Notes

Introduction

[1] Richard E. Palmer, *Hermeneutics: Interpretation Theory in Schleiermacher, Dilthey, Heidegger, and Gadamer* (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1969) 147.

[2] Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, transl. Richard Howard (Berkeley: U of California P, 1989) 107-8.

[3] Roland Barthes, *A Barthes Reader*, transl. Susan Sontag (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001) 110.

[4] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 2000) 10-17.

[5] Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992) writes: "This clumsy term [travellee] is coined on analogy with the term 'addressee.' As the latter means the person addressed by a speaker, [travellee] means persons traveled to (or on) by a traveler, receptors of travel. A few years ago literary theorists began speaking of 'narratees,' figures corresponding to narrators on the reception end of narration. Obviously, travel is studied overwhelmingly from the perspective of the traveler, but it is perfectly possible, and extremely interesting, to study it from the perspective of those who participate on the receiving end" (242, note 42). I use the term travellees in both this sense and the country to which a traveller travels.

[6] For more information, see Paul de Man's *Blindness and Insight: Essays in the Rhetoric of Contemporary Criticism* (New York: Oxford UP, 1971) 102-141.

[7] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003, first edition 1978).

[8] Richard E. Palmer, 165.

[9] Metaphorically, I want to show that an artistic work, architecture, a sign or an object has a particular language of its own. I use the term 'language' in this sense. Byron's engagement with the signs, objects and monuments in a dialectical dialogue is in the above sense.

[10] Joel C. Weinsheimer, *Gadamer's Hermeneutics: A Reading of Truth and Method* (New York: Yale UP, 1985) 258.

[11] Richard E. Palmer, 147.

[12] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermenutik* (Tübingen: Siebeck, 1972) 246. "*all* [...] *understanding is ultimately self-understanding.* [...] Thus it is true in every case that a person who understands, understands himself (sich versteht)." In Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, transls. Joel C. Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (London: Continuum, 2004) 251.

[13] Joel C. Weinsheimer, 165-6.

[14] Richard E. Palmer, 183.

[15] Ibid, 169.

[16] Joel C. Weinsheimer, 183-4.

[17] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980) 95.

[18] Manfred Pfister, "Robert Byron and the Modernisation of Travel Writing" 462-87, in *Poetica*, 31. 3-4 (1999) 466.

[19] M. H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (New York: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1993) 282.

[20] Manfred Pfister, 467.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Michigan: U of Michigan P, 1998) 8-9.

[23] Manfred Pfister, 469.

[24] Paul Fussell, *Abroad*, 108.

[25] Manfred Pfister, 466.

[26] Helen Carr, "Modernism and Travel (1880-1940)" 70-86, in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, eds. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002) 84-5.

[27] Manfred Pfister, 483.

[28] Ibid, 483-4.

[29] Ibid, 484-5.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid, 487.

[33] Ibid, 477.

[34] Ibid.

[35] "You Andrew Marvell"

And here face down beneath the sun/And here upon earth's noonward height/To feel the always coming on/The always rising of the night/To feel creep up the curving east/The earthly chill of dusk and slow/ Upon those under lands the vast/And ever climbing shadow grow/And strange at Ecbatan the trees/Take leaf by leaf the evening strange/The flooding dark about their knees/The mountains over Persia change/And now at Kermanshah the gate/Dark empty and the withered grass/And through the twilight now the late/Few travelers in the westward pass/And Baghdad darken and the bridge/Across the silent river gone/And through Arabia the edge/Of evening widen and steal on/And deepen on Palmyra's street/ The wheel rut in the ruined stone/And Lebanon fade out and Crete/High through the clouds and overblown/And over Sicily the air/Still flashing with the landward gulls/And loom and slowly disappear/The sails above the shadowy hulls/And Spain go under and the shore/Of Africa the gilded sand/And evening vanish and no more/The low pale light across that land/Nor now the long light on the sea/And here face downward in the sun/To feel how swift how secretly/The shadow of the night comes on..." Archibald MacLeish (1892-1982).

[36] Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, 10.

[37] Nicholas Shakespeare, *Bruce Chatwin* (London: Harvill P, 1999) 70.

[38] Quoted in Paul Fussell, *Abroad*, 95-6.

[39] Paul Fussell, "Travel and the British Literary Imagination of the Twenties and Thirties" 71-92, in *Temperamental Journeys*, ed. Michael Kowalewski (Georgia: U of Georgia P, 1992) 84-6.

[40] Paul Fussell, *Abroad*, 95.

[41] Manfred Pfister, 475.

[42] Ibid, 487.

[43] Paul Fussell, *Abroad*, 92.

[44] Mark Cocker, *Loneliness and Time: The Story of British Travel Writing* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992) 174.

[45] Helen Carr, 84-5.

[46] Christopher Sykes, *Four Studies in Loyalty* (London: Collins, 1946) 149.

[47] Ibid, 148-9.

[48] Dennis Porter, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1991) 281.

[49] Ibid, 131.

[50] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994) xiii-xiv.

[51] Mohammed Arkoun, "Spirituality and Architecture" 3-18, in *Understanding Islamic Architecture*, eds. Attilio Petruccioli and Khalil K. Pirani (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002) 3.

[52] Christopher Sykes, 132.

[53] Andrew Edgar and Peter Sedgwick, *Cultural Theory: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 1999) 23-4.

[54] Mark Cocker, 4.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Richard E. Palmer, 200.

[57] Bruce Chatwin, *What Am I Doing Here* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1989) 287.

[58] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 38-9.

[59] Indira Ghose and Manfred Pfister, "Still Going Strong: The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Traveller in Victorian and Modern Travel Writing" 149-64, *Journal for the Study of British Cultures*, 3/2 (1996) 158.

[60] Manfred Pfister, 476.

[61] Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, 311.

[62] Manfred Pfister, 469.

[63] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 246. "*all* [...] *understanding is ultimately self-understanding.* [...] Thus it is true in every case the fact that a person who understands, understands himself." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 251.

[64] David E. Klemm, *The Hermeneutical Theory of Paul Ricoeur: A Constructive Analysis* (London: Bucknell UP, 1983) 25.

Chapter 1

[1] W. H. Auden's epilogue to *The Orators* (1931), quoted in Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980) 212.

[2] Paul Fussell, 202-4.

[3] Michael Kiernan, ed. *Sir Francis Bacon: The Essays or Counsels, Civill and Morall* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985) 56-8.

[4] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik* (Tübingen: Siebeck, 1972) 338. "Experience in this sense belongs to the historical nature of man." In Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, transls. Joel C. Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (London: Continuum Books, 2004) 350.

[5] Richard E. Palmer, *Hermeneutics: Interpretation Theory in Schleiermacher, Dilthey, Heidegger, and Gadamer* (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1969) 196.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing 400—1600* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1988) 1.

[8] Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002) 2-3.

[9] Helen Gilbert, "Belated Travel: Ecotourism as a Style of Travel Performance" 255-74, in *In Transit: Travel, Text, Empire*, eds. Helen Gilbert and Anna Johnston (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2002) 256-7.

[10] Mary B. Campbell, 2.

[11] James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Massachusetts: Harvard U, 1997) 31.

[12] Dennis Porter, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1991) 202-9.

[13] Quoted in Dennis Porter, 274.

[14] Ibid, 288.

[15] Jack Shamash, "Mindless in Gaza" 1-2, in *Travel Writing*, ed. Geoff Barton (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994) 1.

[16] Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, transl. Catherine Matthias (New York: MacMillan, 2000) 5.

[17] Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545—1625* (New York: Oxford UP, 1998) 1.

[18] Mark Cocker, *Loneliness and Time: The Story of British Travel Writing* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992) 138-9.

[19] Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 2-3.

[20] Helen Gilbert and Anna Johnston, 1.

[21] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992) 6.

[22] Dennis Porter, 10.

[23] Roy Bridges, "Exploration and Travel outside Europe (1720-1914)" 53-69, in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, eds. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002) 53-4.

[24] Helen Gilbert and Anna Johnston, 6-7.

[25] Dennis Porter, 18.

[26] Mark Cocker, 12-14.

[27] Robin Hard, *The Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London: Routledge, 2004) 158.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid, 160.

[30] Ibid, 161.

[31] Ibid, 160.

[32] Mark Cocker, 1-2

[33] Zweder von Martels, ed. *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing* (New York: E. J. Brill, 1994) xii.

[34] Patricia Craige, *The Oxford Book of Travel Stories* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996) ix.

[35] Manfred Pfister, ed. *The Fatal Gift of Beauty: The Italies of British Travellers, An Annotated Anthology* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996) 4.

[36] Barbara Korte, 6.

[37] Norman Douglas, 'Arabia Deserta' 1-25, in *Experiments* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1926) 11.

[38] Manfred Pfister, *The Fatal Gift of Beauty*, 4-5.

[39] Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, transl. Richard Howard (Berkeley: U of California P, 1989) 107-8.

[40] Robert Shannan Peckham, "The Exoticism of the Familiar and the Familiarity of the Exotic: *Fin-de-siècle* travellers to Greece" 164-83, in *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, eds. James Duncan and Derek Gregory (London: Routledge, 1999) 164.

[41] Ibid, 164-6.

[42] Wimal Dissanayake and Carmen Wirkramagamage, *Self and Colonial Desire: Travel Writings of V. S. Naipaul* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1993) 12-13.

[43] Ibid, 3.

[44] Ibid, 3-4.

[45] Ibid, 116-17.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid, 4.

[48] Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Kentucky: UP of Kentucky, 1983) 68.

[49] Wimal Dissanayake and Carmen Wirkramagamage, 5.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Syed Manzurul Islam, *The Ethics of Travel: From Marco Polo to Kafka* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1996) 55-6.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid, 209.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Andrew Hadfield, 12.

[56] Barbara Korte, 243.

[57] Roy Bridges, 53-4.

[58] Zweder von Martels, xi.

[59] Barbara Korte, 143-4.

[60] Quoted in Mark Cocker, 104.

[61] Percy G. Adams, ed. *Travel Literature Through The Ages: An Anthology* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988) xxi.

[62] Ibid, xxii-xxiii.

[63] Barbara Korte, 146-7. Korte gets this view from Manfred Pfister. For more information see Manfred Pfister, 'Intertextuelles Reisen, oder: Der Reisebericht als Intertext'109-32, in *Festschrift für Franz Stanzel*, eds. Herbert Foltinek, Wolfgang Riehle, and Waldemar Zacharisewicz (Heidelberg: Winter, 1993), and Manfred Pfister, „How Postmodern is Intertextuality?" 207-24, in *Intertextuality*, ed. H. F. Plett (Berlin/New York: Springer, 1991).

[64] Mary Louise Pratt argues that the "ethnographers have used this term to describe how subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture. While subjugated peoples cannot readily control what emanates from the dominant culture, they do determine to varying extents what they absorb into their own, and what they use it for. Transculturation is a phenomenon of the contact zone, [...] which [refers] to the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (Mary Louise Pratt, 6).

[65] Dennis Porter, 14-15.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York: An Imprint of Simon & Schuster MacMillan, 1997) xi.

[68] Barbara Korte, 10.

[69] Manfred Pfister, "Robert Byron and the Modernisation of Travel Writing" 462-87, in *Poetica*, 31. 3-4 (1999) 469.

[70] Joel C. Weinsheimer, *Gadamer's Hermeneutics: A Reading of Truth and Method* (New York: Yale UP, 1985) 258-9.

[71] Quoted in Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Michigan: U of Michigan P, 1998) 11.

[72] For further information, see Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs.

[73] Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, 11-14.

[74] Mark Cocker, 4.

[75] Ibid, 138-9.

[76] A remarkable line of kings, the Seljuqs (1037-1194), opened up one of the greatest periods in Iranian history. They were a semi-nomadic people of Turko-Iranian stock, already deeply imbued with Iranian culture. Devout Muhammadans, they combined genuine piety and a high sense of responsibility with nobility of character, strength of will, and magnificent organizing capacity that soon gave them most of Western Asia. Arthur Upham Pope, *Masterpieces of Persian Art* (New York: Dryden P, 1945) 5.

[77] Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*, 47-9. In addition to these events, one can refer to Alexander the Great, for instance, who overthrew the Persian Empire, carried Macedonian arms to India, and laid the foundations for the Hellenistic world of territorial kingdoms.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Manfred Pfister, 471-2.

[83] Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*, 80.

[84] Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*, 45-6.

[85] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003, first edition 1978) 58.

[86] Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*, 45-6.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Casey Blanton, 6.

[89] Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature Through The Ages: An Anthology*, 9.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Casey Blanton, 8.

[93] Syed Manzurul Islam, 127.

[94] Ibid, 122-3.

[95] Ibid, 124.

[96] Ibid, 127.

[97] Ibid, 155.

[98] Barbara Korte, 25.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid, 28.

[101] Ibid, 32-4.

[102] Ibid, 25.

[103] Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature Through The Ages*, 43-4.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Joan Pàu Rubiés, "Travel writing and ethnography" 242-60, in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, eds. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002) 242.

[107] Barbara Korte, 36.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Quoted in Dennis Porter, 94-5.

[110] Mary Louis Pratt, 29.

[111] Bernard Schweizer, *Radicals on the Road: The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930s* (Virginia: UP of Virginia, 2001) 2-3.

[112] Quoted in Bart Moore-Gilbert et al, *Postcolonial Criticism* (London: Longman, 1997) 122-3.

[113] Dennis Porter, 19.

[114] Bill Ashcroft et al, *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 2002) 97.

[115] Casey Blanton, 12-13.

[116] Dennis Porter, 105-6.

[117] Such a practice is called cannibalism, also anthropophagy, eating of human flesh by humans. The term is derived from the Spanish name (Caríbales, or Caníbales) for the Carib, a West Indies tribe well known for their practice of cannibalism. A widespread custom going back into early human history, cannibalism has been found among peoples on most continents. The practice prevailed until modern times in parts of West and Central Africa, Melanesia (especially Fiji), New Guinea, Australia, among the Maoris of New Zealand, in some of the islands of Polynesia, among tribes of Sumatra, and in various tribes of North and South America.

[118] Dennis Porter, 112-13.

[119] Ibid, 117-18.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Bill Ashcroft et al, 95-8.

[123] Dennis Porter, 34-5.

[124] Ibid, 31.

[125] Ibid, 33-8.

[126] Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1937) 90.

[127] Ibid, 11-12.

[128] Ibid, 30.

[129] Dennis Porter, 58-9.

[130] Casey Blanton, 15-16.

[131] Indira Ghose and Manfred Pfister, "Still Going Strong: The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Traveller in Victorian and Modern Travel Writing" 149-64, *Journal for the Study of British Cultures*, 3/2 (1996) 154.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Ibid.

[134] Quoted in Indira Ghose and Manfred Pfister, 154.

[135] Manfred Pfister, 468.

[136] Barbara Korte, 88.

