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English Abstract

Among the many outcomes of the nineteenth century Ottoman transformative regime was a travel boom steered by Ottoman intellectuals. After the first quarter of the 1800s, the opening horizons and changing visions of modernization motivated multiple Ottoman intellectuals to tour Europe and publish travelogues. Arising from the advances in transportation, printing technologies and novel cultural aspirations, travelers and travelogues became the main performative aspects of the Ottoman modernization. This mode of ‘learning modernization en route’ proliferated quickly among three generations of Ottomans intellectuals, centering around the Tanzimat bureaucratic bourgeoisie who were simultaneously increasing in number and variety. Between 1850-1910, twenty-odd civilian Ottoman travelogues on Western Europe were inscribed and serialized in newspapers, periodicals and weekly journals as conveying the experiences to the public became an affective and a lucrative channel. Several of them were published as books afterwards. This dissertation is an in-depth examination of the social and cultural conditions that paved the way for this travel boom, which I define as *tour d’Europe*, and travelers’ perceptions of urban and architectural culture in European cities. It aims to add the civilian experiences of modernization into the urban and architectural historiography of late Ottoman Empire, which have been written often exclusively through official narratives and formalistic comparisons. Individuals’ idiosyncratic interest in built environment is emblematic of the accounts and thus this study.

The dissertation draws upon the differences in quantity and quality between late Ottoman travel literature and earlier periods. Situating Ottoman travelers in the socio-historical circumstances of the nineteenth century, it contextualizes Ottoman *tour d’Europe* within the network of travel exceeding imperial and national boundaries. In the first two chapters, travelers, their motivations, web of references and legitimization mechanisms are analyzed. Through scrutiny of the strategies utilized to gather and disseminate information, discursive features, the role of travel guidebooks and other media are inspected to uncover their impact on Ottoman travelers’ perceptions of architecture and urbanism. As facilitators of late Ottoman travelers’ vicarious and selective consumption of Europe, these and other sources of information created prescribed images in travelers’ minds before they embarked on their journeys and also en route via travel guidebooks. The discourse of travel guidebooks, particularly French Baedeker editions, replete with chronological and statistical data had a direct influence in putting Ottoman accounts within an institutionalized framework. The portrayal of modernization on top of synthesized monumental European history was mirrored in Ottoman travelogues with the aim of espousing technical progress and the Ottoman traditional and religious deeds.

Departing from the ever-changing Istanbul, Ottoman travelers scrutinized western European capitals comparing them to the Ottoman capital. It was the ultimate reference point for most of the travelers through which they perused the physicality of European cities and referenced to convey the information for their readers in comparison with local benchmarks. Further, Istanbul was posited as the potential generator of Ottoman modernization as the city of historical and cultural values and scientific progress.

Always mindful about European material culture in Europe, Ottoman travelers’ copious accounts offer rare insights into experiential values and personal understandings of European cities. Particularly after the 1860s, Ottoman travelers’ excitement was garnered on the materiality of contemporary architecture, technique and engineering of European urbanism. The second half of the dissertation, the third and fourth chapters, unfolds travelers’ perception

of urbanism and architecture. Their reactions and dissemination methods (or lack thereof) reveal a shared urban and architectural imagery which shed lights on the ever-contentious topic of Ottoman modernization. The empirical data on ordered urban design, buildings and decorative patterns are constructed through names, dates, dimensions, statistics and comparisons with Ottoman landmarks. Secondly, travelers' middle-class sensitivities about edification, urbanity and education urged them to observe minute details and also perform European urban culture in public environments. Their varying sensations and experiences define architecture and urban design as the main apparatus to reify modern culture and create its private and public spaces.

The demand for historical consciousness, the representation of past and the reification of authentic and local cultural values are the encounters that surprised the civilian Ottoman travelers the most. As much as the ordered cities or conviviality of the squares, the methods of linking tradition and novelty, industrial and historical, heritage and technical progress became a focal point in consideration of creating Ottoman Muslim modernization.

All in all, Ottoman travelers learned, observed and performed modernity with a great curiosity; their keen interest middle-class culture in tune with European peers turned their tours into a performative realization of urban modernization. Their sensitivities produced an unexpected yield that found its way into the dual narrative of the travelogues in which the encyclopedic and empirical data on modernization as well as the personal and emotional sensations were narrated side-by-side. The urge to learn the standards of the modern material world, know-how, scientific and technical details resulted in encyclopedic narratives overlapped with personal impressions, sensations and the idealized imagery of modern Europe. Their educated -or at least mediated- scientific descriptive impulses were in constant competition with the feeling of awe at the very know-how to create an ordered modern city. Towards the turn of the 20th century, civilian Ottoman travels acquired the meaning of a tour into the modern future of Ottoman cities and also a call for a trip into the history of Ottoman Empire. The physical aspects of industrial modernization and history arose ultimately as the two most significant pillars of the Ottoman *tour d'Europe*.

Deutsche Kurzfassung

Neben den vielen Ereignissen des osmanischen Transformationsregimes des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts gehörte unter anderem der Reiseboom, der osmanischen Intellektuellen, die nach dem ersten Quartal des Jahrhunderts begannen, durch Europa zu touren und Reiseberichte zu veröffentlichen, dazu. Angespornt durch die Fortschritte in den Bereichen Transport, Drucktechnologien und zeitgenössische kulturelle Bestrebungen verbreitete sich die Art des ‘Lernens der Modernisierung der Route’ unter drei Generationen bürgerlicher Bürokraten, die gleichzeitig an Zahl und Vielfalt zunahmten. Zwischen 1850 und 1910 wurden etwa zwanzig zivile osmanische Reiseberichte in Zeitungen, Fachblättern und wöchentlichen Zeitschriften veröffentlicht und serialisiert, wobei einige von ihnen in einem Buchformat zusammengestellt wurden. Während Reisende ihre Erfahrungen aus erster Hand über Europa übermittelten, erkannten sie die Zuneigung, die diese Reiseberichte über die osmanische Öffentlichkeit hervorrufen, und nutzen sie sowohl als Propagandawerkzeug für ihre modernistischen Ideologien als auch als lukratives Literaturgenre. Diese Dissertation ist eine eingehende Untersuchung der Wahrnehmung der Reisenden für die städtische und architektonische Kultur europäischer Städte. Beabsichtigt wird hier, die zivilen Modernisierungserfahrungen in die städtische und architektonische Geschichtsschreibung des späten osmanischen Reiches aufzunehmen, die oft ausschließlich durch offizielle Erzählungen und formalistische Vergleiche geschrieben wurden. Das idiosynkratische Interesse der Individuen an dem errichteten Umfeld ist ein Symbol für die Berichte und somit auch für diese Studie.

Die Dissertation startet vom Unterschied in Quantität und Qualität zwischen spätosmanischer Reiseliteratur und den der früheren Perioden. Die Unterbringung der osmanischen Reisenden unter den sozio-historischen Umständen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts kontextualisiert die osmanische *tour d'Europe* innerhalb des Reisetetzes, welches die Grenzen des osmanischen Reiches überschreitet. In den ersten beiden Kapiteln werden Motivation, Hintergrund und die Netzwerke der Reisenden analysiert. Durch eine genaue Untersuchung der Strategien zum sammeln und verbreiten der Informationen, diskursiven Merkmalen, der Rolle von Reiseführern und anderen Medien wird darauf untersucht, welche Auswirkungen sie auf die Wahrnehmung von Architektur und Urbanismus durch osmanische Reisende haben. Das Hauptargument ist, dass die Vermittler des stellvertretenden und selektiven Konsums von Europa durch spätosmanische Reisende vor ihrer Reise und auch Unterwegs durch Reiseführer vorgeschriebene Bilder in den Köpfen der Reisenden schufen. Der Diskurs der Reiseführer, insbesondere der französischen Baedeker-Ausgaben, der mit chronologischen und statistischen Daten gefüllt war, hatte einen unmittelbaren Einfluss darauf die osmanischen Berichte in einen institutionalisierten Rahmen zu stellen. Die Darstellung der Modernisierung auf der Grundlage der synthetisierten monumentalen europäischen Geschichte in Baedekers spiegelte sich in osmanischen Reiseberichten, mit der Absicht den technischen Fortschritt und die osmanischen kaiserlichen, kulturellen und religiösen Taten zu unterstützen, wider.

Ausgehend von dem sich ständig verändernden Istanbul, haben osmanische Reisende vor allem westeuropäische Hauptstädte bereist, während sie diese ständig mit der osmanischen Hauptstadt verglichen haben. Istanbul ist der ultimative Bezugspunkt, an dem Reisende die physische Beschaffenheit der europäischen Städte erkennen und die Informationen für ihre Leser mit lokalen Maßstäben und Einheiten vermitteln. Darüber hinaus wurde Istanbul von Reisenden als Samen der osmanischen Modernisierung gesehen; eine Stadt, die an ihren historischen und

kulturellen Werten festhielt während sie auch gleichzeitig einen Hintergrund für wissenschaftlichen Fortschritt bietet.

Osmanische Reisende, die stets auf die materielle europäische Kultur bedacht sind, verfassten reichliche Berichte, die seltene Einblicke in kollektive Werte und persönliche Verständnisse der urbanen Kultur bieten. Insbesondere nach den 1860er Jahren wurde die Begeisterung der osmanischen Reisenden von der Materialität der zeitgenössischen Architektur, den Methoden und der Technik des europäischen Urbanismus geweckt. Die zweite Hälfte der Dissertation, die das dritte und vierte Kapitel miteinbezieht, enthüllt die Wahrnehmung von Urbanismus und Architektur durch Reisende. Ihre Reaktionen und Verbreitungsmethoden (oder deren Fehlen) lassen eine gemeinsame urbane und architektonische Bildsprache erkennen, die das immer wieder umstrittene Thema der osmanischen Modernisierung beleuchtet. In den Reiseberichten werden die empirischen Daten über geordnete Stadtgestaltung, Gebäude und dekorative Muster hauptsächlich durch Namen, Daten, Dimensionen, Statistiken und Vergleiche mit osmanischen Wahrzeichen übermittelt. Des Weiteren forderte das bürgerliche Empfinden der Reisenden in Bezug auf Erbauung, Urbanität und Bildung sie darauf, kleinste Details zu beachten und sie auch persönlich zu praktizieren. Ihre unterschiedliche Empfindungen wurden eingetragen, um Architektur und Städtebau innerhalb standardisierter Daten als Hauptapparat zur Konkretisierung der Modernisierung zu definieren.

Alles in allem lernten, beobachteten und nahmen die osmanischen Reisenden die Moderne mit großer Neugier wahr. Im Einklang mit ihren europäischen Altersgenossen machte ihr reges Interesse an der bürgerlichen Kultur ihre Reisen zu einer performativen Umsetzung der urbanen Modernisierung. Ihre Sensibilität brachte einen unerwarteten Ertrag, der sich in der dualen Erzählung der Reiseberichte niederschlug, in denen sowohl die enzyklopädischen und empirischen Daten zur Modernisierung als auch die persönlichen und emotionalen Empfindungen nebeneinander erzählt wurden. Das Verlangen, die Standards der modernen materialen Welt, das Know-how, die wissenschaftlichen und technischen Details zu erlernen, führte zu enzyklopädischen Erzählungen, die sich mit persönlichen Eindrücken, Empfindungen und der idealisierten Symbolik des zeitgenössischen Europas überlagerten. Die gebildeten oder zumindest vermittelten Beschreibungen der Reisenden standen in ständiger Konkurrenz mit einem Gefühl der Ehrfurcht vor dem eigenen Know-how, eine geordnete, aber gesellige moderne Stadt zu schaffen. Zweitens, besonders an der Wende des 20. Jahrhunderts, bekamen zivile osmanische Reisen die Bedeutung einer Reise in die Symbolik der modernen Zukunft der osmanischen Städte, aber auch eine Aufforderung zu einer Reise in die Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches. Das Verlangen nach historischem Bewusstsein, die Darstellung der Vergangenheit und die Versachlichung der authentischen und lokalen kulturellen Werte sind Aspekte, die die osmanischen Reisende am meisten überraschen. Während letztendlich bei der Vorgabe von Kodexen für die osmanisch-muslimische Modernisierung die Art und Weise, wie das traditionelle mit dem modernen, das Industrielle mit dem Historischen, das Erbe mit dem technischen Fortschritt vereint wird, zu einer ebenso wichtigen Überlegung wie die geordneten Parks oder die Geselligkeit der städtischen Plätze. Historisches Bewusstsein und konkrete Anknüpfungspunkte an die Vergangenheit, wie z.B. die Wohnarchitektur, die als wichtiges Anliegen der letzten Phase der osmanischen *tour d'Europe* entstand.

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The approved original version of this doctoral thesis is available in print at TU Wien Bibliothek.

For Özüm

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“You hear so much about the mirage of the East, but what is that compared to the mirage of the West, to which all Orientals are attracted!”

Zeynep Hanum, *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions*, 1913.

Introduction

Hayrullah Efendi (1818-1866) opens his travel guidebook *Yolculuk Kitabı* [Book of Journey], penned between 1861-63, possibly as the earliest example of modern travel guidebook in Ottoman Empire, arguing that although Ottomans were informed about the world by the books, historic records, printed media and newspapers, travelling to Europe was still a burden due to the lack of an Ottoman guidebook.¹ “Soon, travelling would be a custom and fashion”, he continues, and thus his book aims to respond to that need.² Hayrullah Efendi’s manuscript was published only posthumously during the late 1870s in Egypt, yet his prediction about the boom of travel in Ottoman society came true earlier. The second half of the 1800s stand as the pinnacle of civilian solo travels as well as travelogue writing. Travel literature became an effective channel for learning of European modernization insomuch that more than twenty accounts on specifically Europe were serialized in various newspapers, thematic periodicals and weekly journals; several were re-published in book format between 1850 and 1910. Concurrently, the Ottomans published accounts of their non-European travels, fictional journeys and rare instances of travel literature from earlier periods along with journal articles on the significance of travel. In fact, 19th century popular journals constituted the primary medium for the propagation of travel and travel accounts. This dissertation is an architectural history of these civilian Ottoman travel accounts on Europe, and an examination of Ottoman intellectuals’ conceptions of European urban and architectural culture.³ It tackles the cultural circumstances in which this travel boom emerged and proliferated, the urban and architectural content of the accounts, and the ways Ottoman travelers perceived and conveyed European cities to their readers.

Main Question, Methodology and Sources

Traveling alone without official duties and keeping an account of one’s experiences was not common in the Ottoman society during the 18th century -a time which is often described as the early modern period and the ‘décloisennement’ (translatable to opening up culturally and socially).⁴ In this period, though, diplomatic visits and copious *sefaretnames* (envoy reports),

1 Hayrullah Efendi’s *Yolculuk Kitabı* is an unpublished manuscript (Ankara University Library, 1861-63) which was translated into modern Turkish as late as in 2002 by Belkıs Altunış-Gürsoy and published with the title *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*. According to my research, this is the earliest modern Ottoman account written specifically for Ottoman readers and travelers and includes conspicuous parts such as letters from Hayrullah Efendi’s son, translations of a theatre-play and an addendum on Bursa. In my study, I relied on Gürsoy’s translation. Hayrullah Efendi, *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*, Belkıs Altunış-Gürsoy (Trs.), Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2002.

2 Hayrullah Efendi, 3.

3 The Seyfettin Özege Rare Works Collection in Atatürk University Library in Erzurum, Atatürk Kitaplığı and Istanbul University Rare Books Library in Istanbul, helped me with the identification and reading of a handful of travel accounts for the first time in this study. Where follow-up editions, transliterations and translations are used they are noted and cited.

4 Hamadeh, Shirine. *The Citys’ Pleasure*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2007; and Sezer, Yavuz. “The Architecture of Bibliophilia: Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Libraries”, PhD Diss., MIT Press, 2016.

whose emergence dates back to the late 17th century, found favor in the Ottoman palace. Written mostly by high-ranking statesmen or envoys, official reports became one of the significant mechanisms of the exchange of expertise and ideas between Ottoman court and Europe until the second quarter of the 19th century. From this period onwards, as the Ottoman bureaucratic intelligentsia proliferated⁵ and Tanzimat reforms (a series of reorganizations enacted between 1839-76 mainly in administration, law and education) were ensconced, civilian travel accounts discussing urban and architectural culture became influential for both the palace and public. A large number of solo travelers embarked upon journeys within the bounds of their personal means and planned to publish their observations en route. The specific number varies according to the definition of a ‘travel account’. From 1830-1910 there are a diverse range of Ottoman texts and excerpts that include accounts of trips in the format of biographies, memoirs, diaries, letters and articles. In this dissertation only Ottoman accounts that were written during/after a specific plan to visit European cities and were subsequently published are studied. Voyages to other regions via Europe, biographies and memoirs are excluded. As accounts of non-European countries are limited in both number and architectural and urban content, this dissertation does not offer a thorough study of travel accounts of the U.S., Far East, Central Asia, Africa and the Arabian Peninsula.⁶ However, a number of accounts from non-European countries and texts from earlier periods are incorporated into the discussions when there is comparability or direct thematic connection. Additionally, Greek and Armenian-language travelogues are outside the scope of this study. Ottoman ethno-religious communities had distinct relationships with Europeans, thus analyzing them requires a different set of methodologies and approaches. In interpreting the multitude of civilian travelogues, I bring together the questions pertinent to cultural history and the history of nineteenth-century Ottoman modernization, as well as the methods of urban and architectural history. The ultimate purpose is to highlight the intersections of these disciplines and to offer ways to analyze 19th century Ottoman transformations via a transnational paradigm.

Late 18th century was a time when the exchanges and transfers from Europe increased in quantity and turned into institutionalized ideological constructs rather than piecemeal assimilations into Ottoman systems. The Ottoman state instigated major transformations after overtly facing the reality that the imperial past could not be restored solely with military reforms. In this reformation period, Western European capitals, specifically London and Paris, were adopted as the primary source of technological know-how. Certainly, transfers and imports from European cultures -mostly in the field of cartography, mining, medicine, geography, architecture and artistic production- have always been a part of Ottoman court since the 15th century.⁷ There was a strong interaction between Ottoman palace and Italian city-state

5 On the emergence and development of civilian Ottoman bureaucracy, see: Findley, Carter V. *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton University Press, 1980.

6 The common ground of the majority of travel accounts about non-European countries is political and cultural reconnaissance with strict political agendas, and limited access and interest to the cities. These factors yield narrations of sailing, difficulties of the journey and geographical features.

7 Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu claims that till the publication of the Katip Çelebi’s influential corpus on geography from the late 17th century, cultural exchanges from Ottoman and European royalties were directed towards edification or entertainment; not specifically to create empirical knowledge, applicable scientific data or conceptions of material culture. On the Ottoman’s approach to European

primarily within trade and war affairs and later with Spain and Portugal. Nevertheless, although it is certain that these relations never remain within their determined course, the interactions between the Ottomans and Europe remained predominantly through diplomatic and commercial relations. Thus, cultural exchanges could not exceed fads, modes of dressing and artistic styles between royalties or high echelons of the society.⁸ Since Selim III (r.1789-1808), though, the reforms had been fueled systematically by European experts, techniques, urban and material culture.

In fact, even before the reign of Selim III, the Ottoman court, elites and intelligentsia with different backgrounds, started to be interested in European culture beyond artistic and technical exchanges. Gottfried Hagen notes “a general shift in the social profile of intellectual production as more people from the middle ranks of the bureaucracy and *ulema* (religious-legal scholars) gained visibility as authors in the seventeenth century.”⁹ Katip Çelebi’s *Cihannüma* [View of the World] is an emblematic example from this period¹⁰ that marks the shift of Ottoman officialdom and their central role in the relationship of Ottoman bureaucracy with the Europeans. Cemal Kafadar also claims that the 17th century is a period of increasing world-awareness and encyclopedism in the Ottoman context.¹¹ Although it could be defined as an isolated example, Evliya Çelebi’s tome *Seyahatname* [Book of Travels] written throughout the second half of the 17th century, is an indicator of the rising curiosity among bureaucratic elites in understanding other cultures vis-à-vis the Ottoman world. Furthermore, Yavuz Sezer’s meticulous research reveals that from the late 17th century onwards, endowing a library building for studying and copying manuscripts became a trend among the Ottoman bureaucratic elites. The political figures and elites of the 18th century were keenly interested in history and geography. Sezer connects the library building trend with the expansion of the Ottoman intellectual elite in both size and in composition, as well as to their personal interests.¹² Indeed, the successors of these bureaucratic elites, “civilian Ottoman officials”, borrowing from Findley, became the prime facilitators of European modernization of the Ottoman Empire and the travel boom.

