan nations which consisted of various ethnicities, religions and cultural factors with no sensible harmony. The Bulgarian historian Maria Todorova, in her famous *Imagining the Balkans* (1997), asserts that the Ottoman Empire was not able to create a strong sense of social solidarity between different social groups and states: "Not only was there no feeling of belonging to a common society but the population felt it belonged to disparate (religious, social, or other) groups that would not converge" (Todorova, 2009, p. 163).

Todorova highlights the fact that despite many objections, Said's Orientalism secured its place in academia (Todorova, 2009, p. 9). She also stresses that Said's description of the relationship between the East and the West, an "unbridgeable chasm" is different from the Balkans, as the Balkans "always evoked the image of a bridge or a crossroads (Todorova, 2009, p. 15). The term Balkanism, which Todorova utilizes to

explain the intercultural and crossroads condition in the Balkans, is quite different from orientalism: “Unlike orientalism, which is a discourse about an imputed opposition, balkanism is a discourse about an imputed ambiguity” (Todorova, 2009, p. 17). Additionally, she utilizes the definition of the process of balkanization offered by Paul Scott Mowrer, which provides a distinct comparison between the Balkans and the Western European nations:

The creation, in a region of hopelessly mixed races, of a medley of small states with more or less backward populations, economically and financially weak, covetous, intriguing, afraid, a continual prey to the machinations of the great powers, and to the violent promptings of their own passions (Todorova, 2009, p. 34).

It is also plausible to argue that the non-Europeanness of the Balkan nations arises from their close and prolonged contact with the Orient, namely the Turks. Todorova, in order to stress this difference, provides an example from one of the most influential Bulgarian literary works, Aleko Konstantinov’s *Bay Ganyo: Incredible Tales of a Modern Bulgarian* (1894): “They helped Bay Ganyo take off the Turkish cloak, he slipped on a Belgian mantle, and everybody decided Bay Ganyo was already a complete European.” For this, she argues that Konstantinov was critical of the “superficial mimicry of civilized behaviour without the genuine embrace of real values” (Todorova, 2009, p. 40). Accordingly, this definition of a modern Bulgarian, which the audience can consider as a metaphor for the average individual from the Balkans, signifies that there is an incompatibility between European and Oriental or Turkish values and character. In order to become a European, one needs to take off one’s “Turkish cloak”. Todorova suggests that the Balkans are placed just in the middle of this opposition, a region which has been influenced by various Western and Eastern elements, unable to or at least unable to decide whether it should take off its Oriental cloak and wear its newly founded, civilized European mantle. It is in this regard that the concept of balkanism and the balkanist conditions will be examined in the work of Patrick Leigh Fermor and Georgina Harding.

1.2.Orientalist, Frontier Orientalist and Balkanist Discourses in Patrick Fermor’s Works

The effects and the influences of the threat formerly posed by the Orientals and Turks towards Europe and Christendom are of course noticed by Patrick Leigh Fermor on his journey in the 1930s. At the beginning of his journey, his understanding of the Orient seems to have a similarity to the average British person, which is expected to be much closer to Said's understanding. Over the course of his travel, however, he comments on various Turkish buildings, traditional items or habits found in Central Europe and the Balkans. Some of the most important ones among them can be found in Vienna, the city which the Ottoman Empire had besieged at its peak, and where it was defeated by a unified Christian force. Upon entering Vienna, Leigh Fermor discusses how the Turks reached the city and states that he couldn't find any noticeable relic of the first siege of the city. However, he claims that the second siege, with its spoils, artefacts and historical remnants was compellingly laid out, stating that many historical weapons can be found in the museums of Vienna such as khanjars, yataghans, the turban of a janissary, brass crescents and flags (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 258). Such historical artefacts show that even though four centuries have passed, the threatening force of the Orient was embedded into the very core of the city, signifying that the people considered to be Orientals in this region, were not weak or primitive people in Said's description, who were required to submit to European civilization as Said claims, instead, its power was equal in comparison to their European counterparts, if not superior to them at certain points. A more suitable approach would be the account of Orientalism of Gingrich who writes and lives in Vienna. Vienna, as the westernmost point of the frontier between the Ottoman Empire and the West, provides a great deal of material to the audience to further comment on the Orientalism on the frontier and compare it to Orientalism as it is perceived in the West.

The presence of the Oriental threat is still remembered when Leigh Fermor was visiting the city. Accordingly, he re-imagines the situation of Vienna in a scenario in which the Orient perceived together with its ambition to expand westwards and Christendom was defeated, and states:

What if the Turks had taken Vienna, as they nearly did, and advanced westward? And suppose the Sultan, with half the east at hell, had pitched his tents outside Calais? A few years before, the Dutch had burnt a flotilla of men-of-war at

Chatham. Might St. Paul's, only half re-built, have ended with minarets instead of its two bell-tower and a different emblem twinkling on the dome? The muezzin's wail over Ludgate Hill? (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 260).

As it can be observed from the above-given passage, Leigh Fermor not only imagines a scenario in which the Ottomans were successful in their endeavour to conquer Vienna, but he re-imagines his own country as a land subjected to Oriental rule. Accordingly, Leigh Fermor's re-imagination of Europe as a subject of Muslim power enables us to comment on the differences between the classical notion of the Orient, and the Orient felt and expressed on the frontier which is in opposition with Said's *Orient and Oriental*. Furthermore, it would be reasonable to argue that imagining Europe as a region subjugated by the natives of some remote island on the Atlantic, would be considered a geographical, economic and social fiction. On the other hand, the threat and imminent danger that the Turks posed to Europe, especially to Central Europe and the Balkans, were quite real and catastrophic. In this regard, it is possible to argue that the Turks and the Orient from which they came into Europe, are much more powerful, cunning and mighty than the characteristics of the Orientals argued by Said, threatening the very being of European civilization. On the other hand, it is also possible to argue that Vienna was the easternmost point of Europe and its civilization, and what lay behind it, was influenced by the Orient more than it was influenced by the West. Accordingly, the Orient as Leigh Fermor continues to explain, starts itself right at the historical frontier, with Turkish artefacts and buildings.

It is also revealed that the Oriental threat does not only consist of the Turks, as Leigh Fermor and his friend Istvan are having a conversation in Transylvania about the outside forces that threaten Central Europe and the Balkans. Istvan then claims that the Tatars are even worse than the Turks, and much has been done to protect the region against them (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 159). Arguably, the threat that the Orient pose to various regions of Europe belongs to the nomadic hordes of the East which include all the Eastern invaders in addition to the Turks, such as Tartars, Mongols and historically the Huns. Furthermore, this provides yet another opportunity for the audience to think about the actual meaning of the word "Orient" and who are the Orientals in consideration of the

history of the relevant regions. While Said is correct in that the relationship between the major powers of Europe and their respective “Orientals” has been a relationship between the master and the slave, the latter being the Orientals, the condition on the frontier is quite different, especially in consideration of the fact that the nations and peoples located on the frontier between the West and East, were in the position of the subject, in their relationship with the Orientals, consisting of various Eastern ethnicities and peoples.

The relationship with the *bad Oriental* is emphasized more strongly in another historical event in addition to the siege of Vienna. The fall of Constantinople is without a doubt one of the most important events concerning the interactions between the East and the West. Accordingly, Leigh Fermor comments on the fall of the city which he imagines to be the jewel of the pure and prosperous Orient, implying that the fall of the city is quite alive in the memory of the region and states:

But, except for some brave Genoese, no help came and John's brother Constantine XI, still a Uniat – though a reluctant one, it would seem - fell fighting in the melee when the Turks stormed and captured the city. 'The distress and fall of the last Constantine', Gibbon says, 'are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Caesars' (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 187).

The defence against the Turks, namely the Oriental invaders, then, marks a significant point for the memory of a Westerner as it is possible to draw a parallel between the fall of Constantinople and the siege of Vienna, as both events signify the impending threat posed by the Oriental to the Western civilization and subsequent victories and defeats are highlighted and emphasized as important parts of the struggle against the Orient to protect and safeguard the Western civilization. Furthermore, it can be argued that the Byzantine Empire, for Leigh Fermor, signifies the pinnacle of the Western civilization which was lost to the Oriental Turks, an event whose repetition was prevented at the siege of Vienna. In that regard, it is also possible to argue that the Byzantine Empire and its remnants present a kind of historical nostalgia for Leigh Fermor, as the main goal of his journey from the Hook of Holland to Constantinople, is to observe the beauty and the supposed pinnacle of the East, which also explains his refusal to use the city's then formal name, Istanbul.

In Hungary, after Vienna, the so-called border of the Orient, Leigh Fermor visits a little hamlet called Szentendre, which provides useful details for the audience to conceptualize the Orient Leigh Fermor was defining and describing which is suitable to examine with Gingrich's Frontier Orientalism. Leigh Fermor claims that the townsfolk were of Serbian descent who fled to Hungary to escape from the Turks, still speaking Serbian and practising Greek Orthodoxy (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 26). The homeland of these Serbs who fled west is included in the Orient and this little anecdote also signifies the condition of the Orient as a not-so-homogenous region, in which one may encounter various peoples from Eastern Europe, living in different countries and practising various religious beliefs. Leigh Fermor further remarks on his experiences and comments on the cathedral of the town in German, as Griechisch Orientalisch, meaning "Greek Oriental". Accordingly, it is possible to argue that the Orient Leigh Fermor visits and experiences bear various traces from a quite number of civilizations, societies and nations. A Serbian society, speaking Serbian, living in Hungary as a result of the Turkish invasion, practising Greek religious tradition is quite an important symbol for the definition of the Orient, which challenges the general conception of the East and the characteristics of its peoples as well as broadening the definition of the Orient.

Concerning Hungary, Leigh Fermor, as he is discussing the history of the region, implies that Turks were not the first Oriental invaders and there had been other significant and powerful invaders from the East who had their eyes on the region. He further comments on these historic invaders who, according to Leigh Fermor, were not so distant to the Turks and posed similar threats to Central Europe and the Byzantine Empire, which Leigh Fermor perceives to be the example of a pure, prosperous Orient and he states: "these hordes of long-plaited savages and their hectoring khans came close to carrying Byzantium by a storm" (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 52). Subsequently, savages from the Orient plundering their way into Europe can also be considered as a metaphor that is still employed by various authors to describe the relationship between the West and the East, which can be traced back to antiquity. It is no surprise that the perception of the Orient in the former domains of the Habsburg Empire regions of Europe is quite different from their Western counterpart, since, in their relationship with the Orient they were not in the position of colonizers, instead, in accordance with their historical experiences, they perceived the

Orient as a powerful external force against which they were to defend their homes and livelihoods.

As Leigh Fermor recalls his experiences, the audience is once again reminded that the newly established national borders after World War I were not adequate to reflect the frontiers between two clashing civilizations. For example, in their national memory, Slovaks' wars with the Turks and Hungarians are very much alive and heirlooms from those earlier times are still used in holy places as reminders of such perilous times. As he is entering the historical Orient, Leigh Fermor's comments on his surroundings as well as his observations regarding the history of the region and provides an excellent opportunity for the audience to take into consideration the historical, political and social developments of the said region. Even though the West considers the Orient to be a much more primitive and backwards society, in Central Europe, the Oriental is not so primitive, as the remnants of the Oriental threat still loom in every corner, similar to Andre Gingrich's definition of the Orient and the Oriental: "we were almost destroyed by them, the Bad Muslims, during the two Turkish sieges of Vienna in 1529 and 1683" (Gingrich, 1996, p. 45). Furthermore, Leigh Fermor also re-imagines Central and Eastern Europe, not as a Christian and European region, but as a region that carries the influences of various cultures and societies, commenting on how the city of Budapest was dominated by the Turks and still carries the symbols of its former Oriental beys:

Except for those dank cellars on the Var, wandering about the steep and exhilarating city unearthed scarce marks of the long sojourn of the Turks: a few Ottoman fragments, the tomb of a dervish on the Hill of Roses, some hammam-cupolas scattered about; later a mosque here and there in the province. There had been two centuries and a half for the Town to recover in; long enough, perhaps to surround the Turkish interlude with romance and to remind the Magyars that, genealogically speaking, if one goes far enough back into Asian pre-history, the races are distant cousins. But it was hard, during my explorations, to imagine the skyline – clustering domes, the minarets and the fluttering crescent – which Charles of Lorraine and his reconquering companions must have gazed at when they laid siege to Buda in 1686 (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p.36).

It is important to note that Leigh Fermor makes references to the nomadic origin of the Hungarian culture, implying that Europe and its region considered to be in Europe as it is known by our contemporaries, were not so European at every turn of history. Considering Hungarians to be distant cousins of the Turks, Leigh Fermor's remarks pose difficult questions for the current understanding of the Orient as well as the Orientals. Arguably, if Leigh Fermor considers the Hungarian culture to be a distant relative of the Turkish culture, then who exactly are the Orientals and what exactly is the Orient? Leigh Fermor's observations regarding other nations argue that Western civilization is not as distant or separate from the Orient in Central Europe and the Balkans, where cities and cultures still bear the marks of the Orient. Indeed, he provides details regarding the long-lost artefacts of Turks in the Hungarian plains, talking about a kind of tobacco pipe called "chibook" introduced to the region by the Turks, which he claims, as he figured out in Istanbul, was lost even to Turks themselves (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 79).

As Leigh Fermor approaches the Balkans, there is a significant event near the end of his second book, *Between the Woods and the Water* in which he stops at a small island on the Danube called "Ada Kaleh" (meaning Fortress Island in Turkish.) He describes the island in a few sentences:

The inhabitants were Turkish, probably descendants of the soldiers of one of the earlier Sultans who invaded the Balkans, Murad I, or Bayazid I, perhaps. Left behind by the retreating Turks, the island lingered on as an outlying fragment of the Ottoman Empire until the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. The Austrians held some vague suzerainty over it, but the island seems to have been forgotten until it was granted to Rumania at the Treaty of Versailles; and the Rumanians had left the inhabitants undisturbed (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p.224)

As Leigh Fermor describes the origins of the inhabitants of the island, he reminds the audience about the strong Oriental presence which existed in the region for centuries. In this regard, contrary to Said's notion of the Oriental, it can be argued that the Oriental was not the weak partner in its relationship with the west, in fact, it was the strong and threatening occupying force. This implies that other theories on Central and Eastern Europe, such as Todorova's and Gingrich's, are more suitable to identify and define the

Orient outside of Western Europe. Leigh Fermor, while continuing to describe the island and its unique culture, comments on the Turkish language of the inhabitants and states that a doctor claims that the Turkish accent of the inhabitants of the island caused amusement on the shore. As he states regarding the unique form of Turkish language preserved there, “According to the doctor it had either drifted far from the metropolitan vernacular of Constantinople or remained immovably lodged in its ancient mould, like a long-marooned English community still talking the language of Chaucer” (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p.226). Observations of Leigh Fermor regarding the Turks on the island and their language can provide us with an understanding of the Western perception of the Orient. It can be argued that for Leigh Fermor, Ada Kaleh represents the entirety of the Turkish presence in Europe, as well as signifying a great deal about the Orient; a portion of the mighty and powerful absolutist Empire once battering the gates of Vienna, now resides on this small island. He remarks;

So these were the last descendants of those victorious nomads from the borders of China! They had conquered most of Asia, and North Africa to the Pillars of Hercules, enslaved half the Christendom and battered on the gates of Vienna; victories long eclipsed, but commemorated here and there by a minaret left in their lost possessions like a spear stuck in the ground (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 226).

