POLISH TRAVELLERS’ ACCOUNT OF TURKEY IN 20’S OF THE XXth CENTURY

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Özet

20. yüzyılın 20lı yıllarında Polonya Gezginlerin Türkiye Kayıtları


Anahtar Kelimeler: Polonya, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, Polonyalı Gezginler, Wanda Melcer-Rutkowska, Tadeusz Vetulani

Abstract

The article by Tomasz Kruszewski includes excerpts of two memoirs about journey through Turkey which took place in the 20s of the 20 century’. Their authors were: Wanda Melcer-Rutkowska, vel Sztekkerowa, and Tadeusz Vetulani. They visited Istanbul, Ankara and other places between 1925 and 1929. Their opinions about country (administration, economy, education, culture etc.) and Turkish people (e.g. hospitality, hygiene) were characterized in published memoirs. The subjects of comparison were opinions from works written by mentioned travelers in a few areas of everyday life in Turkey. They were as follow: political and

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administrative relations, economy, education, towns and villages, morals and attire, hygiene, attitude of Turkish citizens towards the Poles and the history. It appeared that Melcer-Rutkowska's opinions based on Western Europe standards, what resulted in her critical views. On the other side, Vetulani characterized himself as a sincere devotee of beautiful Turkey and as a friend of its nation.

**Key words:** Poland, Republic of Turkey, Polish Travelers, Wanda Melcer-Rutkowska, Tadeusz Vetulani

**Introduction**

The article includes excerpts of two memoirs about journey through Turkey which took place a few years after the republic was established. While presenting chosen descriptions, I focused on authors' contemporary aspects of everyday life in this country, its economy, political affairs, moral issues and general picture of the state. The subjects of comparison are works of Wanda Melcer-Rutkowska, vel. Sztekkerowa (1896-1972), who was a writer, a poet and an author of many reportages\(^1\), and Tadeusz Vetulani (1897-1952), who was a zoologist and an author of many discourses about research on horses, inter alias, Turkish Arabians\(^2\), who was also a professor of Poznan university and Higher Rural School in Poznan.\(^3\) Other discourses from the third decade of the XXth century about contemporary Turkey written by, inter alias, Tadeusz Kowalski\(^4\) and his brother - Zygmunt Vetulani, who was trade advisor of Polish Legation in Ankara, were of great importance in verification process of gathered information. The latter book referred only to economic issues.\(^5\)

In the article I deliberately avoided concentrating on both authors' detailed observation and opinions about reality at the time, giving readers' freedom of interpretation. Nevertheless the general character of both memoirs is worth mentioning at the beginning.

Melcer-Rutkowska was in Istanbul and Ankara for almost half a year between 1925 and 1926. When forming her opinions she took Western Europe standards into consideration what resulted in her critical views. Despite it her general judgment of the visited country was positive. The major part of her memoirs was dedicated to impressions of culture and art which were limited to a narrow section of Turkish society that is why I have omitted it. The memoirs

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she published within series of Biblioteka Dziel Wyborowych (BDW). They were published weekly and edited by Stanisław Lam. The title we are interested in was published in year’s issue no 2, volume no 30, counting the total numeration - in volume 43 2nd series. The editor of the series was Feliks Gadomski whereas Jan Burian was responsible for printing them in “Rola” printing house. (18 cm, 158 pages). The work received an attractive cover made of red linen, with a straight verge and impressed logo of BDW series on the upper facing. T. Vetulani collected his impressions during three month’s scholarship on zoological research granted by Polish ministry. It took place in autumn in 1929 in several greatest Turkish cities. The researcher became a publisher of a modest booklet in a paperback cover (23 cm, 27 pages). A magazine from Krakow, called Przegląd Powszechny\textsuperscript{6}, dealt with printing it. The text with a report about the next research journey through Turkey was published again in 1934. The edition which was enriched with 56 photographs from both journeys was interesting for Instytut Wschodni\textsuperscript{7} in Warsaw what initiated new publishing series called Szkice Wschodnioznawcze\textsuperscript{8,9}. As the author admitted, he described Turkey objectively, without prejudice - often met in literature and opinions. He characterized himself as a sincere devotee of beautiful Turkey and as a friend of its nation, what can be noticed clearly in his work.