While owning, displaying and sharing books on history and geography became a symbol of intellectual capacity and political gesture among the growing bureaucratic elites, the Ottoman

science and technology, see: İhsanoğlu, Ekmeleddin. *Science, Technology and Learning in the Ottoman Empire: Western Influence, Local Institutions, and the Transfer of Knowledge*, London, Routledge, 2004.

8 For dated yet eminent analyses on exchanges in art between the Ottomans and Europeans, see: Renda, Günsal. *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı, 1700-1850*, Ankara, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1977; idem, “Europe and the Ottomans” in *Europa und die Kunst des Islam. 15. Bis 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Oleg Grabar and Elisabeth Liskar, Vienna, Hermann Böhlhaus Nachf, 1985.

9 Hagen, Gottfried. “Afterword: Ottoman Understandings of the World in the Seventeenth Century” in: Robert Dankoff (Ed.), *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi*, Leiden, 2006, 215-256.

10 In his account architectural content is comparatively arid. Ali Uzay Peker defines Çelebi’s mode of expression as full of ‘bewilderment, astonishment and unfamiliarity’. Peker, Ali Uzay. in: B. Schmidt-Haberkamp (Ed.) *Europa und die Türkei im 18. Jahrhundert Europe and Turkey in the 18th Century*, Bonn University Press, 2011, 499.

11 Kafadar, Cemal. “Evliya Çelebi in Dalmatia: An Ottoman Traveler’s Encounters with the Arts of the Franks”, *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean*, Brill; Illustrated Edition, 2014, 58-79.

12 Sezer, particularly Chapter 1 and 2, 38-105.

court also became more engaged with Europe via a variety of expanded channels. Giving the example of the newspaper article “Frankistan’dan vurud eden numune-i havadisat” [Instances of events arrived from Europe] from 1747, Aksan reveals that gazette clippings about daily life in France, Genoa, and Stockholm were occasionally translated by the Ottomans.¹³ In the subsequent decades, phrases such as ‘English method of ...’ were frequently used in official documents to address the production methods of materials like gunpowder by the British Empire.¹⁴ After these fragmentary translations -metaphorically and literally-, the diplomatic visit of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi to Paris in 1721 and the opening of permanent embassies in European capitals in 1793 served to increase curiosity. Despite the above-mentioned relations, due to the limited circulation and accessibility of the publications on mobile figures, artefacts and ideas, the undergirding perspective of Europe as a distant culture with contributions limited to instrumental know-how did not drastically alter before the apparent end of the economic growth of the late 18th century and the political disasters therewith. At this juncture, the Ottoman travel boom arose among Ottoman intellectuals with the aim of gathering hard data and making firsthand observations of Europe. Without over-looking exceptions, in broad strokes the relations between the Ottomans and European culture from the 1700s and 1830s could be characterized as a time of diplomatic transactions, whereas the second half of the 19th century could be described as a public rapprochement forged through personal curiosity, civilian exchanges and encounters. It is the radical change created by this travel boom with its personal encounters and publication of civilian travelogues throughout the second half of the 19th century that constitutes the subject this dissertation.

Rather than the conventional political periodization, the evolution of the accounts defines the framework of this study as 1830-1910. My evaluation method for the accounts is based firstly on the travelers’ own definition of the travelling activity. Thus, the core materials are the accounts that were conceived of and published as records of travel in Europe. Within these accounts, the traveler’s profile and format of the account effects their grouping. Secondly, in addition to these core materials, some of which have not been studied before, the accounts were woven together with sources analyzing contemporaneous Ottoman urban and architectural transformations. The urban regulations, architectural stylistic trends, and critical occasions such as world fairs that Ottoman Empire attended were actually the basis of reading the travelogues. The literature on late Ottoman architecture and urbanism, history of institutions like Ottoman Archeology Museum and the developments during the early Republican Period constitute the main sources in addition to the accounts themselves.

Historical Outline of Ottoman Travel Narratives on Europe

Along with the diplomatic reports, *şehrengiz* constituted a peculiar genre in the 18th century Ottoman literary productions about the cities and urban life. *Şehrengiz* is a type of Ottoman poetry “written in honor of various cities and provincial towns”.¹⁵ Bearing a semi-professional character, *şehrengiz* reflects the proliferating urban culture and traditional literary merits of the

13 Aksan, Virginia H. *Ottomans and Europeans: contacts and conflicts*, Istanbul, Isis, 2010, 13–23.

14 İhsanoğlu, 11-41.

15 Kural, Deniz Çalış. *Şehrengiz, Urban Rituals and Deviant Sufi Mysticism in Ottoman Istanbul*, London, Ashgate, 2014.

18th century.¹⁶ Additionally, Shirine Hamadeh highlights the increase in the building descriptions and accounts of architectural productions by the chroniclers and court poets in rhymed chronograms in this period. These distinct genres peaked during this period. A handful of personal narratives on Istanbul were added to the Ottoman literature in the 1700s. *Istanbul Tarihi XVII. Asırda* by Eremya Çelebi Kömirciyan was a rare narrative on the Ottoman capital reflecting the perspective of a local. Penned in Armenian, *18. Asırda İstanbul* [Istanbul in the 18th Century] by P. G. İnciciyan is another invaluable description of the city through the eyes of a resident in Istanbul.¹⁷ Almost half of a century later, Sarraf Sarkis Hovhannesyanyan penned *Pâyitaht İstanbul'un Tarihçesi* [History of Capital Istanbul] in 1800 also in Armenian.¹⁸ Mahmud Raif's *Tableau des Nouveaux Reglements de L'Empire Ottoman* (1798) [Table of New Regulations in the Ottoman Empire] should be added here as an important piece, with 28 visuals that defy any literary categorization. It has features of an official report, a technical program and historical piece, with great focus on novelties of Ottoman architectural culture, education and technology.¹⁹

Intellectual awakening towards European technique and culture diffused into the fields of urban design, architecture and art during Selim III's reign chiefly through his invitation of foreign engineers to Istanbul.²⁰ The French military engineer, François Kauffer (fl.1776-1801), supervised the renovation and repair of multiple castles on the Black Sea coast. He also built fortification models with educational purposes and drew military maps.²¹ Soon after, the impetus to understand European cities, urban and architectural culture accelerated the diplomatic interactions. In fact, among the prime factors for Mahmud II (r.1808-1839) in emulating European know-how for urban projects, architecture and gardening was his diplomatic retinue's experiences during their journeys and sojourns in European capitals during the early 1800s.²² Successors of Mahmud II continued applying European expertise to urban

16 Hamadeh, Shirine. "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and The Inevitable Question of Westernization", *JSAH* Vol. 63, (2004), 32-51.

17 See Fraser, Elisabeth. "Dressing Turks In the French Manner": Mouradgea d'Ohsson's Panorama of the Ottoman Empire" *Ars Orientalis* 39: Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century (2010), 198-230. Technocrat-intellectuals like Mahmut Raif Efendi became influential in ambassadorial and bureaucratic circles who had a strong utilitarian outlook but also provided a systematic intellectual approach concerning cultural productions in Ottoman Empire. He wrote personal commentaries on translation of foreign sources, and inspired publications in French and Ottoman-Turkish with the broader goal of reshaping Ottoman educational institution. He, indeed, personally attempted to incorporate European knowledge into the Ottoman system.

18 Hovehannesyanyan's urban history book was translated into Ottoman and published by Mehmet Rauf as late as in 1895.

19 Mehmed Raif, *Tableau des Nouveaux Reglements de L'Empire Ottoman*, Constantinople, Nouvelle impr. du Génie, 1798.

20 On Selim III's architectural patronage, see Uğurlu, Ayşe Hilal. "III. Selim'in İstanbul'u: Siyâsî ve Askerî Dönüşümler Işığında İmar Faaliyetleri," PhD Diss., ITU, 2012.

21 On the role of the network of French Embassy and Kauffer in military reformations, see: Pedley, Mary. "Enlightenment Cartography at the Sublime Porte: François Kauffer and the Survey of Constantinople", *Journal of Ottoman Studies, Special Issue 39 Other Places: Ottomans traveling, seeing, writing, drawing the world*, Istanbul: ISAM, 2019, 29-53.

22 It is difficult to assess the formative impact of the travel literature on legislative, architectural and urban practices. Yet, several Tanzimat bureaucrats recorded their observations during their sojourns

and architectural transformations, and it became a common practice in the Ottoman court and even later in the constitutional period of Turkish Republic. Starting with Beylerbeyi Palace (1826-1832), the landscape design of the royal gardens was also principally entrusted to foreign gardeners. Tarabya gardens, for instance, were designed by Haussmann's ex-gardener Monsier Barillet Ducamp (*fl.* 1869-1871),²³ and the creation of Yıldız's landscape - a sizeable imperial garden complex- was entrusted to generations of German gardeners.²⁴ Similarly, Abdülhamid II (*r.* 1876–1909) invited advisors to the capital for construction works, but he had an even greater level of interaction with European urban and architectural culture through the various printed media he collected over the years.²⁵ These are the paradigmatic instances of the 19th century in which personal curiosity, contacts and networks of expertise set the transnational ground for the formation of spatial ventures in the Ottoman court.

The emergence and growing impact of European material culture in the Ottoman capital was contemporaneous with the far-reaching international developments in transportation infrastructure, communication and print media (books, newspapers, journals). These interdependent technical improvements were effective in terms of the global connectivity and integration of the Muslim world into the global system. Green and Gelvin aptly describe 1850-1930 as the age of steam and press, underscoring the impact of infrastructural, technological and intellectual developments on Muslim cultures that were connected to the rest of the world in ways previously unseen.²⁶ During this period, new patterns of mobility evolved in Muslim societies in relation to emerging communities including middle class intellectuals, merchant groups and professionals. Addressing Arab Middle East, which is indeed not substantially different from the Ottoman capital in this respect, Watenpaugh reveals that in “the hundreds of other European-style benevolent and cultural organizations taking shape in the cities of the region, collectively, the organizations, newspapers, seemingly familiar patterns of consumption, forms of sociability, and ways of thinking of the people who inhabited those new spaces or inscribed their thoughts on newsprint bespoke a fundamental cultural and political turn in the contemporary history of the Middle East.”²⁷ In the same vein, Ilham Khuri-Makdisi draws attention to the ‘networks’ of circulation as the pivotal actors of globalization of Egyptian society.²⁸ Ottoman civilian travel culture is situated in this international milieu of circulation of artefacts, ideas and forms. Like their Indian, Persian, Egyptian or Japanese counterparts Ottoman intellectuals acknowledged and cherished traveling as a necessary form of knowledge

and ambassadorial trips in Europe as sources of their ruling. See, for example, Baysun, Cavit M. *Mustafa Reşid Paşa'nın Siyasi Yazıları*, Istanbul, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1963; and Aksan, Virginia H. *Savasta ve Barista Bir Osmanlı Devlet Adamı: Ahmet Resmi Efendi*, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997.

23 Gül, Murat. *Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernization of a City*, London, NY: IB Tauris Publishers, 2009, 52.

24 Türker, Deniz. “Ottoman Victoriana: Nineteenth-Century Sultans and the Making of a Palace, 1795-1909”, PhD Diss., Harvard Uni., 2016, 106-171.

25 Türker, 171-231.

26 Green, Nile and Gelvin, James. *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print*, Los Angeles: Uni. of California Press, 2013, 1-25.

27 Watenpaugh, Keith D. *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class*, Princeton, Princeton Uni. Press, 2012, 3.

28 Khuri-Makdisi, Ilham. *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860-1914*, California, UC Press, 2013.

production, discussing ways of modernization and searching for lucrative business opportunities to co-opt with industrial modernization.²⁹

Critical Literature Review

Curiously, travel writing, mobility and exchanges in the 18th century Ottoman Empire have received sustained attention by contemporary scholars, much more so than the complex cultural entanglements of the 19th century. This is, on one level, due to the fact that the 18th century is deemed to be the initial period of cultural encounters, arguably free from the limitations of colonial and orientalist relations.³⁰ Early modern cultural mobilities are generally analyzed under the framework of “the mercantile cosmopolitanism fostered by burgeoning European adventurism”³¹ or the appropriation of Eastern artistic elements into European cultures. Certainly, the primary literature provided by Western authors and designers, of which there is drastically more than those of Easterners, is the main and legitimate reason for such disparity. However, recent analyses reveal that there are still a number of sources to be tackled by rethinking non-Western cultures’ receptivity, perceptions and appropriations.

Within the international scholarship, the study of travel writings peaked ca. 1990s, to a point where there has been a certain fatigue concerning additional analysis. Yet, even in Turkish and Ottoman studies, more than half of the analysis were on, and rightly so, Evliya Çelebi’s travelogue and on Yirmisekiz Çelebi’s concise account on Paris. Robert Dankoff, and later Kafadar, virtuously posits Evliya Çelebi both as an exception/isolated case and as emblematic of the growing curiosity about others in Ottoman society.³² On the other side, much ink has been spilled over the travelogues on Ottoman cities by foreign, mostly European, travelers. There is a collection of primary Orientalist travel accounts and secondary literature that have been utilized by scholars of Ottoman studies as first-hand documentaries with visual and literary narrations. The literature on non-Western travelogues on European cities is an ever-growing niche, especially in the scholarship of modernization and Orientalism. The studies on Persian, Arabian and Japanese travelogues provide a palpable critique to Orientalist analyses that glossed over the local dynamics and did not refer to primary sources.³³ Additionally, social-

29 The approach of Neil Green’s studies on mobile Muslim figures is influential on the theoretical basis of this dissertation. Particularly see: Green, Nile. *Bombay Islam The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840–1915*, Los Angeles, Cambridge Uni. Press, 2011; idem, “*Spacetime and the Muslim Journey West: Industrial Communications in the Making of the “Muslim World”*”, *The American Historical Review*, 118/2, (2013), 401-429.

30 A meticulous exploration of 18th century artistic encounters that I benefited from greatly in framing my study is: Avcioğlu, Nebahat and Flood, Finbarr Barry. *Ars Orientalis 39: Globalizing Cultures Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century*, 2010, 7-38.

31 Ibid., 28.

32 Dankoff, Robert. *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Celebi (Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage)*, Leiden, Brill, 2006. Kafadar, 58-79.

33 Rifa’ a al-Tahtawi, several Persian travelers and the retinue of Japanese bureaucrats of Meiji era are well-known examples of Eastern mobile figures who took to the road for Westward journeys and wrote about their trips. See: Rifa’ a Rafi’ al-Tahtawi, *An Imam in Paris: Account of a Stay in France by an Egyptian Cleric (1826-1831)*, (trans.) Daniel L. Newman, London: Saqi, 2004; Vahdat, Vahid. *Occidental Perceptions of European Architecture in Nineteenth-Century Persian Travel Diaries: Travels in Farangi Space*, London, Routledge, 2017; Miyoshi, Masao. *As We Saw Them: The First*

historical analysis of Ottoman modernization has started to proliferate in recent years, and has added numerous monographic studies on Ottoman modernizing intellectuals.³⁴ I aim to contribute to these analyses and incorporate 19th century Ottoman intellectuals' perceptions of urban and architectural culture into these discussions.

The Tanzimat era (1839-1876) has attracted great attention in the Ottoman historiography in both Turkish and international scholarship. Military, administrative, fiscal and educational reforms were imprinted on all aspects of urban life in the 19th century and historians analyzed this period as the heyday of new policies, protocols and social transformations in all cities, albeit with distinctions between localities.³⁵ The modernization period of Ottoman Empire is traditionally considered to begin with declaration of New Order during late 18th century, continued with the Edict of Gülhane in 1839 and The Reform Decree of 1856. These constitutional reforms had immediate impacts on society such as European-style clothing, architecture, legislation, modern institutional organization, banking and land reform. Certainly, the 19th century Ottoman transformative regime was primarily devised to recover from the military, political and economic debacles including the revolts in Serbia and Greece, continued by Balkan wars with Russia. Those resulted in many unilateral declarations of independence and a permanent struggle in the Balkan region. On the other hand, mass migrations and refugees from Caucasus and Balkans marked the shifts in domestic policies and urban development. The intense movement towards the city centers presented rapid changes in income level, property ownership, employment and job opportunities -all of which influenced understanding and/or urban and architectural culture.³⁶

More importantly for this study, the mid-nineteenth century is also the period where the first civilian responses to the Ottoman state in both in printed material and via secret societies emerged. The Young Ottomans established their secretive group in search for new ways of creating parliamentary democracy in the Ottoman Empire similar to European countries. The main idea behind the group is parallel to Ottoman travelers' motivation to embark upon their journeys, to bring innovation into the Ottoman Empire through engagement with European systems and practices.³⁷ In fact, most of the travelers were actually active parts of the Young Ottomans or inclined to hold similar opinions. Later, the First Constitutional Era (1876-1878) was actually activated by the Young Ottomans but lasted only two years, ended by Abdülhamid

Japanese Embassy to the United States, Philadelphia: Paul Dry Books, 2015. There is also a very recent book, although without the focus on urban and architectural culture: Dabashi, Hamid. *Reversing the Colonial Gaze: Persian Travelers Abroad (The Global Middle East)*, Cambridge University Press, 2019.

34 For an insightful comprehensive look at the subject, see: Şiviloğlu, Murat. *The Emergence of Public Opinion: State and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge University Press, 2018.

35 Davison, Robert H. *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876*, Princeton University Library, 1963.

36 These developments should not be disregarded or trivialized, yet this study concentrates specifically on the public perception of cultural transformations steered by Ottoman intellectuals who eagerly sought out ways to formulize a solution for the predicaments. It aims to bridge the gap between the modernizing efforts of the state (which is until recently conceived as the sole actor) and the reactions of generations of Ottoman intelligentsia in the Tanzimat Era.

37 On the effective group of Tanzimat intellectuals, the Young Ottomans see: Mardin, Şerif. *Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, Princeton University Press, 1962; Ortaylı, İlber. *İmparatorluğun Uzun Yüzyılı*, İstanbul, Timaş Y., 2008.

II's restoration of absolute monarchy. While on the surface this would appear to end the reformation project, it is apparent that even during the reign of Abdülhamid II (between 1876-1909), who is considered to be one of the most conservative sultans, reformations did not lose pace. The Young Turks could be defined as the continuation of Young Ottomans who rebelled against Abdülhamid II and established the Second Constitutional Era (1908-1920). The revolutionary organization had the backbone of secret organization Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) which was established in 1889 by medical students at Imperial Military School of Medicine.

Ottoman travelers were active figures in this climate, if not being directly engaged to these groups. In a broader framework, there is a parallel between the above-mentioned political communities and late Ottoman westward travelers as a community with a shared emotive. The most important link is the way in which these experiences of Europe build beyond the court to be about the middle-class. Both the secret political groups and civilian travelers were forged by the middle-class culture that was reciprocally shaped in modern urban environment. There is much written on the official and political side of this process, hence this dissertation aims to bridge the gap.

Despite the bulk literature in Tanzimat and Ottoman modernization, there are scarce number of studies that highlight the cultural transformation channels, including the architectural and artistic repercussions of both local and international dynamics, along with legislative and physical transformations. Addressing this gap, Ahmet Ersoy highlights the “array of novel institutions, reading practices, print cultures, radically new modes of self-fashioning and expression.”³⁸ New arenas of reception and dissemination, reflective mechanisms like periodicals, newspapers and clubs (*cemiyet*) emerged in Istanbul and increased in pace in provincial centers like Izmir.³⁹ Unlike the previous diplomatic reports, the 19th century travelogues were vital for such social and signifying practices and they reciprocally shaped new arenas for public opinion on urban and architectural culture.⁴⁰ The overlooked aspects of 19th century Ottoman modernization, such as the rise of print culture and the understanding of architecture and urban setting is one of the main trajectories of this study. The ultimate aim is to clarify the various historical dynamics behind the development of Ottoman civilian travel boom and to posit it in the remarkably transformative regime of second half of the 19th century.

There is a clear subordination of 19th century Ottoman cultural mobilities to the bureaucratic transformations and diplomatic concerns. The historiography of Ottoman travel literature has also been dominated by the analysis of diplomatic reports as they are believed to be expressions of the official mentality and a guide to institutional transformations.⁴¹ On the other hand, there are studies that gloss over the civilian travel accounts, using them as supplementary material with documentary value -not as historical data. In a broader framework, unlike their European counterparts, Ottoman biographic writings have been studied primarily as secondary sources for concrete data and rarely as reflections of mentality. Additionally, travelogues in particular

38 Ersoy, Ahmet. *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*, Ashgate, 2015, 14.

39 On the publications of late 19th century clubs with the focus of architectural culture and heritage see: Cephaneçigil, Gül V. “Geç Osmanlı Ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemlerinde Mimarlık Tarihi İlgisi Ve Türk Eksenli Milliyetçilik (1873-1930)”, PhD Diss., Istanbul: ITU, 2009.