[137] Bernard Schweizer, 144.

[138] Ibid, 180.

[139] Ibid, 2.

[140] Ibid, 155.

[141] Quoted in Barbara Korte, 139-40.

[142] Paul Fussell, 120-1.

[143] Ibid, 121-2.

[144] Ibid, 10-12.

[145] Ibid, 147.

[146] Ibid.

[147] Ibid, 148.

[148] According to Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen (2002), literary tourists or travellers "go on journeys to follow in the footsteps of the admired writers, perhaps to go where [the writers] went for inspiration." Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen, eds. *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts* (London: Continuum, 2002) xiii.

[149] Paul Fussell, 157.

[150] Ibid, 163-4.

[151] Quoted in Dennis Porter, 225.

[152] Dennis Porter, 225.

[153] Ibid, 226-8.

[154] Ibid, 232-3.

[155] Bernard Schweizer, 17-18.

[156] Ibid, 108-9.

[157] Christopher Sykes, *Four Studies in Loyalty* (London: Collins, 1946) 161.

[158] Anita G. Gorman and Hariclea Zengos, "Patrick Leigh Fermor (1915-)" 68-81, in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: British Travel Writers, 1940-1997*, vol. 204, eds. Barbara Brothers and Julia M. Gergits (Detroit: A Bruccoli Clark Layman Book, 1999) 73.

[159] Patrick Meanor, *Bruce Chatwin* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997) 2. "In the summer of 1963, [Bruce Chatwin] made the first of three visits to Afghanistan with his friend Robert Erskine. Their object was to buy antiquities and to follow Byron's footsteps in *The Road to Oxiana*." Nicholas Shakespeare, *Bruce Chatwin* (London: Harvill P, 1999) 145.

[160] Patrick Meanor, 31.

[161] Ibid, 200.

[162] Nicholas Murray, *Bruce Chatwin* (Broughton Gifford: Cromwell P, 1993) 45.

[163] Ibid, 47.

[164] Patrick Meanor, ix.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Ibid.

[167] Ibid, x.

[168] Ibid, x-xi.

[169] Ibid, 7.

[170] Manfred Pfister, "Bruce Chatwin and Postmodernization of the Travelogue" 253-67, in *LIT* 7 (1996) 258. For more information about Bruce Chatwin, see Bruce Chatwin, *In Patagonia*, ed. Manfred Pfister (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun, 2003).

[171] Patrick Meanor, 9.

[172] Nicholas Murray, 16.

[173] Ibid, 18-19.

[174] Ibid, 19.

Chapter 2

[1] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, transl. A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972) 3.

[2] At the end of his time with Ammonius, Plotinus joined the expedition of the Roman emperor Gordian III against Persia (242-243), with the intention of trying to learn something at first hand about the philosophies of the Persians and Indians.

[3] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003, first edition 1978) 21.

[4] Quoted in Edward Said, 76.

[5] Arthur Upham Pope, *Introducing Persian Architecture* (Tehran: Soroush P, 1976) 2. See also Archibald MacLeish's poem: "You Andrew Marvell".

[6] Two dynasties, which ruled Persia, the former during 171 B.C.-A.D. 226 and the latter during A.D. 226-651.

[7] Arthur Upham Pope, *Introducing Persian Architecture*, 2.

[8] The Zoroastrian clergy emerged with a 'high' profile. They were organized as a hierarchy under a high-priest who collaborated intimately with the King of Kings. The Magi, therefore, came to act as religious

judges throughout the provinces; and the fire-temples were centres both of worship and of loyalty to the Sasanian Empire. P. R. L. Brown, "Parthians and Sasanians" 24-30, in *Persia: History and Heritage*, ed. John A. Boyle (London: Henry Melland, 1978) 27-9.

[9] Michel Foucault, *Essential Works of Foucault (1954—1984), Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, vol. 1, ed. Paul Rabinow, transls. Robert Hurley et al (London: Penguin Books, 1997) xxii.

[10] Moustafa Bayoumi and Andrew Rubin, eds. *The Edward Said Reader* (London: Granta Books, 2000) 189.

[11] Michel Foucault, *Essential Works of Foucault*, xxii.

[12] Ibid, xxiii.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Edward Said, 7.

[15] Ibid, 5.

[16] Ibid, 7.

[17] Edward Said, 1-2.

[18] Manfred Pfister, "Robert Byron and the Modernisation of Travel Writing" 462-87, in *Poetica*, 31. 3-4 (1999) 474.

[19] Ibid, 484.

[20] Probably about 600 B.C. there arose in the northeast of the country the great Persian religious prophet and teacher Zoroaster. He was an ethical prophet of the highest rank, stressing constantly the need to act righteously and to speak the truth and abhor lies. In his teaching, the lie was almost personified as the Druj, chief in the kingdom of the demons, to which he relegated many of the earlier Indo-Iranian deities. His god was Ahura Mazda, who, it seems likely, was a creation with attributes of Zoroaster. Though in a certain sense technically monotheism, early Zoroastrianism viewed the world in strongly dualistic terms, for Ahura Mazda and the "Lie" were deeply involved in a struggle for the soul of man. Zoroaster, as might be expected, attempted to reform earlier Iranian religious practices as well as beliefs. Laurence Lockhart and J. A. Boyle, "The Beginnings: The Achaemenids" 17-23, in *Persia: History and Heritage*, ed. John A. Boyle (London: Henry Melland, 1978) 21-2.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid, 25-26.

[23] Arthur Cotterell, *The Pimlico Dictionary of Classical Civilizations: Greece, Rome, Persia, India and China* (London: Pimlico, 1998) 344-5.

[24] P. R. L. Brown, 27-9. During this period, Mazdak, a radical Zoroastrian who claimed to bring the people back to the true religion of Ahura Mazda by recreating Iranian society and his followers were massacred. Royal power was re-established around an efficient court at Ctesiphon.

[25] Ibid, 31.

[26] Arthur Upham Pope, *Masterpieces of Persian Art* (New York: Dryden P, 1945) 5.

[27] M. M. Hejazi, in *Historical Buildings of Iran: their Architecture and Structure* (Southampton: Computational Mechanics Publications, 1997), argues, "[human] culture in Iran has existed for 100,000 years, and some of the oldest settlements in the world, dating back to 8000 B.C., have been found in the region. The known history of Iran begins with the immigration of Indo-European nomadic people, Indo-Iranians, from Central Asia to the Iranian plateau in the second millennium B.C. They settled in the western and northern parts of the plateau and were reported by the Assyrians as the *Madai* (Medes) and as *Parsua* or *Parsumash* (Persians). Both the Medes and Persians, who eventually dominated the former, were known as Aryans by ancient authors. [...] The name *Iran*, which has been the official name of the country since 1935, is derived from the Aryans. The name *Aryan* is taken from the Sanskrit *Arya* (notable). The word was used as *ariya* in Old Persian, and became as *Iran* in Middle Persian and Modern Persian (Farsi)" (2). For more information, see the following sources:

William Bayne Fisher, ed. *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Land of Iran*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1968).

A. J. Arberry, ed. *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Median and Achaemenian Periods*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985).

Ehsan Yarshater, ed. *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983).

Richard Nelson Frye, ed. *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1975).

John Andrew Boyle, ed. *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1968).

Laurence Lockhart and Peter Jackson, eds. *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986).

Peter Avery, ed. *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991).

Amin Banani, *The Modernization of Iran: 1921—1941* (California: Stanford UP, 1967).

Stephen P. Blake, *Half the World: The Social Architecture of Safavid Isfahan, 1590—1722* (California: Mazda Publishers, 1999).

John A. Boyle, ed. *Persia: History and Heritage* (London: Henry Melland, 1978).

Arthur Cotterell, *The Pimlico Dictionary of Classical Civilizations: Greece, Rome, Persia, India and China* (London: Pimlico, 1998).

Stephanie Cronin, ed. *The Making of Modern Iran: State and Society under Riza Shah, 1921—1941* (London: Routledge, 2003).

Richard N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia: The Arabs in the East* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975).

J. Hackin et al, *Asiatic Mythology: A Detailed Description and Explanation of the Mythologies of All the Great Nations of Asia* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1834).

Homa Katouzian, *State and Society in Iran: The Eclipse of the Qajars and the Emergence of the Pahlavis* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co., 2000).

Robert William Rogers, *A History of Ancient Persia: From its Earliest Beginnings to the Death of Alexander the Great* (New York: Scribner, 1929).

John Stevens, *The History of Persia* (London: Brown, 1715).

Antony Wynn, *Persia in the Great Game: Sir Percy Sykes, Explorer, Consul, Soldier, Spy* (London: John Murray, 2003).

[28] Laurence Lockhart and J. A. Boyle, 17.

[29] Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Jan Willem Drijvers, *Achaemenid History: Through Travellers' Eyes, European Travellers on the Iranian Monuments*, vol. 7 (Belgium: Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1991) 1-2.

[30] Ronald Sinclair, *Adventures in Persia: To India by the Back Door* (London: H. F. & G. Witherby, 1988) 11-12.

[31] Anthony and Robert Sherley were official ambassadors between England and Persia.

[32] Sophy refers to emperor of Shah of Persia, Ismail I (1500-1524) who founded the Safavid dynasty (1500-1736). The word comes from the name of this dynasty, which in Arabic means 'purity of religion.' It seems that the Europeans also conflated the title with the Greek *sophos* and assumed the meanings 'wise' and 'learned' were included in it. Shakespeare refers to the Persian Sophy in *Twelfth Night*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Comedy of Errors* and *King Lear*. The references are to "an expedition to Persia which was the talk of London in 1600. The three Shirley brothers set out with a party in 1597 for Persia. They had many adventures on the way, were graciously received by the Sophy, and amply rewarded." In J. Madison Davis and A. Daniel Frankforter, *The Shakespeare Name Dictionary* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995) 459. In *The Merchant of Venice*, Shakespeare refers to Sophy of Persia, Act II, scene I, lines 22-31: "Morocco: Even for that I thank you./Therefore, I pray you, lead me to the caskets/To try my fortune. By this scimitar/That slew the Sophy and a Persian prince/That won three fields of Sultan Suleiman,/I would o'erstare the sternest eyes that look,/outbrave the heart most daring on the earth,/pluck the young sucking cubs from the she-bear,/Yea, mock the lion when a roars for prey,/To win the lady. But alas the while!" William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. Jay L. Halio (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993) 128-9. In *Twelfth Night*, he refers to Sophy, Act II, scene V, lines, 169-70: "Fabian: I will not give my part of this sport for a pension/of thousands to be paid from the Sophy." William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*, ed. Roger Warren and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994) 151. Further in Act III, scene IV, lines 264-9: "Sir Toby: Why, man, he's a very devil, I have not seen/such a virago. I had a pass with him, rapier, scabbard,/and all, and he gives me the stuck-in with such a mortal/motion that it is inevitable; and on the answer, he pays/you as surely as your feet hits the ground they step on./They say he has been fencer to the Sophy" (ibid, 182). He refers to Persia in *The Comedy of Errors*, Act IV, scene I, lines 1-4: "2 Merchant: You know since Pentecost the sun is due,/And since I have not much importuned you;/Nor now I had not, but that I am bound/To Persia, and want guilders for

my voyage." William Shakespeare, *The Comedy of Errors*, ed. T. S. Dorsch (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) 78. Shakespeare also refers to Persia in *King Lear*, Act III, scene VI, lines 34-9: "Lear: Then let them anatomize Regan; see what breeds/about her hearts. Is there any cause in nature that/makes these hard-hearts? (*To Edgar*) You, sir, I entertain/for one of my hundred, only I do not like the fashion/of your garments. You will say they are Persian; but/let them be changed." William Shakespeare *The Complete Works*, eds. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1987) 1085. Ben Jonson, in his dark satire on human greed, *Volpone*, Act III, scene VII, lines 226-9, see Sophy the Shah of Persia: "Volpone. [...] Then I will have thee in more modern forms,/Attirèd like some sprightly dame of France,/Brave Tuscan lady, or proud Spanish beauty;/Sometimes, unto the Persian Sophy's wife." Ben Johnson, *Volpone, or The Fox*, ed. John W. Creaser (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978) 141.

[33] Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia, *Edward Said* (London: Routledge, 2001) 18.

[34] Zoroastrianism is the ancient pre-Islamic religion of Iran. Founded by the Iranian prophet and reformer Zoroaster in the 6th century B.C., the religion contains both monotheistic and dualistic features. Zoroaster (Zarathushtra) was a priest of a certain ahura (Avestan equivalent of Sanskrit asura) with the epithet mazda, *wise*, whom Zoroaster mentions once in his hymns with the [other] ahuras. Darius I (522–486) and his successors worshipped Auramazda (Ahura Mazda) and the other gods who exist or Ahura Mazda, the greatest god. Ahura Mazda also spelled Ormizd, or Ormazd, was the supreme god in ancient Iranian religion, especially in the religious system of the Iranian prophet Zoroaster (7th century–6th century B.C.). Zoroaster lived somewhere in eastern Iran, far from the civilized world of western Asia, before Iran became unified under Cyrus II the Great. It is not known when Zoroaster's doctrine reached western Iran, but it must have been before the time of Aristotle (384–322), who alludes to its dualism. According to Zoroaster, Ahura Mazda created the universe and the cosmic order that he maintains. He created the twin spirits Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu (Ahriman)—the former beneficent, choosing truth, light, and life, the latter destructive, choosing deceit, darkness, and death. The struggle of the spirits against each other makes up the history of the world. Ahura Mazda is identified with the beneficent spirit and directly opposed to the destructive one. He is all-wise, bounteous, undeceiving, and the creator of everything good. The beneficent and evil spirits are conceived as mutually limiting, coeternal beings, the one above and the other beneath, with the world in between as their battleground. In late sources (3rd century A.D. onward), Zurvan (Time) is made the father of the twins Ormazd and Ahriman (Angra Mainyu) who, in orthodox Mazdaism, reign alternately over the world until Ormazd's ultimate victory. The ancient Greeks saw in Zoroastrianism the archetype of the dualistic view of the world and of man's destiny. Zoroaster was supposed to have instructed Pythagoras in Babylon and to have inspired the Chaldean doctrines of astrology and magic. It is likely that Zoroastrianism influenced the development of Judaism and the birth of Christianity. The Christians, following a Jewish tradition, identified Zoroaster with Ezekiel, Nimrod, Seth, Balaam, and Baruch, and even, through the latter, with Christ himself. Zoroaster, as the presumed founder of astrology and magic, could be considered the arch-heretic. Zoroastrianism represents an original attempt at unifying under the worship of one supreme god a

polytheistic religion comparable to those of the ancient Greeks, Latins, Indians, and other early peoples. Good and Evil fight an unequal battle in which the former is assured of triumph. God's omnipotence is thus only temporarily limited. In this struggle, man must enlist because of his capacity for free choice. He does so with his soul and body, not against his body, for the opposition between good and evil is not the same as the one between spirit and matter. Contrary to the Christian or Manichaean (from Manichaeism—a Hellenistic, dualistic religion founded by the Iranian prophet Mani) attitude, fasting and celibacy are proscribed, except as part of the purificatory ritual. Man's fight has a negative aspect, nonetheless: he must keep himself pure; i.e., avoid defilement by the forces of death, contact with dead matter, etc. Thus Zoroastrian ethics, although in itself lofty and rational, has a ritual aspect that is all-pervading. For more information, see: Williams Jackson's and Abraham Valentine's *Zoroastrian Studies: The Iranian Religion and Various Monographs* (New York: Ams P, 1965), Michael Stausberg's *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context* (Boston: Brill, 2004).