Although both accounts were created in several years’ time gap, their implications are totally different what was caused by personal opinions, prior imagination about Turkey, but most of all, by a level of cultural relativism of both authors.

**Political and administrative relations**

Melcer-Rutkowska had her first contact with the state administration in Kavak\textsuperscript{10}, where a ferry stopped for two hours’ sanitary, custom and passport inspection\textsuperscript{11}. The contacts that she had with authorities, which sometimes lasted

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\textsuperscript{6} General Review  
\textsuperscript{7} The Institute of Eastern Culture  
\textsuperscript{8} The Outline of Expertise in Eastern Culture  
\textsuperscript{9} See: T. Vetulani, Wzdłuż Anatolii, Warsaw 1937.  
\textsuperscript{10} All specific names including geographical names I quote after sources with original Polish spelling.  
\textsuperscript{11} Melcer-Rutkowska 1925; 11.
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for a few days, to receive vessika [also: wesika]\textsuperscript{12} in other words police permission to stay in Konstantynopol [also called Stambul in Polish memoirs] were much more troublesome. The difficulties were serious because the Polish woman appeared to collect the document with three months’ delay. Then she widely described various nuances from political and administrative life, for example, the author focused on Turkish parliament, the population, the procedure of voting (2 metal vases were used to vote) and even on the decor of the board where meetings were held. She even indicated seats which were occupied by particular personages including the President. On the other hand she could not tell what his name was in spite of defining herself as a journalist. While writing about political elite, she characterized it as nationalistic. To convince readers that it is true she used two proofs. The first one revealed the practice of painting old inscriptions written in English or French over which could be seen at railway stations, ports etc. and replacing them with captions in Turkish. Secondly, in Konstantynopol the author was a witness of deportation of Greeks, who were expelled from Turkey within few hours since authorities’ decision was made. What was more they could not take anything from their houses. The Pole admitted that the same practice was performed by Greeks towards Turkish people in Greece, however, these actions were extremely unpleasant for individual people and she regretted them \textsuperscript{13}.

Whereas T. Vetulani mentioned that internal affairs was became so settled that foreigners were not controlled by police and gendarmerie so much. During his journey only once a police officer from a small spot called Karakej (Karaköy) asked the researcher politely to show his pass. On the other hand, T. Vetulani noticed that detailed record of foreigners travelling through Stambul to Asiatic part of the country was kept. When the Pole arrived from Eskişehir, a man dressed in plain clothes first asked him about the purpose of his journey then he compared the answer with the notes in his notebook \textsuperscript{14}.

The things that made rather negative impression on the traveller were issues connected with official uniforms of, for instance, bus staff in Ankara [often called Angora in Polish memoirs], what he immediately explained with financial difficulties of young statehood \textsuperscript{15}. Thanks to the second journey we

\textsuperscript{12} T. Vetulani also mentioned the document during the second journey. As he informed, it was a custom to leave the permission at the Police Office for the whole time of a visit in a certain city. See: T. Vetulani, \textit{Wzduż...}, p. 68.
\textsuperscript{13} Vetulani 1937; 44-45.
\textsuperscript{14} Vetulani 1930; 3.
\textsuperscript{15} Vetulani 1930; 16.

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have an opportunity to present how bus transport in the capital of Turkey had changed throughout the time. In 1929 big vehicles traveled according to schedule there, but five years later they were replaced with private buses with wooden bodies, which could seat five to six people, and they did not leave until all seats were paid. 16

Both Melcer-Rutkowska and T. Vetulani perceived Turkey as a safe country because of honest citizens on one hand, but on the other hand they observed well operating police and gendarmerie system which fought with any abuses and put photographs of criminals, especially political ones, on the walls of police stations. The Polish woman felt safe all the time even when she was taking walks along the streets late at night. Nonetheless she realized some dangers in Konstantynopol which were laid to non-Turkish background immigrants charge17.

Economy

One of the forms of running a business which Melcer-Rutkowska could observe through windows of local cafes and hotels was petty street trade. She described, inter alias, peddlers who were offering their goods and services near one of the Stambuł mosques. The peddlers were trading with rosaries and perfumes, and writers were offering writing a letter18. As far as agriculture is concerned she mentioned Pendik by Marmara with plantation of olive trees stretched for long distance 19.