Arguably, the Oriental that Leigh Fermor offers to his readers differs from the Oriental in Said’s account of Orientalism. In this regard, the Oriental or the Turk, a word which has been used interchangeably with Oriental and Muslim, represents a great empire of conquerors. However, his views on the Orient differ from the previous authors of his nation. Lord Byron, in his *Don Juan*, comments on the Turkish presence in the birthplace of Hellenic civilization, stating that “It was indeed a wide extensive building/Which opened on their view, and o’er the front/There seemed to be besprent a deal of gilding/And various hues, as is the Turkish won’t – /A Gaudy taste; for they are little skilled in /The Arts of which these lands were once the font (Byron, 1824, p. V, 46.). Even though Leigh Fermor shares Byron’s nostalgic enthusiasm for the lost Hellenic Empire, his views on the Orientals appear to be different from Byron’s. It can be argued that Byron’s perception of the Oriental can be related to Said’s notion of the Orient, presenting unskilled and

uncivilized Orientals. Whereas Leigh Fermor's Orientals are conquerors of the East who pounded on the gates of Vienna, presenting us a different picture than the general understanding regarding the Orient.

It can be argued that Leigh Fermor re-constructs and re-imagines the East, as the former lands of a mighty Oriental empire, by describing the Turks as a strong occupying force rather than the weak partner in Said's account of the relationship between the West and the East. In this regard, Ada Kaleh is reflected as a precious artefact from a long-lost oriental power which Leigh Fermor is still able to observe as he comments: "It was getting late. The sun left the minaret, and then the new moon, a little less wraith-like than the night before, appeared on cue in a turquoise sky with a star next to it that might have been pinned there by an Ottoman herald" (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 227). Even though it has been a decade since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and centuries since it was a great power, the influence of the Orient in Eastern Europe is still present in Leigh Fermor's imagination. It can be argued that, according to Leigh Fermor's perspective, the region cannot be described as a homogenous ethnic community since Orient is still alive, untouched by the political and demographic changes and stuck in a time capsule, which makes the audience question the borders and structure of the notions and perspective regarding the West and the East.

Furthermore, it can also be argued that Leigh Fermor's approach to the Orient is closer to the one which Gingrich describes in his work. As the grandchildren of the invading forces of Oriental, as mentioned before, the Turkish population of Ada Kaleh can be interpreted as the Good Oriental Muslim after confirming to the Christian authority. Leigh Fermor portrays a positive perspective regarding the kind behaviour of the inhabitants of the island and states: "

I didn't know what to do when leaving; an attempt at payment was stopped by a smile and an enigmatic backward tilt of the head. Like everything else, this was the first time I came across the universal negative of the Levant; and, once more, there was that charming inclination, hand on breast (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 226).

Their positive approach to a western traveller can also be interpreted as the loyalty of the Good Muslim who resides on the western side of the Frontier. Leigh Fermor's

general description of Transylvanian folk life is that of a peaceful pastoral image, in which the various ethnicities were not very close with each other: “Populations were inclined to remain aloof; but the more they overlapped and mingled – Magyar, Rumanian, Serb, Slovak, Saxon, Swabian and sometimes Armenian and perhaps some Ruthenes in the north – the more striking they looked” (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 148-149). This multi-ethnic structure of Romania is in line with Todorova’s Balkanism, with various ethnicities living together in a somewhat distant manner, as well as some intermingling, happening in the region. Of course, Leigh Fermor also highlights the problems between these ethnicities, especially the one between Hungarians and Romanians after Transylvania was ceded to Romania with the Treaty of Trianon after the First World War. The animosity between the Hungarians and Romanians is one of the core elements of Balkanism discussed by Todorova, who argues that the meaning of the word “balkanize” is to break up into small, mutually hostile political units” (Todorova, 2009, p. 33) and as will be discussed, the hatred between Hungarian and Romanians was indeed a mutual one.

Leigh Fermor’s remarks on Romania can be compared with the more contemporary approach of Georgina Harding’s *In Another Europe: A Journey to Romania* (1991). Leigh Fermor provides his audience with a somewhat stable and relatively peaceful Romania during the interwar period. Although Leigh Fermor’s Romania was not completely free of its Oriental burdens and was not a fully prosperous European society, when compared with Harding’s description of the late Communist era, interwar Romania appears much more liveable. Nonetheless, a perception of Romania as the “wild east” can be seen in Leigh Fermor’s travels in Hungary, especially when he is welcomed by a man named Laszlo, in the little hamlet of Doboz in the southeast of Hungary, near the Romanian border. Upon mentioning his plans to travel to Romania, Leigh Fermor is then warned by Laszlo who has never been to Romania and says: “They are all robbers and crooks! You can’t trust them. They’ll take everything you’ve got” (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 75).

In a similar fashion, just before Georgina Harding crosses the Romanian border, she is also warned by her Hungarian friends:

“But when I said I was going through Romania, they turned solemn.

‘Do not go to Romania,’ Eva said. ‘There is nothing there.’ That was just what the receptionist had said.

‘There’s the Carpathians. Transylvania.’

‘But you know there is no food? No petrol?’ (Harding, 1991, p. 21)

The bad feeling surrounding her intention to visit Romania was of course closely related to Ceaușescu’s authoritarian regime and increasing poverty in Romania as a result of his economical policies. However, the historical perception of Hungarians regarding Romanians as thieves and gipsies survived as well. Harding also recalls a conversation she had with the caretaker of a waiting room in Hungary in which the caretaker, upon learning that she was to ride through Romania to reach Turkey, warned her, saying: “But there is danger. Gipsies!” (Harding, 1991, p. 53). Despite the over 50-year difference between Leigh Fermor’s and Harding’s journeys, it can be observed that the bitterness or at the insecurity of Hungarians toward Romanians was still very much alive in the last decades of the 20th century.

Leigh Fermor’s travels in Romania mostly consisted of him moving from castle to castle and meeting with counts and countesses. The majority of them were Hungarians in Transylvania whose homeland had been ceded to Romania less than 20 years earlier. While visiting a castle he claims that while most of the Hungarian buildings were neglected or abolished by the Romanians after the Great War, he had the chance to visit a section dedicated to John Hunyadi, a Christian hero claimed and appreciated by both Hungarians and Romanians. He further comments on the dispute on John Hunyadi, underlining the sadness of the struggles between these two neighbouring nations:

Rumanians were proud of him and with every right. But anyone reading the explanatory notices inside the castle might assume that Hunyadi was a purely Rumanian hero: the Hungarian activities with which his whole life was bound up were underplayed to such a degree that he might have had nothing to do with the kingdom. It was sad to see this shining figure dragged into the bitterness and murk of territorial rivalry. The splendour seemed all at once dim and parochial. Count

Jenö reacted with fatalism, ‘They seem to think that the Treaty of Trianon awarded them Hungarian history as well as territory’ (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 118)

It is also certainly the case that Harding focuses more on Romania, the name of which she mentions in the title of her work. Accordingly, she recounts numerous conversations with Romanians, especially their opinion on the current status of Romania and their imagination of Hungary. One of them, Dinu, provides an interesting response as she asks about Ceaușescu’s plan to demolish and merge some of the villages along the Hungarian border and the bad implication this plan created in the West:

The West. No, the Hungarians. They use it for propaganda. Everyone knows they would invade Transylvania again, given the chance. Saving the villages would be only a pretext. And the Western Europeans believe everything the Hungarians tell them! How many British journalists come to Romania? (Harding, 1991, p. 80).

As can be observed from the quotation, the dispute is also still burning on the Romanian side of the conflict. Dinu sees Hungarians as enemies of his country, waiting to strike upon ample opportunity. What is more important about the balkanist condition highlighted by Dinu is that he creates a certain line between what is West or Western European and what is Romania. It is obviously the case that he does not include Romania when talking about the West which makes the audience question the geopolitical and social position of Romania in the late 1980s. In a similar fashion, it would be safe to say that he also does not consider Hungary as a Western country, only as an outside influence for the West which belittles Romania in the eyes of Western countries.

At the same time, Harding also mentions another encounter with a Romanian, Radu, who distinguishes between Romanians and Hungarians implying that Romanians are more cultured and thus closer to Western Europe: “The Hungarians are cold. They do not have heart like Romanians. We are a gentle, Latin people. Our natural friends are in Western Europe, in France and Britain. Romanians are cultured, look how easily they learn languages” (Harding, 1991, p. 115). Furthermore, another Romanian, Doina, describes the historical position of Romania and lists its historical enemies in which she also includes Hungary, alongside Turks, Habsburg and Russia who had their eyes on the region: “his

broad hands indicated the historic encroachments of greedy empires: Mongol, Hungarian, Turk, Habsburg and Russia ever waiting to pounce.” (Harding, 1991, p. 115).

The isolation felt by the Romanian people in Ceaușescu’s era is arguably one of the main themes of Harding’s work, which describes a Romania quite different from how Leigh Fermor saw it. Despite the balkanist condition observed in both works, Leigh Fermor’s Romania seems to be more prosperous and relatively more peaceful than Harding’s Romania. Aside from creating an eerie feeling as a woman author, who bicycles through the most poverty-ridden regions of the continent, without providing any reason for her journey, Harding’s travelogue provides the audience with a bleak and sadder Romania. While Leigh Fermor was staying in castles of counts, Harding was unable to find local hotels to stay in, waiting in bread lines just to feed herself. What is more important is that Harding herself alludes to Leigh Fermor’s experiences, stating in Cluj: “Either this or the turreted Hotel Metropol across the square must formerly have been the New York where Patrick Leigh Fermor had drunk cocktails fifty years earlier on his journey to Istanbul (Harding, 1991, p. 72). This intertextuality provides the audience with a contrast between the two Romanian states. 50 years after Leigh Fermor’s visit, Harding finds Romania struggling, getting worse and worse with each passing day:

Constantly people would say to me: ‘It was not so bad last year; ‘If you had been here a year ago you would have thought it was better – two years, three years ago things were not nearly so hard’; or ‘If only you had come ten years ago... (Harding, 1991, p. 76).

The difference between Leigh Fermor’s and Harding’s Romania can also be highlighted by Harding’s observations regarding Turkey. Leigh Fermor, upon not being able to find the Oriental utopia he was looking for, leaves Istanbul in a disappointed fashion and starts his journey to Mount Athos. Harding feels relieved after reaching Istanbul because she feels that Turkey was much closer to the West as it “was a capitalist, individualist” place where even shopping is enjoyable (Harding, 1991, p. 155). Yet she feels some of the same disappointment as Leigh Fermor, when she stops on “the Golden Horn... to look at the Asian city across the Bosphorus,” and notes that “its lights meant nothing to me” (Harding, 1991, p. 156). The difference between the definitions of the East

and the West is striking according to Harding's perception, as Turkey, a country geographically located in the east compared to Romania and not even considered to be European by some accounts, feels more Western. It is possible to observe the shift between what is east and the west as a political condition. Turkey, as a historical oriental country, with its existing capitalist system, appears to be more western than Romania, signifying the change in perceptions regarding the East and the West.

In the third book of his trilogy, *The Broken Road*, Leigh Fermor, on the other hand, clearly distinguishes between the Balkans and other countries close to the region:

Bulgaria had a different past, a Balkan past: it was the first state the Turks enslaved and almost the last to get rid of them, after an occupation lasting five centuries, and in the eyes of everyone living north of the river, it seemed the darkest, most backward and least inviting country in Europe, except Albania – unjustly, as I was soon to learn (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 219).

After a long and hard trip along the Black Sea shore of Bulgaria, Leigh Fermor arrives at a cave full of fishermen and shepherds. After finishing a dinner of mackerel and debating on the name of the fish, Leigh Fermor states that the shepherds were Bulgarian and the fishermen were Greek. What Leigh Fermor describes after the dinner is quite important for the topic of this paper as a young fisherman begins a Turkish belly dance called *köçek*. What Leigh Fermor finds and describes in the East is quite significant as it consists of Greek and Bulgarian men dancing in a Turkish fashion while playing a bagpipe:

As the drone swelled, one of the younger fishermen began a burlesque Turkish belly-dance – I think called the *kütchek* – learnt, he said, in Tzarigrad, Constantinople. It was very convincing, even to the loud crack that accompanied a particularly spasmodic wrench of haunch and midriff, produced by the parting of the two interlocked forefingers of either hand as they were held, with joined palms, above his head (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 237-238).

In this regard, Leigh Fermor provides his audience with a representation of the multicultural structure of the Ottoman Empire. Even though it had the same structure,

cultural harmony in the cave was not present in the Ottoman Empire as Maria Todorova (2009) argues:

At no time, but especially in the last two centuries, was the Ottoman Empire a country with strong social cohesiveness or with a high degree of social integration. Not only was there no feeling of belonging to a common society but the population felt it belonged to disparate (religious, social, or other) groups that would not converge (Todorova, 2009, p. 163).

Arguably, what Leigh Fermor offers to his audience is a new definition of the East. This East presents features that are much closer to Todorova's idea of Balkanism, where people from various ethnicities, cultures, religions and heritages live together. Christians such as Greeks and Bulgarians are also included in this new East, dancing in a Turkish fashion. It is possible to observe the elements of the threatening Oriental in the region even though the Oriental danger has been removed from the region a decade ago, in addition to a more peaceful balkanist feeling. Leigh Fermor, providing a harmonious blend of eastern cultures is actually in similarity to how Lady Wortley Montagu describes a Greek singer in *Turkish Embassy Letters* (1763): "I am acquainted with a Greek lady who sings better than Mrs Robinson, and is very well skilled in both, who gives the preference to the Turkish." (Montagu, 2004, Let. xxxiii).

This new and re-imagined Orient which Leigh Fermor provides is no longer a threat to European Christianity nor it is a primitive and despotic land despite its balkanist features. In this regard, the cave in which Bulgarian shepherds and Greek fishermen reside represents a new East, a Balkanized Orient if it is possible to describe it this way, consisting of elements from Turkish culture to Greek culture. Leigh Fermor further comments on the folkloric dance of the fishermen and shepherds, stating; "It was only later, in Greece, that I was to learn a bit about them: that some scholars place the birth of the first dance in Tatavli, the butchers' quarter of Constantinople, and the second one among the Tzeibeks, a wild tribe in the mountains of Phrygia, and think it possible that they date from Byzantine times" (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 244). According to this quote, it can be observed that the relationship between the cultures of Asia Minor and Western Europe was in the form of mutual exchanges. Leigh Fermor describing people from different cultures existing in a

similar yet different cultural structure provides the audience with a new approach towards the Balkans. The elements of the Oriental threat which was the Ottoman Empire, now exist in different folkloric structures, from music to dance. In this regard, Leigh Fermor's Balkans consists of the Turks and cultural elements from the Turkish culture, however, they are no longer observed and approached as a threat.

