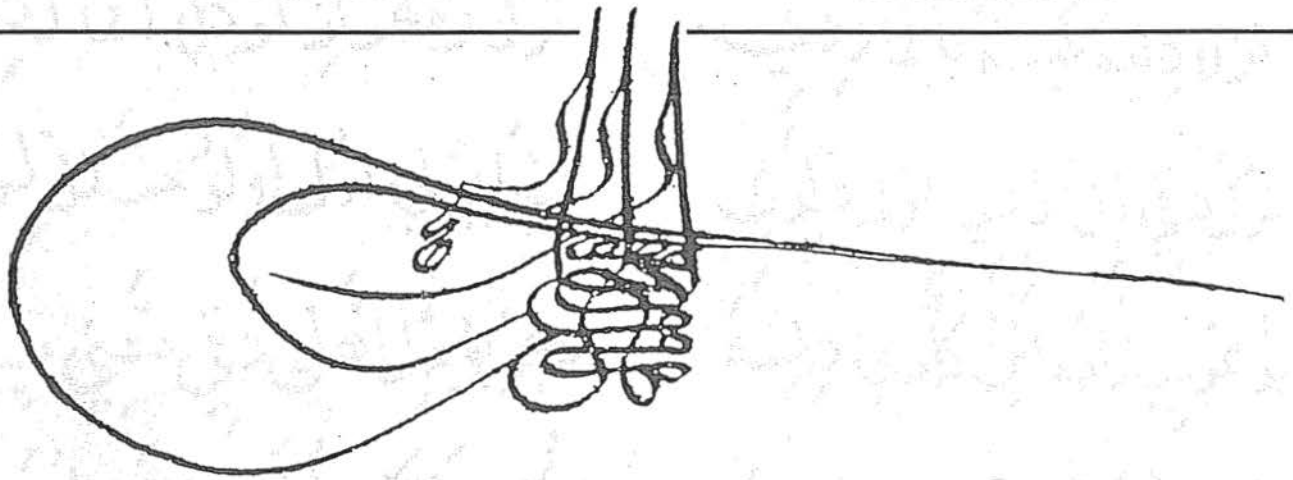
JOURNAL OF TURKISH STUDIES
TÜRKLÜK BİLGİSİ ARAŞTIRMALARI
VOLUME 15 · 1991
EDITED BY ŞİNASİ TEKİN GÖNÜL ALPAY TEKİN



FAHİR İZ ARMAĞANI II.
(FAHİR İZ FESTSCHRIFT II.)

Essays presented to

FAHİR İZ

on his Eightieth Birthday
by his Colleagues and Students

Guest Editors
Günay Kut . Gönül A. Tekin

Managing Editor
Carolyn I. Cross

This Volume of the Journal has been partially subsidized by
The Institute of Turkish Studies, Inc. Washington, D.C.
and
by The Department of NELC, Harvard University.

•

Published at The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations
Harvard University
1991

TWO YOUNG OTTOMANISTS DISCOVER KEMALIST TURKEY
THE TRAVEL DIARIES OF ROBERT ANHEGGER AND ANDREAS TIETZE

Erik-Jan ZÜRCHER*

In the mid-nineteen thirties, two people who, after the Second World War, would gain first-rate reputations as scholars in the field of Ottoman studies, decided to travel the length and breadth of Turkey (or as much of it as they could). Their names were Robert Anhegger and Andreas Tietze and both of them would play important roles in Barbara Flemming's life, the first as friend and mentor, the second as teacher.