[35] Quoted in Nora Kathleen Firby, *European Travellers and their Perceptions of Zoroastrians in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries* (Berlin: Reimer, 1988) 155.

[36] Ibid, 156.

[37] Ibid, 18.

[38] Ibid, 17.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Arthur Upham Pope, *Masterpieces of Persian Art*, 6.

[41] Nora Kathleen Firby, 15.

[42] Ibid, 23.

[43] M. H. Braaksma, *Travel and Literature* (Batavia: Groningen, 1938) 25.

[44] Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Jan Willem Drijvers, 8.

[45] Quoted in Sir William Foster, *Thomas Herbert Travels in Persia: 1627—1629* (London: Routledge, 1929) 297.

[46] Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Jan Willem Drijvers, 189.

[47] Thomas J. Assad, *Three Victorian Travellers: Burton, Blunt, Doughty* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964) 2.

[48] Quoted in Thomas J. Assad, 1.

[49] Quoted in the introduction by Jane Fletcher Geniesse, Freya Stark, *The Valleys of the Assassins and Other Persian Travels* (New York: John Murray, 2001) xiii.

[50] Barbara Brothers and Julia M. Gergits, eds. *Dictionary of Literary Biography: British Travel Writers*, vol. 195 (Detroit: A Bruccoli Clark Layman Book, 1998) xviii.

[51] Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Jan Willem Drijvers, 193.

[52] Ibid, 189.

[53] Antony Wynn, *Persia in the Great Game* (London: John Murray, 2003) 2.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Quoted in Scott K. Christianson, "Ella C. Sykes (?-1939)" 289-93, in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: British Travel Writers: 1876-1909*, vol. 174, eds. Barbara Brothers and Julia M. Gergits (Detroit: A Bruccoli Clark Layman Book, 1997) 291.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Isabella L. Bird, *Journey in Persia and Kurdistan*, vol. 1 (London: Virago P, 1988) 26-7.

[59] Ibid, 102.

[60] Ibid, 30.

[61] Ibid, 30-31.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid, 139-40.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid, 208-9.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Quoted in Nancy V. Workman, "Gertrude Margaret Lowthian Bell (1868-1926)" 3-18, in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: British Travel Writers: 1876-1909*, vol. 174, eds. Barbara Brothers and Julia M. Gergits (Detroit: A Bruccoli Clark Layman Book, 1997) 4-5.

[68] Vita Sackville-West, *Passenger to Teheran* (London: Hogarth P, 1926) 9.

[69] Ibid, 12-3.

[70] Ibid, 17.

[71] Nigel Nicolson, ed. *Vita and Harold: The Letters of Vita Sackville-West and Harold Nicolson* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1992) 181.

[72] Ibid. 182.

[73] Vita Sackville-West, *Passenger to Teheran*, 22.

[74] Ibid, 21.

[75] Ibid, 31.

[76] Ibid, 35.

[77] Ibid, 72.

[78] Ibid, 81.

[79] Ibid, 116.

[80] One might mention Austen Henry Layard, the leading British archaeologist of the nineteenth century, who acted as a diplomat, a politician, an art connoisseur, and a man of letters. He visited the Bakhtiari country during his sojourn in Persia. His works raise questions of cultural imperialism and epistemology central to the modern critical debates. Layard prepared carefully for the harrowing and time-consuming trip to the East, passing from Western Europe through the Balkans and the imperial capital of Constantinople, one that was more than just a voyage: it was a work of art. Ruins, for Layard, have their own personalities and voices. After two months in Baghdad, he obtained consent to explore the territory

of the Bakhtiari tribe in Luristan, which resulted in the publication of the account of his sojourn among the Bakhtiaris, *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia* (1887). This book is based largely on diaries and memoirs composed at the time of the event, and it is the only one of his travel works in which the search for antique remains is not one of its principal concerns. Indeed, the narrative mainly centres on his complicated relationship with the local chieftain, Mohammed Taki Khan. The focus in *Early Adventures* is less on places than on people; the book is more psychological than descriptive; and its emphasis on a common humanity makes it less Orientalist in its assumptions than his earlier books had been. Even though *Early Adventures* is Layard's book that most closely approximates pure travel writing, it also resurrects awareness of those parts of his career that, though his political and diplomatic activities occludes them by the later nineteenth century, receives a dominant share of scholarly notice in the twentieth century.

[81] Linda J. Strom, "Vita Sackville-West (1892-1962)" 289-95, in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: British Travel Writers*, vol. 195, eds. Barbara Brothers and Julia M. Gergits (Detroit: A Bruccoli Clark Layman Book, 1998) 294.

[82] Vita Sackville-West, *Twelve Days: An Account of a Journey Across the Bakhtiari Mountains of South-western Persia* (London: Michael Haag, 1987, first edition 1928) 18.

[83] Ibid, 27.

[84] Ibid, 81.

[85] Ibid, 82.

[86] Ibid, 104-5.

[87] David E. Klemm, *The Hermeneutical Theory of Paul Ricoeur: A Constructive Analysis* (London: Bucknell UP, 1983) 25.

[88] Vita Sackville-West, *Twelve Days*, 83-4.

[89] Ibid, 90.

[90] Ibid, 89-90.

[91] Ibid, 106-8.

[92] Ibid, 107.

[93] Ibid, 131.

[94] Ibid, 66.

[95] Freya Stark, xxii.

[96] Jane Fletcher Geniesse, *Freya Stark: Passionate Nomad* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1999) xvi.

[97] Ibid, 107-8.

[98] Ibid, 127.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid, 130.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Richard Tapper, "The Case of the Shahsevan" 220-40, in *The Making of Modern Iran: State and Society under Riza Shah, 1921-1941*, ed. Stephanie Cronin (London: Routledge, 2003) 222-5.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Byron's comment on people's clothes will be discussed in chapter four.

[105] Jane Fletcher Geniesse, 130-1.

[106] Jane Fletcher Geniesse, 103.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Molly Izzard, *Freya Stark: A Biography* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1993) 68.

[109] See his travel books, *The Station*, *An Essay on India*, *First Russia, then Tibet*, *The Road to Oxiana*, and his *Letters Home* in which he repeatedly writes to his mother about the charm and importance of travel abroad, and his other books, *The Appreciation of Architecture*, *Byzantine Achievement*, *The Birth of Western Painting* in which he deals with architecture and painting as a critic.

[110] Christopher Sykes, *Four Studies in Loyalty* (London: Collins, 1946) 83.

[111] Evelyn Waugh, *A Little Learning* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1983) 198-200.

[112] Manfred Pfister, 467.

[113] [0]Ibid, 462.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Howard J. Booth, "Making the Case for Cross-Cultural Exchange: Robert Byron's *The Road to Oxiana*" 159-72, in *Cultural Encounters: European Travel Writing in the 1930s*, eds. Charles Burdett and Derek Duncan (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002) 164.

[116] Michael Coyle, "Robert Byron (1905-1941)" 8-19, in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: British Travel Writers*, vol. 195, eds. Barbara Brothers and Julia M. Gergits (Detroit: A Bruccoli Clark Layman Book, 1998) 11-12.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980) 85.

[119] Christopher Sykes, 90.

[120] James Knox, *A Biography of Robert Byron* (London: John Murray, 2003) 149.

[121] Ibid, 150.

[122] [0]Ibid, 157.

[123] Quoted in James Knox, xii.

[124] James Knox, 227.

[125] Manfred Pfister and Christoph Bode (in his book *West Meets East*, 1997) state that Christopher Sykes is related to Sir Percy Sykes, a consul in Persia, whereas James Knox, in his book (2003), writes Percy Sykes is "unrelated to Christopher" (290).

[126] Christopher Sykes, 114.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid.

[129] James Knox, 225-6.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Quoted in James Knox, 48.

[132] Ibid, 44.

[133] John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1907) 147.

[134] Ibid, 145.

[135] Paul Fussell, 95.

[136] Ibid, 108.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Christopher Sykes, 128

[139] Bruce Chatwin, *What Am I Doing Here* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1989) 286.

[140] Manfred Pfister, 466.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Ibid, 471.

[143] Ibid, 480-1.

[144] Paul Fussell, 95.

[145] "Admirers of Safavid art became known to Robert as 'Omar Khayyám fiends.' He often made fearful eructational noises of disgust over photographs of these glories, particularly in the presence of admirers." Christopher Sykes, 132.

[146] "Byron Hauptinteresse auf dieser Reise gilt der *Architektur*. *The Road to Oxiana* ist eine wohlkonstruierte *quets* nach den Ursprüngen und Quellen islamischer Kunst und Baukunst, die er zuerst in der indischen Mogularchitektur kennengelernt hatte." Christoph Bode, *West Meets East* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1997) 157.

[147] James Knox, 288.

[148] Quoted in James Knox, 289.

[149] Bruce Chatwin, 289.

[150] Christopher Sykes, 148.

Chapter 3

[1] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of The Prison*, transl. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin Books, 1991) 138.

[2] Scott Wilson, *Cultural Materialism: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995) 135.

[3] H. Aram Veeser, ed. *The New Historicism* (London: Routledge, 1989) 16.

[4] James Knox, *A Biography of Robert Byron* (London: John Murray, 2003) 225.

[5] Ibid, 227.

[6] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980) 89.

[7] Paul Hollander, in *Political Pilgrims: Travels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba 1928-1978* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1981), deals with the accounts of the travellers during the "half-century between 1928 and 1978, which provided a broad enough vista to observe the rise and fall of various pilgrimages and the underlying enthusiasm toward different political systems inspiring such journeys" (vii). He argues that the Western intellectuals travelled to the Soviet Union in the hope of reporting the truth about the country. "The Soviet Union enjoyed the greatest prestige among Western intellectuals at the times when it was most savagely repressive, most severely plagued by material shortages, and subject to Stalin's personal dictatorship—that is, during the early and mid-1930s" (ibid, 11). There are two groups of travellers in terms of their perceptions about the Soviet social structure after the 1917 Revolution; first, those who were influenced by the Bolshevik ideology and propagated the Revolution, and "looked upon the Soviet Union as the most outstanding contemporary embodiment of social justice," (ibid, 118) such as Beatrice and Sidney Webb, George Bernard Shaw and Sherwood Eddy, the American churchman. [Eddy describes the Soviet brotherhood: "the communist philosophy seeks a new order, a classless society of unbroken brotherhood, what the Hebrew prophets would have called a reign of righteousness on earth" (ibid, 124).] Second, those travellers whose accounts were in complete contrast with the first group and opened up the bitter reality about the Soviet Union, such as poverty, the issue of famine, "the regime's inability to meet the basic material needs of the population in the early 1930s," the poor quality of food, the Bolshevists' brutality towards the political prisoners and so on.

[8] Donald E. Lundberg and Carolyn B. Lundberg, *International Travel and Tourism* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1985) 128. Moreover, there is a book by Harry W. Nerhood, *To Russia and Return: An Annotated Bibliography of Travellers' English Language Accounts of Russia from the Ninth Century to the Present* (Ohio: Ohio State UP, 1968), in which the author presents a brief account of about 1473 travellers to Russia. His purpose, as he mentions, is "to bring in one place the pertinent information on all available reports of journeys to Russia that have been published in the English language. Reflecting as they do the conditions prevailing at the time of the visit, as seen through the eyes of the travellers, these accounts supply detail that can give depth and dimension to the flat surface of historical fact" (vii). These travellers are from different countries and social class with different perspectives having their own blindness and insight: for instance, the "politicians and statesmen of national and international reputation such as John Quincy Adams, Herbert Hoover, Edward Herriott, Milovan Djilas, and Richard Nixon; world-famous philosophers Bentham, Keynes, and Tagore; nation-makers and world-shakers like Napoleon, Chiang Kai-shek, and Churchill; social reformers Jane Addams, John Reed, and Clarence Pickett; literary figures John Lothrop Motley, Alexander Dumas, Lewis Carroll, and Mark Twain; entertainers Bob Hope and Jack Paar; soldiers, sailors, explorers, cartoonists, scientists, and, of course, one notorious police spy and lover, Casanova" (ibid, 1). Here are some figures selected from this book with regard to their observations: Sherwood Eddy, who published *The Challenge of Russia* in 1931, made visits to "Imperial and Soviet Russia [between 1910 and 1930], never losing his faith in the positive

features of Marxian socialism as applied to the Russian situation. He believes that Intourist guides and the statistics they quote are honest, and he is especially informative on morals and religion" (129-30). Allan Monkhouse is a British engineer who travelled to Russia many times and published his book titled *Moscow, 1911-1933* in 1934. He is a pre-revolutionary traveller who experiences post-1917. "He describes the industrialization of the Soviet economy from October, 1917, through the New Economic Policy and into the beginning of the second Five Year Plan. After the trial of the British engineers in 1933, he was deported as an enemy of the people" (ibid, 131). Gerard Shelley is the next traveller who published *The Blue Steppes: Adventures among Russians* in 1925. His is a "British writer who records his impressions during the year 1913-20. He comments on the influence of Rasputin and life among the nobility and depicts the country as a 'red madhouse' after the Revolution of 1917" (ibid, 135). Herbert Foster Anderson is the British student of Russian affairs who published the record of his journey to Russia in *Borderline Russia* in 1924. He learns Russian and "makes three journeys into Russia at critical times—in 1914, 1929, and 1930-32. His description points up the problems faced by the leaders of the Soviet Union and their success in solving them" (ibid, 135). Negley Farson, "a munitions salesman and adventurer," published his accounts of Russia in *The Way of a Transgressor* (1936). "He describes his two journeys to Russia from the United States in 1914-17 and in 1928-29. He names the frustrations he encountered on his first journey in trying to arrange contracts for war material and later he describes how Russia has changed under communism but remains the same in its business dealings" (ibid, 139). *A Wanderer's log; Being some Memories of Travel in India, the Far East, Russia, the Mediterranean and Elsewhere* (1929) recounts Carl Eric Bechhofer Roberts' experiences, an English tutor in Russia. He "learned Russian before 1914 and learned to love the country and its people. He sees Bolshevik Russia as 'Russia in ruins' and refers to the famine following World War I as the 'abomination of desolations.' This account covers the year 1914-17" (ibid, 142). *Adventures in Red Russia: from the Black Sea to the White Sea* (1929) is an account of James Colquhoun's journey to Russia, a British engineer who describes "the hazards of copper mining near Batum during revolutionary times, 1916-18. [He] describes how ruin comes to the industry when the workers get the upper hand. He includes a very informative foreign viewpoint of the relative leadership abilities of Lenin and Kerensky" (ibid, 149). *Inside the Russian Revolution* (1917) is the record of Rheta Louise Childe Dorr's understanding of Russia, a British socialist during "May-July, 1917, in Petrograd. She sees the ideals of revolution being destroyed by the emerging tyrannical working class but concludes that there will 'ultimately be a return to sanity and order' and that the wise men of Russia will counter 'the mad Bolsheviki" (ibid, 153). Rhoda Power, a British teacher who learns Russian and teaches English from the March Revolution until early 1918, published *Under the Bolshevik Reign of Terror* (1919). The author describes "how the transition [in Russia] was made from control by the provisional government to control by the Bolsheviki and how foreign intervention began" (ibid, 156). Fredrick Marshman Bailey is a British officer in the Indian army who published the experiences of his visit to Russia in *Mission to Tashkent* (1946). He "describes his journey into Russian Transcaspia, June, 1918-January, 1919, to prevent Germany from getting oil and