This chapter has analysed Leigh Fermor's observations regarding Central Europe and the Balkans and Harding's remarks on Romania, using multiple sources such as Edward Said's orientalism, Andre Gingrich's frontier orientalism and Maria Todorova's balkanism. It argues that while Said's orientalism has valid arguments, it is not as suitable for Central Europe as it is suitable for Western Europe. Andre Gingrich's frontier orientalism is a more suitable approach for the cultural interactions between Central Europe and the East. Similarly, it is also claimed that the Balkans proposes a special condition which can be best explained by Todorova's idea of Balkanism. In this regard, this chapter compared Patrick Leigh Fermor's experiences to those of Georgina Harding to define the Balkans as a region consisting of multiple factors. The condition of the Balkans is examined during different time periods and similarities with its structure 50 years ago were emphasized.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1. New Historicism, Imagology and The Image of the Turk

In this second chapter of the thesis, it is possible to briefly talk about the elements utilized for such orientalist conditions, specifically, the concept of otherness and the Other, and regarding otherness, I will focus on one of the major historical Others of Europe, namely the Turk. As such, I will be talking about the images concerning the Turk in Leigh Fermor's and Georgina Harding's work concerning how they are reproduced, how they are utilized for national and historical discourses, and the differences between various images belonging to the Turk and reproduced by different national or religious groups. Furthermore, I will also talk about how these images are utilized for the nation-building processes of various countries, and how national discourses are drawing on these said images. As such, I will first talk about Stephen Greenblatt's theory of self-fashioning, in order to explain how a nation builds a self or an identity for itself. Subsequently, I will use Joep Leerssen's theory of imagology, talking about the characteristics, principles and structure of various images belonging to various ethnic, and religious communities. By explaining the structures behind these images, I will also argue that these images are an important part of nation-building processes and similarly, examine the image of Other and the Turk presented in Leigh Fermor's trilogy by commenting on their individual differences, similarities and functions and how they are also utilized for broad discourses such as orientalism, frontier orientalism or balkanism. I will conclude the chapter by highlighting the important discussion points for the importance of national images and their characteristics for the purposes of nation-building and how they are reflected in Leigh Fermor's trilogy and Georgina Harding's work.

While the 20th century is a century of major technological developments, it also experienced one of the most brutal sides of humanity with two consecutive world wars that influenced authors for decades and continue to do so. These wars and the rapid global changes in technology, arts, and politics, on the other hand, bring forth a different perspective to the criticism of arts and philosophy. In his 1979 interview with Alessandro Fontana and Pasquale Pasquino, Michel Foucault talks about the structure of power in the global society and argues that power cannot be influential on individuals only as a negative

force. He further argues that power has a good grip on society because not only it provides negative answers but also it “produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression” (Foucault, 1980, p. 119). Before defining the concept of power and its relation with the knowledge and discourse it produces, Foucault (1976), in his *History of Sexuality*, also comments on the very unstable and localized nature of power:

Power’s condition of possibility, or in any case the viewpoint which permits one to understand its exercise, even its more “peripheral” effects, and which also makes it possible to use its mechanisms as a grid of intelligibility of the social order, must not be sought in the primary existence of a central point, in a unique source of sovereignty from which secondary and descendent forms would emanate; it is the moving substrate of force relations which, by virtue of their inequality, constantly engender states of power, but the latter are always local and unstable (Foucault, 1978, p. 93).

Foucault’s above-given definition of the concept of power, and his subsequent comments on the structure between power and other social concepts such as discourse and narratives, especially the floating nature of power, influenced the world of literary criticism significantly. The influential Shakespearean scholar, Stephen Greenblatt, in his essay titled *Invisible Bullets* (1988) while commenting on the condition of the concept of power during the Renaissance, states that the Elizabethan theatre which was prone to censorship had subversive elements and argues: “the form itself, as a primary expression of Renaissance power, helps to contain the radical doubts it continually provokes. Of course, what is for the state a mode of subversion contained can be for the theatre a mode of containment subverted.” (Greenblatt, 1988, p. 65). This concept of subversion and containment, as explained by Greenblatt as a relation of power that transfers itself, at least partially, to the other sections of the society and is further contained by the ruling authority is an important concept of a literary criticism theory known as new historicism.

New historicism argues that literary texts cannot be considered outside of their respective cultures, historical eras and social norms. Stephen Greenblatt and Catherine

Gallagher, in their *Practicing New Historicism* (2000), discuss the theoretical background and natural evolutionary processes that their literary theory followed as well as its influences such as Michel Foucault's opinions on power and its relation with the social structure. While they criticize how some literary critics view works of art as completely detached from semantic necessity, they also claim that they have a new perspective which does not necessarily glorify oppressive structure, but "imagine[s] that the writers we love did not spring up from nowhere and that their achievements must draw upon a whole life-world and that this life-world has undoubtedly left other traces of itself" (Greenblatt and Gallagher, 2000, p. 11-12-13). Accordingly, Greenblatt and Gallagher argue that their theory, while examining and commenting on literary works, heavily relies upon the observed realities and social norms of the relevant time period, whatever those realities and social norms might be. In other words, they claim that a literary work of art possesses many features and elements of the previous tradition that it, knowingly or not knowingly, feeds on. Interestingly, this is in similarity to some of the theories of philosophers such as Roland Barthes. While Barthes, in his influential essay *The Death of the Author* (1967), declares that the author is now dead and asserts:

We know that a text consists not of a line of words, releasing a single "theological" meaning (the "message") of the Author-God), but of a multi-dimensional space in which are married and contested several writings, none of which is original: the text is a fabric of quotations, resulting from a thousand sources of culture (Barthes, 1986, p. 53).

Indeed, it is possible to argue, as many have previously argued, that the theory of new historicism draws its foundations from post-modernism and deconstructionism. While this may seem contradictory at first, as many criticisms directed at new historicism are coming from the left side of the political compass, it is also expected as a result of the deconstructive phases that the power structure was subjected to by philosophers like Foucault. After all, as it has been argued above, it is not possible for a power structure to sustain itself as a solely oppressive structure that provides the answer "no" to every single question it receives. New historicism, on the other hand, accepts the overarching power structure, with its oppressive elements as well as its, more beneficial aspects, to understand

and conceptualize the past better, and the literary works written in the past together with it, as Greenblatt and Gallagher state: “Against the determinism that attempts to insist that certain things in a given period were beyond conception or articulation, new historicism invokes the vastness of the textual archive, and with that vastness an aesthetic appreciation of the individual instance (Gallagher and Greenblatt, 2000, p. 16).

As new historicism focuses on the individual instance, it also highlights the importance of individual decision-making by utilizing another important element; self-fashioning, heavily used by Greenblatt for his comments on Renaissance literature in his *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (1980) as he asserts: “it is in the sixteenth century that fashion seems to come into wide currency as a way of designating the forming of a self” (Greenblatt, 2005, p. 9). Furthermore, he also comments on the historical progression of this concept and argues that, while this concept of fashioning one’s own self is quite important and prevalent in the aristocracy of the classical world, as Christianity develops and expands, it brought forth a suspicion in man’s ability to form himself a self, as Greenblatt quotes from Augustine: “Try to build up yourself, and you build a ruin” (Greenblatt, 2005, p. 2). As humanities once were revived during the Renaissance, it is plausible to think that this concept of self-fashioning, which, at its centre, has the man’s ability to shape himself and his environment, saw a distinct increase in its popularity. Greenblatt, commenting on the power structure that existed and still exists in our societies argues that there are always multiple powers and multiple others, also stresses the manner in which the self-fashioning is achieved: “Self-fashioning is achieved in relation to something perceived as alien, strange or hostile. This threatening Other – heretic, savage, witch, adulteress, traitor, Antichrist – must be discovered or invented in order to be attacked and destroyed” (Greenblatt, 2005, p. 9) as well as further emphasizing:

The power generated to attack the alien in the name of the authority is produced in excess and threatens the authority it sets out to defend. Hence self-fashioning always involves some experience of threat, some effacement or undermining, and some loss of self (Greenblatt, 2005, p. 9).

While we can clearly understand how authority generates subversion from the above-given quote, in order to better understand our own or one’s self, it is required for us

to better understand the Other, or the alien it was created or supplemented, enhanced against. Accordingly, it would be impossible to define self without positioning it against something else. As such, the examination of this self and the other, as how they are perceived by the self or the others, namely the concept of Imagology or the study of Images, provides an important cornerstone for the purposes of this chapter as it is often the case that travel writing provides its audience with a glimpse into how different people approach the world.

Joep Leerssen, a Dutch Historian, in his *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters* (2007), describes the human tendency of positioning different features to different ethnic or religious groups while stating that much of the interactions between societies were ethnocentric and “anything that deviated from accustomed domestic patterns is ‘Othered’” (Leerssen, 2007, p.17), which can be argued to have similar features with the alien that Greenblatt presents as a crucial part and starting point of the process of self-fashioning. Leerssen further comments on literary history, asserting that it is a manner of studying or examining the very character of a nation: “Needless to say, notion concerning the nation’s essence or character are wholly determined by ingrained and widely current stereotypes and ethnic images” (Leerssen, 2007, p. 19) while defining the concept of imagology as “a deconstructive and critical analysis of the rhetoric of national characterization (Leerssen, 2007, p. 17). However, Leerssen also highlights an important part which is certainly very crucial for the purposes and aims of this chapter as well as to properly understand how the study of imagology functions within a given context. Similar to how Greenblatt’s idea of new historicism is heavily influenced by the post-modern theories that emerged after the Second World War, Leerssen also makes similar claims for the development and emergence of Imagology:

The actual emergence of imagology as a critical study of national characterization could only take place after people had abandoned a belief in the ‘realness’ of national characters as explanatory models. Literary scholars finally reached this stage in the years following the Second World War. The confrontation with that perceived ‘Germany’ and its historical mood-swings, especially after the nadir of the Third Reich and the Second World War, provoked an anti-essentialist,

constructivist approach to national representation and national identity (Leerssen, 2007, p. 21)

While it is possible to think, at first, that imagology is a science that encourages or supports existing biased stereotypes regarding nations or social groups, it cannot be further away from the truth. After all, many great nations or groups suffered because of these prejudices and it may be justifiable to think, at least at the very beginning, these inquiries regarding national stereotypes may be utilized by certain interested parties to justify their own ideologies. However, imagology aims exactly the contrary, as Manfred Beller (2007) stresses:

The invention of the nation and the clarification of what actually constitutes a nation are the two sides of the same historical coin. The study of our images of any other nation, as well as of our own, will single out the significantly active prejudices, stereotypes and cliches from the total complex of imaginary images. (Beller, 2007, p. 11)

Accordingly, in order for imagology to achieve these goals, there is an important element that one needs to keep in mind while delving into the vast and ancient archives of national images; this element is the fact that national images are subject to change, in fact, they are rapidly changing. Leerssen, in his other article, *Identity/Alterity/Hybridity* (2007), underlines that a group's self-identity as well as its image evolves over time and creates more and more diversity: "Such diversity, once noticed, is often perceived to exist between constituent sub-groups (e.g. 'regions' within a 'nation'), which in turn are then credited with precisely that quality of fixed homogeneity which the larger group lacks (Leerssen, 2007, p. 338). It is possible to argue that there may be many things that may contribute to this change or evolution in the structure of national images and how they are represented in literary works. Of course, these changes may be political, social, regional or religious, however, the main part is that these images are characterized by their changes. Accordingly, in order to completely and correctly analyse a national image and its evolution or development over time, one needs to assess it together with its historical conditions. To this end, it is also possible to observe that Leerssen has similar arguments to what Greenblatt underlines while describing the theory of new historicism:

Historical contextualization is also necessary. Literary texts cannot be interpreted in -a timeless, aesthetic never-never-land. Historical factors must be taken into account when assessing, respectively, the Italian settings in Ann Radcliffe's and George Eliot's novels. Class politics and regional differences play into the English self-image of Evelyn Waugh and John Osborne, respectively, or the Italian self-image of Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa and Pier Paolo Pasolini (Leerssen, 2007, p. 28)

After providing a brief description of imagology, Leerssen continues his discussion by making certain classifications. He defines the character represented or reproduced as the "spectated", whereas the party that is using the "spectated" is similarly named the "spectant". Subsequently, he distinguishes between two major images that are commonly used in literary works; images attributed to the Other are categorized as hetero-images while images regarding one's own, domestic self are called self-images or auto-images (Leerssen, 2007, p. 27). It is in this regard that this chapter will handle the image of the Turk in Leigh Fermor's trilogy and Harding's works, identifying the spectated and spectant while underlining hetero-images reproduced concerning the other as well as commenting on possible auto-images.

As is previously presented in the first chapter of this thesis, human beings were creating images regarding one's self and others since antiquity, Hippocrates being one of the prime examples of these reproductions, if not the first production. While Hippocrates attributes some qualities to the people that live in Asia-Minor, such as being unwarlike or feeble, he is also creating himself an identity, positioned just opposite of the people whom he considers to be the others. More importantly, he claims that the people of Asia are not independent or their own masters, but are slaves to others whereas he claims that Greeks are independent and "enjoy the fruits of their own labors" (Hippocrates, Passage #16, Line 8). This is actually in correlation with other descriptions of the Others of Europe as Catherine MacMillan, in her *Images of the Turk in Europe: A Historical Overview* (2013), as she describes the changing geopolitical and social environment of Europe: "Europe, previously a neutral, geographical expression, became increasingly defined in contrast to Asia following the wars between the Greeks and the Persians (MacMillan, 2013, p. 29).

What MacMillan claims for ancient Greece and Asia Minor is quite in line with Greenblatt's idea of self-fashioning with which the individual requires an encounter with the alien in order for self-fashioning to produce an auto-image while also reproducing the hetero-image belonging to the Other. The argument proposed by MacMillan concerning the contact between the East and the West is also supported by Manfred Beller's opinion on the same conflict as he argues: "The asymmetrical valorization of this East-West opposition, and its implied -> eurocentrism can be traced back as far as Herodotus's Histories and Aeschylus's Persians. Greeks are represented as defending their liberty and democracy against imperial despotism encroaching westward from Asia (Beller, 2007, p. 315).

MacMillan continues her essay by examining how this opposition between East and West transferred itself to the medieval age and what images were prevalent during this period. She argues that, during the middle-ages, the principal Other of Europe and/or Christendom was named Saracen and that it was mostly a religious Other (30-31). From this perspective, we can observe how the Oriental, once referred to as Persians or Asians by the ancient Greeks, evolved into Saracens with the vast expansion of Islam and the very first Islamic caliphates which further underlines the changing and evolving feature of images belonging to nations or groups. Following this progression, Nedret Kuran-Burcoglu (2007) emphasizes: "the image of the Turk emerged in the western world during the eleventh century, when the Turks started to move westwards from Central Asia into Asia Minor and became a threat for the Eastern Roman Empire (Kuran-Burcoglu, 2007, p. 254). The Turk in this regard, started its journey into the imaginary not as an Other, but as an outsider, an outsider even to the dichotomy between East and West. Subsequently, during the Renaissance, as MacMillan argues, the Ottoman Turk replaced Saracen as the primary other of Christendom: "naturally, accelerated with the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453" (MacMillan, 2013, p. 32). With this change in Europe's primary Other, as MacMillan argues, it is possible to confirm the fact that national or religious images are indeed subject to change, especially after significant geopolitical events such as the fall of Constantinople. However, this significant event did not manage to alter all possible aspects of the said image. MacMillan asserts that although Turks conquered the birthplace of Hellenic civilization, they were still seen as "vandals and barbarians who were unworthy

and incapable of taking on the responsibility of this classical heritage” (MacMillan, 2013, p. 35).