Although it may well be considered superfluous to give biographical details on either of them to a Turkological readership, a brief summary of their life stories may be useful for those who are not intimately familiar with the field. Robert Anhegger was born in Vienna in 1911, the son of a German trader. After World War I (much of which he spent in Switzerland), Anhegger moved with his parents to Rotterdam. In 1923 the family moved to Zürich. In Zürich, Anhegger started to read Law, History and Literature at the university, before moving to Vienna in 1932. There he continued his studies, this time reading Economic History, Slavonic studies and Islamic studies. He also started to learn Turkish. It was through his study of Turkish that he would get to know Tietze. They not only shared scholarly interests, but also a passion for left-wing politics. Anhegger made his first trip to Turkey in 1935. In 1939 he received his Ph.D. degree at the University of Zürich and in 1940 he moved (and as it turned out emigrated) to Istanbul. He had several motives for doing so: quite apart from his scholarly interest in Turkey, his background in the Communist movement and the fact that he shared his life with a Jewish woman, made him feel unsafe so close to Germany. In Istanbul he worked at the German Archeological Institute until he was dismissed in 1942 for refusing to join up when called to serve in the German army. After his dismissal he worked as a teacher of German language and literature in a number of places, notably Istanbul University. As a German with intimate knowledge of Turkey, who was untainted by any Nazi connections, Anhegger from the early fifties onwards became the lynchpin of German cultural activities in Istanbul, culminating in his directorship of the Goethe Institute after 1961. In 1958 Anhegger married his second wife, the Turkish architect Muallâ Eyüboğlu, the sister of the painter Bedri Rahmi. His connections with modern Turkish painters led him to found the

* Leiden University

first private art gallery in Istanbul in 1957. Robert and Muallâ Anhegger, until recently, used to live partly in Istanbul, partly in Amsterdam,[1] until, sadly, Robert died in March 2001.

Andreas Tietze was born in Vienna in 1914. His family was originally Jewish, but his ancestors had converted to Christianity in the mid-nineteenth century. He studied in Vienna and Paris from 1932 to 1937, after which he received his doctorate at the University of Vienna. In 1937 he moved to Istanbul, both to continue his research and, obviously, to escape Nazi persecution, which he had every reason to fear because of his politics. Tietze stayed in Istanbul until 1949. In 1949 he was appointed as assistant professor of Turkish studies at the University of Illinois. After a second stay in Istanbul in 1957-58, he moved to Los Angeles, where had been appointed at the University of California to teach Turkish and Ottoman language and literature. Tietze, who by now had built a reputation as one of the leading Turkologists of his generation and as an inspiring teacher of the next, eventually became head of department at UCLA, but in the mid-seventies he decided to go back to Vienna as chair of Turkish studies at the university in his native city.[2] Although long since retired, he is continuing his scholarly work in private.

Anhegger and Tietze undertook their travels in Anatolia in 1936-37. Their 1936 trip lasted from 27 August to 24 September and took them through Central-Anatolia. The 1937 journey lasted from 5 September to 3 October and covered West- and Southwest-Anatolia. On both trips they were accompanied by two lady friends, Anhegger's partner, and later first wife, Sura Gitla Lisier (who later settled in Israel) and a pediatrician called Erika Bruck, who later emigrated to the United States. This last-named person is the author of all but a few pages of the travel diaries, which describe the two journeys.

These diaries have come to us in the shape of two typescripts. The first one, eighty pages (A-4 format, double-spaced) is entitled *Unsere Anatolienreise. 27.8-24.9.1936*. The second has the same appearance, is 78 pages long and entitled *Die Zweite Anatolienreise 5.9-3.10.1937*. A copy of each of the typescripts was afterwards given to each of the travel companions and Robert Anhegger allowed his to be copied and deposited in the archives of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. I have been unable to trace the whereabouts of the dozens of photographs, which were taken by Andreas Tietze during the trips. This article is based on these travel diaries. In addition, both Robert Anhegger and Andreas Tietze have been kind enough to comment on the draft text.

Of course, much of what is being described in these diaries is trivial or of interest to the travellers themselves only. Nevertheless, the text is also interesting for students of twentieth century Turkish history. After all, at least two of the travellers were interested and well-qualified observers. They knew the language and were well versed in Turkish, Ottoman and Pre-Ottoman history. Added to that is the comparative rarity of this type of source. There is, of course, a sizeable literature on the "new Turkey" in western languages, consisting of

---

1 Sabine Hillebrecht (ed.), *Haymatloz - Exil in der Türkei 1933-1945*, Berlin: Verein Aktives Museum, 2000, 52 ff. Robert Anhegger also related his life story in eight hours of videotaped interviews deposited at the IISH, Amsterdam.