40 Şiviloğlu, 174-221.

41 Unat, Faik Reşit. *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Seyahatnameleri*, Istanbul, TTK Yayınları, 2018.

have been studied dominantly for their formal and literary merits. Accepting the incoherency and autobiographic character of the genre, I situate Ottoman travelogues in the local socio-cultural circumstances of the late Ottoman Empire as well as within the international entanglements of the 19th century. Analyzing them brings forward the questions at the intersections of urban planning, architectural history and cultural studies; It also triggers interpretations not only through the political sphere but also through cultural habits and personal aspirations.

Comprehensive studies of Ottoman travel accounts concentrating on the perception of Europe are scarce in number. An early example of the scrutiny of the Ottoman accounts is the special issue of *Türk Dili Gezi Özel Sayısı* [Turkish Language Special Issue on Travel] in 1973. The issue lists travelogues from the Turkish-speaking world since the 1500s and takes a glance at the crowded list from the late Ottoman era. Additionally, Baki Asiltürk's and İbrahim Şirin's books -based on their dissertations- were two main studies about Ottoman travelogues on Europe.⁴² Asiltürk brings together a large number of travelogues from the entire lifespan of Ottoman Empire. Being very descriptive, his work is an extensive catalogue and introductory presentation of Ottoman travel accounts. Şirin adds newly discovered pieces into his analysis and discusses the disposition of Europe among the travelers in a very broad sense. His discussions have a strong reactionary tone, similar to the Ottoman travelers as the representatives of Ottoman modernization, to a point where it becomes difficult to differentiate the voice of travelers and Şirin. The ongoing study of Caspar Hillebrand entitled as "Europe From the Outside – Formations of Middle Eastern Views on Europe From Inside Europe" is the most recent and through list to refer.⁴³ In his final version of the catalogue, Hillebrand indexes a total number of 118 Ottoman accounts between 1482 and 1923. He divides Ottoman travel literature into three, marking 1846-1921 as the final phase. Parallell to the periodization used in this study, Hillebrand addresses the second half of the 19th century as the era of civilian journeys, with expanded solo trips forged by the urge to understand European cities. Another outcome of the same project is the edited book (developed from the workshop) entitled "Travel writing between fact and fiction – genre, functions and boundaries". The edition includes a critical approach to 'Eastern travel writing', as the editors framed it, with a broad range of geographical and historical coverage.⁴⁴

Like the studies on travel culture, studies of cultural mobilities and artistic exchanges in the historiography of Islamic art, architectural and 19th century urban history became a topic of discussion only recently. For decades, -now dated yet still effective- Orientalist approaches

42 Asiltürk, Baki. *Osmanlı Seyyahlarının Gözüyle Avrupa*, Istanbul, Kaknüs Yayınevi, 2000), and İ. Şirin, *Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa*, Istanbul: Lotus Yayınevi, 2009.

43 It is a part of the research project entitled "Europe From the Outside" in the Institute of Oriental and Asian Studies (IOA) at Bonn University (see www.europava.uni-bonn.de) funded by the German Federal Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF). Hillebrand, Caspar. "A Researchers' List and Bibliography of Ottoman Travel Accounts To Europe", Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität Bonn, BMBF, 2014.

44 Agai, Bekim, Akyıldız, Olcay and Hillebrand Caspar, *Venturing beyond borders: Reflections on genre, function and boundaries in Middle Eastern travel writing*, Würzburg, 2013.

dominated the analyses of the relationship between Europe and Ottoman Empire.⁴⁵ As a reaction to that approach, the official efforts of the capital and, curiously more so, the reactions of the provincial local forces are the dominant framework of the urban historiography. Thus, there is a vast literature on the 19th century physical transformations of the late Ottoman architecture and urbanism. In most of the contemporary urban studies though, public perception, use of space and sense of belonging to a city still remain in the background of the research. Again, in the provincial context, chiefly in Arab Middle East and Levantine cities, the emergence of an urban middle class and personal connections and networks with Europe, as well as the broader topic of modernization have been elaborately studied. However, analysis on the emergence of ‘bourgeois values’ among the Istanbulite Muslims, their cultural aspirations and the attunement of their habits to western middle-class cultural practices is still a newly-emerging field of study. I argue that the dimension of modernization as something that is based on performativity, which was shaped through the appropriation of European middle-class practices and education, was the essential component of Ottoman cultural transformation. Focusing solely on official legislative transformations, which in turn created decline theory, intrinsically obscures the idiosyncratic endeavors of the emerging Ottoman intelligentsia. Acknowledging their reactionary and practical mode, the shift in Ottoman intellectuals’ perceptions of Europe calls for a re-examination and this study is an attempt to do so.

Travelling for pleasure, edification and to satisfy personal curiosities, and the usage of these as a tool to teach public how to be modern should be added to the scholarship on the 19th century Ottoman Empire. Always mindful of urban issues, late Ottoman travelers’ accounts reveal the experiential values of urban culture, parks, and open and semi-open public spaces. Indeed, traveling and travel writing became a specific mode of ‘contact zone’ for Ottoman intellectuals and the European urban realm -adopting the contextualization of Mary Louise Pratt.⁴⁶ The opening horizons of Ottoman intellectuals and their changing visions of modernity constitute the main framework of understanding Europe, as well as conceptions of architecture and urban planning as an expertise in Ottoman society.⁴⁷

Objectives and Chapter Outline

In Ottoman architectural history, urban studies and literature on Orientalism there is a steady tradition of criticizing the existing analyses to rectify the mistakes instead of building up on each other. Critical stance is certainly an effective and indispensable way of intellectual production, yet as seen in the numerous critiques of Orientalists, Saidian, Post-Saidian and Neo-Saidian analyses in reactionary tones, departing continually from the same point could become inefficient. As such, there is a growing scholarship that offers an analysis distanced from the argument that 19th century Ottoman architectural culture is subservient to Western technique and forms. These studies shed light on specific buildings and urban projects by positing them

45 Bernard Lewis’s analysis is the typical example for this literature. Also, as is constantly referred and criticized by virtually all architectural and urban studies of the 19th century Kuban, Doğan. *Osmanlı Mimarisi, Istanbul*: YEM Kitabevi, 2005.

46 Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London: Routledge, 1992, 6.

47 The concept of the ‘effendiyya’ as part of the discussion on Nahda, the Arab cultural awakening was introduced and analyzed in several studies: see Ryzova, Lucie. *The Age of the Efendiyya: Passages to Modernity in National-Colonial Egypt*, Oxford University Press, 2015.

in the broader cultural arena, encompassing technical and intellectual aspects as well as conceptions and appropriations of European elements.⁴⁸ Rather than justifying its merit as an analysis of the omitted parts of these discussions, I posit my study within this scholarship, which steadily examines the diverse outputs of 19th century Ottoman urban, architectural and intellectual transformations.⁴⁹ Rejecting essentializing oppositional constructions of the East and West, as well as chauvinistic counter arguments that lose sight of the obvious asymmetrical relations, failures and constraints, I aim to reveal the factors formative in Ottoman travelers' perceptions of European cities and also the impact of their journeys on their approach to urban and architectural culture.

Historical dynamics of the Ottoman travel boom and the cultural circumstances in which such a trend thrived are the focal points of Chapter 1. The basic questions of when, why and who created this trend are answered throughout the chapter. It also sets the urban and architectural scenery in order to give background information necessary to put the travel accounts in context. The purpose is to recast civilian Ottoman travelers as agents of the emerging discourses on modernization and urban and architectural culture, while defining travel as a performative dimension of being modern in the public sphere. I attempt to posit three generations of these travelers both within bureaucratic networks with affinities to the palace, and also as polymaths with international connections to point out the practical derivations of their journeys.⁵⁰ In so doing, I elucidate the distinct approaches of travelers to the activity of traveling, as well as to European urban and architectural culture.

Chapter 2 takes the subject of narrative tools and discursive engagements of Ottoman travelers as the ground for their physical engagement with European cities. After defining the travel boom in the previous chapter, I conceptualize it as *tour d'Europe* and document the facts about

48 I prefer to point out that there are several invaluable recent studies that I built upon in my analysis. In addition to the studies of Ahmet Ersoy and Deniz Türker mentioned before, see Şenyurt, Oya. *Osmanlı Mimarlık Örgütlenmesinde Değişim ve Dönüşüm*, İstanbul, Doğu Kitabevi, 2011; Can, Cengiz. in: N. Akın (Ed.) *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı: Uluslararası Bir Miras*, İstanbul, YEM Yayınları, 1999, 130-136; Zandi-Sayek, Sibel. *Ottoman Izmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port* Minnesota Uni. Press, 2012; Kentel, Mehmet. "Assembling 'Cosmopolitan' Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman İstanbul", PhD Diss., Uni. of Washington, 2018; Özlü, Nilay. "From imperial palace to museum: The Topkapı Palace during the long nineteenth century", PhD Diss., Bosphorus Uni., 2018.

49 In the course of my dissertation research and concurrent teaching in architectural faculty I become aware that 19th century has indispensable hallmark on today's practices of urban design and architecture in the cities of Turkey. The intellectual, technological and scientific developments triggered by industrial revolution is embedded and still effective in the cities. Today, any architectural product -be it a building, landscape plan or a visual representation of projects- is a response to the existing environment of which most parts were shaped in the 19th century. Thus, it is critical to understand the foundational intentions and historical context that practitioners and researchers locate themselves. At the same time, this dissertation process triggered me to look outside of the design desk, concentrate on the non-professional's perception and use that have often fallen out of the purview of analysis mostly driven by the grand stories of individuals, official objectives or technical specifications. Indeed, any textual narrative on urban and built environment reveal the fact that art and architectural history does not based solely on the practice of designing, erecting and making or the objects of these activities.

50 See "Bibliographical Information on Late Ottoman Travelers".

the travels, such as routes, main questions and references in Ottoman travelers' mind about the ultimate destination point: Europe. The Ottoman traveler's web of references was shaped by a strong tendency to learn from books, changing frontiers of Europe, travel routes and Ottoman press culture. This part, therefore, also stresses travelers' dissemination methods, and the intertextuality between the accounts and subtexts. Throughout my analysis I came to understand that existent travel guidebooks had a significant imprint on Ottoman travelers' perception and their narration of European architecture –almost as much as the corporeal activity of wandering around the streets. For example, the hallmark of French Baedeker editions was their guidance for navigating the cities, selecting the places to visit, what to observe and how to write about them. In my analysis I examine the mediating role of the guidebooks in depth to demonstrate Ottoman travelers' reactions to constructed sceneries of the past. Additionally, the object quality of the travelogues, including the use of visuals and the length of the text, will be examined in a comparative manner in consideration with the rising popular journalism of the period in Ottoman Empire.

The subsequent two chapters (Chapter 3 – 4) explore the content related to urban and architectural culture in the Ottoman travelogues. European urban setting and architecture arose as a focus in the late Ottoman accounts particularly towards the turn of the 20th century. In the wake of the growing contacts and public awareness of European architectural culture, travelers became aware of and curious about the role of architecture and wrote about it in order to constitute a self-reflective perspective with positivist criteria. Following the narrative flow of the accounts, in Chapter 3, I first concentrate on travelers' understanding of urban planning, municipal amenities and recreational services. The differences and similarities in identification of urban culture is central to the Chapter 3. Travelers' observations evolved due to their genuine curiosity and first-hand interactions in public realm resulting in a focus on the 'ordered European city' as a category of modernization and civilization.

As Shirine Hamadeh puts forward about Ottoman chronograms, I believe late Ottoman travelogues, too, “offer rare insights into the understanding and experiencing (reception) of architecture at the time.”⁵¹ In these copious texts, physical conditions, stylistic features and technical details of the buildings are discussed as the new standards for modern life and also as indicators of authenticity and historical cultural value. Despite being limited and dispersed, Ottoman travelers highlighted the indisputable role of architecture in industrial modernization, with modernized construction techniques on the one hand contrasted with the issues of heritage, past and display of local and traditional values on the other. Thus, the content on urban and architectural culture in late Ottoman travelogues were framed by binary sets of focuses: locality and cosmopolitanism, technical progress and historical awareness. Based on these concerns, the shared desire for empirical knowledge, new technologies of representation, and also distinct personal curiosities about the material culture are discussed in detail. Instead of listing all the buildings travelers mention, I underline how they group, interpret and make sense of certain building typologies, styles and decorative patterns. All in all, my scrutiny in this chapter is shaped by two questions: “Were there any shared methods and determinants behind travelers' sensitivities or indifferences to urban and architectural culture?” and “How did travelogues produce the conception of European urban and architectural culture in regard to the Ottomans

51 Hamadeh, Shirine. “Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the “Inevitable” Question of Westernization”, 33.

modernization trajectory?”

Following the itineraries and sensitivities about architectural culture, the dissertation returns to the departure point: Istanbul and travelers. The dissertation concludes by highlighting the commonalities and reiterated sensitivities of Ottoman travelers’ regarding European and Ottoman urban and architectural culture. The copious texts -including the first Ottoman travel guidebook, a rare Ottoman monograms on a building outside of Ottoman lands- are positioned as the early phase of the public interest in urbanism and architecture that would soon bring forward dilettante texts in popular journals, and newspaper commentaries on urbanism and architecture in relation to modernization and nationalist discourse.⁵²

52 The architectural history of the travelogues shall include discussions of the receptivity of the readers, follow-up editions and translations (or lack of reproductions) as well as critical analysis of the object qualities of the books. I added statistical information, including the number of printings and content details such as the number of images and pages in the chapter. Further discussion of the readership is a project in itself that requires specific methodology and archival hunt due to scarce number of records on Ottoman readership.

List of Civilian Ottoman Travel Accounts on Western Europe

GROUPING	NO	YEAR OF TRAVEL	YEAR OF PUBLICATION	TRAVELER	TRAVELOUGE	DESTINATIONS	PROFESSION OF THE TRAVELER	OFFICIAL POSTS	NOTES (on the purpose of the travel, editions)
First Group: Transitional period from diplomatic reports to civilian accounts	1	1834-1835		Anonymous. Beylikçi Mehmed Nuri (?)	İngiltere ve Fransa Sefaret veya Seyahatnamesi	FR - UK	reporter in diplomacy group	official in London ambassadorship	The travelers are diplomatic members and the reports were not published.
	2	1846 ? n.d.		Anonymous	İngiltere Seyahatnamesi	UK	member of diplomacy group	official in London ambassadorship	
	3	n.d.		Anonymous	İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat (Önceki başlık: Londra'nın Usul ve Nizamı: İçtimai ve Sımai (bir zatın seyahat notları))	UK	member of diplomacy group	official in London ambassadorship	
Second Group: Journalists' travel accounts mostly in article format	1	1851	1851-1853?	Mehmed Rauf Bey	Seyahatname-i Avrupa	UK, Malta, IT, FR	official	Official in Ministry of Foreign Affairs	First serialized in <i>Ceride-i Havadis</i> and republished as a book. The missing 8 pages are on Versailles and Vienna that he visited on the way back.
	2	1851	1852	Anonymous	Seyahatname-i Londra	UK	journalist in <i>Ceride-i Havadis</i>		First serialized in <i>Ceride-i Havadis</i> and republished as a book.
	3	1861-63	1870s	Hayrullah Efendi (1834-98)	Yolculuk Kitabı Avrupa Seyahatnamesi	FR, AU, IT, Belgium, GR, UK	medical doctor and bureaucrat (writer& historian)	Municipality of Education	First published in Egypt in 1870s and then translated into French.
	4	1866-1872	1873	Melek Hanım / L. A. Chamerovzow	Six years in Europe	Greece, France, UK, Austria, Italy			This is actually an account of exile in Europe.
	5	1867	2012	Ömer Faiz Efendi	Abdüllaziz-Avrupa Ruznamesi	France, UK, Austria, Germany	vice major in the municipality of Pera	later worked in Ministry of Law- vice mayor in 6th Daire between 1865-67	Transliterated and published first in 1970.
	6	1911	1878	Sadullah Paşa	Berlin Mektupları, 1878 Paris Ekspozisyonu-Londra	GR-AU	envoy and highrank bureaucrat	Ottoman envoy in Berlin and Vienna	Published by Ebüzziya Tevfik in <i>Numûne-i Edebiyyât-ı Osmaniyye</i> [An Antology of Ottoman Literature] first in 1885.
	7	1897-1898	1880-1890	Ebüzziya Tevfik	Paris'den Londra'ya ve Otel Metropol	FR - UK	journalist	official posts about education, instuting a library, decorator of courtly buildings	Serialized in <i>Mecmua-i Ebüzziya</i> .
	8	1880-1886	1986-1910	Şamipaşazade Sezai	Makaleler-notlar	UK, FR, Switzerland, Spain	envoy, high-rank bureaucrat and writer	official in London Ambassadorship, Foreign Affairs	There are fourteen articles published in <i>İkdam</i> , <i>Gayret</i> and <i>Servet-i Fünun</i> . I provided the details of articles in the bibliography.

List of Civilian Ottoman Travel Accounts on Western Europe

Third Group: Polyvalent middle-class travelers writing quasi-memoir or epistolary travel notes	1	1889	1889	Ahmed Mithad Efendi	Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan	FR, Scandinavia, GR, AU, Switzerland, IT	journalist, writer, translator	official in Rusçuk	
	2	1891	1892	Ahmed İhsan (Tokgöz)	Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm	IT-FR-UK-AU-GR	publisher, journalist, writer	official Foreign Affairs and translator (Tophane Müserliği Tercümanlığı) and member of parliament	First serialized in <i>Servet-i Fünun</i> then printed as a book.
	3		1892	Hüseyin Galib	Efel Kulesi	FR			Published by A. Asaduryan Şirket-i Mürettibiye Matbaası and sold for 2 kuruş.
	4	1895	1909	Mehmed Enisi (Yalkı)	Bir Denizcinin Avrupa Günlüğü Avrupa Hatıratım	FR	naval officer		First serialized in Resimli Gazete between 1898-98. He planned to publish a series of 3 book. Only first one published in Matbaa-i Ebüzziya in 1910 and 1911.
	5	1894-1897-1900	1909-1908-1914	Harid Fedai Şerafeddin Mağmumi	Seyahat Hatıraları (3 cilt) ve Paris'den Yazdıklarım	FR, UK, IT, Switzerland, GR, Belgium	medical doctor and bureaucrat	Inspector	V. 1: Anadolu ve Suriye'de in Tercüman-ı Hakikat; V. 2: Bürüksel ve Londra'da in Musavver Malumat; V. 3: Fransa ve İtalya ve İsviçre'de in İldam (His tours in Europe are in the 2nd and 3rd volume of his manuscripts.)
	6	1895-96	1898	Hocazade Mehmed Ubeydullah	Akıl yahut ahir zaman peygamberi Liverpool hatıratı	England	journalist, entrepreneur	registrar, member of parliament	Published by Ubeydullah Efendi in Filibe.
	7	1898	1898	Mustafa Said Bey	Avrupa Seyahatnamesi	FR, AU, Switzerland, IT	bureaucrat, painter	official in customhouse	
	8	1893	1902	Fağfurizade Hüseyin Nesimi	Seyahat	IT, FR, UK, GR, Switzerland	bureaucrat, teacher	official in Hanya municipality, district governor in various towns of Diyarbakır	Eleven years after the trip his notes were published in Crete Island by Yusuf Kenan Matbaası.
	9	1906-12	1913	Zeyneb Hanım	A Turkish Woman's European Impressions	FR, UK, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, IT			Published in Philadelphia by J.B. Lippincott Company and in London by Seeley, Service & co. Ltd.
	10	1910	1908-1910	Selim Sırrı (Tarcan)	Bizce Meçhul Hayatlar	Sweden	bureaucrat and expert on sports education	physical education teacher, superintendent in physical education, member of parliament	First serialized in <i>Şehbal</i> as 13 issues (6 to 21th issue) then republished as a book in 1910.

NOTES: Between 1883-1886 Abdülhamid's chief clerk (*mabeyn başkatibi*) Ali Cevad Bey was assigned to travel to selected European cities and penned three travel accounts: *Felemenk Seyahatnamesi*, *Almanya Seyahatnamesi* and *Rusya Seyahatnamesi*. In addition, Hüseyim Kazım penned travelogues on Vienna, Germany and Moscow between 1891-1893?. Although entitled as travelogues the content of these pieces are similar to diplomatic reports thus remain out of scope of this dissertation. However, the intriguing visuals in those accounts are incorporated into the discussion if necessary. Hüseyin Hulki's *Berlin Hatıratı* (1890) is not a travelogue per se as he wrote a daily based reports of his medical researches during his sojourn.