During the age of reformation, the image of the Turk took a slight change, being “used as a discursive tool for both Protestants and Catholics” (MacMillan, 2013, p. 37). Whereas some scholars used and reproduced the image of a barbarian and cruel Turk for their specific ideological or religious views, such as Martin Luther describing them as God’s wrath (MacMillan, 2013, p. 37), the concept of an indefatigable Turk equivalent to that of the Antichrist became more prevalent, that is until the very end of the “indefatigable Turk” with the failed second siege of Vienna in 1683. This indefatigable Turk was a prominent element to also signify another term that became synonymous with the Ottoman Turks, similar to the previous and ancient Others of Europe, the Persians. Özlem Kumrular (2005) argues that as Soleiman the Conqueror expanded his empire, the image of the Turk became more and more solidified in Europe, not only in public language but also in diplomatic language, the word “dog” became an adjective for the Turk (Kumrular, 2005, p. 111). Despotism and the tyrannical attributes of the Ottoman Empire became a topic of interest in Europe; scholars from various schools of thought used this metaphor for their relevant discourses. In this regard, it is also possible to observe that the image of the Turk started to be used as what Ildiko Beller-Hann calls a “displaced metaphor” (Beller-Hann, 1995, p. 222) wherein the metaphor of the Turk and bad qualities attached to it such as being “inherently more despotic and, therefore, uncivilized” was used by Protestants and Catholics to accuse each other of being the Turk (MacMillan, 2013, p. 38): In a similar fashion, Charles Sabatos describes the importance of this replaced metaphor, especially for Central Europe, which was one of the historical frontiers between the East and the West, and their nation-building processes and their self-fashioning processes for national identity: “For these Central European nations, the image of the Turk was a means of preserving cultural identity when the homeland was threatened or conquered, and remained culturally active even when they had little direct contact with the Ottomans” (Sabatos, 2020, xiv).

With the Enlightenment, the image of the Turk, having lost some of its qualities such as being indefatigable after the second siege of Vienna, acquired new negative features. These new additions provided to the historical image are in correlation with the

philosophical development in Europe, especially regarding statecraft and sociology as Cirakman (2003) states that contrary to the images reproduced during the Renaissance, the image of the Turk and Oriental despotism it possesses are attributed to the comparisons made between political structures and beliefs between the East and the West (Cirakman, 2003, p. 227). Accordingly, this backwardness of the Turks as well as negative qualities recently attached to the image were also drawing upon historical conceptions regarding the clash between the East and the West: “It will be noted that these are also the ‘qualities’ that, millennia before, had been ascribed by ancient Greeks to Persians (MacMillan, 2013, 40). As such, it is possible to argue that these features that have been historically attributed to the Orientals, were also at play in the future of the image of the Turk, as it transformed from “indefatigable Turk” to “the Sick Man of Europe”.

While the Ottoman Turks were declining as a global power, they became much more dependent on European powers. MacMillan asserts the fact that even though the Ottoman Empire was never precisely colonized by the major European powers of the 19th century, it, naturally, came under the strong influence of European financial and political powers and was expected to meet European “standards of civilization” (MacMillan, 2013, p. 42-43). The rise and the decline of the image of the Turk as attested above provides valuable insights into how the Turks are represented in various literary works, from undefeatable Turks to the sick man of Europe trying to keep up with European civilization.

2.2. Image of the Turk Observed and Reproduced in Leigh Fermor and Georgina Harding

As it is possible to examine how the image of the Turk is reflected and reproduced in Patrick Leigh Fermor’s travel trilogy, it is appropriate to begin the discussion regarding this image adjacent to Leigh Fermor, as an 18-year-old British walking across Europe. At the beginning of his journey, it is hardly possible to assert that Leigh Fermor has any strong opinions regarding the Turk, exclusive of the society in which he grew up. Accordingly, it is also possible to argue that in 1933, the year in which Leigh Fermor started his journey, the opinion of the British public regarding the Turk was in parallel with the rest of the European powers as argued above, drawing upon the historical conceptions of the image. However, it is also important to note that British Empire and the Ottoman Empire were in

opposing camps in the First World War, having fought many battles against one another in Gallipoli and the Middle East. Despite the fact that these two nations were enemies in one of the bloodiest conflicts in world history up until that time, the audience is not presented with any enmity towards the Turks by Leigh Fermor. In fact, the very first image of the Turk does not come from Leigh Fermor himself at all. In the first book of the trilogy, *A Time of Gifts*, as he journeys through Germany, he is invited to stay a couple of days in the castle of a baron, Baron Rheinhard von Liphart-Ratshoff, near Munich. As he is about to leave his hosts and continue his journey, the Baron, Baroness and Leigh Fermor are making prospective plans for his journeys ahead, Leigh Fermor makes an important remark: “He and the Baroness were worried about Bulgaria: ‘It’s full of robbers and comitadjis. You must take care! They’re a terrible lot. And as for the Turk!’ The nature of the hinted menace was obscure” (Leigh, Fermor, 2013, p. 126). This first instance clearly signifies Turks as the spectated whereas Europeans are the spectant.

The Baron and the Baroness warn Leigh Fermor about Bulgaria, a country very close to the current political frontier between the East and the West, advising him to take care of himself against robbers and other criminals. The Turks, on the other hand, are mentioned separately from these groups which may imply that the Turks are worse than those groups, and observed in a menacing manner. This reiteration of the image of the Turk is important, especially considering the fact that it is the first image in the book regarding the Turks and its actually in correlation with the historical image of the Turk, as cruel, threatening forces against Europeans. If the hetero-image attributed to the Turk has qualities such as being cruel, it is possible to argue that the auto-images that the people reproducing these images have opposite qualities vis-à-vis to Turks. What is more important is the fact that the Liphart family was not even of German origin as Leigh Fermor states: “The Lipharts were a White Russian family: more specifically they were from Esthonia and, like many Baltic landowners, they had taken flight through Sweden and Denmark after the loss of their estates at the end of the war” (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 124). This family with its Baltic origin, living in Germany, and providing Leigh Fermor with such comments attests to the condition of the image of the Turk during the interwar period and how disseminated and popular it has become over the years as well as carrying many historical elements. As Nedret Kuran-Burcoglu states:

From the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 and the capture of Istanbul from Byzantines by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II in 1453 (marking the end of the Eastern Roman Empire) until the second siege of Vienna in 1683, the hegemonic expansion of the Ottoman Empire in South-Eastern Europe provided European Christendom with its strongest Other: Islamic, alien, cruel and tyrannical (Kuran-Burcoglu, 2007, p. 285).

What is especially important is that despite there being almost 300 years between Leigh Fermor's journey and the second siege of Vienna, and now the Turkish border being thousands of miles away from the German border, Leigh Fermor still experiences the images drawing upon such events. The cruel Turk against which one should protect himself, evoked by the Lipharts, serves as a testament to the nature and longevity of national hetero-images. Although Turks lost the vast majority of their land in Europe, their empire was finally dismantled in 1922 and established a new, much more westernized republic in 1923, the image belonging to the Turk in the European imaginary still bears the marks of these long centuries that Turks dominated Eastern Europe. This historically threatening presence of Turks is constantly reminded to Leigh Fermor; in Austria, he makes some comments about the history of the place and it, of course, includes the Turks: "At Eferding, where I stayed the night, the baroque palace that filled one side of the central square belonged to a descendant of Rüdiger von Starhember, the great defender of Vienna in its second siege by the Turks" (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 161). As Leigh Fermor travels eastwards and as he approaches the historic frontier between the East and the West, he constantly encounters reminders of the Turks, as if the very hetero-image has embedded itself in the very soil of the region, constantly reminding the audience of itself and its past existence in the heart of Europe.

In a similar fashion, as Leigh Fermor draws ever closer to the frontier, he starts to grasp the reality and seriousness of the condition:

I never understood till now how near the Turks had got to taking Vienna. Of the first siege in Tudor times there were few mementoes in the museums. But the evidence of the second, more than a century later, and of the narrow escape of the city, was completely laid out (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 258).

Accordingly, this very first instance can be considered a turning point for Leigh Fermor; after this experience and surprising realization, his views of the Orient and the Turks change from a Western European perspective into a more Central European approach. The Orient starts to transform itself to a more frontier one rather than a classical one, and the image of the Turk, as a cruel and barbaric invader, becomes much closer to Leigh Fermor; as he journeys through Central Europe and reimagines all of its histories and cultures, he also reimagines the image of the Turk, from a more Central European perspective, as a more historical image, with its cruelty, threat and force advancing. Concerning the importance of this image, especially for Central European nations, Charles Sabatos writes that while the image of the Turkish threat was a common image across European nations, it was specifically important to strengthen national images, both between Central European nations and how they interact with their respective Others:

In the twentieth century, with the fall of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires, the cultural relations between the Slovak, Czech, Hungarian and other Central European nations would be irrevocably changed, but the mythical Turk would endure as the foundation for later expressions of frontier Orientalism. (Sabatos, 2020, p. 53)

In another instance, as he traverses the border between Slovakia and Hungary, he describes one of his first glances at Hungary, commenting on one of the landmarks, the Basilica of Esztergom and its history: “The Basilica, though spectacular and splendid, is not old: little in that part of Hungary was spared the ravages of the Tartars and the Turks; after the Reconquest everything had to begin again” (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 348). It is no surprise for the audience that one of his first comments on Hungary and its history, as Leigh Fermor has a habit of reimagining all the places and their histories, includes one of the most important elements for Central European nations, the Turks. Additionally, he also alludes to Hungary’s nomadic origins multiple times throughout his trilogy, the first being one of his direct quotations from the diary he kept while travelling. In the town called Nové Zámky which is close to the border between Slovakia and Hungary and has both a Turkish and Hungarian history as well as a Slovak one, he wanders into a coffee shop and describes one of the workers: “There is a very made-up girl who sits behind a table laden with

chocolates and strange Hungarian cakes. Her features are slightly Mongolian, with high cheekbones pushing up the corners of her enormous blue eyes” (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 331). As he observes the worker with Mongolian features, it is possible to argue that the scope of the image of the Turk expands. The features he mentions not only imply a previous Turkish existence in the town, but also a much larger nomadic influence as he describes them as Mongolian. The hetero-image belonging to the Turks, in this regard, is a part of a much broader Oriental and Asian image which also includes steppe nomads and their vast expansions.

For Leigh Fermor, it appears that Hungary stands apart from other Central European nations since the Turk is not merely an outsider, a threatening and barbaric force as it was for Austria. However, in *Between the Woods and the Water*, he finds more and more similarities between the image of the Turk that he possesses and the country he traverses. His mention of Attila and how he died is followed by a description of the Eastern threats that Europe faced throughout its history, as well as how these eastern threats permanently influenced Europe for good or bad:

Like most of these invaders, of Mongol stock and akin to the Turks (they were Turanians all), these hordes of long-plaited savages and their hectoring khans came close the carrying Byzantium by storm. A permanent nuisance to the West, their newly-invented stirrup made them formidable still: a firm seat in the saddle ousted the bow as the horseman’s chief weapon and replaced it with the spear, and then the lance which in its turn led to the heavily armoured knights of the Middle Ages and, in dim barbaric fashion, foreshadowed the tank (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 52).

Leigh Fermor indeed combines the origin of the Hungarians together with other hordes of Asians such as Mongols and Turks, however, what is more, important is the fact that he creates another image, a counter-image perhaps, while describing the clash between the Asiatic hordes and Europe. He specifically mentions the Byzantine Empire, or Eastern Roman Empire, not only because it was a historical fact, but also because, arguably, it is his idealization of what Europe was like before these foreign and brutal invasions. In this regard, the image of the Turk, or the Other, or the Mongol, which in regards to this specific perspective, become interchangeable, is a countering force against the civilized and ideal

Europe which Leigh Fermor, apparently, thinks to be in Byzantium, hence the final destination of his journey, Istanbul or as he prefers to call it, Constantinople. This contrast between Asiatic invaders and civilized Europeans is another important aspect of the self-fashioning of Europe's own identity regarding its auto-image since Europe is the one that was, or maybe still is, threatened by the Asiatic powers of the steppe. It was Europeans who were actually in danger which is quite different from the usual Oriental image which we observe, for example with Said, as a feeble and primitive society. This image, however, presents the audience with an entirely different Orient or Asia, as it is a formidable force that threatened Europe and even managed to influence it to some degree, so much so that even 400 years later, it is possible to observe their effects throughout Central Europe, as well as the Balkans.

The meaning of Byzantium and a Hellenic Europe in the East for Leigh Fermor will be discussed in the third chapter of this thesis; however, it is also important to mention here that Leigh Fermor appears to be placing the Orient in Central Europe vis-à-vis a civilized Europe, positioning it as an outsider invader for European civilization and himself, together with the rest of Europe, into an auto-image that symbolizes civilization and prosperity. In chapter one of this thesis, it is discussed how Said's orientalism fails to accommodate all the issues in Central Europe and how, for this specific region, Gingrich's frontier orientalism provides much more stable background. Similarly, this image of the Oriental, or the Turk, proves to be a much more suitable Oriental for Central Europe, as it is neither primitive nor a distant Oriental. As a British traveller, Leigh Fermor realizes this fact while he is in Vienna. It is of course, sensible that the concept of the Oriental, or the Turk for that matter, feels a bit distant to the British Isles. However, as Leigh Fermor crosses the border on the historical frontier between the East and the West, this realization transforms the images he had for the Orientals. Apparently, as an image of a primitive or backward Oriental was not suitable to explain the strong feelings that Central European nations have for the Turks, he instead brings it closer to a much closer and more suitable image. While he emphasizes the nomadic origins of Turkish culture, this will not always be the case. As he travels further east into the Balkans and as we will observe, he will present his audience with a much more Middle Eastern image of the Turkish, still powerful but not so nomadic.

However, these Asiatic elements justifiably attached to the Turks are reflected many times in Leigh Fermor's trilogy. In fact, most of the opinions Leigh Fermor observes concerning the Turks, especially near the frontier between the Balkans and Central Europe, reflect the Turk as an Asiatic force and position it near other groups from the steppes. On such an occasion, while Leigh Fermor is travelling in Romania with his friend Istvan, they converse about the structures of the churches in the towns that they visit. In one such case, Leigh Fermor is intrigued about the fierce appearance of a church and asks why it is fiercer than the other churches he saw on the Hungarian-Romanian border. In the inn where they are present, a wheelwright responds by saying that this fierce look was to protect it from the Turks:

Yes, against the Turks; but there had been worse than they.

'Who?'

He and Istvan answered in unison.

'*Tataren*' (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 159)

Of course, it is no secret that Tatars are a Turkic ethnicity closely related to Anatolian or Ottoman Turks. What is important is that in this quote, we can observe the fact that Ottoman Turks are reflected much closer to their Turkic origin, not to mention that Tatars are also a part of this negative hetero-image belonging to the Turks. In this regard, it can be argued that the opinion regarding the Turks, as a brutal, oppressive and destructive Asian force from the steppes was very much alive even after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, as it takes a certain amount of time and new interactions to change the course of a highly fed and reproduced national image. Romania, as a Balkan country, shares this image with Central European nations such as Austria and Hungary. In a similar fashion, in consideration of the fact that Leigh Fermor actually wrote his trilogy many years after his actual travels, it is safe to say that he is aware of the different relationships that the Balkan and Central European nations had and have with the Turks. For this reason, he makes comparisons between certain countries regarding their interactions with the Other, stating that Hungary endured a long Turkish invasion, whereas Romania continued its existence as a vassal of the Ottomans and was not invaded. Importantly, he describes the

condition of Bulgaria and refers to Ottoman rule over Bulgaria as enslavement. In this regard, the image of the Turk gains another important feature as slave masters, slaves being the Christian Europeans and masters being the Muslim Oriental Turks. This feature attached to the image of the Turk implies that the relation between the East and the West, from which this very image was created and reproduced, was not a stereotypical relationship in which the West enslaved the East as it is discussed in the first chapter. In fact, this image is one of the ultimate proofs that the relationship was the opposite for Central Europeans and the Turks. The image attributed to the Turk, in this regard, has contradictions with the features attributed to the image of the Oriental by Edward Said. Whereas his Oriental was weak and oppressed by the Europeans, the accounts that Leigh Fermor made regarding his travels signify a different relationship. This aspect of the image of the Turk is a fundamental part of the argument regarding the inapplicability of Said's orientalism for certain regions in which the East and the West interacted.