2 Based on the entry in Giancarlo Colombo (ed.), *Who is who in Austria*, Who is who in Italy, Breno, 1996. Collections in honour of Andreas Tietze were published twice, once on the occasion of his seventieth birthday (in 1984) and once by his former pupils at UCLA (in 1993), but neither of these collections contains any biographical data on Tietze.

books,which appeared in the twenties and thirties, when the Turkish "miracle" was still fresh, but hardly any of these books is based on actual first-hand observation in the countryside, outside Istanbul and Ankara.

An exception to this rule is a book published in 1937 by the German female author Lilo Linke, called *Allah Dethroned. A Journey through Modern Turkey* (London: Constable, 1937). She was born in Berlin in 1906 and worked as a journalist and social worker. Because of her Leftist and antimilitarist sympathies, she had had to leave Germany after Hitler's coming to power and had settled in London. She travelled Northeastern Anatolia (with special permission from the Ministry of Defence) and later also Central and Western Anatolia from the beginning of April 1935. Later, her focus shifted to Latin America. She wrote a book and numerous articles about the Andes countries. After World War II she became UNESCO's consultant on Latin American literature. As far as I have been able to make out, she never returned to Turkey.[3]

Linke came with the express intention to write a book on the changes in Turkey. Hence, her manner of travelling and the way she put her experiences in writing are very different from the Anhegger/Tietze diaries. For one thing, she deliberately sought out officials and members of the governing Kemalist elite to get their views and describe their personalities, while the other travellers had very little contact with these people and depended on their own observations alone. Nevertheless, Linke travelled the same country, at least partly along the same routes, at almost exactly the same time as Anhegger and Tietze. This, and the fact that she is a sympathetic, but by no means naive, observer of the Kemalist experiment, make it worth our while to compare the data from the diaries with her findings.

Taken together, the two texts afford us a chance to see what had been the effect of the Kemalist modernization programme in the provincial towns and villages of Turkey twelve to fourteen years after the establishment of the republic. When trying to measure this effect, it is perhaps useful to make a distinction between the more ideologically inspired measures aimed at the westernization of Turkey - in other words, what Atatürk himself used to call "the social and cultural revolution" - and the nuts and bolts of modernization: trains, factories and hospitals. I therefore propose to treat the data under the following headings: 1. Transport; 2. Changing townscapes; 3. Health and hygiene; 4. The Kemalist "revolution" and 5. State control.

1. Transport

The one thing uppermost in the mind of travellers, who depend on public transport to get anywhere, obviously is the availability and quality of means of transportation. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that the diaries give us a great deal of information on the subject.

Basically, the party travelled by train wherever that was possible, if only for the simple reason that on both trips they had a third class ticket for one month's unlimited travel (bought at thirty Liras per person). Judging by their account, the Turkish railway system, consisting of older foreign-owned railways acquired by the republic and newly built extensions, worked

3 The only biographical reference I have been able to find is the entry in the anonymous *Who was who among English and European Authors. Vol. II*, Detroit: Gale, 1978.

rather well. Trains were almost always full, certainly in Third Class, and most of the time the trains ran on time. Women like Linke, travelling without male companions could still avail themselves of ladies compartments (*kadın kompartımanı*)[4], although, obviously, these were of no use to the mixed Anhegger/Tietze party. If travelling by train was relatively comfortable, arriving by train created a few problems. This was because in every single Anatolian provincial town the railway station was built at a considerable distance from the town centre. This distance differed from 2 kilometers in the case of Konya (on the old Ottoman line) to as much as 8 kilometers in the case of Malatya.[5]

Railway building had top priority among the modernization projects of the Kemalist republic and both the Anhegger/Tietze party and Lilo Linke visited the building site of the most important of the railway projects, that of SIMERYOL (Sivas-Malatya-Erzurum), which aimed to connect the Northeast of the country with the rail network and to create a third North-South connection by linking the Sivas-Erzurum line with the Adana-Malatya-Diyarbakır one.[6]