Biographical Information on Late Ottoman Travelers

The accounts written by anonymous or indefinite authors are excluded. The discussions on the identity and date of those accounts are provided in the main text of the dissertation.

Mehmed Rauf (n.d.), *Seyahatname-i Avrupa* (1851)

Not to be confused with the member of Committee of Union and Progress Leskovikli Mehmet Rauf, the author of the well-known novel *Eylül* and his peer with the same name who wrote *İtalyan Tarih-i Edebiyatı*. Mehmed Rauf, also named as Amedi Hülefasından Mehmed, was a high-rank official in the Ottoman bureau equivalent to today's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There is no further information about his biography and as of now, there is no translation of his account.

Hayrullah Efendi (1818-1866), *Yolculuk Kitabı* (1861-63)

Hayrullah Efendi was a member of the prestigious Ottoman ulama family *Hekimbaşılar* (literal translation: doctors). His father was the prominent figure Abdülhak Molla Efendi who was a religious/judicial governor and medical doctor. Hayrullah Efendi is the father of the eminent figures in the Tanzimat Era Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan and Abdülhalık Nasuhi. Having studied medicine, Hayrullah Efendi worked in multiple official posts and as an educator in Imperial School of Medicine (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiyye-i Adliyye-i Şâhâne*). He was also a historian and author known for his copious 18 volumes of *Hayrullah Efendi Tarihi*.

Melek Hanım (1814-1873), *Six Years in Europe* (1873)

Not to be confused with the famous friend of Pierre Loti and sister of Zeynep Hanım. Melek Hanım, Marie Dejean, was born in 1814 in France and changed her name as she converted to Islam upon her marriage to the renowned Ottoman grand vizier Kıbrıslı Mehmed Emin Pasha. Her travelogue is a sequel to *Thirty Years in the Harem* (1872), published by Chapman and Hall in London, with the edition of L. A. Chamerovzow.

Ömer Faiz Efendi (n.d.-1875)

Hafız Ömer Faiz was a member of the group who accompanied Abdüllaziz during his visit to Europe. In *Sicill-i Osmani* it is noted that between 1860-1871 Ömer Faiz was working in the 6th Daire (Pera municipality) as the vice mayor to Hüseyin Bey -although in some publications he is mistakenly noted as the mayor. Faiz's succinct account is substantially different than the official report of the Abdüllaziz's journeys. As of now there is no biographical study on him or translated work of his.

Sadullah Paşa (1838-1891), *Letters* (1877)

Sadullah Paşa was one the most influential statesmen in Tanzimat period. Sadullah Paşa was the envoy of Berlin between 1877-1891 and vizier in Vienna between 1889-1891. Fluent in French, speaking German, Arabic, Persian he worked on the translations of French sources into Ottoman in *Bâbîâli Tercüme Odası* (Translation Office), which is the bureau of dragomans that is accepted as the most significant institution of Ottoman modernization. His poem *The Nigteenth Century* was regarded as a reflection of Tanzimat transformation by the Ottoman intellectuals of the era and became a much-cited piece in the contemporary publications. He was involved with the Young Ottoman movements and was a contemporary of notable Young Ottomans members Şinasi and Namık Kemal.

Ebüzziya Tevfik (1849-1913), *Paris'den Londra'ya ve Otel Metropol* (1880)

A true polyvalent, Ebüzziya Tevfik was a publisher, translator, journalist, author, ceramic artists and calligrapher professionally. He was a total intellect and artist curious in publishing, graphic design and architectural ornamentation. Ebüzziya wrote for numerous newspapers and magazines including *Terakki*, *Djoyen*, *Hayal*, *Çingiraklı Tatar*, *Hakayikü'l-Vekâyi*, *Rûznâme-i Ceride-i Havâdis*. In 1866 he joined the Young Ottomans and befriended Namık Kemal. He worked in multiple official posts but was also sent to exile several times. His well-known periodical *Mecmua-i Ebüzziya* was founded in 1880 and created a platform for Tanzimat reformists and also broke new ground for modern publications in content and object-quality.

Samipaşazade Sezai (1859-1936), *Letters* (1880)

Samipaşazade Sezai was an educator, a politician, envoy and writer. He grew up among the intellectuals of the Tanzimat era and was a man of letters in a privileged community. He was a member of Young Ottomans like Ebüzziya and Sadullah Paşa. *Letters* was comprised of his articles and personal correspondences published in popular periodicals of late Ottoman society. He served as ambassador to Spain and Switzerland.

Ahmet Midhat Efendi (1844-1912), *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan* (1889)

Ahmet Midhat was one of the most popular journalists, authors, translators and entrepreneurs of 19th century Ottoman society. He was known as the four-horsepower author as he published more than 150 books. Politically, Midhat was a well-known conservative communitarian on which there are numerous scholarly analyses. His travelogue is one of the longest pieces of Ottoman prose, exceeding 1,000 pages with personal commentaries and anecdotal stories. He also wrote one of the rare Ottoman etiquette books *Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşeret-i yahud Alafranga* in 1894. Ahmet Midhat had the most copious literary legacy of Ottoman modernization period thus yielded numerous analysis about himself and his works.

Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz] (1868-1942), *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm* (1891)

Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz was a bureaucrat, politician, governor, translator, journalist, publisher and entrepreneur. He owned the publishing house Âlem Matbaası Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı but is most known for the long-lived journal *Servet-i Fünun*. Published 1891-1944, it left an incomparable mark on Ottoman and Turkish press, cultural and intellectual history. *Servet-i Fünun* was actually the true academic platform for Ottoman intellectuals who had the chance to read and write more than literary and ideological subjects. The publication quality, variety of visuals, postcards and photographs that were re-published after Ahmet İhsan's travelogue was still exclusive in Turkish publication history. He was also a part of intellects in printing business in European cities, most importantly in Vienna, via travels, exchange of visuals and correspondences.

Hüseyin Galib Bey (n.d.), *Efel Kulesi* (1892)

There is a very limited information about Hüseyin Galib Bey. His account, in the format of booklet, was published in 200 copies and sold for 2 kuruş. The booklet was supposed to include a travel plan to Paris, yet it was not realized or written down. He is also the author of one of the rare Ottoman architectural monographies *Feth-i Kostantiniyye ve Ta'rif-i Ayasofya* (1857).

Mehmed Enisi (Yalkı) (1870-1934), *Avrupa Hatıratım* (1894)

Mehmed Enisi was a journalist, sailor and naval officer who spent two years in France for cultivation and to write his experiences. He later wrote an account on Germany: *Alman Ruhü*

(1922) [The German Soul]. He was a typical reformist intellectual in Second Constitutional period (1908-1920) and the early Republican Era.

Şerafeddin Mağmumi (1870-1902), *Seyahat Hatıraları ve Paris'ten Yazdıklarım* (1896)

Şerafeddin Mağmumi was the medical doctor, political activist and one of the founders of Committee of Union and Progress -a secret revolutionary organization established in 1889 mainly by medical students of Imperial Military School of Medicine, in which Mağmumi was also educated. He became an ardent believer in science and positivism parallel to the movement of Young Turks in the following period. His other significant contribution to the Ottoman travel literature was *Seyahat Hâtraları – Anadolu ve Suriye'de* (1909) [Travel Memoirs: In Anatolia and Syria]. It was first published by *Matbaatü'l Fütûh, Mısri'l-Kahir* in Cairo and translated into Turkish by Cahit Kayra as late as in 2000.

Hocazade Mehmed Ubeydullah (1858-1937), *Akıl yahut Ahir Zaman Peygamberi. Liverpool Hatıratı* (1896)

Ubeydullah Hatipoğlu, also known as Ubeydullah Efendi, was a political activist, adventurer and entrepreneur. He was a Bektashi member and known as an idiosyncratic religious man with a golden ball on his head. He studied at the medical school but never graduated. He was fluent in Ottoman, English, Arabian and Persian and worked as a translator in various positions. He was in the circle of the Young Ottomans and wrote his commentaries for various newspapers. Ubeydullah spent two years in Paris between 1886-1888 and went to States to see World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago where he stayed between 1893-1899. His travel account on States, with adventures and funny stories, was popular with respect to the image of 'turbaned Young Ottoman on America'. After the exile years when he returned to homeland in 1899, Ubeydullah worked as an official and later deputy member of the Turkish Parliament.

Mustafa Sait Bey (1871-1919?), *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi* (1898)

Mustafa Sait Bey was a typical late Ottoman intellectual aligned with the movement of Young Turks - a political reform movement in favor of constitutional government. He was the son a governor in Sivas, and so could have started to work as an official in the governmental departments early in his youth. Mustafa Sait Bey was arrested several times but not prisoned. His travelogue is distinct with his own water-colour paintings. There is still a limited number of biographical works on Mustafa Sait Bey.

Fağfurizade Hüseyin Nesimi (1868- 1915), *Seyahat* (1893)

Hüseyin Nesimi was born in Crete and worked as local governor in Lice, Diyarbakır. Like Ubeydullah Efendi, he was a member of Bektashi order -a Sufi dervish order in line with other Islamic mystical movements based on spiritual guidance. He was known as the advocate of humanitarianism; a founder of *Muhibb-i İnsaniyet Cemiyeti* (The Union of Humanitarians). Nesimi was vocal in his opinions about the Ottoman state's practices about Armenians in Diyarbakır.

Zeynep Hanım, (1883-n.d.), *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions* (1906)

Zeynep Hanım, real name Hatice Zinnur -Zeynep, was a member of a privileged family of the late Ottoman Empire. She was the granddaughter of Marquis de Blosset Chateauneuf (later Reşad Bey) and daughter of Nuri Bey who was a high-ranking official in Ministry of Foreign officials. She was educated privately in a modernized manner; fluent in five foreign languages, regularly played musical instruments, read and wrote. Her friendship with Pierre Loti brought fame to Zeynep Hanım amongst her contemporaneous. Her life and account have been intensely

analyzed in gender studies on Ottoman society due to her exile to Europe with her sister Melek Hanım. Her account was compiled of her letters written to a friend and the friend's responses, mainly comprised of complains about the lack of public opinion and equality for women in Ottoman society. She could be regarded as the only female author of late Ottoman travelogues as Melek Hanım was culturally French despite the long years she spent in Ottoman lands.

Selim Sırrı Tarcan (1874-1957), *Bizce Meçhul Hayatlar İsveç'te Gördüklerim* (1908)

Selim Sırrı Tarcan was a Turkish educator, official and politician with an expertise in sports. He worked as school instructor for physical education after his experiences in Sweden regarding gymnastics and physical education. He made a great contribution to the establishment of the National Olympic Committee of Turkey and the introduction of volleyball sport in Turkey. His account was a disciplined excursion to understand the education system, schools and facilities in Swedish institutions.

Chapter 1

Cevelan: Travel Boom in the 19th Century **Ottoman Capital**

After the first quarter of the 19th century, the limitations on diplomatic travels and related protocols were eased and *sefaretname* authors started to incorporate cultural topics into their reports in a simpler language, rather than the previously used, heavily official language. Hence, this chapter departs from the change of the quality of the official reports from the 1830s onwards, which soon paved the way for a crowded group of civilian travelogues on Europe. I take this phenomenon as an outcome of the historical context of the 19th century including social changes, new cultural aspirations and emergence of novel bourgeois values among the Ottoman urban middle class. This is deeply related to the early modern proclivities of the Ottoman intellectuals that yielded specific attention to geography and Europe with an encyclopedic approach.⁵³ Additionally, the rise of civilian Ottoman travelers is certainly linked to the international climate of mobility and increased cultural entanglements between Muslim worlds and Europe thanks to developments in transportation, printing and professional networks on a global scale. This chapter, therefore, presents the physical and cultural transformation of the mid-nineteenth century with a focus on print and transportation technologies as the background to the changing practices and meaning of travel in Ottoman society.

Among other things, the Ottoman travel boom to Europe also corresponds to four reform-minded Ottoman sultans of the century: Abdülmecid (*r.* 1839-61), Abdüllaziz (*r.* 1861-76), V. Murad (*r.* 1876) and II Abdülhamid (*r.* 1876-1909). The social context of Ottoman Empire was truly transformed in terms of the means of production, administrative system, urbanization and immigration -all of which were modeled according to European industrial modernization. Certainly, the proliferation of travelogues specifically on Europe was an outcome of drastic political and concomitant economic upheavals of the late 19th century. Situated with these transformations, my emphasis is on the overlooked aspects of Ottoman modernization, such as the rise of printing, journalism and the transformation of urban culture.

The core of this chapter sets out the personal backgrounds of the Ottoman civilian travelers who embarked on their journeys between 1830-1910 and groups their accounts on a chronological and thematical basis. As the number of known civilian travelers is twenty-three, it is not efficient to dwell on their personal life in detail. Rather, the chapter posits the travelers within bureaucratic networks affiliated with the palace, but also as polymaths with changing visions of modernization and professionals with personal aspirations in an international scale. It maps out the links between state-led modernization and the rise of non-official actors of

⁵³ I detail this issue in relation to the curiosity of pre-modern and 19th century Ottoman intellectuals specifically in Europe in Chapter 2.

modernization, and further situates travel writing as a performative aspect of 19th century Ottoman transformations. The role of non-official actors in terms of our understanding of Ottoman modernization is critical since the present historiography relies dominantly on legislative reforms, official cultural policies and physical overhaul. My aim here is to detect and situate the shared proclivities of this varied group of Tanzimat intellectuals; and further, by illustrating their social, economic, gender and education backgrounds, I intend to locate them within the broader development of the Ottoman urban middle class and its sensibilities about urban and architectural culture.

1.1 A New Cultural Milieu

The Ottoman travel boom was poised between the history of transportation, printing technologies and the reflections of those on artistic productions throughout the second half of the 19th century. 1851 marks the year when the first civilian Ottoman travelogue was published. 1851 also saw the first Ottoman participation in a world fair, the inauguration of steam-powered commuter ferries in Istanbul, and the signing of the contract between English engineers and governor of Egypt-Sudan to start a survey for the construction of the railway between Alexandria and Cairo.⁵⁴ It is not important to address an exact year of the ‘firsts,’ yet it is productive to underscore the correlation between technological developments, intellectual awareness and dependence on communication, all of which emerged as new dimensions of late Ottoman transformations. Not long after the first attempts, the international and Ottoman transportation infrastructure entered a new phase through the advent of steam engines, channel constructions and rapid progress in land transportation. In the meantime, the opening and enhancement of international telegraph companies, shipping agencies, insurance and guide companies like Thomas Cook (1808) and Lloyd (1818) paved the way for the proliferation of solo journeys along with the trade-related and diplomatic travels.

While traveling was catalyzed by rapid transportation, the advent and ubiquity of print technologies precipitated a profound transformation in Ottoman cultural circles. The increase in book publication after 1850, due to the rise of modernized publishing houses, constituted a true revolution more than a century after İbrahim Müteferrika first started printing in 1726.⁵⁵ Foreign -mostly French- books including architectural surveys and publications on landscape design, were bought for the palace and for the libraries of military schools.⁵⁶ The diversification of academic and government interest in urban and material culture added almanacs, scientific texts, and narratives of urban life into the scope of publications, along with the long-standing tradition of historical, religious and moral treatises.⁵⁷ In her analysis of the *Takvîm-i Vekâyi’-hâne-i Âmire*, the first official Ottoman printing enterprise, Ayşe Tek Başaran lists the books printed in Istanbul by the state publishing house between 1831-1863. According to her lists, among the 898 books printed there are novel issues and literary genres such as travelogues, natural science and engineering (on which 40 books were printed), math

54 In addition to Nile Green’s studies mentioned above, see Christensen, Peter R. *Germany and the Ottoman Railways: Art, Empire, and Infrastructure*, Yale University Press, 2017.

55 Strauss, Johann. “Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19-20th Centuries)?”, *Arabic Middle Eastern Literatures* 6, no. 1 (2003): 39-76.

56 Başaran, Ayşe Tek. “The Ottoman Printing Enterprise: Legalization, Agency and Networks, 1831–1863”, PhD. Diss., Boğaziçi Uni, 2019.

57 Baysal, Jale. *Müteferrika’dan Birinci Meşrutiyet’e Kadar Osmanlı Türklerinin Bastıkları Kitaplar. 1729-1875*, Keseroğlu and İ. Mengülerek (Eds.), Istanbul: Hiperlink, 2010.

and medicine (on each 30 books were written).⁵⁸ Unsurprisingly, course books like *Fenn-i Mesaha ve Fenn-i Mimari* (1860) [Science of Measurement/Survey and Science of Architecture] were translations of French books.⁵⁹

Publications in book format leaned heavily towards European knowledge, which can be seen in the books of the first Ottoman engineer Seyyid Mustafa (1803) and his contemporary Mahmud Raif Efendi (1804).⁶⁰ Late Ottoman intellectuals, as the successors of the early 19th century officials like Raif and Mustafa, became enthusiasts or professionals of writing in fields like medicine, zoology and botany, next to the ongoing interest in military-centered fields like physics and mathematics. In the meantime, translating foreign sources became a common practice not only in the capital but also in Egypt as well as in the Balkan countries through personal incentives.⁶¹ The counter to this influx of foreign writing was actuated only towards the end of the century through the personal incentives of Abdülhamid II. The Sultan cherished travel writing to a point that he decided to present the travelogue of Ahmet Midhat (*Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan*) to foreign libraries.⁶² It is also widely known that he sent photograph albums to the British and American libraries as a propaganda for 'Ottoman conditions' in 1893.⁶³ The steady attention of the state towards scientific books and cultural publications might have been influential in the reception of print culture in various segments of the society.

The Ottoman literati were exposed to new content about technical, artistic and intellectual developments of the 19th century not only through books but also via a wide range of periodicals. In fact, Ottoman journals were the main channel for communicating new information in all fields. The first Ottoman newspaper, *Takvim-i Vekayi* (Calendar of Events), was first published in 1831 as part of Mahmud II's cultural innovations and centralization strategy, following that of the governor and de facto ruler of Mehmed Ali in Egypt. Along with the traditional content forged by official narrations of the state affairs, there were two new topics: science and news from Europe.⁶⁴ According to Alper Yalçınkaya the issue of literary and scientific illiteracy on contemporary industrial and technological developments

58 Başaran, Appendix B, 369-470.

59 It is recorded as a book written by Mehmed Bey. Başaran, 467. For an analysis of first instances of architectural course books of the Ottoman military schools see: Tanyeli, Uğur. *Sınır Aşımı Metinler*, Istanbul, Akın Nalça Kitapları, 337-358.

60 Although not as popular as Mahmud Raif, Seyyid Mustafa is the first known Ottoman engineer who was a teacher in Imperial School of Naval Engineering during the late 18th century. Mahmud Raif Efendi (d.1808) is well known foreign minister, diplomat and intellectual who was active in late 18th century modernization of Ottoman military and education system. He is most known by his book *Tableau des Nouveaux Reglements de L'Empire Ottoman* (1803) which was also translated into Ottoman by Yakovaki one year after its publication in French.

61 For instance, four books of European literature in Belgrade were translated upon the recommendation of the governor of Belgrade, Hafız Ahmed Paşa, in the early 19th century. Quoted in Palabıyık, Mustafa Serdar. "Travel, Civilization and the East: Ottoman Travellers' Perception of "the East" in the Late Ottoman Empire", PhD. Diss., METU, 98.

62 9 BOA (Turkish Presidency State Archives of the Republic of Turkey, Ottoman Archives), DH., 1248/97831, 02/04/1892.

63 BOA. Y. PRK.BŞK. no. 40 – 47 / H-11-10-1312. For a recent and detailed analysis of the circulation of photographs during the Hamidian regime within international frameworks see: E. H. Nolan, "Ottomans Abroad: The Circulation and Translation of Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Portrait Photographs", PhD. Diss., Boston Uni, 2012.