cotton during her blockade by the Allied forces. Bailey provides an excellent description of the emerging power of the local Bolsheviki, by whom he is arrested and imprisoned and from whom he finally escapes by a series of daring stratagems" (ibid, 163). The "English philosopher, mathematician, and pacifist, [Bertrand Russell], journeys to Petrograd and South Russia with the British Labour Delegation in 1920 where he sees communism as necessary to world and equates it as equal to the French Revolution plus the teachings of Mohammed. However, he does not hesitate to criticize the Bolsheviki where they have failed to live up to their ideals." His book is titled *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism* (1921). (Ibid, 170) The famous "British novelist and critic of society [Herbert George Wells] visits Moscow and Petrograd in 1920 and draws a dismal verbal picture of the existing situation under the Bolsheviki [in his book *Russia in the Shadows* (1921)]. Along with visits with important leaders, he interviews Lenin and learns that the revolutionists have not been totally destructive in their dealing with evidences of the past but have nearly all the great national treasures" (ibid, 171). *What I saw in Russia* (1920) is a book written by an "English pacifist correspondent of Daily *Herald*, George Lansbury. [He] journeys to Moscow and Petrograd in February, 1920, and observes: 'I see the Socialists of Russia as a band of men and women striving to build a New Jerusalem...'" (ibid, 171). A "professional traveller and writer, [Ethel Brillana Alec-Tweedie published the accounts of her journey in *An Adventurous Journey (Russia—Siberia—China)* (1926)], journeys east on the Trans-Siberian Railway into Manchuria 'out of Hell.' She says of her visit to Lenin's tomb: 'Here in Moscow lay a plebeian, bandy-legged little man with twenty-four soldiers with bowed heads to guard him in his glass case. This is Russia's God'" (ibid, 188). A French correspondent, Andrée Viollis, who records her journey to Russia in *A Girl in Soviet Russia* (1929), "journeys from the Baltic to the Black Sea in 1926 and observes that the Russian youth appear to favour the 'barrack state' system. She also provides a terrifying description of the homeless children roaming the countryside and scavenging in the cities" (ibid, 192). A member of the Labour party, John William Brown, records his journey "to Moscow and Leningrad during the summer of 1927" in *Three Months in Russia* (1928). "He finds the Russians to be simple and direct and inclined to introspection, with a dislike of religion but almost worshipping Lenin, and with a strong streak of a callousness. He concludes that it was historical circumstances, not the actions and leadership of the Bolsheviki, that made the Revolution" (ibid, 197). J. de V. Loder, a British writer, published the account of his journey in *Bolshevism in Perspective* (1931). He is "accompanied by a Russian-speaking companion, travels 15,000 miles from Leningrad and Moscow through Siberia for four months in 1929-30. He presents a reasonably objective account, with comments on all aspects of life, accompanied by historical backgrounds" (ibid, 208). A British professional writer, Norah Rowan-Hamilton, "approaches objectively in her presentation of both sides of the situation in the Soviet Union after her journey to Moscow, Novgrad, and Kiev in 1930, [presented in her book *Under the Red Star* (1930)]. She deals with religion, law, marriage, housing, the rural situation, etc.; and the reader should especially notice the section on 'Dope-white and red'" (ibid, 211). An Irish film director, Liam O'Flaherty, in *I went to Russia* (1931), "writes a satiric account of his visit to Leningrad and Moscow in April-May, 1930, in which he observes that the evangelistic

communists are on top, the greedy, ambitious careerists beneath" (ibid, 212). *A Little Talk on America: What Bernard Shaw told the Americans about Russia!* (1932) is a pamphlet in which the "famous British satirist, dramatist, and writer honoured the Soviet Union by his presence, July 20-30, 1931. This pamphlet contains the diatribe Shaw launched at the United States over American radio October 11, 1931, in which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is viewed as the wave of the future" (ibid, 219). *Russian Roundabout: A Non-political Pilgrimage* (1933) is a work by a "professional British traveller and writer, [who journeys] with a Russian-speaking companion, visits most of European Russia in 1932. Part of his purpose was to observe English admirers of the Soviet Union as they see the existing conditions firsthand, in much the same way that Stephen Graham did earlier in *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem*" (ibid, 223). *Return from the U.S.S.R.* (1937) is written by André P. Gide. He is a "French philosopher and novelist [who] travels to the [Soviet] Russia in 1936. Sympathetic to the Russian experiment, he observes that the basic theories have been warped by Stalin, but the Soviet Union is still a land 'where Utopia was in the process of becoming reality.' He comments that it is unfortunate that the people's faith in religion has suffered by the punishment levelled upon the hierarchy of the church. [...] Gide modifies his earlier adulation by certain retractions after his critics attacked him personally in review of *Return from the U.S.S.R.* and exposed his contradictions" (ibid, 243). See Michael Lucey's *Gide's Bent: Sexuality, Politics, Writing* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995) in which he deals with Gide's bent throughout his works and Gide's experiences in the Soviet Union. "Luxurious meals greatly contributed to André Gide's disillusionment with his hosts and the political system they represented—a reaction which [...] was quite atypical. Most visitors, even when they were self-conscious about their privilege treatment, managed to come to terms with it. Gide wrote: 'When, after escaping with great difficulty from political receptions and official supervision, I managed to get into contact with labourers, whose wages were only four or five rubles a day, what could I think of the banquet in my honor which I could not avoid attending? An almost daily banquet at which the abundance of hors d'oeuvres alone was such that one had already eaten three times too much before the beginning of the actual meal; a feast of six courses which used to last two hours and left you completely stupefied. The expense! Never having seen the bill, I cannot exactly estimate it but one of my companions who was well up in the prices of things calculates that each banquet with wines and liqueurs, must have come to more than three hundred rubles a head. Now there were six of us—seven with our guide; and often as many as guests, sometimes many more'" (Paul Hollander, 370-1).

[9] Leona Toker, *Return from the Archipelago: Narratives of Gulag Survivors* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2000) 7. Gulag is the abbreviation of *Glavnoye Upravleniye Ispravitelno-trudovykh Lagerey* (Russian Chief Administration of Corrective Labour Camps), the system of Soviet labour camps and accompanying detention and transit camps and prisons that from the 1920s to the mid-1950s housed the political prisoners and criminals of the Soviet Union. At its height, the Gulag imprisoned millions of people. It was a system of forced-labour camps which was first inaugurated by a Soviet decree of April 15, 1919, and underwent a series of administrative and organizational changes in the 1920s, ending with

the founding of Gulag in 1930 under the control of the secret police, OGPU (later, the NKVD and the KGB). The Gulag had a total inmate population of about 100,000 in the late 1920s, when it underwent an enormous expansion coinciding with the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin's collectivization of agriculture. There are narratives from the "formerly secret archives of various Soviet institutions, including those of the KGB. [...] Gulag narratives are bifunctional objects whose informational and aesthetic functions become 'marked' at different periods of reception. [...] They can be read as historical documents or publicistic statements *and* as works of art. [...] Works of this genre are but a part of the whole corpus of factographic firsthand accounts of the authors' imprisonment in Soviet concentration camps. [They] were written either by non-professional writers or by authors [with an artistic talent]" (Leona Toker, 3-74). Contrary to the harsh and brutal situation in the prisons of the Soviet Union, the Webbs "relentlessly [admired the situation] that 'the prison administration is well spoken of and is now apparently as free from physical cruelty as any prison in any country is ever likely to be.' [...] They found Bolshevo (the model prison) 'a remarkable reformatory settlement, which seems to go further, alike in promise and achievement, towards an ideal treatment of offenders against society than anything else in the world.' They felt that at Bolshevo the inmates were shown 'that a life of regulated industry and recreation, with the utmost practicable freedom, is more pleasant than a life of crime and beggary'" (Paul Hollander, 145).

[10] Harry W. Nerhood, 225.

[11] Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The Truth about Soviet Russia* (London: Longman, 1942) 13. Beatrice Webb, by asking, "Is Stalin a dictator?" and referring to the meaning of the term dictator, concludes, "Stalin is not a dictator" (Sidney and Beatrice Webb, 14). She considers the Soviet Union as the "most inclusive and equalised democracy in the world. [To her] one of the outstanding features of Soviet political democracy is racial equality; the resolute refusal to regard racial characteristics as a disqualification for the right to vote, to be deputies to the legislative assembly, to serve on the executive or to be appointed salaried officials" (ibid, 16-18). She considers Britain, the United States, Germany and Turkey as "failures of the traditional Two-Party System [and] Many-Party System" when she compares these countries with the Soviet Union (ibid, 29). She restates the rules of the U.S.S.R. and it seems she propagates them: "*Article 12* enacts that 'Work in the U.S.S.R. is a duty and a 'matter of honour' for every able-bodied citizen. On the principle 'He who does not work shall not eat.' Thus 'in the U.S.S.R. the principle of socialism is realised: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.' Once this principle has been acted on the human race can progress to the higher level of communism: 'From each according to his faculty and to each according to his need.' This fundamental transformation of the social order—the substitution of planned production for community consumption, instead of the capitalist profit-making of so-called 'Western Civilisation'—seems to me so vital a change for the better, so conducive to the progress of humanity to higher levels of health and happiness, virtue and wisdom, as to constitute a new civilisation" (ibid, 36-7). Moreover, she believes that "to-day, despite violent prejudices against the new social order on the part of capitalist governments and their supporters, all the

governments of the world, whether dictatorships or political democracies, are compelled to recognise that the U.S.S.R. is a Great Power, with a stabilised population of two hundred millions; a decline of the death-rate and rise of the birth-rate; no unemployment, and, so many competent investigators think, a steadily rising standard of health, comfort and culture, for the vast population of one-sixth of the earth's surface" (ibid, 38). Moreover, in *KritBrit* 4: *Beatrice Webb Pilgerfahrt nach Moskau: Die Reise einer Fabierin in die Sowjetunion Stalins* (1998), one can see the Webbs' perception about the Soviet Union. Paul Hollander argues that for the Webbs "what mattered [in the Soviet Union] was not so much the specific institutional accomplishments but the underlying higher purpose: 'The marvel was not that there should be parks, hospitals, factories; after all, these could be found in England as well. The marvel was that they should all, [...] be inspired by a collective ideal, a single moral purpose'" (Paul Hollander, 121). Beatrice Webb was the admirer of the Soviet Union and was "primarily interested in and approving of the efficiency of various social and economic institutions. [...] She also spoke of the [Soviet leader's] 'impassioned insistence on the spiritual no less than on the material side of life.' [She] was one of the many visiting intellectuals who relished what they perceived to be the apparent paradox between an allegedly godless, materialistic political system and its idealistic, puritanical leaders who acted with determination on the many moral precepts and principles Western religions avowed but failed to implement" (ibid, 123).

[12] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003, first edition 1978) 332.

[13] Christopher Sykes, *Four Studies in Loyalty* (London: Collins, 1946) 120.

[14] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 2000) 10.

[15] Michel Foucault, *Essential Works of Foucault (1954—1984), Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, vol. 1, ed. Paul Rabinow, transls. Robert Hurley et al (London: Penguin Books, 1997) 5.

[16] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994) 87.

[17] One can refer to the pioneers of travel to India by the English travellers, adventurers and ambassadors during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, such as: Thomas Stephenson as the first Englishman known to have settled in India, Ralph Fitch, from whom "the merchants of London for the first time received a most useful account both of India and of the possibilities and prospects of trade with that country," John Milenball as a "self-styled ambassador of Queen Elizabeth to Akbar the Great Mughal, William Hawkins as the "commander of the Hector which sailed to the East along with two other vessels on the Company's third voyage," Thomas Roe as the ambassador of "King James to the court of Jahangir" known for his journal as one of the best "books on Mughal India from 1615 to 1619," Thomas Coryat as a traveller of the seventeenth century, William Finch known for his "association with the East India Company [...] which dates from the year 1607 when he was appointed agent to an expedition sent by the Company, under Hawkins and Keeling, to treat with the Great Mughal," Nicholas Withington, a merchant adventurer who came to India in the year 1612, Edward Terry as a preacher who was installed in the Chaplaincy of the English Embassy to the Great Mughal after the death of the Reverend John Hall and Henry Lord who "was recommended for employment as a chaplain in the service of the East India

Company by Dean White," known for his "book on the religions of the Indian Banians and Parsees." For more information about the English travellers in India see Ram Chandra Prasad, *Early English Travellers in India: A Study in the Travel Literature of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Periods with Particular Reference to India* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1965).

[18] Donald E. Lundberg and Carolyn B. Lundberg, 186.

[19] Indira Ghose, *Women Travellers in Colonial India: the Power of the Female Gaze* (Delhi: Oxford UP, 1998) 1.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid, 10.

[22] Ibid.