Where trains were unavailable, the party had to travel by road. In the west of the country this meant by bus. The diaries contain lively descriptions of this mode of travel. The buses, mostly American Fords or Chevrolets, were relatively fast. On good roads they averaged up to 70 kilometers an hour. Sometimes they were fully equipped with seats, while at other times the passengers had to sit on carpets, sheepskins and sacks as best they could.[7] Even in the mid-thirties some of routes were quite busy. In Denizli, the travellers saw buses from Muğla, Tavas, Sarayköy, Çal, Uşak and Afyon roll into the Han they were staying in.[8] For budget travellers the Hans, with their open courtyards where the busses could unload their passengers, were still the obvious places to stay, hotels being more expensive and not always better. In the east of the country, roughly East of the line Sivas-Kayseri-Adana, busses were rare. Instead, people travelled by truck (*kamyon*). The descriptions of these trucks in the diaries and those by Linke tally exactly with each other. Like the busses, they were strongly built American Fords and Chevrolets. They were privately owned and usually one owner would employ three or four drivers on different trucks. The trucks could accommodate up to seventeen passengers. Luggage was stored on the roof (if there was a roof) and partly on the floor. Passengers sat on and in between the sacks and cases. The average speed of the trucks obviously depended on the state of repair of the road, but lay between 12 and 20 kilometers an hour.[9]

The quality of the roads differed a great deal. In the East in particular they were often very bad indeed and frequent punctures could add hours, indeed days, to the journey. Efforts to improve the roads were underway, but they were still limited to connections between the main towns. Improvements in the road (which had been going on for many years) made it possible for trucks to replace camels on the Iran-Erzurum-Trabzon route, for instance.[10] On

4 Linke, 230.

5 Diaries, I, 6; I, 36; I, 49; II, 54; Linke, 224.

6 Linke, 177 ff.

7 Diaries, I, 21; I, 55; II, 16.

8 Diaries, II, 52.

9 Diaries, I, 38; Linke, 41.

10 Linke, 67.

the other hand, Alanya could not be reached by motor transport at all. All goods of any size had to be brought in by ship.[11]

Older forms of transport were still very much in evidence. Camel caravans were becoming something of a rarity in East- and Central Anatolia, but that may also have been due to the fact that there was very little long distance trade. In the Southwest, the travelers come across them all the time.[12] Hardly anyone owned a private car and even the trains, busses and trucks were too expensive for many. Those who could not afford this type of modern transport walked or rode a donkey. The diaries state that distances everywhere were still measured in the time it took to walk anywhere (donkeys not being very much quicker).[13]

2. Changing townscapes

To what extent was life changing in the provincial towns of Anatolia after fifteen years of Kemalist rule? When answering this question, it is important to make a distinction between the old towns and the new extensions. The old towns largely were in a very bad state of repair, sometimes even in ruins. The traces of war and ethno-religious conflict between 1914 and 1922 were still much in evidence. A town like Kayseri was full of ruins, among other things of churches, which had been shot to pieces. The town had reputedly deteriorated much since the Greek and Armenian communities, which had once made up one third of the population, had been "destroyed."[14] The travelers hear the same story in Niğde: the town has gone down since the "slaughter" of the Armenians.[15] When Linke visits the Black Sea towns of Samsun, İnebolu and Giresun, she is told that the economy (notably the trade in hazelnuts and tobacco) has suffered badly because of the departure of the Pontic Greeks, but that Turks have now filled their places and things have improved.[16] Along the railway line from Eskişehir to Afyon-Karahisar and İzmir, she sees lots of deserted and ruinous villages and both the diaries and Linke describe how, thirteen to fifteen years after the great fire, the old Greek and Armenian quarters of Izmir are still in ruins.[17] The debris is still being cleared. Some building activity was going on but it was still very patchy. By the time the Anhegger/Tietze party arrived, part of the old Greek quarter had been turned into a huge "Culture Park" (*Kültür Parkı*) where the international fair was being held (although the international dimension at this time was very modest indeed).