Leigh Fermor's visit to Ada Kaleh in Romania and how it is an important aspect of the Oriental condition of the Balkans has already been mentioned. However, it can be argued that it serves as a dual function for Leigh Fermor's personal image of the Turk as it is one of the first contacts he had with this Oriental society. Not only he does interact with the Turks of Ada Kaleh, but he also experiences the stereotypical Turkish lifestyle, smoking hookah and drinking Turkish coffee. Similarly, it is also the very first time Leigh Fermor actually hears Turkish being spoken and he is amazed by the language: "Among themselves they spoke Turkish, which I had never heard: astonishing strings of agglutinated syllable with a follow-through of identical vowels and dimly reminiscent of Magyar" (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 229). While it is possible to consider this interaction the very first of Leigh Fermor with the Turks, it is also important that this interaction bears importance as it is one of the few descriptions of Turks, in the first two books, without a negative ambience. While Leigh Fermor yet again connects the Turks with the Magyars and other people stemming from Central Asian steppes, he also points out another important element regarding the Turks:

I didn't know what to do when leaving: an attempt at payment was stopped by a smile and an enigmatic backward tilt of the head. Like everything else, this was the

first time I came across the universal negative of the Levant; and, once more, there was that charming inclination, hand on breast (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 229-230)

Not only do these positive interactions with the Turks, their culture and the language provide a harmonious atmosphere for the image of the Turk reproduced in Leigh Fermor's works, but it is also important as it attributes a Levantine quality to the Turks. This retelling reminds the audience that Turks also have a Middle-Eastern aspect, in addition to their Asiatic features. It is possible to argue that after this encounter, the image of the Turk described in Leigh Fermor's work as a hetero-image, is also enriched by Levantine qualities as well as additional positive ones. The Turk, so far in the first two books, was mostly described by others and was negatively charged. Leigh Fermor, as he re-imagines the histories and cultures of the places he visits, embraced the same perspective with the locals. On the other hand, this interaction creates certain changes for Leigh Fermor. The image that was provided and reproduced to him and describes Turks as brutal, oppressive forces, still keeps its negative qualities but it also gained positive aspects after this visit. These little additions made to the image of the Turk as Leigh Fermor continues his journey, and changes that occurred in this specific image are quite important for the topics of this thesis as it has an important place in Leigh Fermor's very reason to travel to Istanbul by foot, to start this brave journey which will be discussed in the third and final chapter of this thesis under the title of nostalgia.

Accordingly, though there are occasional positive aspects of the image of the Turk, it generally remains a negative one. Leigh Fermor's remarks during his travels in Bulgaria also underline this fact and he further comments on how the Turks were viewed by the locals, naming the Turkish rule in Bulgaria as "the long night". He continues to describe the history of the region and the traces that the Turks left there:

They adorned the towns with avenues of gibbets, the burnt villages with pyramids of heads and the roadsides with impaled corpses. I think it is an Arabian proverb which says, 'Where the Ottoman hoof has struck, the grass never grows again'; and it is true that their occupation of the Balkans – in Bulgaria it started before the wars of the Roses and ended after the Franco-Prussian War – has left desolation behind it. Everything is still impoverished and haphazard, and history in smithereens. The

Turks were last but one of the Oriental barbarians to cast their blight over Eastern Europe. (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 21-22)

The Turk represented in the above-given passage is described in great detail. It is a foreign invader, and Oriental barbarian that desolated Eastern Europe, destroying everything in its wake and enslaving innocents for nearly half a millennia. While these descriptions are in parallel with the historical and stereotypical understanding of the image of Turks as well as its qualities and largely reflect the historical perception of not only Turks but Muslims in general, an important part of this quote is Leigh Fermor mentions an Arabian proverb, a rather insulting one. This is important because it also reflects the perception, or rather, the image of the Turk that the other oriental nations have. Accordingly, it is suggested by the quotation that the Turks were seen as barbarians not only in Europe and the Balkans but also in the Orient itself, creating a hetero-image in the Orient. While Leigh Fermor also attributes Middle-Eastern qualities to Turks in his works, it is possible to argue that the Turks are reflected, or otherized, by other Orientals which is not surprising considering the fact that the Ottoman empire ruled over Arabic regions for centuries. This condition signifies the fact this negative image of the Turk does not only belong to Europe or the Balkans but is also possessed by other nations of the Middle East. On the other hand, this specific Arabian proverb is not the only one Leigh Fermor utilizes as he reiterates an old Bulgarian proverb: “an uninvited guest is worse than a Turk” (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 24). Accordingly, it appears as if the only nations or groups of people that have not negative views towards the Turks are the Turks themselves, like in Ada Kaleh, or other Turkic nations like Tatars, as well as some other groups. In Karlovo, a town in central Bulgaria, Leigh Fermor encounters the Turkish residents of the town and contemplates its history and how the region was subjugated to Oriental rule:

Their armies advanced across Europe. It must have been a daunting sight: Anatolian infantry, wild Asian troops of horse Bedouin cavalry, mounted archers from eastern deserts, contingents of Albanians, Tartars and Tcherkesses, Negroes from Africa and, under their strange emblems and their fan-plumed helmets, the Janissaries (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 48).

Leigh Fermor groups Turks together with other non-Europeans, and interestingly European Muslims like Albanians. The Turk, in this regard, portrays an image which unites all non-Europeans under a single banner to march towards the European civilization and it is indeed a daunting sight for him since these regions in the Eastern Balkans are quite significant for Leigh Fermor. This conflict, however, also signifies a much greater conflict between the European auto-image, embracing civilizing and positive qualities and the Turkish hetero-image, being barbaric and cruel. The Turks, together with other Muslims, are once again reflected as Asian invaders, marching through Europe, together with other Asian nations as well as Africans. These varieties he observes in Oriental forces are especially important regarding the structure of the Balkans as spending centuries under the Turkish “yoke”, the region now includes various groups and he will have the chance to experience them for himself.

While he attributes these negative qualities to the Turks and their heritage in Eastern Europe or the Balkans, there are also other instances where he appears to have the opposite stance regarding the Turks and their cultural influences, especially when he experiences them first-hand. In Karlovo, a town in central Bulgaria, he encounters the town’s Turkish residents and he spends the night sleeping under some trees but in the morning, he is woken up by Adhan, or Muslim call to prayer:

How odd, I thought, as I set off, that the relics of the Turks in Europe, to which, after all, they brought nothing but calamity, should be distinguished by so much charm and grace: the architecture of houses, the carved wooden ceilings, the baroque plaster work, the wells and the foundations, the pillared loggias and above all, these globes and these elegantly ascending pinnacles that ennoble the skyline of the meanest hamlet. (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 51).

First of all, it is needed to address the issue of distance regarding this quotation. The Turk or the Oriental is no longer a distant one, especially after Ada Kaleh and Karlovo. As Leigh Fermor approaches his destination, we observe him experiencing the Turkish and the Oriental culture, as he experiences the Turkish culture, as he did in Ada Kaleh, we observe that the image he has regarding the Turks slightly change. It is possible to argue that a minor duality between the historical image of the Turk, as barbarians and invaders and the

Turks as having a beautiful and charming culture starts to flourish for Leigh Fermor. This duality between the evil Turk and the mesmerising aspects of its culture is important as Leigh Fermor started his journey with a negative image of the Turk, as was expected. However, even though this negative image was supported by many accounts during his travels, he also has the chance to experience the beautiful aspects of this menacing Turk which, in turn, makes it more possible to accept a permanent Turkish or Muslim presence in the Balkans.

These crumbs of positive perspectives towards the Turks are also highlighted in different sections of the work. For example, in Bulgaria, Leigh Fermor stops in a little hamlet called Hadjikoe; a Turkish hamlet. In the dark of the night, he asks some dubious figure where the inn is and is dragged by a Hodja into one of those houses where people eat and drink. He suddenly finds himself in a Turkish house, surrounded by Turks and offered food and drinks by them. After a short while, he is given a cottage with a poster of the Kaaba to sleep in. He further comments on this surprising experience: “I was bewildered that they allowed what they must have considered the uncircumcised to pollute so hallowed a place” (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 255). As one of his real interactions with the Turks, it is possible to argue that this quote also has a positive undertone regarding the Turk’s acceptance of Leigh Fermor and his simple hospitality. The image of the Turk, in this regard, becomes something more than an image attributed to a barbarian and uncivilized nation. As Leigh Fermor experiences the Turkish culture by himself, it is possible to argue that the stereotypical image of the Turks loses some of its negative features and certainly gains new positive ones.

On the other hand, while Harding’s work does not specifically focus on the Turks and how they are represented in a more contemporary manner, it is still possible to find glimpses of images regarding the Turks, one of the most important examples of which is that they are classified together with other invading empires, like Russians and Mongolians (Harding, 1991, p. 115). This also appears to be in similarity to Leigh Fermor’s perception regarding the Turks, as an invading brutal force threatening the integrity of the nation. This type of reproduction of the image of the Turk is a correlation with its historical image in

Central Europe and the Balkans while it also signifies the innocence and victimhood of Eastern European Christian nations.

While it is possible to argue that Patrick Leigh Fermor started his journey with the stereotypical image of the Turks, it is also possible to argue that certain elements of this hetero-image changed during his travels. It would be unfair to accuse Leigh Fermor of racism or discrimination, however, it is certain that the image of the Turk he possesses is generally a negative one, in parallel with its historical version as discussed by Catherine MacMillan, Özlem Kumrular, Nedret Kuran-Burcoglu. While Leigh Fermor appears to have no personal negative feelings for the Turks, it is also possible to analyse localized versions of the image of the Turk as he travels. These images, though loaded with negative elements, also acquire positive features during his travels, as he stops in Ada Kaleh, Karlovo or Hadjikoe. This chapter tries to explain how the image of the Turk in Patrick Leigh Fermor's travel trilogy starts and evolves. It discusses that while the image at first was only loaded with negative implications, it acquired positive aspects as Leigh Fermor nears Istanbul. These elements are commented on, exemplified and discussed in detail. Furthermore, the image of the Turk presented in the works, with its heavy negativity and occasional positivity, serves a significant purpose for the oriental condition of Central Europe and the Balkans as it is a different image than the usual image attributed to Orientals. In this regard, this chapter analyses how this image functions or is utilized as an element for orientalist discourses throughout Europe and the Balkans.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1. Restorative, Reflective and Refractive Nostalgic Conditions

After discussing the orientalist condition as well as the prominent image of the Turk in Patrick Leigh Fermor's trilogy, this third and final chapter of the thesis will focus on Leigh Fermor's reasons to start his journey and his quest. This chapter will examine the nostalgic condition in the trilogy while commenting and discussing how the before-mentioned orientalist condition, including the image of the Turk, feeds into and shapes Leigh Fermor's nostalgia. The concept of nostalgia will be inquired in accordance with its emergence, development and changes as well as various theories provided for such nostalgic conditions. Svetlana Boym's theory of nostalgia will be further analysed to comment on how nostalgia is perceived in Leigh Fermor's trilogy as a principal purpose for his quest to Constantinople, in addition to Joseph Allen's theory of refractive nostalgia. Furthermore, the nostalgic condition that Leigh Fermor and Georgina Harding has will be underlined in consideration of its historical and current form, together with the additions of orientalism and images that shape and change it. Additionally, it will be argued that Leigh Fermor's nostalgia was one of the most important elements to fuel his adventure from England to Turkey which provided him with the opportunity to observe and re-imagine the realms outside of the borders of Western Europe. It will further be argued that the nostalgia observed from Leigh Fermor's trilogy acts as a catalyst that combines all the other perceptions regarding the places that he visits, as well as enabling him to experience and face the Orient by himself. Similarly, this chapter of the thesis will conclude by underlining the prominent elements that feed into Patrick Leigh Fermor's nostalgia, his approach to his own nostalgia in consideration of his re-imaginings regarding the places he visits, as well as classifying his nostalgia within the provided historical context and Svetlana Boym's theories of restorative and reflective nostalgias and Joseph Allen's refractive nostalgia.

Nostalgia, as a general concept can be handled in a variety of manners, especially in terms of literary and artistic works. However, when the concept of nostalgia first emerged in Europe, it was not regarded as a concept for artistic works or as a mood, but as a medical disorder found among soldiers fighting in distant lands and regions. The term

nostalgia was first coined by Swiss Doctor Johannes Hofer in 1688 in his dissertation titled *Medical Dissertation on Nostalgia*, with the purpose of identifying a common problem among the Helvetians. In his thesis, Hofer argues that those afflicted with this disease often grieve “either because they are abandoned by the pleasant breeze of their Native Land or because at some time they picture themselves enjoying this more”, further explaining the source of the term nostalgia, derived from the Greek word *Nostos*, return to the native land and *Algos*, implying grief or suffering (Hofer, 1934, p. 380). This condition regarding an immense yearning for one’s own homeland, in time, lost its medical properties and came to be known as a psychological phenomenon. According to Fred Davis (1979), as a result of the surveys, he conducted on college students with his colleagues, students “...are likely to associate nostalgia with homesickness per se, while almost no one thinks of it as a “disease” (Davis, 1979, p. 4). Furthermore, he argues that the term nostalgia in the modern society has been “demilitarized” and “de-medicalised” (Davis, 1979, p. 4). This feeling of homesickness and yearning, now free from the semantic grasp of military and medical terminology, often places the concept of “home” at its centre, however, the meaning of this concept of “home” appears to vary from person to person, with all or at the very least, agreeing on one of its aspects to a certain level, the fact that it is “lost”.