At the same time she was engaged in polemics with opinions of the Turkish that they were basically agricultural people. She claimed that nomadic life style could be clearly observed in the country and agriculture tools were archaic. Instead of using poorly spread iron ploughs, there were used wooden ploughs pulled by drudges.20 Whereas T. Vetulani, when writing about agriculture, mentioned Kyrkaacz (Kirkağaç) the place popular with melon plantations where melons were sold very cheaply.

16 Vetulani 1937; 42.
17 Vetulani 1930; 15, Melcer-Rutkowska 1925; 77, 103.
18 Melcer-Rutkowska 1925; 19.
19 Melcer-Rutkowska 1925; 32-33.
20 T. Vetulani wrote about primitive agriculture tools such as: döğen and juwak (tasz-juwak, yuvak taş) during his second journey as well. He discussed a model farm in Gazi-cziflik near Ankara, which was established by Kemal Atatürk, in details. Mercel-Rutkowska 1925; 43, Vetulani 1937; 39, 48-50.
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Industry issues were discussed by both researchers very poorly. They wrote about Balia (Balya), a place rich in silver and lead mines and about the mountains between Konstantynopol and Angora which were affluent in copper. The Polish woman could watch tent colonies with laborers brought there to exploit natural resources from a train passing them.

Melcer-Rutkowska’s attitude towards animal breeding was partly positive. Although she was not an expert in that field, she could describe horses and cattle weak and frail. It was generally explained with the fact that Turkish people exploited these animals in hard draught work which made it impossible for the animals to look robust. As a contrast to it the Polish woman could observe sheep and goats breeding. It was used both in food and clothing industry. She also mentioned that professor Rostařfiński from Poland was invited by Turkish government to prepare building plans connected with clothing production.

T. Vetulani also abolished a stereotype of laziness of Turkish people, which was very popular in Europe. He noticed himself ‘work pleasure’ among various social groups which resulted from patriotism. He particularly appreciated perfectionism and conscientiousness of Turkish clerks who were working in much worse conditions than Polish ones. He only criticised big land possessions called çiftlik with both organisational and technical shortfalls.

Education

T. Vetulani on his way to Balikesir spotted young boys running along a train and shouting ‘Newspaper, newspaper!’, which meant for the author that children and the youth were interested in reading after a new alphabet had been introduced. It is important to mention that his visit in Turkey took place after a language reform was implemented. Despite it the researcher had some problems with communication especially in the country. Nonetheless during one of his

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21 T. Vetulani discussed the Turkish industry more during his second journey. He mentioned about a factory of sugar, established by banks, army planes plants, urban slaughterhouse located in Eskiszehir. Vetulani 1937; 38-39, Vetulani 1928; 7.
22 Vetulani 1930; 10, Melcer-Rutkowska 1925; 43.
23 Melcer-Rutkowska 1925; 44.
24 In an economic report his brother wrote about Turkish diligence: “An Anatolian Turk distinguishes himself with modest requirements, diligence, discipline and persistence but also with slowness while working. A Turk from Thrace is more active and progressive”. Vetulani 1930; 14, Vetulani 1928; 12.
25 Vetulani 1930; 10.
excursions he visited a peasant cottage who spoke Russian fluently. In the field of education he noticed strong patriotic elements. For instance, during a holiday of the republic (29th of October) he was moved by ardent speeches delivered by adults but he also admired students who were gestulating lively and were expressing tolerance and faith in a concept of republic.

Melcer-Rutkowska concentrated on education in more details. She mentioned that attending religion classes at school was not obligatory. At the same time putting any religious symbols or imaginations of people and animals on the walls was forbidden. Although there were some legislation gaps, shortages of well educated teachers and very low salaries, the number of schools was tolerable. For instance, in 14 departments there were secondary schools with 11 classes, in the next 59 departments there were secondary schools with 7 classes and in arrondissements there was a substantial number of primary and folk schools. In the last mentioned schools many educators were clergymen what resulted in their overestimated authority in the society at the expense of the secular intellectuals. The woman visited two Stambul schools such as: female tutorial and male secondary school Galata Seraj and she was extremely impressed by both institutions. Cleanliness in the buildings and in didactic facilities (e.g. physics and chemical workshops) as well as politeness of teachers and drive of students amazed the Polish woman. She liked an amateur theatre and film projection stage in the female school and physical classes in a huge sports hall in the male school the best. She commented that Turkish society paid a vital attention to sport, especially to football. The students were wearing bows and badges appropriate for one out of two sport clubs: Galata Seraj or Fener Bagcze. In a situation when one of the teams loses, its supporters do not sleep at night but cry with despair. Such behaviour was fuelled basically by parents. Melcer-Rutkowska together with the principal of the male school admired a sculptor's atelier and a sculpture of the President prepared by the students.