Outside the old towns it was a different story. There the Kemalists were creating a new Turkey according to their vision of modernity. Three features seem to have been common to all new towns: Firstly, a European-type municipal park (*belediye parkı*), with flower beds, fountains and tea gardens; secondly, a statue of the Gazi, the president of the republic; and thirdly, a cinema, which in most towns could still only show silent pictures. Most or all of

11 Diaries, II, 58.
12 Diaries, II, 21.
13 Diaries, I, 27.
14 Diaries, I, 63; I, 64.
15 Diaries, I, 53.
16 Linke, p. 9, 161.
17 Linke, 278. 281.

these features recur in the travellers' descriptions of the towns they visit, be it Konya, Adana, Ödemiş, Isparta, Amasya, Tarsus, Sivas or Malatya.[18]

In those towns which were linked to the rail network, development of this type centered on the (often very long, see above) road linking the station to the old town, which in every case developed into the central axis of the new town. With the exception of Ankara and Adana, this road was also the only one covered with cement or asphalt.

While one could argue that this type of innovation was largely symbolic, serving at best to give the Kemalist elite an opportunity to express a new life style, it did carry a more serious message about the type of modernity envisaged by the Kemalists. The parks obviously were an attempt to create a new public space, which was both outside the sphere of influence of the religious institutions and open to both sexes. The statues not only served to express allegiance to the president of the republic. They also flew in the face of the Islamic ban on the depiction of human beings and thus served as a blunt message that Islamic values were no longer dominant in the public space. The late Ottoman Empire had used European-type monuments as a form of expression, but it had avoided statues. As early as January 1923 Mustafa Kemal Pasha had denounced the Islamic ban on statuary in his speech in Bursa, however, and the first statue had been put up by the republican government in 1926 (Krippel's statue of Atatürk at Sarayburnu in Istanbul). Ten years later they had already spread to every provincial town. Cinemas, finally, were hugely popular in Turkey in the nineteen thirties, but they also provided the Kemalist regime with an effective means to spread its message in a largely illiterate country.

More substantial improvements were in evidence as well. A crucial element in the development of the country was, of course, electrification. Turkey did not yet have a national grid, but a number of towns had local electricity plants, some since the twenties (Malatya had electricity since 1928)[19] but in most towns it was a recent phenomenon. Sivas, for instance, had electricity since 1934, but the cities to the east, Erzincan, Erzurum, Kars, had none.[20] Once electricity was introduced, street lighting soon followed. Provision of electricity to private houses often took much longer. In the mid-thirties it was still a rarity outside Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Adana. Amasya has acquired electric power shortly before our travellers arrive there in 1936. There is no street lighting yet and for the time being the power plant only supplies the local cinema.[21]

There are other practical improvements too, but they are fairly small-scale: a new covered market here, a new and hygienic abattoir there. Sometimes a new primary school catches the eye of the travellers, always with its own little school "museum" where drawings (mostly of the Gazi) and graphs about the development of Turkey are displayed.

Twice they come across a major new industrialization project, which was clearly a result of the etatist policies, which had been in place since the early thirties. In Turhal they visit a new sugar factory. The complex, which is quite separate from the old village, also contains

18 Diaries, I, 37; I, 49; I, 60; II, 28; II, 54; Linke, 267.

19 Linke, 202.

20 Linke, 37.

21 Diaries, I, 60.

houses for the factory engineers and apartment blocks for the workers. The whole complex is attractively laid out with gardens. A much larger complex of a similar type is visited both by the Anhegger/Tietze party and by Linke. It is a huge new cotton mill, which is being built outside Kayseri with the help of Russian specialists. The complex has extensive sports facilities and living quarters for the staff.[22]

3. Health and hygiene

By the nineteen thirties, the population of Anatolia was recovering fast from the trough into which it had fallen because of the ten years of incessant warfare, ethnic conflict, expulsions, persecutions, hunger and epidemic diseases between 1912 and 1922.[23] According to the 1935 census, the population stood at 16.2 million (roughly its pre-World War I level), with an annual net growth of 2.3 percent.[24] That the population increased so sharply in the twenties and thirties was largely due to the disappearance of these Malthusian checks. A number of persistent problems of health and hygiene remained, however.