In order to examine the phenomenon of nostalgia, we need to emphasize its place and function in modern and pre-modern society. In his essay *What is Enlightenment?* (1784), Kant states that this is “...man’s release from his self-incurred tutelage”, claiming that people are courageous enough to use their reason. He further claims that, with the progress of humanity, man is transferred into a bitter world and states:

In the future, the wretchedness of his condition would often arouse in him the wish for a paradise, the creation of his imagination where he could dream or while away his existence in quiet inactivity and permanent peace. But between him and that imagined place of bliss, restless reason would interpose itself, irresistibly impelling him to develop the faculties implanted within him. It would not permit him to return to that crude and simple state from which it had driven him, to begin with. (Kant, 1996, p. 129)

In a similar fashion, Freud (1962) also claims that mourning results from “...the loss of a loved person, or to the loss of some abstraction which has taken the place of one, such as one’s country, liberty, an ideal and so on” (Freud, 1981, p. 245). He further claims that the loss of this said person, place or abstraction, namely the love object is an excellent opportunity for the ambivalence to become present, which, in turn, may develop into pathological mourning (Freud, 1981, p. 250-251). Arguably, even though both Kant’s and Freud’s accounts of nostalgia, or homesickness and melancholy focus on an object lost in the past, Marcos Natali (2004) argues: “Attachment to the past becomes a hindrance precisely because of the belief that the past is irreparably lost, making nostalgia a desire without the possibility of fulfilment. The belief in this impossibility is essential for the existence of nostalgia” (Natali, 2004, p. 19). Accordingly, then, in consideration of the above-given descriptions and comments on the nostalgic condition, it is possible to broadly define nostalgia as an impossible wish and subsequent pain regarding the return to a place or condition. Dirk Klopper further comments on the nostalgic condition and focuses on claims that even though it focuses on the emotional and compassionate childhood memories, it also “...has the potential of enabling us to think again, as adults, about ourselves” (Klopper, 2016, p. 12). Similarly, Sedikes et al. (2008) argue that nostalgia has a positive function as well: “We are also inclined to regard nostalgia a positive experience. Specifically, we consider nostalgia an emotion – a predominantly positive, self-relevant emotion. As such, nostalgia has an affective structure and fulfils crucial functions” (Sedikes et al., 2008, p. 202).

Svetlana Boym, in her influential *The Future of Nostalgia* (2001), comments on the nostalgic condition in a more contemporary manner. She claims that the concept of nostalgia has an emotional, almost romantic value in addition to its property of longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed (Boym, 2001, p. xiii). Furthermore, Boym also defines nostalgia not as a historical or medical concept, but as a modern condition, and states:

Modern nostalgia is a mourning for the impossibility of mythical return, for the loss of an enchanted world with clear borders and values: it could be a secular expression of a spiritual longing, a nostalgia for an absolute, a home that is both

physical and spiritual, the Edenic unity of time and space before entry into history. The nostalgic is looking for a spiritual addressee. Encountering silence, he looks for memorable signs, desperately misreading them (Boym, 2001, p. 8).

While Boym argues that nostalgia, as a modern phenomenon, is a spiritual yearning for places that do not exist anymore or never existed in the first place, it is also possible to argue that such nostalgia could be addressed to historical conceptions, or rather, reproduction of historical and in some cases, to long-lost historical empires as a part of a broader past consisting of clear borders and values that Boym states. She further differentiates the nostalgic condition from melancholia, arguing that it does not limit itself to the personal conscious state of mind but rather it is a form of relationship that the individual history has with the group history belonging to nations or other similar societies, in a sense, between “personal and collective memory” (Boym, 2001, p. 14). This interaction between individual memory and group memory is important as it often defines the very relationship between the individual and society, enabling one to further contemplate the past and current condition of this relationship. In a similar fashion, Boym discusses the importance of the concept of nostalgia for our contemporary era, by commenting on its historical conception. She asserts that as a democratic condition that not only affected mercenaries and soldiers, it also influenced people moving into cities from rural areas, unearthing the contradictions that modernity has and becoming a full political threat rather than an individual affection. This political nature of nostalgia, in the manner of contrasting the past and the present, as well as providing a foundational background from which people draw for their future personal or social endeavours, was an important element during the interwar period, a period, like many others, observed the growth and development of patriotism and national identities. National identities, the importance of which were discussed in the second chapter of this thesis, were important elements that both fed and drew upon the condition of nostalgia as all of the images regarding one’s self and the other has a specific historical journey to them, reflecting and underlining both the good processes and interactions and unfortunate hardships that befell on relevant groups. In consideration of the historical progression of national images, as will be further argued in this thesis, nostalgia in relation to national characteristics is often utilized for various political purposes and for the creation of new nationalist discourses. Similarly, Svetlana

Boym argues that there is a certain link between the concept of nostalgia and war as “mass nostalgia often occurred following such disasters”, as the destruction caused by war produced nostalgia, it also produces a sense of glorified reconstruction of the past (Boym, 2001, p. 59). It is this idea of reconstructing a past state which is often glorified and idolized, that plays an important role in political discourses, specifically, discourses that tend to be more nationalistic in nature. Accordingly, Svetlana Boym also argues two distinct types of nostalgias, namely restorative nostalgia and reflective nostalgia. While describing these two types of nostalgias, Boym argues that these are not absolute and certain types but tendencies regarding experiencing the concept of longing. With this perspective, she further explains and differentiates these two types:

Restorative nostalgia puts emphasis on nostos and proposes to rebuild the lost home and patch up the memory gaps. Reflective nostalgia dwells in algia, in longing and loss, the imperfect process of remembrance. The first category of nostalgics do not think of themselves as nostalgics; they believe that their project is about truth. This kind of nostalgia characterizes national and nationalist revivals all over the world, which engage in the antimodern myth-making of history by means of a return to national symbols and myths and, occasionally, through swapping conspiracy theories (Boym, 2001, p. 41).

While describing the restorative features of nostalgia experienced by individuals, within the concept of returning to a more traditional way of life, as well as revisioning the history as a general narrative, Boym also states some of the characteristics of nostalgics, arguing that using or swapping conspiracy theories can be regarded as a means to explain this tragic loss regarding the past. Furthermore, she distinguishes these two inclinations of nostalgia, claiming that reflective nostalgia has no aim of rebuilding the imaginary place home but it is rather ironic, undecisive and fragmentary, stating: “Nostalgics of the second type are aware of the gap between identity and resemblance; the home is in ruins or, on the contrary, has been just renovated and gentrified beyond recognition” (Boym, 2001, p. 50). Commenting on restorative nostalgia, however, she states that there are only two main aspects of restorative nostalgia; the one regarding restoration of an original state and the fabled conspiracy theories, claiming “characteristics of the most extreme cases of

contemporary nationalism fed on right-wing popular culture (Boym, 2001, p. 79). In this regard, restorative nostalgia can also be considered a popular and useful element for right-wing populism with its myth of recreation or restoration. While this type of nostalgia also consists of conspiracy theories, this thesis will mostly focus on its restorative qualities. On the other hand, an important element of the conspiracy theory side of Boym's argument is that these individuals tend to have a worldview of "a Manichean battle of good and evil and the inevitable scapegoating of the mythical enemy" (Boym, 2001, p. 79). This is an important aspect of restorative nostalgia for the purposes of this thesis as in the previous chapter, the concept of orientalism and the image of the Turk are both examined under the light of a clash between two major civilizations, namely the East and the West. In this manner, it is possible to argue that this tendency to evaluate the whole world and its diverse features in a great war between good and evil, albeit not specific to conspiracy theories, is an excellent example of the duality that creates the foundations for discourses such as orientalism and subsequent perspectives and reproductions of the image belonging to the others, most specifically, the Turk.

Another important aspect of this restorative approach that Svetlana Boym underlines is the concept of creating a homeland, an imaginary one. She asserts that while conspiracy theories of this nature have a pejorative meaning to them, it also has important underlying structures:

Conspiracy is used pejoratively, to designate a subversive kindship of others, an imagined community based on exclusion more than affection, a union of the who are not with us, but against us. Home is not made of individual memories but of collective projections and "rational delusions". (Boym, 2001, p. 79)

Accordingly, this clash between "us" and the others is based on a sense of mutual otherness attributed to those who are not in the "us" category. While conspiracy theories are not included in the topic of this thesis and Leigh Fermor's trilogy will not be examined for its conspiracy theories (which are basically non-existent), it is important to understand and adequately conceptualise the structures that lay under these tendencies as they are also present in other discourses and these discourses are, arguably, have a loose connection between them. The otherness that is utilized to develop these conspiracy theories is also

utilized to create a strong foundation for the creation of national images, especially belonging to one's self as has been discussed in the previous chapter. That is not to say, of course, that every otherness felt or experienced or attributed must create delusionary conspiracy theories, however, it is possible to conceptualize the structures and discourses based upon these othernesses and group mentality to be on a spectrum, one end being a relatively peaceful creation of national identity regarding one's self as a result of the contrasts made with others, the other being hostile conspiracy theories. An important difference between these two ends of the spectrum is that while it is possible for extreme nostalgics of restorative nature to have glorified ideals of reviving a somehow lost utopia, the science of examining these national or group images created in comparison to others does not have a purpose of recreating or establishing a fundamental discourse based on the realness of these national images. In other words, while one completely embraces the realness of the said discourses and national images and aspires to establish a new world solely based on them with the help of conspiracy theories, the other accepts the fluidity of these images and discourses and merely aspires to utilize them to make sense of the past in accordance with its historical perceptions.

The other aspect of nostalgia that Svetlana Boym identifies is reflective nostalgia. This type of nostalgia is quite different from restorative nostalgia as it does not focus on restoring something or someplace; however, it focuses on the memories of the individual and society. It emphasizes the memories themselves, with a more individual perspective, examining and rejoicing in its "details and memorial signs, perpetually deferring homecoming itself" (Boym, 2001, p. 88). If it is possible to argue that restorative nostalgia aims to restore and rebuild an ideal home or a country, it is also possible to claim that reflective nostalgia is not troubled with this homecoming, it instead, enjoys the memories and their fragments as they are. This type of approach is a more individual one than restorative nostalgia as the fragments of these memories and the feelings they evoke change from person to person. As Boym argues, reflective nostalgia can present itself ironically or humorously, in opposition to restorative nostalgia which considers its aims very seriously, almost like a matter of life and death (Boym, 2001, p. 89). This approach to nostalgia is similar to how the science of imagology examines images, both accept that these are

fragments of time that can be observed and enjoyed, not specific to any ideological purpose.

Boym further compares the two types of nostalgia that she identifies:

Reflective nostalgia does not pretend to rebuild the mythical place called home; it is “enamored of distance, not of the referent itself.” This type of nostalgic narrative is ironic, inconclusive and fragmentary. Nostalgics of the second type are aware of the gap between identity and resemblance; the home is in ruins or, on the contrary, has been just renovated and gentrified beyond recognition. This defamiliarization and sense of distance drives them to tell their story, to narrate the relationship between past, present and future (Boym, 2001, p. 89).

Arguably, this reflective approach to nostalgia is much more realistic compared to the restorative approach as it does not idealize the concept of home (which is required to be clearly defined in order to be able to be idealized), it merely accepts it and explores its options for what to do with the present material. As it does not glorify the past, it is also neither resentful nor aggressive towards the differences between the present and history. It signifies that a person can both long for something and critique it at the same time. Furthermore, this type of nostalgia has no greater purpose, in that it is not suitable to be utilized for grand narratives, other than the individual’s personal experience and narrative. However, it should not be understood that reflective nostalgia is free from the grasp of mourning. Like restorative nostalgia, it mourns for the loss of home, it accepts the bitter-sweet aroma of nostalgia, and it is affected by the distance between the present and the past. This “open wound,” as Boym describes the sense of losing one’s home, exists for both of them. The difference, then, is between the manners of how these two types of nostalgia approach the loss of home. While one is desperately trying to rebuild what is lost, with false memories and grandeur, the other accepts the changes and embraces the time fragments created by the past and the present. In other words, while the destination is the most important element for restorative nostalgia, reflective nostalgia tends to enjoy the journey for its own sake as Boym asserts: “Homecoming does not signify a recovery of identity; it does not end the journey in the virtual space of imagination. A modern nostalgic can be homesick and sick of home, at once” (Boym, 2001, p. 90).

Yet, there is another important type of nostalgia suggested by Joseph Allen, in his work *Taipei: City of Displacements* (2012). While Allen comments on the colonial past of Taiwan, he states that he observed a different kind of nostalgia in Taiwan, a type of nostalgia that “does not want to rebuild a lost home per se but does want to return to some cultural conditions associated with that time and place” (Allen, 2012, p. 191). His approach to Taiwan is quite similar to Svetlana Boym’s approach to Eastern Europe as both regions, to some extent, were subjected to foreign colonial rule. Allen’s idea of nostalgia, however, differs from Boym’s as “the intent is neither to restore nor to reflect but to use these memories, as reified in recovered objects, to cast light (focused in its refraction) on contemporary conditions of displacement (Allen, 2012, p. 191). This refractive approach to the past allows people to have a more actual sense of belonging when compared to restorative and reflective approaches, as Allen argues that after the second world war and the subsequent defeat of Japan, the Republic of China’s officials were quick to replace them: “They disparaged the Japanese influence on the island yet seemingly accepted its colonial project” (Allen, 2012, p. 35). He further states that one of the Japanese buildings on the island, the Presidential Building of Taipei, became one of the major symbols for the country after the fall of Japanese colonial rule. This cultural recovery, according to Allen, was a significant part of the refractive condition as the Japanese legacy of the building was celebrated (Allen, 2012, p. 35). Accordingly, it is possible to argue that this type of nostalgia is more accepting and selective when compared to the other two types of nostalgia. While restorative nostalgia wants to rebuild “home” and reflective nostalgia wants to reflect on its memories, this kind of nostalgia embraces even the hostile symbol as a part of their identity.

3.2. Patrick Leigh Fermor’s Orient and Byzantium

As an 18-year-old, idly travelling across continental Europe, Leigh Fermor’s journey is an interesting one, not only because it presents its audience with a glimpse into the interwar period, describing and reflecting various cultures, places, peoples as well as their histories, but it also allows us to tap into the imaginative world of a young British man in early 1930’s. Arguably, there are various elements and factors that feed into Leigh Fermor’s motivation for such a long journey, especially in consideration of the fact that

most of it were travelled on foot. George Prochnik (2014) states that one of the most important elements that contribute to Leigh Fermor's desire to travel across Europe, with its end being Constantinople, was his readings of Robert Byron's *The Station*, which influenced him with its narratives of Mount Athos as well as Byzantine monasteries (Prochnik, 2014, p. 165). Byzantium, or the idea of Byzantium, is arguably one of the most prominent elements that motivated Leigh Fermor to undertake this journey, coupled with the interesting fact that he always referred to Istanbul as Constantinople which, by the 1930s was already replaced with the name Istanbul. Of course, this fascination with the Greek culture as well as with the whole antiquity itself, is not specific to Leigh Fermor as it was also observed in various authors before him, such as Lord Byron who, with his contributions to the establishment of the Kingdom of Greece, became a popular figure in the region.

Leigh Fermor's fascination with Byzantium was closely related to his ideals of a utopian civilization, as an ideal state of culture and literature, as Prochnik asserts that "Byzantium for [Leigh] Fermor became a metropolitan template for lush, thaumaturgic prose, a stylistic axis where learning and colorful life could orgiastically commingle" (Prochnik, 2014, p. 176). This is no surprise for the contemporary reader; even though Leigh Fermor was born during the First World War, it is quite possible that this war and its consequences, through his society, influenced him greatly which sparked the flame for his quest to adventure into a new world, a bright and utopian world. This approach is also quite prominent among nostalgics, as previously discussed, Boym's opinion regarding a link between war and problematic conditions and the feeling of nostalgia can also be observed in Leigh Fermor's works. At the beginning of the first book of his trilogy, he mentions an incident. Just after the First World War, in 1919, he participates in some kind of festivity in Northamptonshire, where people burned dummies that were dressed in German uniforms. He remembers that as dummies were burning, they started collapsing and people started to panic. Margaret, the daughter of one of his neighbours, starts to run away with him, advising Leigh Fermor to not look back: "But I did look back for a moment, all the same; the abandoned bonfire lit up the crowd which had assembled under the willows. Everything, somehow, spelt disaster and mishap" (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 47).