64 Türesay, Özgür. in: Elisabetta Borromeo&Nicolas Vatin (dir), *Les Ottomans par eux-mêmes*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 2020, 267-275.

was put on the state agenda and thus in the official gazette. Besides, and maybe more importantly, the sultan became the patron of scientific knowledge that was to be disseminated to the illiterate public.⁶⁵ The authors and readers of *Takvim-i Vekayi* were predominantly members of aristocratic *ulema* (religious-legal scholars) families and bureaucratic intelligentsia who were been preoccupied with European developments. In the newspaper, parts of Ibn Battuta's travelogue were translated into Ottoman and first published in 1846 and then serialized in 1862.⁶⁶ The positive attitude of Battuta regarding curiosity about others and his theorizing of the activity of traveling as a learning method must have resonated powerfully within the Ottoman literati. Although only Ahmet Midhat and Samipaşazade Sezai refer to him in laudatory terms, as the predecessor of Ottoman travelers, it is safe to assume that several other Ottoman travelers might have read pieces of Ibn Battuta's account too.⁶⁷

In the wake of official books and newspapers, the publishers of private, thematic and bilingual journals had bold aspirations, one of which was to reach both the intelligentsia and the layman. Among the earliest examples were *Vekayi-i Tıbbiye* (1849-51), which was published in Turkish and French by Hayrullah Efendi (1818-1866) who was a medical doctor, historian and traveler, and *Mecmua-i Fünun* (1862-1883). Johann Strauss underscored that its format was in between newspaper and journal, which probably broadened its reader profile.⁶⁸ Following these early examples, more than fifteen Ottoman journals created a blooming platform for expressing intellectual, cultural and political opinions. Especially from the 1870s onwards, the interest in European modernization, overt enunciations of Ottoman deficiency and the urge for self-evaluation triggered a blossoming civilian press and journalism.⁶⁹ Ottoman literates from all occupational, social and educational backgrounds were included in knowledge production and dissemination through novel formats such as articles, historical novels, satire and political plays. Not surprisingly, the content and format of all kinds of periodical publications were tied to the European standards. Towards the end of the century, journalists like Ebüzziya Tevfik (1849-1912) and Ahmet İhsan revolutionized the object quality of Ottoman publications through visual and literary content. İhsan holds a significant position in the history of Ottoman printed media due to his illustrated weekly publication *Servet-i Fünun* (1891-1917; 1922-1944). For this very reason, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar describes the late 19th century as the *Servet-i Fünun Era* and argues that the journal, together with several other contemporary journals, was as influential as the Tanzimat Edict for the constitutionalism and education movement of the late Ottoman socio-political scene.⁷⁰

Concurrent to the growth of Ottoman print culture, the rise of reproducible media and technologies like photography comprised a new mode of visuality. Photo albums, advertorial

65 Yaçınkaya, Alper. " "Their Science, Our Values": science, state, and society in the 19th century Ottoman Empire", PhD. Diss., University of California, 53-57.

66 Ibn Battuta, *Seyahatname-i Ibn Batuta (Tercümesi)*, Istanbul, Ceride-i Havadis Matbaasi, 1262 [1846]; Ozege 17911.

67 In his notes hespent 1901-21 in Spain. Şamipaşazade (1860-1936), a traveler and an influential figure of Ottoman literature and Young Turks, defines Ibn Battuta as a mobile figure who individually carried civilization between the places he visited. Samipaşazade claims that travelers like Ibn Battuta have the ability to transform their homelands into *medine-i fâzıla*, *merkez-i ilm eden avâmil-i sanayi and amele-i bedayi*. Samipaşazade Sezai, *Gırnata ve El-Mescidü'l Camia: Elhamra*, in Samipaşazade Sezai Tüm eserleri, Ankara, TDK Yayınları, 2000.

68 Strauss, 178.

69 Başaran, 108-141.

70 Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *19. asır Edebiyat Antolojisi*, Istanbul, Çağlayan Kitapları, 1976, 152.

graphics or postcards with new content triggered a transformation of the visual culture that reached to broader parts of the society.⁷¹ For instance, decades after the use of photography in the courthouse, gendarmerie, prison, police and medicine, Rahmizâde Bahaeddin Bey opened his private studio in 1890 which is recorded as the first photography atelier owned by a Muslim Ottoman.⁷² On the other hand, reflecting the loci of the century, urban prospects, depictions of technical innovations like factories, trains, horse-cars, railways and clock towers were added to the visual compositions of the konaks belonging to both the Istanbul elite and also to the noblemen of Anatolian towns.⁷³ These elements were esteemed as the objects of keeping-up-to-date (*icrab-ı asra intibak*) representing science, art and industry at once. Yıldray Özbek asserts that the mobility of the Ottoman artist between Istanbul and hometowns like Ürgüp or Kayseri yielded intriguing compositions of local and foreign urban centers, landmark buildings and panoramas. Another curious detail of the changing material culture of Ottoman society is the inclusion of European furniture pieces like dining table, chair, bed, mirror, wall clock or frame in the interiors of middle-class households. Saz indicates that European furniture was not common among many Ottoman houses and its usability was limited even in final quarter of the century;⁷⁴ yet apparently a certain level of curiosity created a synthesis of old and new furniture in growing number of interiors. All in all, the technological developments constitute a milieu of fast and cheap communication methods, circulation of artworks, goods and information that shaped the network of international intellectual entanglements.

Amidst these technological and cultural developments transforming the socio-cultural milieu, traveling to Europe and publishing travelogues became one of the fulcrums of Ottoman modernization. In the long and turbulent years of the 19th century, the profiles, means and motivations of travelers, as well as the very activity of travelling and writing accounts transformed. Against the changing dynamics detailed in this chapter I group the Ottoman travel boom into three: **I**) Traveling for diplomacy: Firsthand reports of European modernism by Ottoman bureaucrats (1830-1850); **II**) Traveling as a didactic activity: Tanzimat intelligentsia's quest for cultural and technological appropriation (1850-1880); **III**) Travelling as a cultural activity: A new urban middle class emerges (1880-1910).

Travelling as a Diplomatic Activity (1830-1850)

Prior to the 19th century, scribing was the main means of production and dissemination of knowledge in Ottoman society. Through the mid-eighteenth century, public libraries were hubs for scribing as a form of learning, however this method faltered upon the establishment

71 On the reach and influences of illustrated journals and photographs in the broad circles of Ottoman society see Ersoy, Ahmet. "Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy: Archiving Everyday Life and Historical Space in Ottoman Illustrated Journal's", *History of Photography*, 40, 3, (2016), 330-357.

72 Özendes, Engin. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fotoğrafçılık* (1839-1919) = Photography in the Ottoman Empire (1839-1919), Istanbul, İletişim Yay., 1995, 3-4 and 18. (BOA, DH.MKT., n. 2023/71) Further, the murals of the waterfront mansions (*yalı*) and middle-class households (*konak*) manifests the changing visual culture and the new taste of the Ottoman bourgeoisie. See: G. Renda, 77-170.

73 Özbek, Yıldray. "18. 19. Yüzyılda duvar resimlerinde betimleme anlayışı", PhD. Diss., Hacettepe Uni, 2000.

74 Saz, Leyla. *The Imperial Harem of the Sultans Daily Life at the Çırağan Palace during the 19th Century*, (trans.) L. Thomas, Istanbul, Hil Yayınları, 2000. She reveals that in 1853-1854 mattresses on floors were still being used instead of beds in the rooms of Çırağan Sarayı.

of European-style schools.⁷⁵ Graduates of these modern schools, as well as autodidacts from elite families, started a search for knowledge outside traditional libraries, such as course books printed in the printing house of the school. Translations of European sources, invitations of European experts to new schools such as the Imperial School of Naval Engineering (1775) and the Imperial School of Military Engineering (1795) as well as personal experiences while traveling in Europe, grew as a source of information and inspiration for the reformation of the state and society. The knowledge of Europe – meaning scientific knowledge produced and applied in Europe – was the fundamental agency to realize the minute details of the transformations.⁷⁶

In the modernization of Ottoman Empire, bureaucratic reforms both systematized and resourced the Ottoman official and later civil intelligentsia.⁷⁷ Alterations in the bureaucracy were forged by the opening of the Department of Translation (*Tercüme Odası*) in 1833 and the School of Education (*Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adliyye*) in 1838, both of which, in time, had critical cultural impacts on the society. Throughout the Tanzimat Era (1839-76), officials who were educated and worked in European-style schools started to share the authority of traditional institutions such as the military and religious establishments.⁷⁸ The Tanzimat elite started to occupy high-ranking official posts, sidelined *ulema* from bureaucracy, constituted the seedbed of modern state mechanisms like the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and gave way to strong civilian groups like the Young Ottomans. Concurrently, as Yalçınkaya underlines, the centralizing policies of Mahmud II and the Tanzimat Edict's assurance of property and security transformed “[...] the new bureaucracy into an entirely new class that no longer resembled the scribes of past centuries.”⁷⁹

In this period, Ottoman bureaucrats sought to expand, systematize and, if possible, publicize their knowledge on Europe in order to realize the reformation projects. In such a milieu, Ottoman diplomatic officials were the mediators of the Europeans to Ottoman society more than they were representors of the Ottoman Empire to the Europeans.⁸⁰ Upon their sojourns and travels, it was not only the physical conditions, public and private institutions of Europe, but also Europeans' perception of Ottomans themselves, that forged their conception of modernization.

Western European countries were the quintessential model for the reforms in virtually all fields including education, urbanism, architecture, as well as cultural and social arenas such as the design of the parks. Institutional and administrative re-organizations, as well as new legislation and regulation of the built environment were modeled specifically on London and

75 Sezer, 248-267.

76 Military reformers and bureaucrats like Mehmed Namık Paşa (1804-1892) gained critical roles in modernized schools. Namık Paşa was sent to European capitals including Paris, London and St. Petersburg for education and gain first-hand information. He traveled to factories and schools in British cities and utilized his education and travel experiences upon his return to Istanbul. For a brief example of how Namık Paşa was known by his acquaintances in London see: “The London and Edinburgh philosophical magazine and journal of science, January-June 1836”, Richard Taylor Publishers, 1836.

77 Findley, Carter V. *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History*, Princeton Uni. Press, 1989.

78 Before the formation of civil bureaucracy, the *ulema*, local governors (*ayan*) and notables (*eşraf*) were the leading figures in the social order and also cultural productions including urban, architectural and artistic fields.

79 Yalçınkaya, 87.

80 Findley, 137.

Paris. Between 1830-1850, three travel accounts were written by anonymous members of the diplomatic service, in order to provide detailed information on these aforementioned fields of reformation: *Resimli İngiltere ve Fransa Sefaretname-Seyahatnamesi* [The Illustrated Diplomatic Report-Travelogue on England and France]⁸¹ was written by a member of Ottoman British Embassy and published in 1834-35; *İngiltere Seyahatnamesi* [Travelogue on England]⁸² was written by an anonymous frigate reporter and published in 1846; *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat* [Travel to London with British Lands] is an undated report which appears to also be from this period given its literary and visual attributes.⁸³

These three accounts written before 1850 constitute a group of conspicuous pieces in the liminal position between a civilian travelogue and an official report.⁸⁴ Each were written while Reşid Paşa (1800-58), deemed as the most influential figure of Tanzimat modernization, worked as both the Foreign Minister and the ambassador to London and Paris. At the same time, between 1834-1836 Namık Paşa was the Ottoman ambassador in London. *Resimli İngiltere ve Fransa Sefaretname-Seyahatnamesi* -in all likelihood the very first modern travel account- might have been written by or under his supervision. He was a member of the Department of Translation and later became a lecturer in *Harbiye Mektebi*. This elegantly written travel account well reflects the administrative orientation of the first group of travelers. As legislative and administrative reforms were realized by the state, members of diplomatic services started to be concerned with the economic and social aspects of order and cleanness of cities, as well as the operative strategies of local and national authorities. Accordingly, the first group accounts constitute a transition between pre-nineteenth century diplomatic reports and later civilian travelogues.

A common feature of the first group of travelogues is that all authors entitled their piece in a personal manner. The addition of “*travel notes of a person*” to the third account in this group is indicative of the author’s self-conception and the expanding content with stress on technique and regulations. Moreover, as the first account announces in its title (*musavver* meaning illustrated), the 19th century travel accounts also included elaborate drawings and maps. (fig. 1.1) (fig. 1.2) The focus of the officials on material and urban culture is mirrored in both the literary narrative and visuals of the account. Nevertheless, each account in this group was written within an official point of view, with scarce descriptions of experiences, the aspects of use and public perception. All concentrating on London, travelers provide crowded lists and tables on infrastructural projects, urban policies and information on the operational details of

81 Istanbul University Collection of Rare Works varak harita no: 2416. The author of this account is debated based on its the content and formal features. It is recorded as Beylikçi Nuri, as Aleko Paşa and in another list as Namık Paşa. For the discussions about the author of this account, see: Şirin, 150-151.

82 Istanbul University Collection of Rare Works 9 varak 2 harita no: 5083.

83 Istanbul University Collection of Rare Works 11 resim 55 varak no: 5085. The earlier record of the same account was *Londra'nın Usul ve Nizamı: İçtimai ve Sınai -Bir Zatın Seyahat Notları* [Order and Regulation in England and London: social and an industrial - travel notes of a person] in the same collection.

84 Two envoy reports from this period should be mentioned here. Even though not on Europe, Bozoklu Osman Şakir’s official report *Musavver İran Sefaretnamesi* (1811) [Illustrated Persian Envoy Report] strikes attention with elegant urban and rural landscape paintings. In addition, the 1845 *Risale-i Sagire*, which is known as the last envoy report. The Bozoklu Osman Şakir, *Musavver İran Sefaretnamesi*, 1225, Yazma, Istanbul, Fatih Millet Kütüphanesi no:822. Sefaretname, 3 resim ve 80 varak; Abdürrezzak Bâhir Efendi, *Risale-i Sagire*, 1845.

municipal services such as a theatre tickets price list, or the income rates of railway transportation within the budget of the London municipality. (fig. 1.3) The fine-tuned drawings of vehicles like a flying balloon and train cars are the manifestations of an expanding interest in European material culture that is still directly related to technology and local governance. The sources of the drawings were, in all likelihood, European illustrations and photographic representations that were reproduced by the travelers. Three technical drawings are the same in *Resimli İngiltere ve Fransa Sefaretname-Seyahatnamesi* and *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*; in the latter the drawings were colored. Similarly, there are similar or slightly different excerpts in those two accounts which could be a sign of authorship of the same traveler.

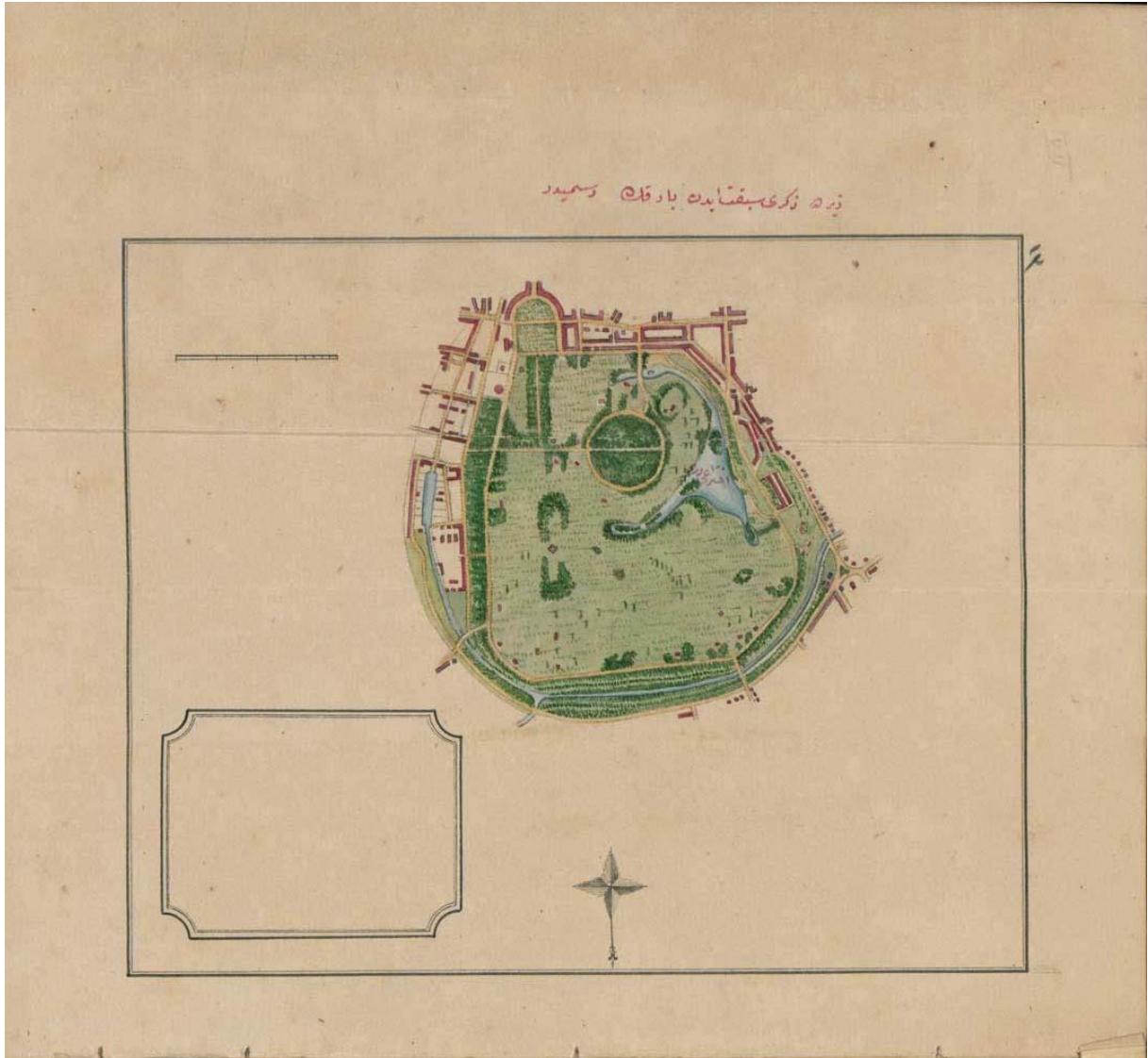


Fig. 1.1 One of the rare colored maps in first group travelogues representing Regents Park
Zirde zikri sebkat iden barkın resmidir. [The image of park mentioned below.], in *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*, 12.



Fig. 1.2 The scaled map of the port of Malta, in *İngiltere Seyahatnamesi*.

Fig. 1.3 The customs notebook with lists of goods coming from British and other countries including copper, salt, rakı, wine, in *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*, 42.

As such, even though none of the above-mentioned accounts directly reflect travelers' personal perception of European cities, via the visuals and their attention to technical details, material and spatial aspects, the first group of travelogues manifests the shift away from the arid diplomatic reports of the previous periods. Interestingly, there are two diplomatic reports from the era that overtly manifest a similar shift in Ottoman envoys' choice of content and language:⁸⁵ *Avrupa Ahvaline Dair Risale* (1838) [A Treatise on European Conditions] by Sadık Rıfat Paşa and *Avrupa Risalesi* (1840) [A Treatise on Europe] by Mustafa Sami Efendi.⁸⁶ An eight page booklet, *Avrupa Ahvaline Dair Risale* was written by Sadık Rıfat during his ambassadorship in Vienna, and published in Istanbul in 1858, twenty years after it was penned. The forty-page report of Mustafa Sami was published immediately after it was conceived in 1840. Sadık Rıfat and Mustafa Sami are the first envoys who comprehensively discuss European society and, more intriguingly, public awareness about material culture, history and urban life. In this respect these two diplomatic reports could be regarded as precedents of Ottoman civilian travelogues despite their official disposition.

Sadık Rıfat⁸⁷ opens the report by explaining the reason behind writing it. As disclosed in the title, his focus is the current conditions in Europe. Subsequently, the envoy writes short, condensed paragraphs addressing multiple issues including income levels, lifestyle of bureaucrats, heritage system, censorship, advertisement, tax systems and work ethic. But most importantly, he writes about 'antique' (*antika*), world fairs (*ekspozisyon* in the report), collecting, department stores (*kâr-hâne*, literally the room of profit), machinery, printing, and public entertainment facilities.⁸⁸ Sadık Rıfat was curiously awed by the idea that old family wares and objects, as well as historical edifices, are kept and reused with a great enthusiasm by the Europeans.⁸⁹ He highlights that such curiosity about and habit of collecting old objects is exclusively a European propensity. Regarding the urban life and public security, Sadık Rıfat is impressed by the 'order and fun'; 'ordered fun' provided by the urban etiquette and public services like the police forces. His long depiction (almost an emplotment) of the ordered European social life.⁹⁰

Such portrayal of secure city centers and peaceful communities in European towns is indicative of a new disposition. Instead of highlighting warfare, military victories or conquest, the Ottoman bureaucrats started to talk about order, regulations, cultural life and urban life. Sadık Rıfat overtly points out that Europe, as a cohesive society, is attested as the model for

85 There are other diplomatic reports on Europe from this period like *Risale-i Sagire* (1845) by Bahir Abdürrezzak Efendi. I have stressed the accounts that reached the public and had shifting impacts on the perception of Europe.