[23] For more information about the voices which remained silent in Byron's analysis regarding Indian social and cultural strata and the women travellers's gaze to India, see Indira Ghose's *Women Travellers in Colonial India: the Power of the Female Gaze*. Moreover, in an anthology of women travellers' accounts *Memsahibs Abroad: Writing by Women Travellers in Nineteenth Century India* (Delhi: Oxford UP, 1998), Ghose shows the different perception of British women travellers to India during the nineteenth century. As she comments, the book is "about the India created in the colonial imagination. And what this image of India reflects are the fantasies and obsessions of the colonial mind" (11). One can see in the works of these women travellers the illumination of different aspects of Indian life, such as: "the glories of Oriental culture," the "mountain scenery of Western India", "Oriental art and culture", the "ancient Indian monuments", "Indian festivals", "Hinduism and Islam" as two religions in India, everyday life in India, the "philistinism of the Anglo-Indians," and the criticism of the "everyday running of the colonial machinery." In addition, in *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque by Fanny Parks*, eds. Indira Ghose and Sara Mills (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2001), Indira Ghose and Sara Mills argue that Fanny Parks "loved the country—while her husband was stationed in Allahabad, she describes spending most of her time travelling alone through the country, making trips up the Ganges, visiting the Taj Mahal at Agra, exploring Delhi and Lucknow, and making an expedition to the Himalayas. She displays an insatiable curiosity about Indian life and customs, learns to speak Urdu (she signs the fly-leaf of the book in the Persian script) and to play the sitar. Her journal, addressed to her mother in England, is crammed with background information on Indian mythology and details of famous sights gleaned from scholarly works" (5). One of the prominent points Ghose and Mills make is that Parks' account is significant "for a study of the role of travel writing in producing and circulating images of the Other—and thus fashioning a definition of the self" (15).

[24] Recent research by Denis Judd shows that "interestingly, the first mention of an Englishman setting foot in India is over 1,000 years earlier, and can be found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, one of the earliest records of the history of the English. According to this source, King Alfred the Great sent a certain Sighelm on a pilgrimage to India in AD 883. Sighelm apparently brought back 'many strange and

precious unions [pearls] and costly spices.'" Denis Judd, *The Lion and the Tiger: The Rise and Fall of the British Raj, 1600—1947* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004) 2.

[25] Denis Judd, 1-2.

[26] R. C. Vermani in *British Colonialism in India* (Delhi: Authors Guild Publications, 1983) 35.

[27] Denis Judd, 28.

[28] Homi K. Bhabha, 70.

[29] Denis Judd, 45.

[30] Ibid, 6.

[31] P. J. Marshall, *Problems of Empire: Britain and India 1757—1813* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968) 2.

[32] Denis Judd, 98.

[33] Ulf Hedetoft, *British Colonialism and Modern Identity* (Aalborg: Aalborg UP, 1985) 193.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Denis Judd, 94.

[36] Ibid, 100.

[37] Donald E. Lundberg and Carolyn B. Lundberg, 186.

[38] Homi K. Bhabha, 87.

[39] Indira Ghose, *Memsahibs Abroad: Writing by Women Travellers in Nineteenth Century India*, 77.

[40] Denis Judd, 103.

[41] Edward Said, 332.

[42] Denis Judd, 65.

[43] Ibid, 66.

[44] Gail Ching-Liang Low, *White Skins/Black Masks: Representation and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1996) 107.

[45] Charles Grant, the British administrator, 'Observations in the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain,' written chiefly in the year 1792 (Denis Judd, 207).

[46] Ibid, 38.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Babur came from the Barlas tribe of Mongol origin. He was the emperor (1526–30) and founder of the Mughal dynasty of India, a descendant of the Mongol conqueror Genghis Khan and also of Timur (Tamerlane). He was a military adventurer and soldier of distinction and a poet and diarist of genius, as well as a statesman. Babur is rightly considered the founder of the Indian Mughal Empire.

[49] James Knox, 225.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Denis Judd, 121.

[52] Moreover, Judd shows that the Company organized armies "increasingly dependent upon the tens of thousands of Indian mercenaries in their ranks, had little difficulty in subduing local resistance.

Overwhelmingly, the superiority of Western military technology, organization, and supply was sufficient to do the job" (Denis Judd, 51). He illustrates that it was during 1901 that "Lord Curzon put the point dramatically when he stated, 'As long as we rule India we are the greatest power in the world. If we lose it, we shall drop straightaway to a third-rate power'" (Denis Judd, 101). Moreover, he points up it was "indeed, during the First World War (1914—18) [that] India [functioned as] a pillar of strength in the Allied cause. Over two million men were recruited. Indians fought in all the major theatres of the war. They died in their tens of thousands for a King-Emperor that hardly any had seen and for a country that very few had visited."

[53] Quoted in Robert Byron (*EI*: 137).

[54] Michel Foucault, *Essential Works of Foucault*, vol. 1, 17.

[55] Raymond Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory" 22-7, in *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism: A Reader*, ed. Kiernan Ryan (London: Arnold, 1996) 23.

[56] Donald E. Lundberg and Carolyn B. Lundberg, 130.

[57] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 138.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Vita Sackville-West, *Passenger to Teheran* (London: Hogarth P, 1926) 171.

[60] Michel Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (London: Penguin Books, 1991) 144.

[61] After the 1917 Revolution, the Soviet government decided to change the face of the cities, especially Moscow. Therefore, "the dominant in the structure of the future Moscow was to be the Palace of Soviets and a decree authorizing its construction was issued in February 1932. The largest church in Moscow—the Church of Christ the Saviour near Kremlin—had been pulled down shortly before, and it was on this site that the stepped tower, 415 meters high and crowned by a 100-meter statue of Lenin, was to be erected." Igor Golomstock, *Totalitarian Art: in the Soviet Union, the Third Reich, Fascist Italy and the People's Republic of China* (London: Collins Harvill, 1990) 274.

[62] Robert C. Williams, *Russia Imagined: Art, Culture, and National Identity 1840—1995* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1997) xv.

[63] Roland Barthes, *A Barthes Reader*, transl. Susan Sontag (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001) 460.

[64] Vita Sackville-West, 173.

[65] Harry W. Nerhood, 174.

[66] Ibid, 272.

[67] Igor Golomstock argues: "In a totalitarian system art performs the function of transforming the raw material of dry ideology into the fuel of images and myths intended for general consumption. [...] The foundations of totalitarian art are laid down at the same time and place as those of the one-party State:

(1) The State declares art (and culture as a whole) to be an ideological weapon and a means of struggle for power.

(2) The State acquires a monopoly over all manifestations of the country's artistic life.

(3) The State constructs an all-embracing apparatus for the control and direction of art.

(4) From the multiplicity of artistic movements then in existence, the State selects one movement, always the most conservative, which most nearly answers its needs and declares it to be official and obligatory.

(5) Finally, the State declares war to the death against all styles and movements other than the official ones, declaring them to be reactionary and hostile to class, race, people, Party or State, to humanity, to social or artistic progress, etc" (xiii).

[68] Sidney and Beatrice Webb, 41-2. Moreover, see *Cultural Encounters: European Travel Writing in the 1930s*, eds. Charles Burdett and Derek Duncan (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002) in which Mayte Gómez, in "Bringing Home the Truth about the Revolution: Spanish Travellers to the Soviet Union in the 1930s," deals with the Spanish travellers' perceptions about the Soviet Union: "In 1928, eleven years after the triumph pf the Bolshevik revolution and after a postwar period marked by social and economic rebuilding, the revolutionary state opened its doors to the rest of the world. With some of the most renowned intellectuals, writers and artists of the time visiting the Soviet Union, the pilgrimage to the newly organized state became the subject of a large and rich body of political travel writing" (56). The Spanish travellers "to the Soviet Union endeavoured to search for ideological balance and political objectivity" (ibid, 66). These travellers ranged from "writers, poets, journalists, teachers, business people, [to] tourists, even priests. The result of these journeys en masse was a true explosion of travel books that very often offered a rather superficial description of life or politics in the Soviet Union, but also 'unfolded [...] with great fluency the range of possibilities between [the two radical visions of the country] as hell and [...] as heaven' (Egido 1988: 141)" (ibid, 68). In the accounts of the 'socialist travellers' one encounters the failure of portraying the realities in the Soviet Union since they "failed to interact with ordinary Soviet people and to report on their role in the extraordinary changes which they were so keen to report. In these travel books, the proletarian 'other' appears both lifeless and voiceless. Workers' statements are rarely found in print, and are much more often hidden underneath the narrator's reported speech" (ibid, 72). There are 'working-class travellers' who "went to the Soviet Union on behalf of their political parties or unions and focused on describing the organization of work, the daily life of the working class, the role of unions, and the like. Their journeys developed from a premise that was quite similar to that of the socialist intelligentsia: to search for 'truth, honesty, and impartiality', and they were equally confident that they could simply 'gather' the information they saw and heard (Eulogio Dies 1934: 1). For these travellers truth was to be found less in the solid objectivity of factual information and more in the eye of the beholder, since they believed that the Soviet revolution could only be interpreted correctly from the point of view of the working class. [In addition], the communist publication encouraged workers to combat the 'bourgeois lies' about the Soviet Union printed in the bourgeois press with the weapon of their 'proletarian truth'" (ibid, 73). "Like working-class travellers, bourgeois tourists believed that truth would be found not in factual descriptions but in the eye of the beholder. They were convinced that the source of their 'objectivity' was precisely their own apolitical point of view (Hoyos Gascón 1933: 3). Unlike the 'curious' travellers who had returned from the Soviet Union saying that it

was all 'horrible' and those to the 'opposite extreme' who had come back saying it was all 'marvellous', these travellers proudly announced that they had not reached conclusions a prior and 'purely and simply' asked a very direct question: 'What is happening in Russia?' (Hoyos Gascón 1933: 3)" (ibid, 75).

[69] Moreover, Igor Golomstock argues that "totalitarianism translated the ideas of the avant-garde into its own language and forged them into a weapon with which to destroy its enemies" (xvi).

[70] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 138.

[71] Robert C. Williams, xiv.

[72] Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" 17-21, in *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism: A Reader*, ed. Kiernan Ryan (London: Arnold, 1996) 17.

[73] Vita Sackville-West, 172-3.

[74] Paul Hollander, 118.

[75] Ibid, 136.

[76] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 141.

[77] Quoted in Pamela Major-Poetzl, *Michel Foucault's Archaeology of Western Culture: Toward a New Science of History* (Sussex: Harvester P, 1983) 50.

[78] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 203. Foucault argues that in the Panopticon system the concern is "with individualizing observation, with characterization and classification, with the analytical arrangement of space. The Panopticon is a royal menagerie; the animal is replaced by man, individual distribution by specific grouping and the king by the machinery of a furtive power" (ibid).

[79] Ibid, 201.

[80] Ibid, 203.

[81] Ibid, 204.

[82] Vita Sackville-West, 174.

[83] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 171.

[84] Ibid, 155.

[85] Quoted in Pamela Major-Poetzl, 28-29.

[86] This reminds us of Foucault's argument regarding "how one may have a hold over other's bodies, not only so that they may do what one wishes, but so that they may operate as one wishes, with the techniques, the speed and the efficiency that one determines." Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 138.

[87] Vita Sackville-West, 172.

[88] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 204.

[89] Quoted in Robert Byron (*RT*: 45).

[90] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 82.

[91] Roland Barthes, *A Barthes Reader*, 459.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 135.

[94] Sidney and Beatrice Webb, 39.

[95] Roland Barthes, *A Barthes Reader*, 459.

[96] Robert C. Williams, 121. This reminds us of what Foucault states "when I [Foucault] lecture somewhat dogmatically, I tell myself: I am paid to bring to the student a certain form and content of knowledge; I must fashion my lecture or my course a little as one might make a shoe, no more no less" (Quoted in Pamela Major-Poetzl, 52).

[97] Robert C. Williams, 122.

[98] Ibid, 123.

[99] Roland Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and representation*, transl. Richard Howard (Berkeley: U of California P, 1991) 237.

[100] Igor Golomstock shows that "through the image of war [...] the events of the past and everyday labour were all portrayed as a heroic struggle by man against inert Nature or the reactionary forces of History. [...] The 'historico-revolutionary theme' or 'historical painting'—was also devoted primarily to portrayals of the leaders, this time as 'creators of history' leading the revolutionary masses. [...] Labour, which under any totalitarian regime is essentially forced labour, was always portrayed either as a fierce struggle [...] or else a joyful festival. [...] The most neglected genres in totalitarian art were landscape and still life" (xv-xxi).

[101] Denis Judd, 19.

[102] Donald E. Lundberg and Carolyn B. Lundberg describe "Moscow [as] the mecca of Russia, a mecca that is officially atheistic. Ironically the number one attraction, tourist or otherwise, in all of the Soviet Union, is the mummified remains of that mortal Lenin." Naturally, every traveller goes to Moscow to see such mummified remains (129).

[103] Donald E. Lundberg and Carolyn B. Lundberg, 130.

[104] Mayte Gómez argues, "one of the most obvious incongruities all travellers pointed out had to do with the relationship between people and space: while the new generations of Soviet citizens could feel they belonged to a new space that was called the Soviet Union, older generations were, in the view of many travellers, symbolically out of place, completely unattached to and in constant struggle with the new revolutionary space. This lack of connection was most obvious in the ongoing negotiation between a generation of older people unable and unwilling to give up their religious belief and a new revolutionary state struggling to enforce drastic change" (Charles Burdett and Derek Duncan, 77).

Chapter 4

[1] Quoted in Alan D. Schrift, "Nietzsche's French Legacy" 323-45, in *The Cambridge Companion to Nietzsche*, eds. Bernd Magnus and Kathleen M. Higgins (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996) 338.

[2] Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, transl. Richard Howard (Berkeley: U of California P, 1989) 311.

[3] Manfred Pfister, "Robert Byron and the Modernisation of Travel Writing" 462-87, in *Poetica* 31. 3-4 (1999) 464.

[4] Ibid, 472.

[5] Christoph Bode, *West Meets East* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1997) 170.

[6] Howard J. Booth, "Making the Case for Cross-Cultural Exchange: Robert Byron's *The Road to Oxiana*" 159-72, in *Cultural Encounters: European Travel Writing in the 1930s*, eds. Charles Burdett and Derek Duncan (New York: Berghahn, 2002) 167.

[7] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980) 99.

[8] Christopher Sykes, *Four Studies in Loyalty* (London: Collins, 1946) 148.

[9] Manfred Pfister, 484.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid, 474.

[12] Mark Poster, *Foucault, Marxism and History: Mode of production versus Mode of Information* (Cambridge: Polity P, 1984) 75.

[13] James Knox, *A Biography of Robert Byron* (London: John Murray, 2003) xiii.

[14] Bruce Chatwin, *What Am I Doing Here* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1989) 289.

[15] Christopher Sykes, 111.

[16] Evelyn Waugh, *A Little Learning* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1983) 198-200.

[17] Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, 100.

[18] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003, first edition 1978) 11.

[19] Ibid, 2.

[20] Ibid, 41.

[21] Manfred Pfister, 472.

[22] Ibid, 473.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Homa Katouzian, "Riza Shah's Political Legitimacy and Social Base, 1921-1941" 15-36, in *The Making of Modern Iran: State and Society under Riza Shah, 1921-1941*, ed. Stephanie Cronin (London: Routledge, 2003) 16.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Robin Bidwell, ed. *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print, Part II From the First to the Second World War,* Series B: *Turkey, Iran, and the Middle East, 1918-1939*, vol. 17, Persia II: *A Troubled Year, July 1929- June 1922*. General eds. Kenneth Bourne and D. Cameron Watt (London: U Publications of America, 1990) 283.