About more than 10 years after this incident, he starts his adventure that would take him from Western Europe, recently devastated by war and soon to be again, into the utopian Byzantine realm. For the majority of his trilogy, the Byzantine Empire or Byzantine realms, in general, were mentioned together with their downfall, a tragic loss of culture and civilization fallen into the barbaric hands. Of course, these barbarians, as discussed in Chapter Two, were Turks and all Mongol-like peoples that stormed the Byzantine lands (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 52). In this regard, we can observe that Byzantium, or at least the idea of Byzantium that Leigh Fermor had, symbolizes a lost home, a home that cannot be recovered. It can be argued that the very destination of his journey, Constantinople as he puts it, is the reflection of his quest to search for the Byzantine spirit, of course, where could he find it anywhere else than Constantinople?

In another section of his second book, he describes a crown gifted to Hungary by the Byzantines. As he talks about the history of this artefact, he identifies some features of the crown with what he considers to be Byzantine: “But the later addition of enamel plaques, gold chains and pendant gems give it an unquestionably Byzantine look, fitter for a mosaic sovereign by the Bosphorus or at Ravenna, one would think, than for a canopied monarch of the West” (Leigh Fermor, 2004, p. 36). While he attributes these royal features of the crown such as beautiful gems and chains to Byzantium, what is important is that he makes a differentiation between what he considers to be Byzantine and the West and clearly, does not see the West as sufficient for such royal features. Byzantium, described in opposition to the West has another significance; he considers Byzantine to be the East, a Hellenic, utopian East. Arguably, then, it is possible to claim that what he is nostalgic for is not only the Byzantine culture but also a glorious East, an East that has not befallen on “barbarian” hands of the steppe people, an East that can be celebrated, cherished for its glory and civilization. This also makes the concept of the Orient questionable, as it becomes harder and harder to clearly define what the actual Orient is, and where it starts and ends if it includes both glorious Byzantine heritage and barbarous Oriental elements. In accordance with Boym’s idea of restorative nostalgia, it is possible to see restorative elements in Leigh Fermor’s approach to the idea of Byzantine and a Byzantine, Hellenic East. Similarly, George Prochnik also argues that Leigh Fermor’s goal is a restoration, not necessarily focused on the technological advances: “Instead of charting correspondences

between the technological future and core elements of the Byzantine outlook, he conjured the restoration of Byzantium itself through language – literally seeking the future in the past” (Prochnik, 2014, p. 170).

That is not to say that Leigh Fermor’s restorative ideas were riddled with conspiracy theories, in fact, it differs from Boym’s idea of restorative nostalgia. Leigh Fermor’s restorative ideas mostly present themselves as a longing for a better future, feeding on a utopian version of the past, not to be found in the West, but in the East. Similarly, Leigh Fermor’s fascination with the Byzantines and the Hellenic culture and its features are to be considered in parallel with his historical nostalgia as well as its current state and his quest to find or even unearth the golden era of the East and Byzantium. Additionally, Leigh Fermor’s nostalgia towards the past of the Orient as a Hellenic utopia can be attributed to his perception of Western civilisation as it feeds on ancient Greek culture. It would be adequate to suggest that Leigh Fermor’s quest to reach Constantinople was also a quest for him to reach this ancient utopia for which he was nostalgic, which, as can be observed from the fact that he barely mentions any of his experiences in Constantinople, unfortunately, failed at the end of his journey. His nostalgia regarding the past of the Orient can best be explained by his remarks concerning dances, upon encountering some Bulgarian shepherds and Greek fishermen in Bulgaria, and watching them dance their traditional dances:

To me, they seemed at the time, and they still seem, to be exactly that amalgam of Greece and the Orient which is covered by the word “Byzantine”, appertaining to the city which was the heart and soul of the Greek world for over a thousand years (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 247)

Arguably, Leigh Fermor’s nostalgia regarding the Greek Orient has certain restorative features. Boym, while arguing about the features of restorative nostalgia states that nostalgia arises as a result of temporal distance and displacement, while distance is handled with an intimate experience and the availability of the desired object, displacement is resolved by returning to the home (Boym, 2001, p. 45). It is possible to argue that, on his quest to reach the Orient utopia, Leigh Fermor’s regards, such as the above-given one, are his manner of expressing his nostalgic feelings, in other words, he is trying to resolve his own displacement partially caused by horrors of war, by returning home, a home which he

considers to be one of the best examples of human civilizations. By getting close to Constantinople, which is the desired object or love object at the centre of his nostalgia, he both eliminates the said distance and acquires the chance to interact with the parts and remnants of his desired object. Leigh Fermor's nostalgic relationship with his love object, as I argue, namely Constantinople symbolizes all good Oriental civilizations including the Greek one. This is further underlined by his remarks regarding the Turks and the fall of Constantinople, which signifies the fall of the Orient as civilization as he describes the origin of the Turks:

...kinsmen of the all-destroying Mongols, who had surged westwards, turned Muslim, founded the Sultanate of Rum and then conquered the Roman Empire of the east, and finally, by capturing Constantinople, inflicted the greatest disaster on Europe since the sack of Rome by the Goths a thousand years earlier (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 47).

On the other hand, while on his quest to reach his home in a restoratively nostalgic manner, Leigh Fermor also has the chance to experience the Orient, in its current condition by himself. This is an exemplary point in his nostalgic approach because it creates a comparison between the idea that he has regarding a utopian Orient and the existing realities of the Orient in his era. This contrast between what is ideal and what is the current condition will ultimately become the very thing that breaks this restorative illusion for Leigh Fermor, as he travels eastwards, he encounters more and more Turkish and other Oriental features in addition to Greek and Byzantine elements. The Orient he was looking for is filled with Turkish images that destroyed the Byzantine Empire. Furthermore, the question of what lies in the Orient is brought to the table once again, as it would not possible to define the Orient, especially the European Orient previously ruled by the Turks. As he travels further east, this question becomes even harder to answer as the Orient and his love object, namely a Hellenic East, is no longer a distant one nor it perfectly exists as he imagines it.

However, his nostalgia, possessing restorative features, mostly focuses on his observations and re-imaginings of the Orient, without blaming anyone, or falling into one of the ideological traps of restorative nostalgia. Furthermore, it is possible to argue that, as

it is stated above, Leigh Fermor's quest to reach the Oriental civilization initially failed, as can be observed from the fact that journal entries from Constantinople are quite limited and often without any significant re-imaginings. However, it is also possible and logical to argue that his quest which initially failed, is restored by his travel to Thessaloniki and subsequently to Mount Athos, at which point his journal entries interestingly increase in number. Furthermore, it is no secret that Leigh Fermor was not able to find what he was looking for in Istanbul. Centuries have already passed since Constantinople, as a cultural jewel of the East and Byzantine/Hellenic civilization was fallen into the hands of the Turks. It can be further argued that this idea of utopian Constantinople was not even the reality when Turks finally conquered the city which already suffered significant damages caused by the Christian Crusader armies. This was also acknowledged by Leigh Fermor himself, upon talking about certain dances he encountered in the Balkans: "For me, these dances epitomize the last two hundred years of Byzantium, when the empire, pillaged and dismembered by the Crusades, survive with the certainty of catastrophe looming at the end" (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p.247). Regardless of when exactly Constantinople actually fell, be it 5 or 8 centuries ago, it is certain that its memories continue to live on in young and old Leigh Fermor's imagination, the memories which were unfortunately shattered by his actual experiences in 1930s Istanbul.

However, even before reaching Istanbul, it is possible to observe that Leigh Fermor experiences this mix between the *bad Oriental* and the utopian Oriental in Romania. Leigh Fermor's observations regarding Ada Kaleh have been discussed regarding the orientalist and imagology discourses but it is also important regarding his nostalgia. The Turkish town on the island called Ada Kaleh can be considered to be an important element for the disillusionment regarding restorative nostalgia. Not only do the Turkish people living on the island represent a different picture of the Orient, but it also signifies the most important factors that destroyed the utopic Hellenic home that was the Byzantine realms. Charles Sabatos (2020), in his work dealing with the refractive nostalgia of Leigh Fermor, also mentions this island and compares it to another place: "Like Bratislava, the sunken Turkish island becomes a fitting symbol for their literary odysseys in search of lost time, an expression of refractive nostalgia for the post-imperial cultural twilight that disappeared with the rise of Nazi and Communist regimes" (Sabatos, 2013, p. 13). It is indeed important

to note that Ada Kaleh, in addition to the presence of the Orientals, signifies a lost time, a place that is in a time capsule, a reminder of the long-gone Ottoman presence in the region in a refractive manner.

From Ada Kaleh to Istanbul, we can observe Leigh Fermor encountering more and more Turkish remnants of the previous Byzantine realms, signifying that the current version of the Orient is not a pure, Hellenic region but it includes various elements from other cultures which are not considered to be European. This disillusionment regarding his restorative nostalgia culminates with his arrival in Constantinople. This fact is also represented in the writings of the editors of his last book in which he actually reaches Constantinople. Artemis Cooper and Colin Thubron note that there is very little mention of Istanbul in Leigh Fermor's diaries: "Strangely, even in this diary, he recounts nothing of the leftover Byzantine glories of the old capital (no word, even, of Hagia Sophia or the great walls of Theodosius) and little of its Ottoman Splendour" (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 265). However, Leigh Fermor's quest does not end in Constantinople, as there is one last place that he needs to visit to fulfil his quest.

Accordingly, what Leigh Fermor failed to achieve in Istanbul was once again reignited with him travelling between many monasteries of Mount Athos. Mount Athos, in the absence of any Byzantine remnants of Constantinople, becomes an important point for the restoration of the Byzantine dream for Leigh Fermor. The strong Hellenic and Orthodox influences he was looking for in Istanbul, were reflected in him from Mount Athos through the literary works of Robert Byron. With this purpose, Leigh Fermor sails towards this important peninsula in Western Thrace.

While on a ship to Athos, he re-imagines the history of the region and finally, even though it endured changes, he reaches his nostalgic love object, with reassurance that the mountains and the region itself which are subject to many historical events are the same:

I wonder just how much has changed; one thing however is reassuring: these pine-clad mountains and golden strands are the same as those on which the heavy-helmeted hoplites stood looking seaward, the Macedonia of Philip and Alexander (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 271).

Furthermore, in accordance with the above-given quotations and Leigh Fermor's retelling, it is possible to argue that Leigh Fermor achieves to actualise his nostalgic feelings to some degree, after failing to find what he dreamed of in Istanbul, in Mount Athos with its strong Orthodox and Byzantine heritage. Arguably, for Leigh Fermor, Mount Athos and what it represents were somewhat sufficient to quench his nostalgia regarding the utopic Orient, with historical artefacts he was able to observe in Athos:

The manuscripts were priceless – old monastic charts and geographies, written before the centuries were in double figures – gold and black Byzantine psalters, each initial a work of art, the gift of some almost mythical empress or voivode; wonderful calligraphies of the sultans, and lastly a precious chalice, the gift of one of the Comneni (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 293).

Similarly, as it can be observed from Leigh Fermor's remarks, including calligraphies of Sultans among other Byzantine artefacts, it is also possible to observe that his Oriental utopia is not a purely Hellenistic or Christian environment, in fact, it now includes various major changes that occurred in the Orient since the Byzantine golden era. Arguably, it is in this regard that Leigh Fermor's nostalgia towards his love object, takes a turn towards a reflective approach, as Boym argues: “

Reflective nostalgia cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporalizes space. Restorative nostalgia takes itself dead seriously. Reflective nostalgia, on the other hand, can be ironic and humorous. It reveals that longing and critical thinking are not opposed to one another, as affective memories do not absolve one from compassion, judgement or critical reflection (Boym, 2001, p. 59).

Initially reimagining the Orient as a purely Hellenic utopia, what Leigh Fermor finds in Mount Athos is a mixture of both Byzantine heritage and the Turkish oriental presence in the history of the region. While at first, his approach was a restorative one, it becomes a reflective approach as Leigh Fermor finds his love object among the slopes of Mount Athos since what he finds there, even though mixed with other influences, is enough to quench his nostalgia for his love object. It can be argued that these Oriental and Turkish elements which can be found even in the most remote monasteries of Mount Athos are the

most important elements that push Leigh Fermor's nostalgia from a restorative one, into a reflective one. The image of the Turk thus becomes an important part of his nostalgia.

Subsequently, it is possible to find some fragments belonging to different cultures, eras and peoples in Leigh Fermor's nostalgia as he never hesitates to put Turkish artistic forms adjacent to the ones belonging to the Greeks and Byzantines. Arguably, even though his nostalgia has restorative qualities, it is also a fragmented one, embracing all the different fragments that, at one point, belonged to the Orient. This is a dramatic but necessary change in Leigh Fermor's approach to his nostalgic feelings, as a purely Hellenic East is nowhere to be found, he gladly accepts a more fragmented version of it.

As such, Leigh Fermor's ideal or utopian Orient is not to be considered a purely Hellenic or Christian one anymore, instead, it is a harmonious amalgamation created by the history of the very region itself. Accordingly, he further emphasizes that one of the monasteries in Vatopedi, that the place itself was adorned with carpets in addition to "...Turkish rug in the sanctum where the epitrope sat was adorned with the double-headed eagle and crown of Byzantium" (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 293). It doesn't appear to the audience that Leigh Fermor avoids providing a somewhat humorous tone for his restorative and yet fragmented nostalgia as he explains that while in Vatopedi and with the companionship of good quality wine he states that he managed to amuse a group of people by "...giving an imitation of a muezzin calling from the minaret and then a Muslim at prayer – ablutions, prostration etc. I must have been a little drunk, looking back, but it was quite a success. They applauded in Turkish –“Eyi, eyi! Teshekur ederim! Chok güzel, Bey effendi! (Eyi, eyi! Thank you! Very fine, sir!)” (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 294). This humorous tone is arguably the one Boym mentions regarding her idea of reflective nostalgia. The presence of the Turks in the region, especially after Leigh Fermor was able to find what he was looking for in Mount Athos, is not a deadly threat towards a restorative approach as we can observe that the image of the Turk is now incorporated into Leigh Fermor's nostalgia. As it is stated before, while restorative nostalgia takes itself very seriously, the approach we observe from Leigh Fermor in Mount Athos is an ironic one which also brings forth the acceptance of the threat which embedded itself in the very fabric of the region. In this case, what Boym calls home, is renovated and acquired new features

for Leigh Fermor. In a similar fashion, a question can be asked as to why Leigh Fermor was not able to find what he was looking for in Istanbul. After all, the city was established and ruled by the Greeks for more than a millennia. An adequate answer would be the lack of instantly obvious Byzantine heritage existing in the city in the 1930s. It is understandable that for Leigh Fermor, as a now-19-year-old young man, basically a tourist, the most attractive features of the city belonged to its Oriental Muslim past. This is not the case for Mount Athos as, throughout centuries, it remained Orthodox and Byzantine as an autonomous region. In other words, the isolation of Mount Athos was what allowed it to enshrine and protect its historical fabric, even though it also experienced changes and new additions despite its isolation.