The overwhelming impression one gets from reading the diaries is that the provincial towns of Turkey before the war were still very dirty (much more so, the travellers say, than the villages). The problem is not limited to the ubiquitous dust. Again and again the travellers describe how the rooms in the Hans and hotels are infested with all manner of vermin: flees, lice and bedbugs, of which Tietze on one occasion catches over 300 in one night.[25] This in itself must have increased the risk of disease, in particular of Typhus, but the only disease which is described in the diaries as endemic and widespread is malaria.

Combating malaria had the highest priority for the medical services of the young republic. A law on the fight against the disease had been passed in 1926.[26] The campaign to eradicate it is described in detail by Linke, who watched health inspectors and doctors at work in the Çukurova in 1935. She describes how, after strong initial resistance, the government campaigns were now received much more positively by the village population. Large areas were still infested with malaria, in particular: Izmit, Bursa-Balıkesir, Manisa, Aydın, Eskişehir, Ankara, Konya, Antalya, Mersin and Adana, but, as we know, the anti-malaria campaign would prove one of the most successful centrally organized activities of the republic.[27]

4. The Kemalist "revolution"

So far, we have discussed very concrete and tangible signs of development. What about the effect of the famous Kemalist reforms of the mid- to late twenties, what Kemal himself called his "social and cultural revolution"? What about the change in dress, alphabet, clock in the countryside?

---

22 Diaries, I, 58; I, 64; Linke, 300 ff.

23 For demographic developments in Anatolia, see: Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and minorities, The population of Ottoman Anatolia and the end of empire*, New York: NY University Press, 1983.

24 Linke, 12-13.

25 Diaries, I, 41.

26 Law 836 of 13 May 1926.

27 Linke, 242 ff., map inside back cover; Diaries, II, 34, 41.

Actually, the diaries tell us relatively little about these aspects of the Kemalist programme and what they tell us, leaves us with a very mixed picture of the degree of change. By and large, the population in the provincial towns now dressed in the European style, but the forced changeover to a new style of dress on the part of an impoverished population had apparently created problems. The lack of good tailors meant that clothes were often ill fitting and the novelty of the thing meant that people wore combinations, which looked very odd to a European eye. Also, people had to wear their clothes for a very long time, as clothing was expensive because Turkey, although a large cotton producer itself, was still dependent on imports of cloth at this time.[28] The total effect, as both the diaries and Linke confirm, was that the town population looked poor and bedraggled. In the villages many people still wore traditional clothes, but in the towns, traditional clothing had not completely disappeared either: in Malatya many men still wore turbans.[29]

The alphabet reform of 1928 meant that everywhere children were now being taught to read and write in the new alphabet. It also meant that the largest part of school libraries went unused (because the great majority, in fact three quarters, of the books were still in Ottoman script).[30] The Ottoman books in the library of the *Halk Evi* (People's Home) visited by Linke had even been consigned to the basement and could no longer be read. Grown-ups still continued to use the old script in private (as they would do until the seventies) and even the policeman, who draws up a long report about the travellers in Izmir, does so in Ottoman writing.[31]

The diaries afford an interesting insight into both the achievements and the limits of the alphabet revolution. On a visit to a small village near Konya, the travellers note that the majority of the inhabitants are able to read the new script, because a teacher was sent to the village during the campaign to introduce the new alphabet. This means that their contact in the village can collect out-of-date newspapers and get some idea of what is happening in the world at large. At the same time, the village children grow up illiterate because there is no village school.[32]

The old method of measuring time (dependent on the number of hours of daylight) is still in universal use. When people use the European clock (which had been adopted officially in Turkey in 1926 along with the Christian era)[33] they always mention that they mean "alafranga" time.[34]

And what about secularization, that cornerstone of Kemalism? The state made its position abundantly clear: the Anhegger/Tietze group notices that in Tire, mosques are now being used

---

28 Linke, 273.

29 Diaries, I,4; I, 46.

30 Linke, 218.

31 Diaries, II, 17,

32 Diaries, I, 13.

33 Actually, law 697 of 1926 only replaced the Hegira with the Birth of Christ as the staring point of the era - in other words the year 1342 became the year 1926. The Ottoman Empire had already officially adopted the Gregorian calendar on 1 March 1917 and 1 January had replaced 1 March as the first day of the year in 1918. Law 698, adopted at the same time as 697, introduced the 24-hour day.