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26 Vetulani 1930; 19.
27 He must have been impressed by patriotism expressed there because he recalled this holiday in his next book. He could also observe devotion to motherland in 1934 while celebrating a day of victory. He listened to a speech delivered by General Abdurahman Nafiz among many other speeches. Vetulani 1930; 26, Vetulani 1937; 78.
Turkish Towns and Villages

In Melcer-Rutkowska’s descriptions disproportions in Turkish building industry are clearly presented. Next to narrow high and private houses and rarely seen modern multi-storey buildings there were located huge and impressive utilities edifices. She also deplored the burnt districts of Stambul which were not tidied and were turned into a ruin because of wooden houses. Even a ban on building wooden constructions was placed; there were still a lot of them.\footnote{Melcer-Rutkowska 1925; 18, 72.}

The next city described during journeys in 20s of the XXth century was Ankara. A journey to Ankara was supposed to take 26 hours in a comfortable train.\footnote{When T. Vetulani reported his second journey he presented different duration of a journey to Turkey, which took 14 hours in a fast train and 17 hours in a slow train. Vetulani 1937; 52.} Apart from a desert located just in the middle of the distance to Ankara, there was Esksiszehir, a place popular with hot springs and sepiolite (=lületas) deposits\footnote{Melcer-Rutkowska 1925; 34-35.}. T. Vetulani spent about a month in Ankara and its vicinity so he devoted a lot of attention to this place. It was maintained in cleanliness, decorated with squares and statues of its hero: Gazi Kemal-Pasza. The Polish researcher kept illustrating that Kemal-Pasza could look at the masterpiece from the hills of a suburban district Czankaja. Ankara, where a stylish building of Polish Embassy was located, and its modern suburbs Jeniszehir and Kawakla (=Kavakhdere) were developing dynamically at that time.\footnote{In 1929 T. Vetulani had an opportunity to see a building of Agricultural Academy, which was being built at that time. Five years later he was impressed by a completed object which was one of the finest in Europe. An account of the second journey contained several descriptions of buildings and institutions in Ankara, including libraries, e.g. Halkewi, Ismet-Pasza-Enstitüsü. Z. Vetulani presented comprehensive data on building industry in the capital and in small towns. As far as Ankara was concerned he mentioned problems with pollination. To limit it, 220 000 trees were planted in Czankaja. Vetulani 1930; 7, Vetulani 1937; 44-48, Vetulani 1928; 94-99.} The development must have been either extremely dynamic or overestimated by T. Vetulani because Melcer-Rutkowska quoted different opinions of Turkish people saying, for instance, that Ankara was a tiny and provincial town. She also heard from one native that he spent one week in Angora and he would never come back, another said that the relocation of the capital would not persuade him to move out from Konstantynopol. If it remains the capital it will have certain opportunities for development.\footnote{Melcer-Rutkowska 1925; 40.} Observing today’s agglomeration with a population of a few million people the quoted opinions can be characterised as sceptic. Obviously at that time such judgements were justified because the Polish tourist presented the city in rather a pessimistic way. According to her
there were houses made of clay mixed together with chaff, dung of animals was desiccated on the walls of these houses (it was used as fuel in winter)\textsuperscript{34}, streets paved with stones were flooded with mud, there were electric lamps on the streets here and there, in houses there was neither electricity nor heating stoves (only paraffin stoves were used, however, the number of them was limited as a result of a dramatic development in foreign diplomacy). Moreover, only Turkish was spoken and only mutton was eaten in restaurants whereas cafes were empty. On the other hand the Polish woman perceived views with snowy peaks and a hill with a castle as beautiful. She could admire the scenery from Czian-Kayi, the President’s residence 5 km away from the mountains.\textsuperscript{35}