86 Sadık Rıfat Paşa, *Avrupa Risalesi*, (translated) in *Marifet*, Yıl 6 Sayı 3, (2006), 461- 468.

86 I rely on the translations in *Marifet*, 466. During his ambassadorship in Vienna Sadık Rıfat Paşa also wrote *İtalya Seyahatnamesi* which is accepted as the first Ottoman travel account on Italy and first diplomatic account in prose format.

87 Sadık Rıfat Paşa (1807-1857) was one of the Tanzimat statesmen who worked as an Ottoman diplomat in Vienna and in multiple high-ranking positions. Born in a typical Ottoman elite family, he worked in various official posts starting from a young age and was educated among the bureaucratic intellectuals of 19th century Ottoman officialdom. See Günay, Bekir. "*Mehmed Sadık Rıfat Paşa'nın Hayatı Eserleri ve Görüşleri*", Master's Thesis, Istanbul University, 1992.

88 I rely on the translation in *Marifet*.

89 "They do not even want any old things to be lost, since they have a perfect reputation even for all ancient things, and they regard this macaque as an allusion rather than waste." Sadık Rıfat Paşa, 7.

90 Sadık Rıfat Paşa, 467-468.

all kinds of reformations (he uses the word *numune*, meaning exemplar). He defines the basis of ‘current European civilization’ (*Avrupa'nın şimdiki sivilizasyonu yani usul-i me'nusiyet ve medeniyeti*) and reflects on European habits as well as the governors' role in setting these habits.⁹¹ Sadık Rifat Paşa also describes the printing press, underlining that it is one of the components of European civilization. He underscores the press as a state agency to disseminate all necessary information to the people.⁹² On the other hand, as opposed to the previous envoy reports, Sadık Rifat does not stress the infidelity or Christianity of the Europeans. As an Ottoman official knowledgeable about the history of European-Ottoman relations, he naturally touches upon the issue of military forces as the power of civilizations, but exclusively stresses discipline, codes, intellectual and physical capability and efficiency. He has a new vision of social order and control in the new urban culture.

In his report, even though not elaborated at length, Sadık Rifat touches upon the system of private stipulations (*aksiyon*) to build railway lines, hotels (*lokanta-otel*) as a novel building typology and banknotes. His detailed description of hotels as buildings for accommodation but also dining, which did not exist in Ottoman cities at the time, indicates his attention towards the urban culture. He briefly portrays the sturdy masonry buildings, ordered roads, wide pavements, vehicles and pedestrians.⁹³ He is primarily concerned with official norms and their social repercussions, cultural propensities of the people and material innovations. Due to its distinguished content and simple language, Tanpınar claims that Sadık Rifat's booklet is the first Ottoman prose in which personal impressions, needs and observations are added to a formal diplomatic report in order to support the reforms of state administration.⁹⁴ In fact, Sadık Rifat also wrote *İtalya Seyahatnamesi* two years before he penned *Avrupa Ahvaline Dair Risale* in 1836. He joined a group of envoys who were officially visiting Italian cities. Even though titled as travelogue, his report on Italy is full of diplomatic affairs and information on diplomatic protocols in the conventional format of Ottoman *sefaretnames*. Italian cities would have been professionally introduced to the envoys by guides and, in all likelihood, Sadık Rifat Paşa wrote the information he heard. The urban and natural beauty of Italian coastal towns, typical catalogue information like notes on library and book collections in city archives, park, zoological garden and military barrack descriptions are the urban and architectural content of his report.⁹⁵

Two years after Sadık Rifat wrote his treatise, Mustafa Sami⁹⁶ published *Avrupa Risalesi*, claiming that he provided unprecedented information and commentary (*hem malumat hem de mütalaa*) on European society. Sami defines his writing process as an examination of the general conditions (*ahval-i umumiye*) in Europe, and overtly indicates that his report is targeted at the common people (*avam-ı millet*). In accordance with his aim and similar to Sadık Rifat Paşa, Sami includes quotidian details on European culture using daily language. According to Sami, travelling and reading a travel account should be a strategy for everyone

91 Sadık Rifat Paşa, 463.

92 Ibid., 466.

93 Ibid., 467.

94 A. H. Tanpınar, 120.

95 The traveler also refers to touring with other diplomatic members and listening to the information given to them, yet he did not mention travel guidebook. Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa, *Müntehabât-ı âsâr. İkinci cild, Avrupa'nın ahvâlîne dair risâle; İtalya seyahatnâmesi; Bazı ma'rûzât-ı mühimme*, Tatyos Dividciyan Matbaası, 1290 [1873].

96 There is limited information on biography of Mustafa Sami. He died in the mid-nineteenth century and worked diplomatic posts in Vienna.

to learn about modernization and contemporary debates -as opposed to the heavy diplomatic reports or geographical pieces that only professionals could read. He specifically underlines that “only for my nation, with my humble ability, I wrote this short booklet in simple Turkish.”⁹⁷ In the conclusion section he also refers to the Arab scientific productions that were translated by Europeans and became the source of European progress. Sami claims that science does not predicate on religion or cult but is dependent on progress and drive to work in mathematical and philosophical knowledge including the fields of geography, physics, geometry, history and engineering.⁹⁸ Conformingly, As Tanpınar puts forward, travel narratives soon became influential in the Ottoman cultural and intellectual arena, extending the confines of diplomatic and official bourgeoisie.

Like Sadık Rıfat Paşa, Mustafa Sami describes certain novelties, including hotels as a European building typology, and explains how the Europeans used those facilities. Again, following the line of Sadık Rıfat Paşa, Mustafa Sami gives a dictionary meaning of new terms such as ‘antique’ (*antika tabiri*) and defines the connotation of the word for the European people. Noting that antique in Latin means ‘old things’ he explains further:

... [A]s it is understood from the term antiquity in the vocabulary of Europeans today, it means ‘old thing that is unmatched or rare, no matter what kind of objects from gold to earth’; for example, a gold bowl or an earthen cup from the time of the Prophet Adam was uncovered in this century. Europeans would be willing to buy both as such spending a lot of coins, keeping both equal, just because of their old age.⁹⁹

He then lists the benefits of collecting antiques in a lengthy paragraph, in order to answer possible questions that would rise among the Ottoman readers. He observes that through collecting antiques it is possible to protect traditional values, develop a relationship with the past and most importantly to be inspired by the past for future innovations.¹⁰⁰ By collecting and reusing old wares, according to Mustafa Sami, one would add new meanings to the existing objects and thus link the past to present. On the other hand, antiques are materials with a value for the government and also citizens since one can superimpose new science and application methods into the antiques, which generate innovations. He quite notably explains the benefits of ‘collecting the antiques’ as such: “When we preserve the artworks of ancient professions and perfectionist, which we call antique, and on the other hand, adding our own knowledge and ingenuity to them, it will be admitted that the antique is something worth to attach importance.”¹⁰¹ As early as 1840, he builds a direct link between innovation (*icat*) and antique (*antika*) that Europeans skillfully mediate.

Mustafa Sami Efendi’s comments on the value of antiques are evocative of Alois Reigl’s concept of ‘age-value’ that he coined in his groundbreaking essay in 1903: “The Modern Cult of the Monument: Its Character and Its Origin”. At the same time, Sami Efendi’s explanations about the antique -so-called old objects- are parallel to Friedrich Nietzsche’s antiquarian approach to history, which centers on “[t]he small and limited, the decayed and obsolete” in the

97 Mustafa Sami Efendi, *Avrupa Risalesi*, (hz. Remzi Demir), Istanbul, Gündoğan Yayınları, 15.

98 Ibid., 55.

99 Ibid., 24.

100 Ibid., 24-25. I further discuss the issue in Chapter 4 within the framework of rising awareness of Ottoman travelers in urban and architectural heritage.

101 Mustafa Sami, 25.

service of man.¹⁰² Furthermore, to exemplify the Ottoman consciousness about the historical buildings as heritage, Sami Efendi mentions that Mehmed II did not demolish or alter frescos in the Hagia Sophia or the obelisks in various districts of Istanbul when he conquered the city.¹⁰³ However, after such insightful explanations he abruptly criticizes the dark, old and depilated edifices in London that are cherished by the antiquarians just because of their agedness. Towards the end of his report, in a rather cursory manner, Mustafa Sami claims that the welfare of Europeans depends on the education system which is devised not only for practical results. The envoys did not expand their perspective about intriguing topics; for instance, the notion of antique was not linked to the archeological remains in the Ottoman lands, folkloric values, Byzantine heritage in Istanbul, local costumes or traditional Ottoman houses.

There are numerous travel accounts written in Persian and Arabic between 1830-1850, since in those decades sending young literati to Europe for education was a rising pattern in the Ottoman provinces Egypt and Iran. According to Vahid Vahdat's analysis of four Persian accounts from this period, there was an explicit tendency among the Persian bureaucratic bourgeoisie to perceive Europe as a superior -even utopian- modern society. Nevertheless, in 1815, as Vahdat informs us, Mirza Mustafa Saleh Shirazi aimed to write first on the conditions and events of European cities and investigate "urban affairs, people's traditions and behaviors".¹⁰⁴ Yet the traveler is driven more by practical details or broad socio-economic issues; his criticality, personal entanglement and comparative strand with regard to European and Persian cities remained impotent. As such, ultimately both Persian and Ottoman travelogues from the mid-nineteenth century were driven not by the impressions of the travelers, but chiefly by the idea of improvement and utilitarian outlook. However, they gradually started to include their personal conceptions of a European culture.

As summarized, Sadık Rıfat and Mustafa Sami attempted to contextualize the urban and material culture of Europe, while three semi-official travel accounts focus more on the administrative details of London municipality. Even so, it is obvious that all travelers started to write about the concrete details of European industrial progress and to point out the differences between European and Ottoman habits in a comparative manner, which would become a trope in Ottoman civilian travelogues through the second half of the century. These reports are the first Ottoman travel literature manifesting personal awareness and new topics such as urban security or the habit of collecting antiques. It must be added, though, that in this period the state agenda remained visibly effective in travel accounts regulating the transfer of technology, employing the traveler and shaping the quality of the accounts (which I will detail in Chapter 3).

Travelling as a Didactic Activity by Tanzimat Intelligentsia (1850-1880)

Until the mid-nineteenth century, travel conditions remained static, and the conventional diplomatic reports persisted with limited alterations. Yirmisekiz Çelebi's diplomatic report on Paris was first serialized in *Takvim-i Vekayi* in 1862 and republished as a book in 1866. After certain excerpts were published in the newspapers, in 1875 an abridged version of Ibn Batuta's travelogue was also published as a book in Istanbul. In this period, successors of the first generation of Tanzimat bureaucrats expanded in size and composition, becoming the

102 Nietzsche, Friedrich. *On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life*, Hackett Publishing Co. Inc, 1980 (original 1874), 19.

103 Mustafa Sami, 25-26.

104 Vahdat, 23 and footnote 57-58 in page 40.

transformative power behind the state. Literate in Arabic, Persian and several European languages, diplomatic high-ranking and also mid-ranking statesmen became exposed to the travel narratives through publications. For the autodidactic new bureaucratic intelligentsia, reports on official trips presented a chance to publish a personal account in the publicized media. All in all, constant developments in maritime and land transportation, in conjunction with cultural events such as world fairs, spurred an expansion in solo travels, which became prevalent in a broader part of the Ottoman society starting from 1850.

Concurrently, the knowledge of organizational, intellectual and cultural tools such as the writing of journal articles created politically charged social groups. The Young Ottomans are, in fact, the result of an urge to create a self-conscious Ottoman society, at both official and public levels. As Deringil reveals, “what the Ottoman elite, like their counterparts in other imperial systems, were trying to foster from the mid-century onwards was just this transition from passive obedience to active and conscious subscription to a new normative order.”¹⁰⁵ Hence, during the period between 1850-1880, the phenomenon of *efkar-ı umumiye* (public opinion) and nationalism arose and fervently debated. One of the instigators of Ottoman public opinion was the steady stream of personal responses to the state-led modernization publicized in the printed media. In his analysis of the emergence of public opinion in Ottoman society, Şiviloğlu describes mid-nineteenth Istanbul as ‘cultural public sphere’ that is created by both the state and society -unlike the delineation of those as in the Western societies.¹⁰⁶ Şiviloğlu remarks that “[m]embers of the Ottoman public, with their political and scientific societies or their journals and newspapers began to question contemporary social and political issues that affected their lives and came up with their own solutions.”¹⁰⁷ According to Şiviloğlu, as the idea of serving the dynasty was gradually supplanted with the idea of serving the motherland (*vatan*), reformers were able to advance considerable achievements in the areas of education and culture. He meticulously links the emergence of public opinion circa 1860 with the simultaneous blossoming of print media and to the demise of *münazara* tradition and meetings in *konaks* that were not accessible to the public, unlike the journals.¹⁰⁸ Ottoman intellectuals used printed media in order to create public awareness rather than discussing issues merely among themselves. Ottoman intellectuals’ commitment to form a new modern society through nationalist (for some communitarian) ideology and the constant highlighting of cultural values became obvious in multiple media including theatre plays and novels. Influential and prolific figures in the Young Ottomans, primarily Namık Kemal, introduced the idea of ‘motherland’ and the term ‘Ottoman civilization’ in cultural publications thus creating immediate feedback from civil society. Hence, mid-nineteenth century Ottoman publications constituted a new form of sociability through reactionary articles, series of memoirs, and short translated pieces in a variety of subjects. Authors of the era tackled the challenging task of asking critical questions regarding Ottoman modernization. On the other side, as Şiviloğlu aptly underlines, while Ottoman literati had the leading role in populating their ideologies in the printed media, they became more and more close to or even equal with the rest of the public. The Clothing Law in 1829, establishment of Ottoman gazette in 1831, postal service in 1833, passport laws in late

105 Deringil, Selim. “The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 35, No. 1, (1993), 3-29.

106 Şiviloğlu, 15. It is interesting to add here that Şiviloğlu draws attention to the possibility that the expression public opinion was first used by Sadık Rıfat Paşa in his pamphlet published posthumously in 1857. After a decade in 1863 the term is used in *Mecmua-i İber-i İntibah* (Collections of Lessons of Vigilance). 8-11.

107 Ibid., 13-14.

108 Ibid., Chapter 3 and 5.

1830s reorganized the relations between the state and Ottomans from all walks of life. Further, the new system of *esham* (shares), which was celebrated even by the female share-holders, created a new form and level of consciousness about the state affairs. Hence the government talk/bluster (*devlet Sohbeti* or *lakırdısı*) now engaged the attention of a bigger part of the society towards the 1860s.¹⁰⁹ That is exactly the decade of the founding of private unions like the Ottoman *Cemiyet-i İlmiye* in 1861, the Greek Syllogos in 1862 and the Bulgarian Chitalishte in 1866, which were open to the public through their reading rooms. In most of these platforms, European culture and education systems were a topic of discussion within the comparative strand of the conditions in Istanbul.

As the public interest in Europe grew strong, non-Muslim merchant elite, who had close ties with the European traders, became one of the mediators between Ottomans and European urban and material culture. In fact, non-Muslim merchant elites of the 19th century followed European lifestyles, consumption habits and cultural propensities closely.¹¹⁰ Not surprisingly, Muslim bureaucrats followed the same patterns as non-Muslim minorities, both of whom inscribed themselves as ‘as modern as the Europeans’. For both groups, experiential knowledge of Europe concerning every aspect of life is the basic requirement to be modern. Thus, personal explorations and conscious development of the mind in all areas set the ground to understand and emulate the European way of doing things. Ottoman intellectuals overtly wrote about European superiority and the need to seek proper appropriations to solve the predicaments of the Ottoman Empire. Against this background, the *acquisition of* European knowledge and its transmission became a fundamental preoccupation of the Ottoman intellectuals, Muslim or non-Muslim alike. The urge to travel to Europe was spurred by the patriotic duty of gaining a personal/firsthand conception and perception of European modernization. Accordingly, all the second group travelers posit themselves as imperial employees, not tourists, who write about their experiences en route, as a patriotic duty.

On the other hand, Ottoman travelers started to have a more determinative role as individuals and also as authors after the 1850s. Professional guidebooks, increased variety and options for travel routes as well as itineraries in and around European capitals gave them a chance to write on selected themes, specific cities, and in a comparative manner. As such, the foremost distinctive feature of the Ottoman accounts from 1850-1880 is their format and thematic formulations. All eight pieces from this period were published first as a journal article -distinct from the succinct reports of the previous and the longwinded narratives of the later period.

The second group of travelogues and travelers are:

- *Seyahatname-i Avrupa* (1851) by Mehmed Rauf Bey
- *Seyahatname-i Londra* (1851) by the anonymous reporter of *Ceride-i Havadis*
- *Yolculuk Kitabı [Avrupa Seyahatnamesi]* (1863) by Hayrullah Efendi
- *Abdüllaziz-Avrupa* Ruznamesi (penned in 1867, published in 2012) by Ömer Faiz Efendi
- *Six years in Europe* (1873) by Melek Hanım / L. A. Chamerovzow
- *Berlin Mektupları Paris Ekspozisyonu-Londra* (1878) by Sadullah Paşa
- *Paris 'den Londra 'ya ve Otel Metropol* (1880-90) by Ebüzziya Tevfik

109 Şiviloğlu, 30-38.

110 Artan, Tülay. “18th century Ottoman princesses as collectors: Chinese and European porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum”, *Ars Orientalis* Vol.39, (2010), 113-146.

- *Makaleler-notlar* (1880-86) by Şamipaşazade Sezai¹¹¹

In addition to these accounts, there are multiple letters written by Namık Kemal during this period that did not reach the public. Also, Basiretçi Ali wrote a short account on his visit to Berlin in 1871 entitled as *Berlin Seyahatnamesi*, though his personal commentaries were limited in the scope of the account.¹¹²

Reflecting the cultural shifts of the mid-nineteenth century, the first two Ottoman civilian travelogues were written upon solo journeys to the Great Exhibition London in 1851. *Seyahatname-i Avrupa* was written by Mehmet Rauf, an official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and *Seyahatname-i Londra* was written by an anonymous reporter of the first semi-private Ottoman newspaper *Ceride-i Havadis* (1840-64). The reporter was appointed to publish the minute details of the world fair from London as series of articles; Mehmed Rauf went to the city as the member of the Ottoman exhibition team constituted of fifteen members.¹¹³ Both accounts were first serialized in *Ceride-i Havadis* and then re-published as books. Before the 1870s, Ottoman newspapers operated chiefly through subscriptions, thus these two travelogues might have appealed to the bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the capital and provinces, along with the reformist mid and low-rank statesmen that constituted the majority of the subscribers. Significantly, the anonymous reporter had a distinguished, personal tone and he overtly addressed the public, not only the court or official circles. Certainly, the anonymity of the author gave him a freedom to criticize, which might have been quite a common tactic for the Ottoman authors of the era. His experiences in London indicate that, as an intellectual and a curious figure, he was attuned to European middle-class propensities and technological innovations. He constantly refers to a theatre play he saw in Istanbul, the entertainment activities in which he participated, the representational quality of the maps, the paintings and photographs he was exposed to before his trip. His account also reflects an awareness about the European outlook on Easterners.¹¹⁴ Mehmed Rauf, on the other hand, worked as an official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before he embarked on his journey. His account was not as succinct and witty as *Seyahatname-i Londra* as he was not an experienced writer.

The profession and language of the first two civilian travelers evinces the emergence of the Ottoman traveler as a new and modern cultural figure, who works for the Ottoman exhibitions, and could follow and write about the world fairs within a contextual and historical background. With such a specific focal point, travelers provide a summarized history of the world fairs, Londoners' perception of the exhibitions and a general overview of British urban culture. Before these accounts, only Sadık Rıfat mentioned the world fairs in a rather concise manner in his treatise. There is no other mention of trade fairs in the previous generation of travelers,

111 See "List of Civilian Ottoman Travel Accounts" for the details about the traveler and travelogues including the professions, political stance, format and critical dates.

112 Namık Kemal's letters that he wrote during his exile and travels in Europe between 1867-70 were not published during the 19th century. Whenever there is a direct correlation to the urban or architectural discussions, I refer to them. Namık Kemal, in *Namık Kemal'in Hususi Mektupları*, F. A. Tansel (Ed.) Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2013. I excluded Basiretçi Ali's account from the scope of this dissertation as his trip was commissioned by the Prussian chancellor Otto von Bismark, but more importantly because it does not include Basiretçi Ali's perception of urban and material culture.