34 Diaries, I, 27.

as munition depots.[35] Linke meets with many people, not all of them Kemalist officials, who seem to relish the fact that the power of the clergy has been broken. She also says that she saw hardly any person under thirty years of age perform the prayers. On the other hand, a decade after the banning of the religious orders and the closure of the saint's tombs (*türbe*), the *türbe* she visits in Malatya is still being used as a place of pilgrimage.[36]

What is clear, is that the state had technology on its side in its efforts to spread its message. The ubiquitous cinemas have already been mentioned. The committees of the *Halk Evleri* (People's Homes - the cultural and educational centres of the ruling People's Party) conducted their tours of the countryside by car and the radio was becoming a part of everyday life in the towns. Numbers of radio sets were still small (100 in Samsun, 30 in Malatya, a town of 27.000 inhabitants) but more often than not listening to the radio would have been a communal affair.[37]

5. State control

The modern state makes unprecedented claims on its citizens and their resources. For these claims to be exerted, effective control over the length and breadth of the country is a precondition. Perhaps the most far-reaching as well as the most visible effect of the modernization of the state in the countryside has been the establishment of this kind of all-embracing control. As far as we can tell from the diaries, Kemalist Turkey had been spectacularly successful in this respect by the mid-thirties. The state and its representatives are literally everywhere. This would have been very clear to Turkish citizens, but for our travellers, the control of the state manifested itself primarily in the way it kept track of foreigners.

Foreigners not only needed a valid passport and visa to enter the country, but their movements within the country were also strictly controlled. They needed to have their residence permits *(ikamet tezkeresi)* checked and registered as soon as they arrived in any locality. Before travelling to the next destination, a permit for that specific place was required. And specific meant precisely that: when the party visited Birgi, they carried a travel permit for Ödemiş, nine kilometers away. This was duly reported and on their return to Ödemiş they were immediately picked up by two gendarmes and received a thorough dressing down from the district governor.[38] The gendarmerie, which was responsible for law and order in the countryside, seems to have been especially zealous. Gendarmes were everywhere and their posts were connected to the nearest military telephone exchange in the centre of the *kaza* (district). In a village near Aksaray, the gendarmes insisted on registering the travellers although they stayed there for less than an hour.[39] In Kayseri they are registered three times, each time when they change trains there.[40] When their bus stops for twenty minutes in a village near Aydın on their second trip, the gendarmerie post is immediately called and the bus

35 Diaries, II, 21.
36 Linke, 197-8.
37 Linke, 160, 205.
38 Diaries, II, 28.
39 Diaries, I, 35.
40 Diaries, I, 67.

has to wait while they are being registered.[41] The police in the towns was just as watchful, but much more friendly and polite towards foreigners than the gendarmes. Indeed, they often defended and protected the foreigners, as in Amasya, where the local police officer gave a stern warning to the owner of the hotel where the party stayed, saying "Bu köylü değil, bu yabancı! (This isn't a peasant, but a foreigner!)[42] Nevertheless, they took their task no less seriously for that. When the travellers lose their way in Konya, they are immediately spotted by police officers. They are then handed from *karakol* (police station) to *karakol* until they are back safely in their hotel.[43] In Aksaray, the police accompanied the group to the restaurant where they ate and to the park where they had tea. When they returned to their hotel, the same policeman was waiting for them in their hotel room. When they leave for Nevşehir next morning, the policeman is standing by the bus.[44] In Tarsus they are followed by plain-clothes police and then taken to the *karakol*.