T. Vetulani also described briefly the first capital of Turkey from Byzantine times: Brussa [also called Bursa in Polish descriptions]. He basically focused on its curative properties. For instance, he wrote about hot springs in Czekirga districts where every house had a supply of hot mineral springs and where a clean double room with baths twice or three times a day cost only 2 Turkish pounds which was equal with 1 dollar.\textsuperscript{36} The researcher presented a typical Turkish village with houses built with grey unbaked bricks and a garden plot nearby which were surrounded by high walls. The walls connected with each other formed a maze of streets and alleys. The windows of the houses overlooked closed yards. On the squares there were artesian wells and watering-places for animals. An exemplary Muttalip Village [near to Eskişehir] consisted of 600 houses and 6 mosques.\textsuperscript{37}

\textbf{Morals and attire}

Hospitality was one of the most often mentioned features of the Turkish society. It was discussed repeatedly by Melcer-Rutkowska. As an example she presented visits in shops whose owners invited customers for a rest and a cup of coffee even though the visitors were not willing to buy anything.\textsuperscript{38}

T. Vetulani compared the Turkish society to a big family. Men in this family address themselves: 'son', 'father', 'brother' and a word 'sir' is eliminated from everyday language. Solidarity, brotherhood and mutual

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[34] T. Vetulani mentioned tezek during his second journey as well. Vetulani 1937; 39.
\item[36] Vetulani 1930; 9.
\item[37] Vetulani 1930; 10.
\item[38] Melcer-Rutkowska 1925; 27.
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kindness was present all the time. Strict moral principles were a basis of a
development of the republic. The researcher was also impressed by modesty of
Turkish people which unfortunately is barely observed in Polish society and
which made them talk about gaps and shortages in a young state.39

Later the scientist reminded about mendacity, which was very common
before time of the republic and its reforms40 and bribery, which was
insignificant when he was in Turkey. The improvement in this field resulted
from a development of the country and social reforms what led to willingness of
the society to work for a secular state. He explained natural honesty of Turks
with a high level of safety, including a lack of theft (he saw heaps of cereals in
towns squares which were not watched by anybody himself).41

Helpfulness was also a typical feature of a Turk. The Pole became
convinced about it while he was searching for insects which he needed for his
research. Initially natives wondered at his actions and smack their lips
according to their manner but later they gathered caught insects just to help the
researcher.42

T. Vetulani also analyzed the issue of harems because he wanted to
correct the wrong image of them among the Europeans. He separated a
colloquial understanding of a word ‘harem’ (polygamy) which was common in
the West from a proper meaning (a part of a room meant for women). As he
emphasised polygamy was abolished in 1926 as a consequence of introducing
Swiss civil code. Due to society's impoverishment polygamy took place rather
rarely especially among the intellectuals even before 1926. Before the reform
was implemented polygamy was popular in villages, where a woman was
treated as an employee. According to the author a position of a woman there
was similar to a servant’s.43

When Melcer-Rutkowska compared Polish and Turkish morals, she could
notice that the two nations had distinct attitudes towards cemetery. As she
reported in Turkey there were a lot of such places in accidental locations

40 While Edward Raczyński was visiting Istanbul in 1814, he emphasised small number of
beggars in comparison with Western cities. See: E. Raczyński, Dziennik podróży do Turcji
odbyty w roku MDCCCXIV, Wrocław 1821, p. 190.
41 Vetulani 1930; 14-15.
42 Vetulani 1930; 15.
43 Melcer-Rutkowska has also confirmed these opinions. Vetulani 1930; 19-20.
without any fence. This situation encouraged engaged couples or families to come there and rest or celebrate a holiday in the shade of cypresses.44