113 Rauf, 3.

114 Anonymous, *Seyahatname-i Londra*, *Ceride-i Havadis*, Istanbul, 1851, 12.

even though the visit of first traveler coincides with the French Industrial Exhibition held in 1834. In two decades, the boom of the printing press reciprocally shaped Tanzimat elites and Ottoman official efforts, which cast a public report on world fairs as a necessity.

The rest of the six accounts in the second group were written by full-time journalists and half-time statesmen, most of whom were educated by the Tanzimat elites. Except Melek Hanım, all travelers worked for the state in various capacities and in various departments including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Translation Office, Istanbul Municipality, and/or offices related to education, public and diplomatic affairs. Melek Hanım is an exceptional profile as she was a housewife who kept the track of her journeys in the format of a diary.¹¹⁵ Yet she was married to an Ottoman statesman with exactly the same profile as the other travelers, therefore placing Melek Hanım in the same social circle. Her husband Kıbrıslı Mehmet Emin Paşa was among the first Ottomans to be sent to Paris for education. He worked as the envoy to London and Paris between 1848-1850. Mehmet Emin Paşa also wrote a travel report, *Netherlands*, based on his visit to the Hague during his ambassadorship in London.¹¹⁶ Additionally, Melek Hanım's family was living in their shore mansion in Kandilli, just as the many other high-ranking bureaucrats, including Ahmet İhsan's (a traveler of the third group) father.

Another important detail about the travelers' profiles is that Hayrullah Efendi was among the first graduates from the Imperial School of Medicine (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye*). In addition to his occupation of writing journal articles and books, he was a practicing medical doctor and worked for official posts related to public health and medicine. Until the opening of The School of Civil Service (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*) and The Imperial School of Medicine in 1859, the Ottoman bureaucratic bourgeoisie were mainly autodidacts some of whom were also edified by private lessons, special gatherings and, most importantly, by the Ottoman officials.¹¹⁷ As such, Hayrullah Efendi is, in all likelihood, the first Ottoman traveler who was educated in a modern educational institution. In fact, the students at The Imperial School of Medicine were mostly the sons of early nineteenth-century bureaucrats who were active figures within Ottoman modernization and knowledgeable about European politics and science. On the changing profiles of Ottoman bureaucratic intelligentsia active in the Tanzimat reforms, Karpat underlines that "the professional schools which provided a degree of professional specialization created the conditions for selectivity and stratification among the intelligentsia and produced eventually a political ideology and a leadership group; in fact, a new political elite."¹¹⁸ Hayrullah Efendi was certainly one of these figures, situated in between the traditional Ottoman elites and emerging Tanzimat intelligentsia. Being a member of an ulema family, with a genealogy of medical interest (his family name Hekimbaşılar literally translated to The Medical Doctors), Hayrullah Efendi continued the tradition of his family but was also educated in modern school. It is interesting to note that the student movements in the Imperial School of Medicine after 1876 were deemed as the seedbed of political opposition to the authoritarian

115 Melek Hanım, L. A. Chamerovzow (Ed.), *Six years in Europe, London*, Chapman and Hall, 1873.

116 BOA, İra. Har. 3261. The greater part of the 11 pages long report was devoted to the envoy's voyage.

117 On the role of private educational meetings in 19th century Ottoman cultural arena see: Şiviloğlu, 134-173.

118 Karpat, Kemal H. *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, Oxford University Press, 2002, 277.

regime of Abdülhamid II.¹¹⁹ The school became a political environment as much as an academic institution, just as portrayed by Karpat regarding the influence of the professional schools.

Alongside their roles in the political arena, Ottoman intellectuals -in tune with their European counterparts- were cultural figures who lived in waterside mansions, spent their leisure time on the Bosphorus shoreline, enjoyed their European-style gardens, read French journals, watched theatre plays and were active in private unions. This was the period when Ottoman elites started to spread their concerns for and ideas about architectural patronage, gardening activities and curiosity about the arts. Hayrullah Efendi's garden in the backyard of his house in Bebek saliently manifests the formation of a new profile of Ottoman elites starting from the 1860s. (fig. 1.4) At the same time, Hayrullah Efendi and Sadullah Paşa were the first Muslim members of Société Impériale de Médecin - later *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiyye-i Şâhâne* (established in 1856) which is known to be the first union that accepted two Muslims as members. Furthermore, *Cemiyet-i Tedrisiye-i İslamiye* was established in 1863 by a group of intellectuals, including Sadullah Paşa and Namık Kemal as well as architects, masters and educators such as Topçu Mektebi Fen Mimarı Muallimi Yüzbaşı Ali [The Lieutenant Instructor of The Science of Architecture in The Imperial School of Artillery].¹²⁰ In the same vein, the last two travelers in this second group, Ebüzziya Tefik and Samipaşa Sezai were fervent members of the Young Ottomans, a secret society of Ottoman intellectuals who desired more than the Tanzimat transformations.

119 The other medical doctor-traveler is Şerafeddin Mağmumi -a graduate of *Gülhane Mekteb-i Tıbbiyye-i Askeriyyesi*- who was one of founders of Young Turks.

120 Kılıç, Yunus. "H. 1332 (M. 1913) Tarihli Cemiyet-İ Tedrisiye-İ İslamiye Salnamesi Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi", PhD. Diss., Kırklareli University, 39.



Fig. 1.1 The garden of Hayrullah Efendi's mansion (Hekimbaşı Yalısı) in Bebek probably during the late 1860s.

Hamit Bey'in çocukluk zamanı: Aşyan-ı derede havuz başında .. [The childhood of Hamit Bey: On the poolside of Aşyan], in *Servet-i Fünun* 1487, 1925, 204.

Ebüzziya Tevfik was an intriguing figure, whose official posts and areas of interest are indicative of his artistic dexterity and various capacities. As a journalist, publisher, calligrapher, amateur painter, cabinetmaker and decorator, -among many other avocations- Ebüzziya was one of the most prolific figures in the cultural milieu of the 19th century.¹²¹ At the same time, he worked in a variety of critical official posts including the directorship of *Mekteb-i Sanayi* (School of Industry) between 1890-1891 and for the organization of the public library (which was not realized) in 1893. Ebüzziya's series of articles on a single hotel building in London and on his excursion to the zoological gardens of Vienna and Berlin are exceptional pieces of Ottoman travel literature, which I will detail herein relating them to the rising urban and architectural awareness of travelers.

Born into the high society of Istanbul, Ebüzziya started to serve the state at a very young age

¹²¹ There is an ever-growing literature on Ebüzziya; from that Özgür Türesay's personal contribution should be highlighted. Türesay, Özgür. "Être intellectuel à la fin de l'Empire ottoman: Ebüzziya Tevfik (1849-1913) et son temps' ", PhD Diss., Paris: Inalco, 2008.

under Midhat Paşa's tutelage. He was a vocal member of the Tanzimat elite fostered by Sadullah Bey, Recaizade Ekrem Bey, Dadyan Artin Efendi and others in the state offices. Like most of his peers, Ebüzziya had no formal or continuous education; he trained while working for the court through attending private lessons and courses in unions like *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye* (Ottoman Society of Science). Through his acquaintance with Namık Kemal and Şinasi, two of the most influential figures of the political scene of late Ottoman Empire, Ebüzziya became an active supporter of The Young Ottomans. He abandoned his official duties in 1871 to take over Şinasi's legacy and run his printing house *Tasvir-i Efkar*.¹²²

Ebüzziya's education and family genealogy are not different from that of the typical travelers' profile from within this group. However, as an abundant polymath and a prolific practitioner in more than one field, he was also somewhat different from his predecessors and peers, who were driven dominantly by political agenda and had limited material output in artistic productions. He was a robust graphic designer and also engaged in architectural ornamentation with a refined technique and artistic taste. Ebüzziya designed arabesque decorations and revived *kufic*, the oldest calligraphic script, single-handedly.¹²³ Abdülhamid II met Ebüzziya before his ascension to the throne and a friendship as well as a professional relationship developed between the two. Ebüzziya's artistic intuition and agility in practice was at the core of their relationship. The Sultan commissioned him or consulted his opinions on various artistic tasks; he designed a postal stamp in kufic style and he was commissioned for the kufic decorations in Yıldız and Hamidiye Mosque's dome inscriptions.¹²⁴ Although an unrealized project, Ebüzziya's cultural and intellectual profundity was influential in his selection for the task of instituting the first public zoo in the Ottoman capital. Ebüzziya could also be seen as one of the most preeminent Ottoman intellectuals like Hayrullah Efendi and Samipaşazade, who shape the character of the civilian travelogues after the 1880s.¹²⁵ (fig. 1.5)

122 Ebüzziya's relationship with the Ottoman court was never stable. Between 1873-1876 he was exiled to Rhodes and later spent the first decade of the 20th century in Konya, again in exile. BOA, Y. A. RES. 67/41 and Y.E.E. 138/17.

123 For the reinvention of Kufic: Schick, Irvin Cemil. in: M. Gharipour and I. C. Schick (Eds.) *Calligraphy and Architecture in the Muslim World*, University of Edinburgh Press, 2014, 119-138.

124 Ebüzziya criticized Sarkis Balyan's inscriptions in Beylerbeyi Palace for not displaying a genuine understanding of *kufic*. Ebüzziya Tefvik, in *Konya: Inschriften der seldschukischen Bauten* J. H. Löytved (Ed.), Berlin, J. Springer, 1907, 106.

125 There is a vast literature on Sadullah Efendi and Samipaşazade, thus I prefer not to detail their biological information unless there is a direct connection to refer to regarding Ottoman travel boom.

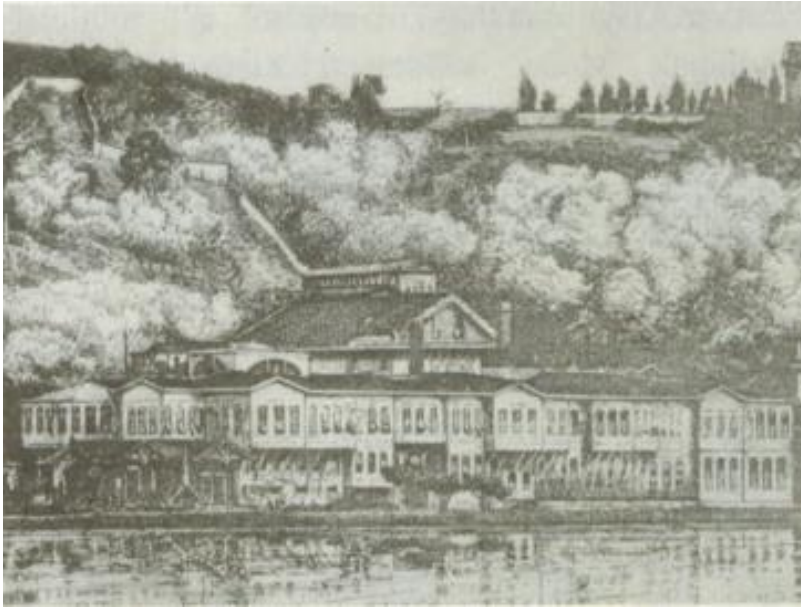


Fig. 1.5 The view of nonextant Hekimbaşı Yalısı in Bebek, in A. Terzioğlu, “Hekimbaşı Abdülhak Molla”, in: *Tarihte Tıp*, 1983, 15.

The changing modes of travel, following the intellectual and political shifts in the Ottoman society, are well expressed within the travel literature itself. Mehmed Rauf Bey intriguingly opens his account by saying that he traveled as a tourist with the support of the Ottoman sultan.¹²⁶ Written in the same year, the anonymous traveler in *Seyahatname-i Londra* constantly refers to European travelogues on Istanbul which he read regularly. He actually defines his accounts as a response to European depictions of the Ottoman capital, filled with negative details like stray dogs or deranged people.¹²⁷ The traveler was well aware of stereotypical orientalist depictions, and states that European travelers write about Ottoman crazy people or stray dogs. At the outset of his account, he encapsulates his motivation to set off to London as a curiosity about *sanayî-i garibe ve maarif-i acibe* (modern science and technology) exactly in the same vein of Ibn Battuta.¹²⁸ Further, the traveler justifies his/her reasons for writing about asylum in London in an intricate manner saying that the previous travelers have already written a lot about the crazy people in Istanbul and also London yet still he shall do the same himself as an Ottoman traveler. In circuitous ways, he expressed his aim to create an Ottoman edition of travelogues on London and a respond to the existing accounts on Ottoman lands.

Hayrullah Efendi planned his trip to London with two main purposes: as a wellness tour between multiple Swiss thermal centers and as an opportunity to write the first Ottoman travel guidebook while personally experiencing the suggested routes. At the outset of his journey, Hayrullah Efendi describes the beneficial impacts of travelling for the mind and the body in a rather modern way. He remarks that from the sultan to the lowest ranking official, every Ottoman should travel for vacation and that it is, indeed, a common activity in Europe.¹²⁹ He refers to Mustafa Sami Efendi’s *Sefaretname* as an influential exemplar for the future Ottoman

126 Mehmet Rauf, 1.

127 *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 12.

128 *Ibid.*, 70.

129 Hayrullah Efendi, 164.

travelers.¹³⁰ Albeit in a sporadic manner, Hayrullah Efendi praises travelling as an invaluable source to learn in the trajectory of modernization, which is, according to him, unfortunately not prevalent and well-accepted. Hayrullah Efendi writes these kinds of views and criticisms towards the end of his tours, for example: "...even if [an Ottoman] travels he construes meaningless conclusions. Alas! Hence, because of such meaningless records and wasted beliefs [travelers] could not learn from the world and remains unlearned what he does not know."¹³¹

Ömer Faiz's travel notes evince the influence of world fairs on Ottoman bureaucratic affairs, but also sheds light on the Ottoman royalties' perception of traveling. When Sultan Abdüllaziz learned about the invitation of Napoleon III to the Paris World Fair in 1867, Faiz mentions, Abdüllaziz responded that Sultan Abdülmecid was also willing to travel, 'globetrotting' to be specific.¹³² According to Faiz, although Abdüllaziz complained about the difficulties of 'going to Frengistan' as an Ottoman sultan, he was also enthusiastic about going to European cities as well as small Anatolia towns. Abdüllaziz ultimately agreed to travel and visited almost all Western European capitals. In 1863, four years before his trip to Europe, Abdüllaziz traveled to Egypt. This was the first Ottoman royal trip without a war-related reason. Even though diplomatic and economic relations were the undergirding motivation, Abdüllaziz's trip became a cultural phenomenon, right from the inception of the idea. Later, during Abdüllaziz's European trip, Fuat Paşa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, constantly encouraged the Sultan to look at the lands and remember the Ottoman legacy in Europe. As documented in Faiz's account, Fuat Paşa, who was one of the most influential statesmen during the modernization period, talks about the past while they were on the Mediterranean referring to the times when it was 'an Ottoman water' -in his words- and the efforts of the Ottomans to keep it. In fact, he keenly motivates the Sultan to consider the history of the Ottoman Empire, its past and European conditions in a historical framework during all parts of their journey.¹³³ Fuat Paşa's perspective evidences an understanding of travelling as an evaluation method of both the self and Europeans, as well as connecting the current situation of the Ottomans to the past, present and future of the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, for Sadullah Paşa, travelling is an intellectual and political tool that has been influential for both Eastern and Western civilizations. To give an example, he claims that the superiority of the Arabs stems from their travels.¹³⁴ Ultimately, according to Sadullah Paşa, travelling is a prerequisite to understanding what is read and heard, stating aphoristically: "news does not replace what is seen."¹³⁵ His travel notes as an envoy and also an intellectual was likely effective in the changing perception of the activity of traveling.

Travelling as a Cultural Activity (1880-1910)

During the reign of Abdüllaziz, participation in world fairs (1867 Paris Exposition, 1873 Wien Weltausstellung, 1876 The Centennial Exposition), the organization of *Sergi-i Umumi-i Osmani* in 1863 in Istanbul, and the publication of *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* (1873) were among the diverse efforts to lend impetus to modernization. Starting from this period, almost

130 Hayrullah Efendi, 3.

131 Ibid., 164.

132 Ömer Faiz, *47 Gün Sultan Abdülaziz'in Avrupa Günlüğü*, Cemal Kutay (Ed.), Istanbul, ABM Yayinevi, 2012, 14-17.

133 Ibid., 34-38.

134 Sadullah Paşa, 649-650.

135 "*Leyse 'l-haberü ke 'l-ıyan*". Ibid., 649.

all official cultural projects and policies were delineated with the aim of displaying the commensurability of Ottoman culture to European standards. As is well-known, Abdülhamid II personally sought various methods, much more fervently than ever, to create a supranational and modern Ottoman-Muslim society. Deringil reveals that, along with established traditions of ideological motives, the Sunni Muslim (and increasingly Turkic) character of the official imperial identity delineated new ‘invented traditions’ and modernized ceremonies like the design of heraldry, commemorative medallions, and genealogical lineage in the state almanacs.¹³⁶ Constructing town halls, train stations and school buildings, as well as making official visits to the provinces were crafted as symbols of central power. Such show of power was cemented within the periodicals in the ever-growing 19th century press media.

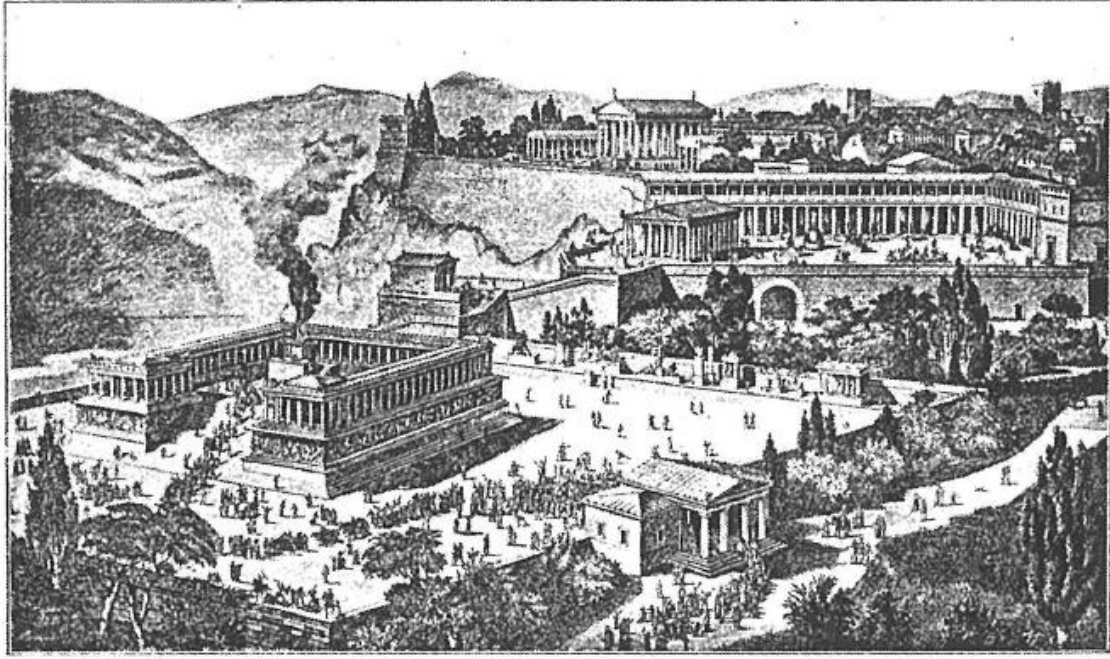
In addition, a lesser-known historicist and communitarian project of Abdülhamid II’s was commissioning of a group of experts for a mission to travel to early Söğüt – the settlements of Ottomans during the early foundation era.¹³⁷ Documents from that commission resulted in three sizeable albums in Bismarck’s library, along with nine albums found in Ottoman imperial archives including numerous photos of panoramic sceneries, monuments and ethnographic depictions of *yörük* people (Turkic nomadic tribes in Anatolia). In fact, the restoration of the monuments in Bursa as fundamental pieces of the imperial heritage been started two decades ago in 1865 via the mayor’s incentives, due to building damage during the 1855 earthquake. These piecemeal attempts to invent historical heritage in Anatolia by diverse Ottoman statesmen evince the historical awareness and urge to define historical knowledge with concrete references. (fig. 1.6) (fig. 1.7) In these projects, visual and literary materials produced through the personal capacities of the elite bureaucrats were deployed to collectively materialize the vision of an imperial and Islam past as a shield against the dangers of nationalist movements and European superiority. (fig. 1.8a and 1.8b)



Fig. 1.2 Samipşazade Sezai Bey posing in the pario de los leones (3 March 1914), in “Ottomans at the Alhambra 1844-1914: An Investigation into the Perception of Al-Andalus by Ottoman Subjects in Times of Modernity”, *Turcica*, 30.