Mount Athos is quite similar to Ada Kaleh in this regard as both places act as a time capsule for their respective regions. Ada Kaleh represents the Turkish history of a Christian region whereas Mount Athos presents the audience with a glimpse of the past glory of the Orient. It can be argued that while Leigh Fermor was in Ada Kaleh, he must have felt as if he was some traveller visiting Turkish domains in the 16th century. Accordingly, while he was in Mount Athos, he must also have felt like a scholar enjoying the beauties of the jewel of the East. It is no surprise that both Ada Kaleh and Mount Athos are important places for Leigh Fermor as they both represent a clash of civilizations. Furthermore, Leigh Fermor's experiences of both places appear to the audience as otherworldly. Similar to how the sound of Adhan in Ada Kaleh was a new thing for Leigh Fermor, so it was the lifestyle across Mount Athos:

When I asked them the time, I got incomprehensible answers as on the Holy Mountain old Byzantine time, which has died out everywhere else, is still in use; the monk told me it was nine o'clock, although it was mid-afternoon: the sun sets at twelve, apparently; one gets used to it in a few days (Leigh Fermor, 2013, p. 304).

It is also possible to argue that Ada Kaleh is one of the most important places for Leigh Fermor as it was a prominent image of the Orient in Europe, which reflects the fact that the realities of the region do not quietly reflect a restorative approach. In a similar fashion, Mount Athos is another important contributor to Leigh Fermor's nostalgia as not

only it has all the things Leigh Fermor is searching for, but it also bears marks from other cultures as well. His experiences in both places can be considered as catalysts for his nostalgia, one shaking the foundations of a restorative approach, the other providing the foundations for a more reflective approach. In the end, what started as a restorative journey for Leigh Fermor to actualise an ideal Byzantine utopia, became a much more realistic and reflective approach to his love object. In a sense, it became a combination of both approaches, as well as a refractive one, presenting all the histories and the current conditions of the Orient in a harmonious blend.

The nostalgic condition in Harding's work, however, is not reflected as clearly as it is in Leigh Fermor's works, in fact, it is not Harding that the nostalgic condition is present in the work. On the contrary, we can observe that the nostalgic condition itself is stemming from the Romanian people. As it is discussed previously, the emergence of the nostalgic condition in troubling times can be underlined in many instances in Harding's works, especially people telling her she should have come earlier to Romania when things were better (Harding, 1991, p. 76). This nostalgic condition can be analysed under the light of restorative nostalgia wherein people wish to return to better times. And arguably, it is also possible to find some other aspects of this nostalgia, especially how Romanians perceived Hungary as a contributing factor to their now problematic situation. This restorative approach includes Hungary, as well as Hungarians as a contributor to the bitter current state and they are presented as one of the obstacles against these restorative wishes.

This third and final chapter of the thesis aimed to examine the purposes behind Leigh Fermor's journey from the Hook of the Holland to Constantinople, and eventually, to Mount Athos as well as the nostalgia reflected in Harding's work. It inquired about the motivations for the author to start such a long journey. It is argued that the effects of the First World War were among the strongest elements that contributed to Leigh Fermor's journey eastward, in the search for a utopian, ideal civilization. This chapter utilized restorative and reflective nostalgia theories of Svetlana Boym as well as Joseph Allen's refractive nostalgia. It is argued that even though Leigh Fermor started his journey with a more restorative approach towards the East as a Byzantine utopia, the majority of the encounters he had and places he visited throughout his journey started to shake the

foundations of a restorative approach. After experiencing the Orient, both in Central Europe, the Balkans and Istanbul, it is argued that his approach to Orient as a nostalgic home took a more reflective turn, culminating in Mount Athos after he was not able to find what he was looking for in Istanbul. Ada Kaleh and Mount Athos are examined under the light of Leigh Fermor's nostalgic approach, as places that heavily influenced and shifted his views. Finally, after Leigh Fermor reached his love object among the many monasteries of the Holy Mountain, it is argued that his nostalgic approach contained both reflective and restorative approaches, as well as refractive qualities. In other words, even though Leigh Fermor was not able to find a utopian East, he was able to find and accept a more realistic Orient, together with its negatively attributed features.

CONCLUSION

This thesis discusses Patrick Leigh Fermor's travelogue consisting of *A Time of Gifts* (1977), *Between the Woods and Water* (1986) and *A Broken Road: From the Iron Gates to Mount Athos* (2013) and Georgina Harding's *In Another Europe: A Journey To Romania* (1990) under the light of orientalist discourses, the image of the Turk and nostalgia. The first chapter provides a brief explanation of the East in its position against Europe. The history of the Orient and how it is perceived in Europe is discussed by providing the definitions and attributes it has provided since antiquity. Subsequently, the first chapter examines the theoretical background provided to deconstruct the relationship between the East and the West through Edward Said's influential work, *Orientalism* (1978). While Said's opinions regarding this relationship between the East and the West, wherein the East is in a submissive position and the West has the upper hand, are relevant to British and French literature, it is not possible to apply this theoretical perspective to every country we now consider to be European. Accordingly, Andre Gingrich's idea of frontier orientalism and Maria Todorova's balkanism are used to further analyse the orientalist discourses in other important regions of Europe. It is then argued that Gingrich's and Todorova's ideas for the orientalist conditions in Central Europe and the Balkans are much more appropriate for these regions by further highlighting certain sections in the works of these British travellers. It is argued that Said's idea requires a strong, colonial Western force whereas Central Europe and the Balkans described in the works are in the opposite position, being subjected to Oriental or Turkish rule. In this regard, it is claimed that the arguments provided by Gingrich and Todorova have stronger ground for the said regions. Subsequently, the Orient, as described in Patrick Leigh Fermor's and Georgina Harding's works is commented on through a historical perspective and it is discussed that the Orient presented in these works, with highly influential elements, is far from being a weak partner; instead, it is the dominating one while still possessing some of the attributes provided for a more Saidian oriental, such as barbarism or cruelty. In this regard, it concludes that the Oriental observed in the works is a powerful, dominating force that is still perceived as brutal and oppressive for Central European and Balkan nations, in parallel with how Gingrich and Todorova comment on the condition in these specific regions.

The second chapter of the thesis handles one of the most important elements regarding this new Oriental which is argued to be different from the Saidian Oriental. It is argued that the Turk, or the image of it, has a significant place in Patrick Leigh Fermor's travelogue as someone who is travelling into the previous Byzantine realms. This image attributed to Turks is discussed under the light of Joep Leerssen's theory of imagology, analysing and contrasting it with its former versions, evaluating the positive and negative aspects of it, especially in a nation-building manner. It is discussed that national images have stereotypical values and are not constant social constructs, in fact, they evolve and gain new attributes throughout their history. The chapter further argues that the new-historicist literary movement, which claims that literary works are to be examined within their era and geographical realities, provides a much more suitable foundation for national or, more broadly, social images to be examined. Accordingly, it is argued that Stephen Greenblatt's idea of self-fashioning heavily depends on the image of the other in which case, under the light of Patrick Leigh Fermor's works, is the Turk for Central European and Balkan nations. It is further asserted that the orientalist discourse in the said works heavily utilizes this negative image of the Turk which is fed by a couple, not necessarily Turkish, images attributed to the Orient such as Saracens or in a more ancient manner, the Persians. The argument provided for the utilization of this image for both self-fashioning and nation-building purposes, as well as for orientalist discourses, is supported by various historical artefacts, sights and locations observed by the author throughout his journey into the Orient. It is further argued that the image of the Turk served the purpose of the Other for Central European and Balkan Christian nations to fashion themselves a national identity as Christian and European nations. Furthermore, it is claimed that while the image of the Turk observed in Leigh Fermor's works is mainly a negative one, it also acquires additional positive features as Leigh Fermor reaches his destination. This change in the image, acquiring new and positive attributes, is discussed to be in parallel with the general imagological idea that national images often change and evolve throughout time. It is further suggested that this was the case for Patrick Leigh Fermor as he continued his journey towards Istanbul.

In the third and final chapter of this thesis, the main argument is directed towards a more personal matter. It is argued that the main reason that fuelled Patrick Leigh Fermor

to take on such a long journey during the interwar period, is nostalgic in nature, fed partially by the recent war and its influences and partially by the previous philhellenic tradition established by various British travellers throughout the history. While this chapter utilized the theories of Svetlana Boym regarding nostalgia and discussed that Boym identifies two distinct yet interconnected nostalgic types, it is also possible to suggest a third, more refractive one such as Joseph Allen's theory of refractive nostalgia. Subsequently, Patrick Leigh Fermor's nostalgia to return to a more utopic, idealized and, of course, Hellenic orient possesses many restorative qualities as it mainly aspires to restore a more glorious past in the future. However, Leigh Fermor interacted more and more with the Orientals, namely the Turks, and the remnants left behind by their collapsing empire which in turn changed the restorative origins of Leigh Fermor's nostalgia. It is further suggested that the restorative approach of the author's nostalgia is shaken as he travels eastwards, in consideration of the fact that the Orient he was looking for, which was a Hellenic idealized Orient, was nowhere to be found. Instead, Leigh Fermor was welcomed by Central Europe which still bears the influence of Turkish rule and the Balkans which were in a more heterogenous state as discussed in Maria Todorova's idea of balkanism. Furthermore, it is suggested that it was these orientalist and balkanist discourses, as well as the strong existence and influence of the image of the Turk that changed the course of Leigh Fermor's nostalgic feelings which suffered a bitter defeat in his arrival to Istanbul upon acknowledging the fact that the city that represents the state of civilization that he was nostalgic for was non-existent. It is asserted that only after travelling the Mount Athos that Leigh Fermor was able to quench his nostalgia with strong Byzantine influences of the peninsula. However, it is further discussed that even this secluded monastic region was influenced by the strong Oriental and Turkish cultural elements, at which point, Leigh Fermor's nostalgia, through these eastern influences, transforms into a more reflective and refractive nostalgia.

In conclusion, this thesis examines Patrick Leigh Fermor's and Georgina Harding's works through the orientalist, imagological and nostalgic lenses. While these three topics seem distant at first, it is possible to argue that this is far from the truth as all of these approaches have something in common: the past. Orientalist discourses, imagology and nostalgia both utilize and feed on the past; how it was actually observed, how various

cultures throughout history interacted with each other, what were the strong elements and factors for such interactions and how the conditions of these cultures, their interactions are reflected in social and cultural materials. While this thesis aspired to provide arguments to have a different look at the interaction between the East and the West, it is by no means the last discussion as much remains to be argued regarding specific European regions and their interactions with the East, as well as their cultural elements and representations, and more importantly, the feelings that they create in us.



REFERENCES

- Allen, J. (2012). *Taipei: City of Displacements*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Anspach, C. K. (1934). Medical Dissertation on Nostalgia by Johannes Hofer, 1688. *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine*, 2(6), 376-391.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/44437799>
- Barthes, R. (1986). *The Rustle of Language* (R. Howard, Trans.). New York: Hill and Wang.
- Beller-Hann, I. (1995). The Image of the Turks in Nineteenth-Century Hungarian Literature. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 5, 222-238
- Beller, M. (2007). Perception, Image, Imagology. In H. Dyserinck & J. Leerssen, (Eds.), *Studia Imagologica: Amsterdam Studies on Cultural Identity*, 13. Amsterdam: Radopi. (pp. 3-16).
- Boym, S. (2001). *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Byron, G. (2006). Don Juan. In P. Wright (Ed.), *Selected Poems of Lord Byron: Including Don Juan and Other Poems*. Stansted: Wordsworth Editions. (pp. 51-557).
- Cirakman, A. (2003). Sir Paul Rycaut and his Influence on the 18th Century Thought of the Turks, In M. Soykut (Ed.) *Historical Image of the Turk in Europe: 15th Century to the Present*. Istanbul: Isis. (pp. 227-246).
- Davis, F. (1979). *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia*. London: The Free Press.
- Foucault, M. (1978). *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction* (R. Hurley, Trans.). New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1980). Truth and Power. In C. Gordon (Ed.) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. (C. Gordon, L. M. J. Marshall, K. Soper, Trans.). New York: Pantheon Books. (pp. 109-133).
- Foucault, M. (2005). *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences* (Tavistock/Routledge, Trans.). New York: Routledge Classics.

- Freud, S. (1981). *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (J. Strachey, Trans.). London: The Hogarth Press
- Gáfrik, R. (2020). Imagining the Orient in Central Europe: An Intercultural Studies Project. Rebuilding the Profession. *Comparative Literature, Intercultural Studies and the Humanities in the Age of Globalization. Essays in Honor of Mihai I. Spariosu*, (pp. 176-187)
- Gingrich, A. (1996). Frontier Myths of Orientalism: The Muslim world in public and popular cultures of Central Europe. *Mediterranean Ethnological Summer School*, 2, (pp. 99-127)
- Gallagher, C & Greenblatt, S. (2000). *Practicing New Historicism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Greenblatt, S. (1988). *Shakespearean Negotiations*. Los Angeles: University of California Press
- Greenblatt, S. (2005). *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Harding, G. (1991). *In Another Europe: A Journey into Romania*. London: Sceptre.
- Hippocrates. *On Airs, Waters and Places* (F. Adams, Trans.). (1861). One More Library. <https://onemorelibrary.com/index.php/en/books/technology/book/medicine-314/on-air-water-and-places-2425> (Original work published ca. 400 B.C.E.)
- Hřibek, M. (2011). Czech Indology and the Concept of Orientalism. *Understanding India: Indology and Beyond*, (pp. 45-56).
- Kant, E. (1996). *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* (V. L. Dowdell, Trans.) Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press
- Klopper, D. (2016). The Problem of Nostalgia. *English In Africa Vol 43 No 3*. Rhodes: Rhodes University. (pp. 9-17).
- Kumrular, O. (2005). *Dunyada Turk Imgesi*. Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi

- Kuran-Burcoglu, N. (2007). Turkey. In H. Dyserinck & J. Leerssen, (Eds.) *Studia Imagologica: Amsterdam Studies on Cultural Identity*, 13, Amsterdam: Radopi. (pp. 254-258).
- Leerssen, J. (2007). Identity/Alterity/Hybridity. In H. Dyserinck & J. Leerssen, (Eds.), *Studia Imagologica: Amsterdam Studies on Cultural Identity*, 13, (pp. 335-341).
- Leerssen, J. (2007). Imagology: History and Method. In H. Dyserinck & J. Leerssen, (Eds.), *Studia Imagologica: Amsterdam Studies on Cultural Identity*, 13. Amsterdam: Radopi. (pp. 17-32).
- Leigh Fermor, P. (2013). *A Time of Gifts*. London: John Murray
- Leigh Fermor, P. (2004). *Between the Woods and Water*. London: John Murray.
- Leigh Fermor, P. (2013). *The Broken Road: From the Iron Gates to Mount Athos*. London: John Murray.
- MacMillan, C. (2013). *Discourse, Identity and the Question of Turkish Accession to the EU: Through the Looking Glass*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Natali, Marcos P. (2004). History and Politics of Nostalgia. *Iowa Journal of Cultural Studies* 5. Iowa: The University of Iowa. 10-25.
- Prochnik, G. (2014). Byzantium Style. *Salmagundi* 182/183. 164-235
- Sabatos, Charles D. (2020). Bratislava as a Cultural Borderland in the Danubian Narratives of Patrick Leigh Fermor and Claudio Magris. *World Literature Studies* 4(13). 3-19
- Sabatos, Charles D. (2020). *Frontier Orientalism and the Turkish Image in Central European Literature*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Sedikes, C., Wildschut, T., Arndt, J., Routledge, C. (2008). Nostalgia: Past, Present, and Future. *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 17(5). 304-307
- Said, E. (2019). *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books.
- Todorova, M. (2009). *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.