[29] Homa Katouzian, "Riza Shah's Political Legitimacy and Social Base, 1921-1941", 16.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Arthur Upham Pope, *Introducing Persian Architecture* (Tehran, Soroush P, 1976) 4.

[32] Homa Katouzian, "Riza Shah's Political Legitimacy and Social Base, 1921-1941", 16.

[33] Robin Bidwell, vol. 17, 285.

[34] L. P. Elwell-Sutton, "The Pahlavi Era" 49-64, in *Persia: History and Heritage*, ed. John A. Boyle (London: Henry Melland, 1978) 53.

[35] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, transl. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990) 136.

[36] Pamela Major-Poetzl, *Michel Foucault's Archaeology of Western Culture: Toward a New Science of History* (Sussex: Harvester P, 1983) 47.

[37] Homa Katouzian, "Riza Shah's Political Legitimacy and Social Base, 1921-1941", 20.

[38] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, 139.

[39] Sara Mills, *Michel Foucault* (London: Routledge, 2003) 33.

[40] "The sequence, which then began, of getting possession of the car, getting a licence to drive it with, getting a permit to stay in Persia at all, getting a permit to go to Meshed, getting a letter to the Governor of Meshed, and getting other letters to the governor en route, obliterated four days" (*RO*: 74).

[41] Robin Bidwell, ed. *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print, Part II From the First to the Second World War,* Series B: *Turkey, Iran, and the Middle East, 1918-1939*, vol. 26, Persia XI: *January 1931- October 1933*. General eds. Kenneth Bourne and D. Cameron Watt (London: U Publications of America, 1994) 18.

[42] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of The Prison*, transl. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin Books, 1991)171.

[43] Ibid, 173.

[44] Roland Barthes, *A Barthes Reader*, transl. Susan Sontag (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001) 110.

[45] Roland Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation*, transl. Richard Howard (Berkeley: U of California P, 1991) 237.

[46] Quoted in Homa Katouzian, "Riza Shah's Political Legitimacy and Social Base, 1921-1941", 30.

[47] Christopher Sykes, 136.

[48] D. L. Kirkpatrick, ed. *Reference Guide to English Literature*, vol. 2 (Chicago: St. James P, 1991) 1048.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Margaret Oliphant, *Collection of British Authors*, vol. 1114, *Miss Marjoribanks*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1870) 21-2.

[51] Ibid, 26.

[52] Homa Katouzian, *State and Society in Iran: The Eclipse of the Qajars and the Emergence of the Pahlavis* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000) 269.

[53] Robin Bidwell, vol. 17, 283.

[54] Ibid, 284.

[55] The story is narrated by the Persian epic poet Abu-al Qassem Firdawsi in *Shahnameh* ("The Book of Kings", 1010 A. D.).

[56] He was an administer general of the finances of Persia during that time.

[57] Mohammad Gholi Majd, *Great Britain and Reza Shah: The Plunder of Iran, 1921—1941* (California: UP of California, 2001) 6.

[58] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 95.

[59] Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, 107-8.

[60] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 101.

[61] Ibid, 136.

[62] Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, 107-8.

[63] Michel Foucault, *Essential Works of Foucault (1954—1984), Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, ed. Paul Rabinow, transls. Robert Hurley et al, vol. 1 (London: Penguin Books, 1997) 17.

[64] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 137-8.

[65] Mohammad Gholi Majd, 171.

[66] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 137.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Robin Bidwell, vol. 26, 436.

[69] Mohammad Gholi Majd, 171.

[70] Michel Foucault, *Essential Works of Foucault (1954—1984), Aesthetics: Method, and Epistemology*, ed. James Faubion, transls. Robert Hurley et al, vol. 2 (London: Penguin Books, 1998) 336.

[71] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 95.

[72] It reminds us of Percy Bysshe Shelley's poem "Ozymandias" (1818), "... 'My name is Ozymandias, king of kings:/Look on my works, ye Mighty, and despair!'/ Nothing beside remains. Round the decay / Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare/The lone and level stands stretch far away" (lines 10-14).

[73] James Knox, 304-5.

[74] Manfred Pfister, 472.

[75] Ibid, 473.

[76] Ibid, 474

[77] James Knox, 284.

[78] A. Norman Jeffares, *Yeats's Poems* (London: MacMillan, 1996) 294-5 (lines 3-16).

[79] Robin Bidwell, vol. 17, xvi.

[80] Quoted in Homa Katouzian, "Riza Shah's Political Legitimacy and Social Base, 1921-1941", 24.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Mohammad Gholi Majd, 63-73.

[83] Robin Bidwell, vol. 17, 285.

[84] Robin Bidwell, ed. *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print, Part II From the First to the Second World War*, Series B: *Turkey, Iran, and the Middle East, 1918-1939*, vol. 18, Persia III: *Reza Khan establishes his ascendancy, July 1922-July 1923*. General eds. Kenneth Bourne and D. Cameron Watt (London: U Publications of America, 1990) 342.

[85] Ibid, 343.

[86] Ibid, 366.

[87] Nigel Nicolson ed., *Vita and Harold: The Letters of Vita Sackville-West and Harold Nicolson* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1992) 133.

[88] L. P. Elwell-Sutton, 52.

[89] When Byron was travelling towards Mashhad, in a great surprise he saw "the off front wheel [of the Bedford pilgrim bus] ran back towards [him] buckled the running-board with a crunch, and escaped into desert. 'Are you English?' asked the driver in disgust. 'Look at that.' An inch of British steel had broken clean through" (*RO*: 79-80). The driver satirically asked the question which emphasizes the decline of British imperialism.

[90] James Knox, 285

[91] Ibid, 285-6.

[92] Ibid, 286.

[93] Ibid, 299.

[94] Ibid, 356-7.

[95] Ibid, 300.

[96] Ibid, 315-16.

[97] Ibid, 322.

[98] Manfred Pfister, 474

[99] Quoted in Pamela Major-Poetzl, 28-29.

[100] James Knox, 328.

[101] Quoted in Pamela Major-Poetzl, 52.

[102] Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, 104.

[103] Ibid.

Chapter 5

[1] John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1907) 239.

[2] Quoted in Mohammed Arkoun, "Spirituality and Architecture" 3-18, in *Understanding Islamic Architecture*, eds. Attilio Petruccioli and Khalil K. Pirani (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002) 3.

[3] Roland Barthes, *A Barthes Reader*, transl. Susan Sontag (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001) 239.

[4] Scott Wilson, *Cultural Materialism: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995) 122-3.

[5] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 2000) 5.

[6] Ibid, 89-90.

[7] Scott Wilson, 8-9.

[8] Clifford Geertz, 5-6.

[9] Ross Murfin and Supryia M. Ray, *The Bedford Glossary of Critical and Literary Terms* (New York: Bedford Books, 1997) 402.

[10] Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1973) ix.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Scott Wilson, 121.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Michel Foucault, *Essential Works of Foucault: (1954—1984), Aesthetics: Method, and Epistemology*, vol. 2, ed. James Faubion, transls. Robert Hurley et al (London: Penguin Books, 1998) 430.

[15] Quoted in Robert Byron (*BA*: 19).

[16] John Ruskin, 27.

[17] Roland Barthes, *The Semiotic Challenge*, transl. Richard Howard (California: U of California P, 1994) 191.

[18] Clifford Geertz, 140-1.

[19] Jeremy Hawthorn, *Cunning Passages: New Historicism, Cultural Materialism and Marxism in Contemporary Literary Debate* (London: Arnold, 1996) 14.

[20] Roland Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation*, transl. Richard Howard (Berkeley: U of California P, 1991) 183.

[21] Clifford Geertz, 17.

[22] Ibid, 126-7.

[23] Ibid, 363.

[24] Ibid, 26.

[25] Roland Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms*, 183-4.

[26] Arthur Upham Pope, *Introducing Persian Architecture* (Tehran: Soroush P, 1976) 2.

[27] Ibid, 10.

[28] John Ruskin, 104.

[29] Michel Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (London: Penguin Books, 1991) 239. Moreover, in an interview with Foucault concerning this point that architecture becomes political, he answers in this way: "I only meant to say that in the eighteenth century one sees the development of reflection upon architecture as a function of the aims and techniques of the government of societies. One begins to see a form of political literature that addresses what the order of a society should be, what a city should be, given the requirements of the maintenance of order; given that one should avoid epidemics, avoid revolts, permit a decent and moral family life, and so on. In terms of these objectives, how is one to conceive of both the organization of a city and the construction of a collective infrastructure? And how should houses be built? [...] What I wish to point out is that from the eighteenth century on, every discussion of politics as the art of the government of men necessarily includes a chapter or a series of chapters on urbanism, on collective facilities, on hygiene, and on private architecture. This change is perhaps not in the reflections of architects upon architecture, but it is quite clearly seen in the reflections of political men. [...] Instead, the cities, with the problems that they raised, and the particular forms that

they took, served as the models for the governmental rationality that was to apply to the whole of the territory. A state will be well organized when a system of policing as tight and efficient as that of the cities extends over the entire territory. At the outset, the notion of police applied only to the set of regulations that were to assure the tranquillity of a city, but at that moment the police become the very *type* of rationality for the government of the whole territory. The model of the city became the matrix for the regulations that apply to a whole state. [...] A new aspect of the relations of space and power was railroads. These were to establish a network of communication no longer corresponding necessarily to the traditional network of roads, but they nonetheless had to take into account the nature of society and its history. In addition, there are all the social phenomena that railroads gave rise to, be they the resistances they provoked, the transformations of population, or changes in the behaviour of people. [...] It is true that for me, architecture, in the very vague analyses of it that I have been able to conduct, is only taken as an element of support, to ensure a certain allocation of people in space, a *canalization* of their circulation, as well as the coding of their reciprocal relations. So it is not only considered as an element in space, but is especially thought of as a plunge into a field of social relations in which it brings about some specific effects" (ibid, 239-53).

[30] Ibid, 239.

[31] John Ruskin, 264.

[32] Ibid, 106.

[33] Michel Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, 241.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid, 253.

[36] Stephen P. Blake, *Half the World: The Social Architecture of Safavid Isfahan, 1590-1722* (California: Mazda Publishers, 1999) xv.

[37] Manfred Pfister, "Robert Byron and the Modernisation of Travel Writing" 462-87, in *Poetica* 31. 3-4 (1999) 476.

[38] Clifford Geertz, 9.

[39] Manfred Pfister, 476.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid, 479.

[43] Roland Barthes, *A Barthes Reader*, 93.

[44] Ibid, 94.

[45] Ibid, 95.

[46] Arthur Upham Pope, 1.

[47] Manfred Pfister, 485.

[48] Ibid, 477.

[49] Graham Allen, *Roland Barthes* (London: Routledge, 2003) 103.

[50] H. Aram Veeser, ed. *The New Historicism* (London: Routledge, 1989) 22.

[51] Jeremy Hawthorn, 33.

[52] "The first systematic survey of Persian architecture, and in general of Persian art, started by Arthur Upham Pope of the American Institute of Iranian Art and Archaeology (thereafter the Iranian Institute, and finally the Asia Institute) from 1926. This has created an elaborate collection of information about Persian art and architecture. The survey of Persian art by Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, which includes different aspects of art such as architecture, pottery, ceramics, books, carpets, textiles, metal, carved stone and wood-work, and was published in 1938, is the most comprehensive research that has ever been carried out in this field. The scholarly work of Pope about Persian architecture is a superb book that describes Persian architecture from the beginning to the present; and has been regarded as an outstanding standard text since 1965. Persian architecture has been investigated in detail by other scholars as well. Andre Godard studied Persian architecture and art in 1946 and 1962. Ghirshman made a valuable research into the pre-Islamic architecture of Persia in 1951 and 1962. Donald N. Wilber, who worked for the Asia Institute from 1939 through the 1940s, investigated the architecture of Islamic Iran during the Il Khanid period in 1955. The comprehensive restoration and maintenance of several historical monuments of Iran was carried out during the 1960s and 1970s." M. M. Hejazi, *Historical Buildings of Iran: their Architecture and Structure* (Southampton: Computational Mechanics Publications, 1997) 4-5.

[53] Manfred Pfister, 477.

[54] Ibid, 477-8.

[55] Ibid, 478.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid, 479.

[58] Arthur Cotterell, *The Pimlico Dictionary of Classical Civilizations: Greece, Rome, Persia, India and China* (London: Pimlico, 1998) 29.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid, 287-8.

[61] Christopher Sykes, 141.

[62] Roland Barthes, *A Barthes Reader*, 238.

[63] Roland Barthes, *The Semiotic Challenge*, 196.

[64] Ibid, 198.

[65] Ibid, 159.

[66] Ibid, 201.

[67] Ibid, 157.

[68] Arthur Upham Pope, 18.

[69] Persepolis, old Persian Parsa , modern Takht-e Jamshid (Persian: Throne of Jamshid) is an ancient capital of the Achaemenian kings of Persia, located about 32 miles (51 km) northeast of Shiraz in the region of Fars in south-western Iran. Inscriptions indicate that construction of the city began under Darius I the

Great (reigned 522–486 B.C.), who, as a member of a new branch of the royal house, made Persepolis the capital of Persia proper, replacing Pasargad, the burial place of Cyrus the Great. Built in a remote and mountainous region, Persepolis was an inconvenient royal residence, visited mainly in the spring. The effective administration of the Achaemenian Empire was carried on from Susa, Babylon, or Ecbatana. This accounts for the Greeks being unacquainted with Persepolis until Alexander the Great's invasion of Asia. In 330 B.C., Alexander plundered the city and burned the palace of Xerxes. In 316 B.C., Persepolis was still the capital of Persis as a province of the Macedonian empire. The city gradually declined in the Seleucid period and after, its ruins attesting to its ancient glory. In the 3rd century A. D., the nearby city of Istakhr became the centre of the Sasanian Empire. The site is marked by a large terrace with its east side leaning on the Kuh-e Rahmat (Mount of Mercy). The other three sides are formed by a retaining wall, varying in height with the slope of the ground from 13 to 41 feet (4 to 12 m); on the west side a magnificent double stair in two flights of 111 easy stone steps leads to the top. On the terrace are the ruins of a number of colossal buildings, all constructed of a dark grey stone, (often polished to the consistency of marble) from the adjacent mountain. The stones, of great size, cut with the utmost precision, were laid without mortar, and many of them are still in place. Especially striking are the huge columns, 13 of which still stand in Darius the Great's audience hall, known as the Apadana, the name given to a similar hall built by Darius at Susa. There are two more columns still standing in the entrance hall of the Gate of Xerxes, and a third has been assembled there from its broken pieces. Behind Persepolis are three sepulchres hewn out of the mountainside; the facades, of which one is incomplete, are richly ornamented with reliefs. About 8 miles (13 km) north by northeast, on the opposite side of the Pulvar River, rises a perpendicular wall of rock in which four similar tombs are cut at a considerable height from the bottom of the valley. This place is called Naqsh-i Rostam (the Picture of Rostam), from the Sasanian carvings below the tombs, which were thought to represent the mythical hero Rostam. That the occupants of these seven tombs were Achaemenian kings might be inferred from the sculptures, and one of those at Naqsh-i Rostam is expressly declared in its inscriptions to be the tomb of Darius I. For more information, see M. M. Hejazi, *Historical Buildings of Iran: their Architecture and Structure*, A. J. Arberry, ed. *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Median and Achaemenian*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985), John A. Boyle, ed. *Persia: History and Heritage* (London: Henry Melland, 1978) and Arthur Upham Pope, *Introducing Persian Architecture*.