How did clothes look like at the turn of the second and third decade of the XXth century according to a lady and a scientist? While Melcer-Rutkowska was walking among a colorful crowd near Stambul stalls she could observe a variety of garments. She noticed: Huns in Czarszaf, Persians wearing black caps, Turks wearing turbans and the fez caps and Muslims, who were always seen with rosaries, regardless of social position.45 In another place she observed a woman street-trader of beads who was wearing striped pantaloons, white kerchief on her head which was beautifully embroidered with black silk and tied below a chin in an Arabian way and it was so long that covered her figure down to knees.46 Readers of Melcer-Rutkowska’s account could familiarized themselves with very detailed characterization of a Turkish woman. She described styles and behavior of women from every social group separately. Ladies, townswomen, peasant-women and women-soldiers were illustrated by the author. Some personages e.g. a diplomat’s wife Mufidé Ferid Hanum [Tr: hanım] were presented thoroughly. Today while reading Melcer-Rutkowska’s descriptions a reader can feel that she tried to confirm her theory that Turkish women are discriminated. She supported it with facts that there was no suffrage for women and that men dominated the country. On the other hand she indicated opportunities and freedom of women as it comes to divorce and managing their assets. Finally, her hypothesis about discriminated women in Turkey was abolished. It happened when she asked a Turkish minister’s wife about women’s lot in Turkey. The woman answered without any hesitation that: “a woman in Turkey is the happiest person in the world!” 47 T. Vetulani’s presentation of Turkish style was not as comprehensive as Melcer-Rutkowska’s. It will be discussed briefly. Only women in depths were seen wearing czarszaf [Tr: çarşaf]. Faces of these women were covered with kerchiefs but completely uncovered women’s faces were also seen. Moreover, peasants’ outfit consisted of sandals or boots, thick white and woollen stockings up to knees, black trousers put in the stockings, woollen red belts used to protect them from

44 Melcer-Rutkowska 1925; 48-49.
45 Melcer-Rutkowska 1925; 26, 28.
46 Melcer-Rutkowska 1925; 35.
47 Melcer-Rutkowska 1925; 87.
dramatic temperature falls, colourful stripped shirts (usually red) and caps with a turned peak to the side or to the back.\textsuperscript{48}

**Hygiene**

When Melcer-Rutkowska searched for some relaxation, she complained that there were not any places for a sea bath. If you wanted to have one you had to drive for an hour to Floria where the beach was heavily crowded with Russians.\textsuperscript{49} By the way the traveller paid a lot of attention to the group of emigrants who escaped from their communist country. This situation caused the Turkish women’s justified fears of expansion of women from the north.

T. Vetulani noticed that Turks cared about cleanliness not only because of religious demands or customs (e.g. frequent hand-washing, unshoeing before entering religious person’s house) but also because of recent political changes. Stambul as well as Ankara and other cities were clean at the end of 20's of the XXth century and it was different form old descriptions. Obviously some districts were cleaner than others and it depended on wealth and personal culture of their citizens. However, administration helped the poor part of the society significantly by installing free bath devices. Moreover, the changes connected with hygiene were also seen in hotels and T. Vetulani could spot cleanliness there as well. Nonetheless there were some exceptions too. Among them Darbali in Balikesir and Osmaniye in Bursa can be listed.\textsuperscript{50} Whereas Melcer-Rutkowska only a few years earlier complained that in Angora there was not even one European bathtub and that having a bath was only possible if you knew someone important and then you could have a bath in a small number of Embassies provided with this luxury.\textsuperscript{51}

**Attitude of Turkish people towards the Poles and the history.**

T. Vetulani as a Pole experienced sincere feeling of liking from Turkish intellectuals, townspeople and peasants. Some of them emphasized historical solidarity and some admired Polish bravery. What surprised the researcher was that Turks avoided the topic of Polish-Turkish wars. However, they appreciated both nations for bravery during fights. T. Vetulani summarized the difficult

\textsuperscript{48} Vetulani 1930; 17-18.
\textsuperscript{49} Melcer-Rutkowska 1925; 31.
\textsuperscript{50} Vetulani 1930; 16-17.
\textsuperscript{51} Melcer-Rotkowska 1925; 36-37.
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relations with a proverb: ‘the quarrels of lovers are the removal of love’. On the other hand Melcer-Rutkowska was not satisfied with the number of Polish books and newspapers in Turkey. The Turkish people expressed a vivid interest in Polish history, culture and ethnography during an exhibition presenting Poland.

These exemplifying characterizations showed how Turkey could be perceived by foreigners after the republic had been introduced. The travelers indicated various difficulties that appeared at that time which were typical for transitional period for every country. While T. Vetulani was preparing his report he enjoyed his fascinations connected with Turkey. Whereas Melcer-Rutkowska was too critical towards the reality existing in this country. The true Turkey in 20’s of the XXth century was probably hidden somewhere in between both presentations.

52 Vetulani 1930; 4.
54 Quite a lot of papers and memoirs of Poles travelling through Turkey in different periods of time were published in Poland (e.g. J. Potocki, E. Raczyński, J. Narkiewicz Jodko, S. Belza). This contribution could be extended by analysis of these works.
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