Linke confirms the intensity of state control. In her case, the picture is slightly distorted because she travelled to the Northeast of the country, which was a strategically sensitive area. She relates how the truck she is travelling in, is halted at Ilıca, 16 kilometers to the West of Erzurum. There all foreigners have to disembark and wait until the garrison in Erzurum has been notified and an officer can come to collect them. Even in the company of an officer she is then stopped twice more, once for a password and once for passport control.[45] Further to the East, she is confronted with a blanket ban on photography in Kars. She is only allowed to travel from Kars to Ardahan in the company of a military officer and once in Ardahan she is forbidden to walk certain streets, to take excursions or to take pictures.[46]

That this type of very tight police control was not limited to foreigners is shown by the passage in the diaries which describes how the bus from Sivas to Divrik is stopped a number of times at successive police checkpoints before finally clearing the town.

The degree of control over the countryside aimed at, and achieved, by the modernizing state, was not the result of simple policing either. More than once the travellers caught a glimpse of a grimmer reality too. At the train station of Afyon-Karahisar, early into their second journey, they meet Kurds who are being deported. They are dressed in rags and extremely dirty ("much more so than Gypsies"). All they carry in the way of possessions is a wooden trunk, which is opened by the police in order to find a letter from the ministry giving a list of names and the route they are to take. They are "loaded and unloaded like cattle by the officials."[47]

The party came across a similar scene once more, almost a fortnight later in Aydın. There, in the ruins of a mosque which had been struck by lightning and burnt down the year before, they find figures dressed in rags, who, their guides tell them, are the remains of a large transport of Kurds from Tunceli. They "are simply removed from there and distributed over

41 Diaries, II, 42.
42 Diaries, I, 60.
43 Diaries, I, 20.
44 Diaries, I, 24.
45 Linke, 62.
46 Linke, 79, 87, 109.
47 Diaries, II, 2.

the country. They are then dumped anywhere, without a roof over their head or employment. They do not know a single word of Turkish".[48]

Linke's travelogue also contains passages, which make clear that the Kurdish problem was still on everybody's minds, although the last large-scale insurrections had been in 1925 and 1929-30. She is told in Malatya, that the new governor there "acted with great firmness" against the "wild Kurds", hanging the "most reckless" as an example. She also hears from an incident in the adjoining province to the East, where a whole village was destroyed on the orders of the army commander because two gendarmes had been killed there. According to her spokesman "it worked wonders."[49]

Conclusion

Thus, the diaries, in combination with Linke's book, give us a fairly complicated picture of a country in the midst of change. Clearly, in the provincial towns of Turkey life was being affected by the Kemalist reform programmes. Although people stuck to their old ways in private, and sometimes in public, the appearance of towns, and of the inhabitants, was transformed. The Kemalists spent little effort at improving or restoring the old town centres, but rather built a new Turkey of their own outside it. While many of the changes were of a largely symbolic nature, the quality of life was slowly improving too. Improved roads and railways, the coming of radio and telephone and increasing literacy broadened people's horizons, at least in the towns. Electrification spread year by year. Effective campaigns against endemic diseases like Malaria and Trachome were increasing life expectancy even in the villages. The state industries being developed were beginning to give Turkey a measure of self-reliance in some sectors: textiles, sugar, cement. In all of these fields, which together constitute the tangible development of Turkey rather than its ideological reorientation towards the West, the apparently drab İnönü years of the thirties, rather than the exiting "revolutionary" phase of the mid-twenties, seem to have made the difference. Underpinning this change was a state apparatus, which had managed to establish full and effective control over the length and breadth of the country to a degree the Ottoman reformers of the nineteenth century could only dream of.

Linke, more than the diaries, gives us a picture of the new Kemalist elite, which was shaping the country at this time. She shows them to be optimistic, dynamic, nationalistic and zealous, filled with a sense of hope and pride, but she also refers to their utter disdain for the "backward" population in the countryside, which, in their eyes, "needs whipping."[50]

The diaries, and Linke's travelogue, give us a glimpse of the country in transition as it was observed by well-intentioned and well-informed foreigners, who went to see for themselves, rather than rely on government sources or second-hand information. Therein, rather than in any startling revelations, lies their importance.

48 Diaries II, 44.
49 Linke, 199.
50 Linke, 70.