[70] Laurence Lockhart and J. A. Boyle, "The Beginnings: the Achaemenids" 17-23, in *Persia: History and Heritage*, ed. John A. Boyle (London: Henry Melland, 1978) 22.

[71] Arthur Upham Pope, 18.

[72] Ibid, 17.

[73] Ibid, 18.

[74] Ibid, 16-17.

[75] Ibid, 18.

[76] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, transl. A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972) 23.

[77] Quoted in Laurence Lockhart and J. A. Boyle, "The Beginnings: the Achaemenids", 21.

[78] Arthur Upham Pope, 10.

[79] P. R. L. Brown, "Parthians and Sasanians" 24-30, in *Persia: History and Heritage*, ed. John A. Boyle (London: Henry Melland, 1978) 26.

[80] David Talbot Rice, "Persia and Byzantium, the Legacy of Persia" 39-59, in *Byzantine Art and its Influences: Collected Studies*, ed. A. J. Arberry (London: Variorum Reprints, 1973) 43. "Robert remembered [David Talbot Rice] as 'a familiar pillar in the battle of a public school; possessing at sixteen the figure & resemblance of a healthy bull; smoking in the school bathing place, drinking amid the aspidistras of the neighbouring public house, bawling at small boys in boats through a megaphone.'" James Knox, *A Biography of Robert Byron* (London: John Murray, 2003) 130.

[81] Ibid, 54.

[82] Ibid, 50.

[83] Ibid, 58.

[84] Ibid, 48.

[85] Arthur Upham Pope, 24.

[86] Ibid.

[87] "During the Seleucids (330-250 B.C.) Hellenic forms became dominant for a few decades but were never absorbed. In North-east Persia from 174 B.C. (the first known Parthian architectural buildings) the Parthians developed a different architecture, combining Greek and Persian elements. Dealing with the *vault* that is of most importance spiritually and is fundamental to the architecture of Persia, Parthian architecture brought about two architectural forms which had an everlasting influence on the architecture of the world. One was placing a dome on *squinches* and the other was the vaulted *ivan* (a portal or hall, which is enclosed only on three sides, with a certain depth, and roofed) structure. Putting a dome on a square plan is the transition from square to circle. The first solution was proposed by Persian engineers who invented a transitional section by building an arch, squinch, on each corner, transforming the square to an octagon. Then a further ring of smaller squinches was placed to reduce it to 16 sides which is close to a circle. [...] In the next era 224 to 642 A.D., the Sassanians developed the dome and its setting on squinches. Huge vaults were built without centering. [...] The earliest Iranian dome, which is still in existence, was built in Firuzabad, South-west Iran, at the beginning of this epoch. [...] The transverse arch and vault was one of the most important inventions in the architecture of the world that was invented by the Sassanians to solve the structural problem of making window holes in the walls supporting a barrel vault" (M. M. Hejazi, 21-3).

[88] "Stone was one of the first building materials, used in the foundation of some buildings in Northern Iran 7,000 years ago. Magnificent stone structures were built during the Achaemenids (560-330 B.C.),

generally limestone, Seleucids (330-250 B.C.), Parthians (250 B.C.-224 A.D.) and Sassanians (224-642 A. D.), rubble set in mortar" (M. M. Hejazi, 11).

[89] John Ruskin, 249.

[90] David Talbot Rice, 41.

[91] Arthur Upham Pope, 1.

[92] Abdul Rehman, "The Grand Tradition of Islamic Architecture" 27-30, in *Understanding Islamic Architecture*, eds. Attilio Petruccioli and Khalil K. Pirani (London: Routledge, 2002) 27.

[93] Roland Barthes, *The Semiotic Challenge*, 182.

[94] John Ruskin, 144-5.

[95] Ibid, 151.

[96] Joseph A. Wilkes and Robert T. Packard, *Encyclopedia of Architecture: Design, Engineering and Construction*, vol. 3 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1989) 465.

[97] Jale N. Erzen, "The Aesthetics of Space in Ottoman Architecture" 57-64, in *Understanding Islamic Architecture*, eds. Attilio Petruccioli and Khalil K. Pirani (London: Routledge, 2002) 63.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Joseph A. Wilkes and Robert T. Packard, 461.

[100] Clifford Geertz, 89-90.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid, 91.

[103] Ibid, 126-7.

[104] Joseph A. Wilkes and Robert T. Packard, 461.

[105] Roland Barthes, *The Semiotic Challenge*, 195.

[106] Roland Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms*, 237-8.

[107] Byron celebrates the West as the civilization which is in contradiction with the East. From the moment of his departure from the West, he shows a painful farewell to Europe; for instance, his description of the departure from Venice is worthy of notice: "The departure of this boat from Trieste was attended by scenes first performed in the Old Testament. Jewish refugees from Germany were leaving for Palestine. On the one hand was a venerable wonder-rabbi, whose orthodox ringlets and round beaver hat set the fashion for his disciplines down to the age of eight; on the other a flashy group of boys and girls in beach clothes, who stifled their emotions by singing. A crowd had assembled to see them off. As the boat unloosed, each one's personal concerns, the lost valise, the misappropriated corner, were forgotten. The wonder-rabbi and his attendant patriarchs broke into nerveless, uncontrollable waving; the boys and girls struck up a solemn hymn, in which the word Jerusalem was repeated on a note of triumph. The crowd on shore joined in, following the quay to its brink, where they stood till the ship was on the horizon. At that moment Ralph Stockley A. D. C. to the High Commissioner in Palestine, also arrived on the quay, to find he had missed the boat. His agitation and subsequent pursuit in a launch relieved the tension" Robert Byron (*RO*: 5).

[108] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, transl. Annette Lavers (London: Granada Publishing, 1982) 62.

[109] Ibid, 64.

[110] Ronald Lewcock, "Architects, Craftsmen and Builders: Materials and Techniques" 112-43, in *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning*, ed. George Michell (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978) 143.

[111] Jonathan M. Bloom, "The minaret before the Saljuqs" 12-16, in *The Art of Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (California: Mazda Publisher, 1994) 12-13. Functionally, there is no reason for the minaret to exist, for during the Prophet's lifetime, the call to prayer (*adhan*) was given from the roof of the mosques. Philologically, the place where a muezzin (mu'adhdhin) gives the *adhan is a mi'dhana,* but this word is rarely—if ever—recorded in the early centuries of Islam. Rather, three other words are generally understood to refer to towers attached to mosques. The first of them, *manar* (literally, a place of *nur*, or light) often means lighthouse, as does the second term, the feminine *manara*. In both cases, the formal similarity of a lighthouse to a minaret has support the identification. But *manar* can also mean 'a sign or mark set up to show the way, or a thing that is put as a limit or boundary between two things, such as a boundary stone, pillar or signpost.' The third term, *sawma'a*, does not appear in epigraphy until 358/969 in Cordova, where it is understood to refer to a tower attached to a mosque. Later it becomes the standard Maghribi word for a minaret; in Iran, however it maintains its original meaning of 'monk's cell'. *Mi'dhana*, the word which best describes the supposed function of the minaret, was rarely used in the early medieval period. Formally, historians have traced the minaret's archetype to the four square towers of the Umayyad mosque of Damascus or to the square towers of Syrian churches. From Umayyad Syria, the type is supposed to have spread throughout the Muslim world.

[112] Arthur Upham Pope, 49.

[113] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980) 95.

[114] See illustration number twelve in the illustration section.

[115] Manfred Pfister, 476-7.

[116] Arthur Upham Pope, 44.

[117] Ibid, 49.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid, 38.

[120] Ibid, 39.

[121] Ibid, 63.

[122] Laurence Lockhart and J. A. Boyle, "From the Islamic Conquest to the Qajars" 31-48, in *Persia: History and Heritage*, ed. John A. Boyle (London: Henry Melland, 1978) 35.

[123] The building belongs to Mongol period, early fourteenth century. George Michell describes it in this way: "All that is left of the remarkable city founded by Öljeytu (1294-1307) is his mausoleum, its egg-shaped dome still dominating the village that squats uneasily amid its ruins. After founding his new city, Öljeytu wished to have a worthwhile purpose for its existence and decided to remove the body of Ali, the

Prophet's son-in-law, from its tomb in Iraq and install it as a centre of pilgrimage in Soltaniyeh. The mausoleum was, therefore, originally designed as a great shrine and decorated accordingly; but Öljeytu was induced to reconsider his decision and eventually it became his own tomb, whereupon the interior was less richly endowed." Antony Hutt, "Iran" 251-7, in *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning*, ed. George Michell (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978) 257.

[124] Arthur Upham Pope, 39.

[125] Antony Wynn, *Persia in the Great Game: Sir Percy Sykes, Explorer, Consul, Soldier, Spy* (London: John Murray, 2003) 126-7. He states, "Around AD 800 the Caliph Mamun in Baghdad, who was a Sunni Muslim, decided in order to win the favour of his many Shia subjects to appoint the most holy man as his successor. While he was at Merv, in the outer reaches of the Caliphate, he summoned the Imam to his presence, where he proclaimed him as the next Caliph and gave him his daughter in marriage. This move proved popular with the Shia but not among the Sunnis, who caused many uprisings in protest at the appointment. A year later Mamun and the Imam Reza left Merv for Baghdad. At Nowqan, where Mamun's father, the famous Haroun al-Rashid, was buried, they stopped and there, after eating an immoderate quantity of grapes, the Imam died. [...] The Shia, however, believed that the Imam had been poisoned with a pomegranate at the order of the Caliph, who alarmed at the disturbances, had decided to be rid of him. The tomb of the Imam rapidly became a holy spot and place of pilgrimage for the Shia, who remembered a saying of the prophet Muhammad: 'A part of my body is to be buried in Khorasan, and whoever goes there on pilgrimage will be destined for Paradise'" (Ibid).

[126] The Mosque of Gohar Shad belongs to the Timurid period, 1418. Antony Hutt describes the mosque in this way: "During the Timurid period the art of tile-mosaic reached its apogee, and the decoration of this mosque represents the finest remaining example of this technique in Iran. Built on the four-*iwan* plan, the inner walls of the courtyard glow with panels of the richest colours, the whole linked to form a unity of composition by two inscription bands in white on deep-blue, one of which enriches the courtyard, while the other frames the *iwan*. This latter inscription is itself framed by the two minarets that flank the *iwan* and stretch down to the ground. This is the first example of this form in Iran—minarets formerly rose from above the parapets" (Antony Hutt, 255).

[127] Stephen P. Blake argues, "the defining architectural element of Safavid Isfahan was the Maidan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, the great piazza around which Abbas built the nucleus of his new capital. A triumph of architectural form, the maidan integrated space and mass in a breathtaking composition 1,670 feet long and 520 feet wide. The great empty space reflected, in a way that a mere ensemble of monuments could not, the power and magnificence of the Safavid emperor. Only a shah could have established such an extravagance—an immense open space in the midst of a crowded urban environment. Only the emperor could empty and fill this vast arena on command. [...] The Maidan-i Naqsh-i Jahan was the focal point for the activities and institutions of the city. In that vast bounded space, the interplay between monument and institution, architecture and society, was daily enacted. The maidan was the site of imperial spectacles; polo, horse-racing, military parades, fireworks displays, mock battles, receptions of

ambassadors, and courtly audiences. It was the stage for religious processions. [...] It also accommodated the economic activities of merchants and artisans. [...] While Abbas erected religious and economic buildings, his major contribution to the social architecture of Isfahan was political. His decision to lay out a maidan, thereby establishing the foundation of a new city, was a political one. The maidan and the city that eventually rose around it were intended to celebrate Abbas's reorganization of the Safavid state—a reorganization whose success was demonstrated in his military triumph over the Uzbegs in 1007/1598 and the Ottomans in 1012-16/1603-7" (xvi-xvii).

[128] Stephen P. Blake states, Shah Abbas "had built two mosques around the Maidan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, the Masjid-i Shah and the Sheikh Lutfallah Mosque. [...] In Safavid Isfahan the chief task of the ulema, the inhabitants of the mosques and madrasas, was to convert the urban populace to Shi'it Islam. The early Safavid emperors had imported some scholars, such as Sheikh Lutfallah and Mullah Abdallah, from abroad and had built mosques, madrasas, and *imamzadas* for them" (xviii). Moreover, he argues, "Abbas built the mosque [of Sheikh Lutfallah] for Sheikh Lutfallah, [he] was the first mullah connected with [the mosque, and] Abbas respected him. [Sheikh Lutfallah] lived in the mosque itself, [and] the emperor paid him from imperial household resources. [All these points] suggest a close connection between the mosque and the sheikh" (149).

[129] Roland Barthes, *A Barthes Reader*, 116.

[130] Ibid, 119.

[131] Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, transl. Richard Howard (Berkeley: U of California P, 1989) 41.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Jacques Lacan, *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan: The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*, transl. Alan Sheriden, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller (New York: Norton, 1998) 72.

[134] John Ruskin, 104.

[135] Ibid, 145.

[136] Ibid, 147.

[137] Arthur Upham Pope, 3.

[138] J. Hackin et al, *Asiatic Mythology: A Detailed Description and Explanation of the Mythologies of all the Great Nations of Asia* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1834) 38.

[139] Robert Payne, *Journey to Persia* (London: Windmill P, 1951) 43. Robert Payne (1911-1983) was a distinguished writer, whose works include novels and non-fiction, biography and poetry, translation and short stories.

[140] Ibid, 145.

[141] Ibid, 145-8.

[142] Robert Payne, 175.

[143] Ibid, 234.

[144] S. Gulzar Haider, "On What Makes Architecture Islamic: Some Reflections and a Proposal" 19-26, in *Understanding Islamic Architecture*, eds. Attilio Petruccioli and Khalil K. Pirani (London: Routledge, 2002) 20-21.

Chapter 6

[1] Mawláná Jalál al-din Mohammad Balkhi, *Masnawi Ma'anawi*, ed. R. J. Nicholson (Tehran: Negah Publisher, 1995), Fifth Edition, Daftar. 3, 498 (lines 3900-4). Jalál al-din Mohammad Balkhi (Rumi) (1207-1273), also called by the honorific Mawláná, is recognized as the greatest Sufi mystic and poet in the Persian language, famous for his lyrics and for his didactic epic *Masnawi Ma'anawi* ("Spiritual Couplets"), which widely influenced Muslim mystical thought and literature. Here is Afzal Iqbal's translation of the lines: "I died to the inorganic state and became endowed with growth, and (then) I died to (vegetable) growth and attained to the animal./I died from animality and became Adam/Why, then, should I fear?/At the next remove I shall die to man, that I may soar and lift up my head amongst the angels,[...] Once more I shall be sacrificed and die to the angel/I shall become that which enters not into the imagination." Afzal Iqbal, *The Life and Work of Jalal-ud-din Rumi* (London: Octagon P, 1983) 200. One possible meaning of these lines is that man's life is a perpetual death and rebirth from nothingness to the highest degree of being. Metaphorically, in much the same way, the traveller, as an in-between person, might undergo a perpetual process of death and rebirth concerning his identity, his perception and horizon of understanding. In-between, the traveller moves from his own culture to the culture of the 'Others,' from his own self to that of the 'Others' which results in transforming his insight. Thus, his transformation is the death of an old way of understanding and looking at the world, and the rebirth of understanding the world in a new light. This process perpetually might continue which results in gaining experience and broadening one's horizon.

[2] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik* (Tübingen: Siebeck, 1972) 92. "Our experience of the aesthetic too is a mode of self-understanding. Self-understanding always occurs through understanding something other than the self, and includes the unity and integrity of the other. Since we meet the artwork in the world and encounter a world in the individual artwork, the work of art is not some alien universe into which we are magically transported for a time. Rather, we learn to understand ourselves in and through it, and this means that we sublate (aufheben) the discontinuity and atomism of isolated experiences in the continuity of our own existence." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, transls. Joel C. Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (London, Continuum, 2004) 83.

[3] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003, first edition 1978) 3.

[4] Wimal Dissanayake and Carmen Wirkramagamage, *Self and Colonial Desire: Travel Writings of V. S. Naipaul* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1993) 3.

[5] Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London: Routledge, 1990) 13.

[6] Ibid, 17.

[7] Ibid, 13.

[8] Ibid, 17.

[9] This remind me of Mawláná Jalál al-din Mohammad Balkhi who writes:

جز بضد ضد را همی نتوان شناخت چون ببیند زخم بشناسد نواخت

Mawláná Jalál al-din Mohammad Balkhi, *Masnawi Ma'anawi*, Daftar V., 729 (line 599). Here is its translation in prose: it is impossible to understand something without understanding its opposite, and in order to apply a medical care to an ill person one must distinguish the cause of illness; i.e., understanding a thesis is through understanding its antithesis. Similarly, the West and the East grow up together almost inseparably, and the knowledge of the West is involved and interwoven with the knowledge of the East. If one part is removed, both will be removed alike.

[10] David E. Klemm, *The Hermeneutical Theory of Paul Ricoeur: A Constructive Analysis* (London: Bucknell UP, 1983) 25.

[11] Richard E. Palmer, *Hermeneutics: Interpretation Theory in Schleiermacher, Dilthey, Heidegger, and Gadamer* (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1969) 232.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Manfred Pfister, ed. *The Fatal Gift of Beauty: The Italies of British Travellers, An Annotated Anthology* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996) 4.

[14] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 246. "*all* [...] *understanding is ultimately self-understanding*. (Sichverstehen: knowing one's way around). [...] Thus it is true in every case that a person who understands, understands himself (sich versteht), projecting himself upon his possibilities." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 251.

[15] Joel C. Weinsheimer, *Gadamer's Hermeneutics: A Reading of Truth and Method* (New York: Yale UP, 1985) 165-6.

[16] Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995) 79.

[17] Brian Dolan, *Exploring European Frontiers: British Traveller in the Age of Enlightenment* (London: MacMillan, 2000) 5.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Paul Fussell, *Abroad, British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980) 209.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Greg Ward, "When Pele Blows, The Lava Flows" 87-89, in *Travel Writing*, ed. Geoff Barton (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994) 89.

[22] Paul Hollander, *Political Pilgrims: Travels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba 1928—1978* (Oxford, Oxford UP, 1981) 33.

[23] Bernard Schweizer, *Radicals on the Road: The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930s* (Virginia: UP of Virginia, 2001) 1.

[24] Quoted in Bernard Schweizer, 120.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance: 1545—1625* (New York: Oxford UP, 1998) 2.

[27] Semiotics refers to the study of signs, a sign system, and the way meaning is derived from them. To a semiotician, a sign is not simply a direct means of communication; rather, signs encompass body language, ways of greeting and parting, artefacts, and even articles of clothing. A sign is anything that conveys information to others who understand it based upon a system of codes and conventions. Whereas hermeneutics, in Gadamer's theory, is an attempt to describe how we succeed in understanding texts. The reader brings to a text a pre-knowledge which is constituted by his own temporal and personal horizons. He, as an "I," addresses questions to the text as a "Thou," but with a receptive openness that simply allows the matter of the text—by means of their shared heritage of language—to speak in responsive dialogue with the reader, and to readdress its own questions to him. The understood meaning of the text is an event which is always the product of a "fusion of the horizons" which the reader brings to the text and which the text brings to the reader. In other words, by interacting with the text almost as if it were another person, the reader can work with the text, so to speak, cooperatively producing meaning rather than tagging the text as a freestanding, independent, fixed object with a specific, predetermined meaning that the reader must uncover.

[28] Richard E. Palmer, 13.

[29] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 92. "Our experience of the aesthetic too is a mode of self-understanding. Self-understanding always occurs through understanding something other than the self, and includes the unity and integrity of the other." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 83.

[30] Robert Payne, *Journey to Persia* (London: Windmill P, 1951) 234.

[31] The other features concerning the changes that Byron creates in travel writing are discussed in the preceding chapters, mainly at the beginning of my project (in the "Introduction" and Chapter 2) by referring to Paul Fussell's argument concerning the similarity between *Ulysses*, *The Waste Land* and *The Road to Oxiana*.

[32] Manfred Pfister, "Robert Byron and the Modernisation of Travel Writing" 462-87, in *Poetica* 31. 3-4 (1999) 475.

[33] Robert Young, 12.

[34] In Western culture, people express their thoughts in terms of binary oppositions such as white/black, masculine/feminine, presence/absence, central/marginal, and so on. Such dichotomies are not simply oppositions but also hierarchies in miniature, containing one term that Western culture views as positive, superior or present and another considered negative, inferior or absent. I use the terms presence and absence in this sense.

[35] Roland Barthes, *Writing Degree Zero*, transls. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (New York: Hill & Wang, 1968) 13.

[36] Quoted in Robert Byron (*LH*: 3).

[37] Mark Cocker, *Loneliness and Time: The Story of British Travel Writing* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992) 1-2.

[38] Manfred Pfister, "Robert Byron and the Modernisation of Travel Writing", 469.

[39] Ibid, 467.

[40] Ibid, 478.

[41] Quoted in James Knox, *A Biography of Robert Byron* (London: John Murray, 2003) 302.

[42] Ibid.

[43] James Knox, 153.

[44] Richard E. Palmer, 27.

[45] Jean Grondin, "Gadamer's Basic Understanding of Understanding" 36-51, in *The Cambridge Companion to Gadamer*, ed. Robert J. Dostal (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002) 43.

[46] Richard E. Palmer, 147.

[47] In the exotic lands, as a text, there are various signs, objects, art, architecture, behaviours and so on which are unfamiliar for a traveller, and he might not find one to one correspondence between what he encounters in the exotic land and that of his own country. I use the terms synonym-finding in this metaphoric sense.

[48] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 362. "at the same time an interpretation," Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 386.

[49] Paul de Man, *Blindness and Insight: Essays in the Rhetoric of Contemporary Criticism* (New York: Oxford UP, 1971) 12.

[50] My understanding is that culture is like a text which could be read, analysed and interpreted like a text; thus, it has a particular language of its own. The signs, objects, artistic works, architecture and monuments have such a particular symbolic language. I use the term language in this sense.

[51] Hans-Georg Gadamer, "Boundaries of Language (1985)" 9-18, in *Language and Linguisticality in Gadamer's Hermeneutics*, ed. Lawrence K. Schmidt (New York: Lexington Books, 2000) 16.

[52] Richard E. Palmer, 9.

[53] Ibid, 27.

[54] Here I use the term language in both its metaphoric sense (the language of signs, artistic works, architecture, and so on) and its literal sense.

[55] Jean Grondin, 36.

[56] Susan Sontag, *A Susan Sontag Reader* (New York: Farrar, 1982) 98.

[57] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 286-8. "horizon [as] the range of vision that includes everything that can be seen from a particular vantage point. [In philosophy the term characterizes] the way in which thought is tied to its finite determinacy, and the way one's range of vision is gradually expanded. [...] The horizon is, rather, something into which we move and that moves with us." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 301-3.

[58] Ibid, 288-9. "he learns to look beyond what is closer at hand—not in order to look away from it but to see it better, within a larger whole and in truer proportion." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 304.

[59] Ibid, 280. "understands in a *different* way." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 296.

[60] Joel C. Weinsheimer, 204.

[61] Richard E. Palmer, 232.

[62] Joel C. Weinsheimer, 206.

[63] Tintern Abbey is the subject of a famous poem by William Wordsworth, "Tintern Abbey." The poem shows that what Wordsworth learns is a principle of reciprocity between the external world and his own mind. He uses the language of description both for the external world and for himself. The poem shows that all aesthetic contemplation of objects is practical and so directed towards personal ends. Within both nature and Wordsworth is something that moves and breathes, and that blends subject as it animates them. What is outward comes to him only through the gates of his won perception. His choice among the natural phenomena is a kind of creation, and his choice is guided by memory. To some extent, Byron's comparison follows the same path. The mosque at Veramin reminds him of Tintern. Such a comparison paves the way for Byron to gain knowledge and find his limitation. This is the impact of external world on him, and shows how the aesthetic contemplation of the external world is directed towards personal ends, a self-understanding.

[64] Byron was linguistically unfamiliar with the Persian language. For instance, he was unfamiliar with the pragmatic use of analogy among the Persians; i.e., in a discussion concerning an important subject, the Persians use an analogy in order to prove their argument, and most of the time these analogies are from the Persian poems or anecdotes. See Byron (*RO*: 45, 211-13). The problem is multiplied when the traveller encounters the dialects; for instance, when Freya Stark travelled to Persia, she could not follow and understand Laki as a metaphoric dialect in Luristan. Freya Stark, *The Valleys of the Assassins, and other Persian Travels* (London: John Murray, 2001) 36, 127.

[65] Joel C. Weinsheimer, 204.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 92. "self-understanding always occurs through understanding something other than the self, and includes the unity and integrity of the other." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 83.

[69] Richard E. Palmer, 239.

[70] Joel C. Weinsheimer, 102.

[71] Ibid, 100.

[72] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 98. "the work of art has its true being in the fact that it becomes an experience that changes the person who experiences it." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 103.

[73] Joel C. Weinsheimer, 206.

[74] Indira Ghose and Manfred Pfister, "Still Going Strong: The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Traveller in Victorian and Modern Travel Writing" 149-64, *Journal for the Study of British Cultures*, 3/2 (1996) 154.

[75] Joel C. Weinsheimer, 203.

[76] Quoted in Jean Grondin, 36. Jean Grondin quotes Hans-Georg Gadamer's *Truth and Method*, transls. Joel C. Weinsheimer and D. G. Marshall. 2nd Revised Edition (New York: Seabury P, 1989) 259.

[77] Mark Cocker, 135.

[78] Indira Ghose and Manfred Pfister, 154.

[79] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 106. "a man who is disguised does not want to be recognized but instead to appear as someone else and be taken for him. In the eyes of others he no longer wants to be himself, but to be taken for someone else. Thus he does not want to be discovered or recognized. He plays another person. [...] A person who plays such a game denies, to all appearances, continuity with himself." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 111.

[80] Because the non-Muslem, especially the Europeans, were not allowed to enter the holy shrines in Persia, Byron, like other previous travellers and his contemporaries, disguised himself to enter the holy Shrine at Mashhad. "The Shrine dominates the town. Turcomans, Kazaks, Afghans, Tajiks, and Hazaras throng its approaches, mingling with the dingy crowd of pseudo-European Persians. The police are frightened of these fanatics; so that access to the Shrine is still denied to infidels, despite the official anti-clerical policy which opening the mosques elsewhere" (*RO*: 82-3).

[81] Joel C. Weinsheimer, 126.

[82] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 149. "works of architecture do not stand motionless on the shore of the stream of history, but are borne along by it." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 150.

[83] Richard E. Palmer, 241.

[84] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 148. "His plan is determined by the fact that the building has to serve a particular way of life." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 149.

[85] Richard E. Palmer, 159.

[86] Here, I use the term language in a metaphorical sense to say that the works of art, like a partner in a conversation, have a symbolic language which an expert in art can understand.

[87] James Knox, 347.

[88] Lawrence K. Schmidt and Monika Reussl, "Towards a Phenomenology of Ritual and Language (1992)" 19-50, in *Language and Linguisticality in Gadamer's Hermeneutics*, ed. Lawrence K. Schmidt (New York: Lexington Books, 2000) 38-9.

[89] Richard E. Palmer, 238.

[90] Ibid, 167-8.

[91] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, xviii. "everyone who experiences a work of art incorporates this experience wholly within himself: that is, into the totality of his self-understanding, within which it means something to him." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, xxvii.

[92] James Knox, 312.

[93] Freya Stark, 43-150.

[94] James Knox, 304.

[95] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 92. "self-understanding always occurs through understanding something other than the self, and includes the unity and integrity of the other." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 83.

[96] James Knox, 312.

[97] Quoted in James Knox, 312.

[98] See Rossana Bonadei, "Theory into écriture: Travel literature encounters touring cultures" 417-28, in *Cross-cultural Travel: Papers from the Royal Irish Academy Symposium on Literature and Travel*, ed. Jane Conroy (New York: Peter Lang, 2002).

[99] James Knox, 289.

[100] Manfred Pfister, "Robert Byron and the Modernisation of Travel Writing", 478.

[101] Mark Cocker, 1-2.

[102] Quoted in James Knox, 327.

[103] Ibid.

[104] James Knox, 359.

[105] Robert Frost, *Collected Poems, Prose, and Plays* (New York: Literary Classics, 1995) 103.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Quoted in James Knox, 362.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Mark Cocker, 138-9.

[110] James Knox, 363.

[111] Quoted in James Knox, 362.

[112] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 106. "he has become another person, as it were." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 111.