136 Deringil, 6-10.

137 Öztuncay, Bahattin and Ertem Özge. (Eds.), *Ottoman Arcadia: The Hamidian Expedition to The Land of Tribal Roots 1886*, Istanbul, ANAMED, 2018. In the book, the project is described as evidence of Abdülhamid’s trust in selected Ottoman intellectuals to travel to the historical center of the empire.



برغمه هواننده کی آثار عتیقه نیک بر مورخ قولنجده بهمدوده اوج عصر اولکی حالی

Fig. 1.7: *Bergama civarındaki âsâr-ı atıkanın bir müverrih kavlince milattan üç asır evvelki hali* [The ancient monuments around Bergama in 3rd century BC], in *Servet-i Fünun* 66, (4 Recep 1308 [16.6.1892]), 209.

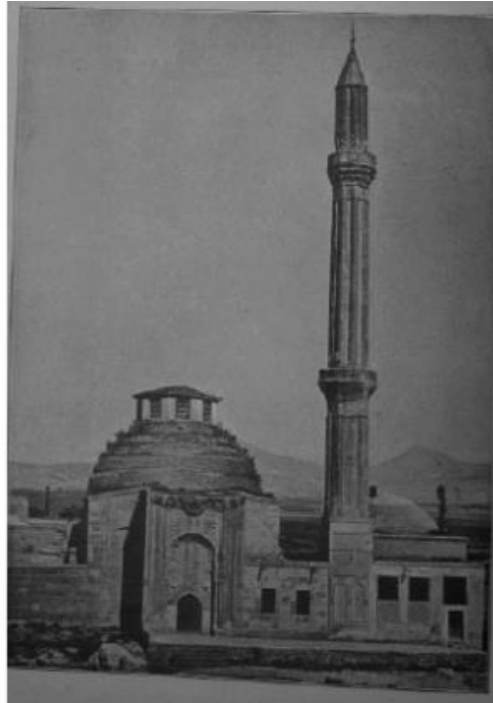


Fig. 1.8a *Konya'da asar-ı nefise-i atıkanın bir harabe* [A derelict of one of the fine ancient monuments in Konya], in *Servet-i Fünun* 96, (14 K.sani 1308 [26.1.1893]), 301.

Fig. 1.8b *Konya'da İnce Minareli Cami* [Ince Minareli Mosque in Konya], in *Servet-i Fünun*, 96, (14 K.sani 1308 [26.1.1893]), 273.

Both images are republished again in 11 Mayıs 1933 for the 73th volume, issue 1917, pages 378-383.

This official cultural ethos was driven strictly by political and utilitarian needs, but it also evoked a steady civilian and intellectual response. Drawing on this efforts, the Ottoman middle class, which was constituted of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, journalists and academics began to view the individual as someone with historic and communitarian sensitivities. It was the Ottoman middle class who was the source as well as the audience of the publications on world fairs, restoration projects and museums in European cities, publications which -directly or indirectly- orbited around the notions like novelty, originality and craftsmanship. Thus, the middle-class intellectuals became sensitive to notions such as identity-construction, reformulation of cultural values, heritage, local idioms, folkloric artistic productions. Şinasi for instance, being one of most influential figures of the late Ottoman cultural arena, settled down in Bursa after his graduation and tried new agricultural methods there. According to him, Bursa was where Ottoman splendor started to impress the world. As Ruby Koshar points out, in the nineteenth century there was the “need to create objectified symbols of national identity that offered a point of contact and easily recognized visual referent.”¹³⁸

Nevertheless, the Ottoman travel boom towards the end of the century -although being influenced by it- was not directly driven by the official cultural ethos. The new generation of Ottoman intellectuals became aware of the comforts of sea-travel, railways and accommodation options through the Ottoman press (fig. 1.9). In the imprints of the periodicals *Muharrir* (1876-1878), *Mir’at-ı Alem* (1881), *Derme Çatma* (1878), *Servet-i Fünun* (1891-1944), *Şehbal* (1909-1914) travel literature is specifically indicated as part of their content.¹³⁹ After several publications of piecemeal and short Ottoman travelogues, in 1896 Evliya Çelebi’s *Seyahatname* was published in the book format in Istanbul.¹⁴⁰ By the end of the century, in addition to foreign and renowned Ottoman accounts, literary and visual depictions of the developing travel infrastructure in Anatolian cities, as well as in Egypt-Nile, Iraq, Syria were also published in several periodicals. In *Servet-i Fünun*, for instance, the construction of the Istanbul-Edirne railway, which started in 1888, and the Hijaz railway in 1908 are constantly promoted as a success of the Ottoman state.¹⁴¹ More important than the increase in the number of publications is the diversification of the contents of the travel pieces, with the addition of touristic advertisements, commentary articles, and bulletins of new transportation developments. Gündegül Parlar highlights that in all kinds of the travel narratives in the late Ottoman print media, the emphasis was put on the modernization of the urban and built environment.¹⁴² Ottoman authors deemed the current state of Ottoman cities, new structures in the streetscape and novelties in urban life as prominent themes, as opposed to romanticized views or picturesque narrations of the visited lands. (fig. 1.10) In his analysis of the articles on art history published in *Servet-i Fünun*, Mehmet Nuhoglu groups the pieces into two as architectural or

138 Koshar, Rudy. *Germany’s Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century*,

Chapel Hill and London, 1998, 23.

139 In the first issue of *Şehbal*, the program and content of the journal was described under the title “Muhterem Kâri’lere: Program” [To the Venerable Readers: Program], *Şehbâl*, no: 1, 1 Mart 1325, 2. Also quoted in Ahmetoğlu, Selim. “From the Unionist Actualité To the Mass Popularity: Şehbâl (1909-1914)”, Master’s Thesis, Boğaziçi Uni, 2008, 58.

140 It was published in Cairo already in 1848.

141 Nuhoglu, Mehmet. “Servet-i Fünun Dergisi’nde Türk Sanati: Şehir ve Mimari”, PhD. Diss., Marmara Uni, 2008.

142 Parlar, Gündegül. *Servet-i Fünun’da Sanat Yazıları*, Uluslararası Dördüncü Türk Kültürü Kongresi Bildirileri 4-7 Kasım 1997, C. 3, Ankara AKM Yayınları, 1997, 325-328.

urban. The pieces on architecture were either the excerpts from travelogues or descriptive essays on new projects such as railways or city halls. He lists more than 250 articles on cities published before 1910, most of which were illustrated and covering the geography and information of built environments.¹⁴³



Fig. 1.9 *Bundan kırk sene sonraki semavat* [Skys forty years later], in *Şehbal* 53, (15 C.evvel 1325 [26.6.1907]), 53.

143 Nuhoglu, 5-182. I detail the issue of articles on architecture and art history in Chapter 4.



Fig. 1.10 *NewYork'un Havay-i Treni* [The Highline Train of New York], in *Servet-i Fünun* 59, (17 K.evvel 1308 [17.12.1892]), 234-235.

Towards the turn of the 19th century, subsequent to the political and economic transformations, Ottoman intelligentsia were keenly interested in the social aspects of modernization and modes of modern daily life, as well as the material culture of the modern cities. In order to cater to their curiosities and gather first-hand information, travelling became an indispensable activity. Traveling to European cities, as well as appropriating a European lifestyle, almost became a symbol of middle-class identity, along with going to theatre, spending time in the parks and reading journals. As Watenpaugh explains, leisure time activities, entertainment culture, artistic curiosity and tenacity became a critical part of their description of modernity -all of which were directly related to the performativity of modern urban life.¹⁴⁴ On the other hand, Ottoman intellectuals were both the receivers and producers of these cultural products -they were the ones who owned the journals/publishing houses, wrote the theatre plays and watched them.

Travelers could have written voluminous accounts as epistolary notes and quasi-memoirs in their own journals. Thus, alongside their political zeal to write a didactic travelogue and to shape public opinion like the second group travelers, after the 1880s Ottoman intellectuals were also motivated by the financial gain of publishing a travelogue. Increasing with the ever-growing scale of print culture, publishing a travel account became a lucrative practice. All in all, in the final decade of the 19th century, traveling was re-cast as more than a privileged activity and became a fundamental dimension of modernization which was based in performativity and appropriation of European middle-class practices. Between 1880-1910, ten civilian travelogues were written:

1. *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan* (1889) by Ahmed Midhat Efendi

144 Watenpaugh, 16.

2. *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm* (1891) by Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz]
3. *Efel Kulesi* (1892) by Hüseyin Galib
4. *Bir Denizcinin Avrupa Günlüğü Avrupa Hatıratım* (1895) by Mehmed Enisi [Yalkı]
5. *Seyahat Hatıraları ve Paris'den Yazdıklarım* (1896-1901) by Şerafeddin Mağmumi
6. *Akıl yahut Ahir Zaman Peygamberi, Liverpool Hatıratı* (1898) by Hocazade Mehmed Ubeydullah¹⁴⁵
7. *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi* (1898) by Mustafa Sait Bey
8. *Seyahat* (1902) by Fağfurizade Hüseyin Nesimi
9. *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions* (1913) by Zeyneb Hanım
10. *Bizce Meçhul Hayatlar* (1908-1910) by Selim Sırrı [Tarcan]¹⁴⁶

This third group of the civilian travelers, which was the most diverse and crowded group, necessitates a more textured description of their profiles. Among the ten travelers in this group there was a naval officer, a medical doctor, a painter, a publisher, and a journalist, as well as individuals worked in various official positions in state and municipal institutions. Travelers of this group had both similarities and differences with previous travelers. The main shared characteristic is that all were the successors of the governing elites of the Tanzimat era; they were male members of or close to the established families of the Ottoman Empire who enjoyed a privileged socio-economic background. Some temporarily worked for the Ministry of Education and Foreign Affairs when there was a need for technical or intellectual know-how on issues such as medical education or inspections of factories in Anatolian cities. Travelers like Ahmet Midhat and Mustafa Sait Bey worked in low-ranking positions; in fact, Ahmet Midhat was lowborn, unlike the previous Ottoman travelers who were almost exclusively a member of well-established families with high-ranking official posts. Secondly, just like the second group travelers who had close connections with the Young Ottomans, the third group too was active in the Young Turks and CUP (The Committee of Union and Progress) - including Mağmumi, Ubeydullah and Nesimi. The only female traveler of the group, Zeyneb Hanım, was also a member of the higher echelons of the society -she was the daughter of an official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Several of them were active in elite circles and had close affinities with the palace, such as Midhat, İhsan, Mağmumi, Nesimi and Selim Sırrı Tarcan. As Fatma Müge Göçek points out, “this new class [19th century Ottoman intellectuals] emerged not by private property in the classical Marxist sense, but instead by specialized knowledge. [...] The background of this class was based not on the market but on its location within the state structure.”¹⁴⁷

I believe that education is another -and maybe the most definitive- element of the third group of Ottoman travelers. The impact of education on this group is obvious, both for figures like Midhat who is a self-made intellectual coming from a modest background without the strong legacy of his family, as well as for İhsan who was coming from a privileged upper-middle class bureaucratic family. Midhat became one of the most prominent authors of Ottoman literature, while İhsan did not choose to climb the bureaucratic ladder as was a common path for his precedents. Both names were mostly known through their cultural productions as

145 As the title, *Liverpool Hatıratı*, suggests, this is more of a memoir not travelogue per se. Yet, it is the account of his sojourn in Liverpool for a limited period thus included to the list.

146 In addition to these, there is an illustrated account by a Hungarian named Balint titled *Budapeşte Hatıra-ı Ziyaret, sene 1909* and a piece with anonymous author titled *İtalya'da Cevelan* written in 1910. Both is not a travelogue per se, so they were not included to the main list.

147 Göçek, Fatma Müge. *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, Oxford University Press, 1996, 82.

journalists and authors, as well as through entrepreneurial initiatives. In fact, all of the names within the third group were successors of the Ottoman bureaucratic bourgeoisie;¹⁴⁸ they were part-time statesmen and journalists and full-time entrepreneurs.¹⁴⁹

Another primary trait of the third group is that all paid for their trips personally and defined their tours as a pleasurable cultural activity, with the exception of Midhat who was sponsored by the state to attend the Oriental Congress in Stockholm and Selim Sırrı who was sent to Sweden with an official mission to observe the Swedish education system. Yet even these two travelers extended their official itineraries and wrote accounts full of personal commentaries exceeding the frame of their tasks. All the travelers specifically went to European capitals and spent weeks there to experience the daily life and cultural activities during the nighttime. Hence, in addition to being politicized journalists, officials and entrepreneurs, the third group of travelers were passionate raconteurs evocative of Evliya Çelebi and Yirmisekiz Çelebi. As such, just as civilization and progress were the main concepts of discussion for the second group, urbanity was a key theme for the third group Ottoman travelers. The utilitarian, didactic tone of the second group and the perception of traveling to Europe as an educative activity shifted towards an emphasis on cultural practices, urban etiquette, and middle-class activities such as sightseeing and museum visits. (fig. 1.11)

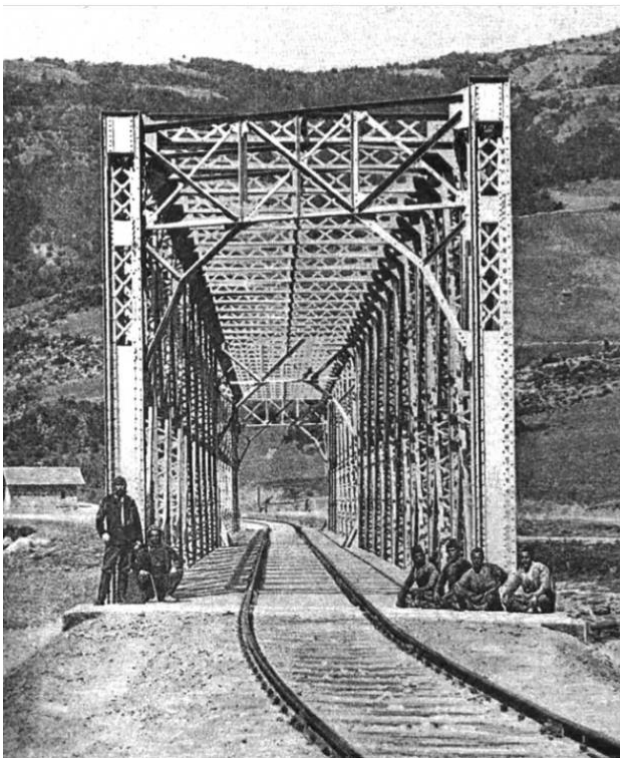


Fig. 1.11 *Ankara Demir Yol Hattı Üstünde Geyve Köprüsü* [Geyve Bridge on Ankara railway line], in *Servet-i Fünun* 76, (13 Ramazan 1308 [26.6.1892]), 276.

148 Curiously, François Georgeon describes Abdülhamid as bourgeois sultan. Georgeon, François. *Sultan Abdülhamid*, A. Berktaş (Trs.), Istanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2012.

149 There are distinct life stories and exceptional characters in third group of Ottoman travelers like Ubeydullah, Midhat and Nesimi. Furthermore, Halil Halid worked in Cambridge University as an academician and is the first known Ottoman professor in foreign lands. He did not publish a travelogue but rather a memoir that includes his life in Ottoman lands and England.

A number of Ottoman travelers in the third group had engagements with urban culture, cultural production and the development of the built environment that exceeded the confines of journalistic occupation. Ahmet Midhat was acquainted with many eminent figures of the cultural arena including Osman Hamdi, who he met in Baghdad in the 1860s. He even posed for the renowned book *Les Costumes Populaires* that was published for the 1873 Wien Weltausstellung under Osman Hamdi's supervision. (fig. 1.12a and 12.b) Additionally, Midhat's journey to Europe predates the establishment of the School of Fine Arts by two years. The construction of the school had already started before Midhat set off, therefore he was probably informed about the existing exhibits in Hagia Irene and Çinili Köşk, as well as the collection and curatorial process of the new archeological findings to be displayed in the new school building. İhsan, on the other hand, invested in the Ahırkapı Waterfront Lumberyard and Factory, "Ottoman House of Industry", in 1893. With an entrepreneurial spirit he invested in exporting wooden construction materials to Istanbul, which became preferable after the 1894 earthquake. As a fast and relatively cheap construction method, wooden mansions - which were the favorite of Abdülhamid II and the Ottoman elites- were built frequently towards the turn of the 20th century in Istanbul. İhsan published advertisements of his factory highlighting its "inhouse draftsmen's office and architects" (*kendine mahşuş resimhanesi ve husuşî mi'marları*) addressing this fad among Ottoman elites.¹⁵⁰ (fig. 1.13) He played a small but interesting role in the styling of Istanbul mansions by establishing Ahırkapı Factory and publishing ambitious advertisements of it.¹⁵¹ Regarding the other travelers in this third group, Hüseyin Galib is the author of the first Ottoman monograph of a building in foreign lands, Mustafa Said was a non-professional painter and Selim Sırrı was active in the development of cultural policies about recreational culture and sport activities.

150 "Darü's -Şanayi- i Osmaniyye," *Servet-i Fünûn* 448, 12 October 1899, 88-89. Also quoted in Türker, 229.

151 I discuss the repercussions of travelers' associations to the artistic and architectural circles in their accounts; or the lack thereof, in Chapter 4.

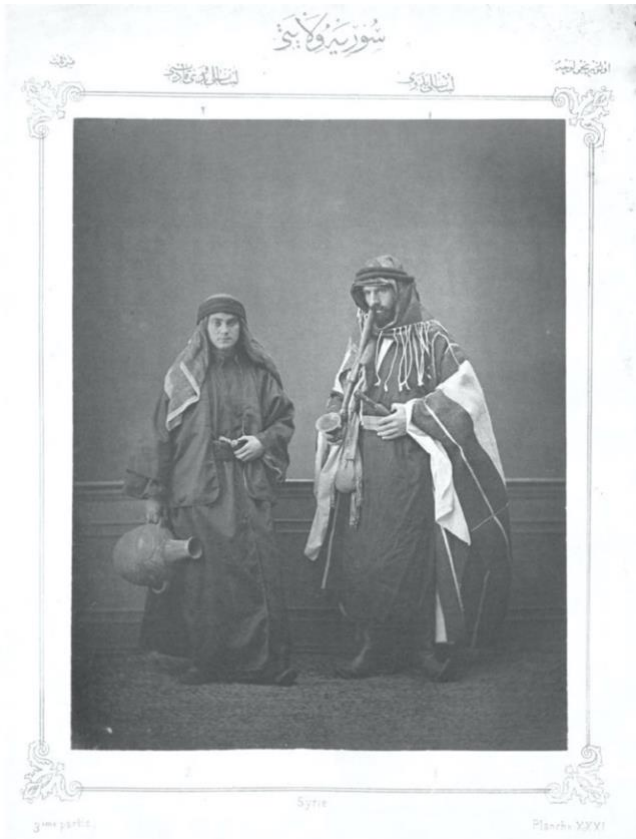


Fig. 1.12a Ahmet Midhat Efendi posing as a Bedouin of Lebanon, in H. E. Eldem, *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873. Ouvrage publié sous le patronage de la Commission impériale ottomane pour l'Exposition universelle de Vienne, 1873.*

Fig. 1.12b The second page of obituary for Midhat with a sketch by himself (upper) and him with Labenes bedouin garment (lower), in *Şehbal* 71, (Halil Edhem Bey, 1332 [1913]), 429.



اخور یو کرسته فابریکاسک داخل منظره لرین : مارانوزلر سالونو .
L'atelier d'Ahour-Kapou : l'intérieur d'une salle de menuiserie.

چایمه دستکارلرینه زیارته اوتوراندده حصه مصلیه سنی آهرق مکمل چرچوبه حائسه کیرمش اولدینی حاده جلاخانه به . اوراندده مشتربلرک حضورسه سوق اولونیور .

دستکارلرک ایجده ال زیاده نظر حیرته کوروشلر سیله یایغه مخصوص اولانلردده بر سیلیجیک بر قاچ ساعنده بش اون درلو اولانلق ایله بسده کتیررکی بر سیله . عالی نجه شکنده ما گنک بر طرفدن سکیروب تیزابوش ، ایشلمش اولدینی حاده دیگر طرفدن ، همده روقه طرفده ییغار .

قاریغه کیمت مخصوص رسمخانیسی وخصوصی معمارلی واسطه سیله هر درلو سا رسم ویلاشری زریب وانظم ولیجه کلف مویجه هر نوع انشا آتی درعهده ایکنده ، انشاآت مختلفه منلق کونا کون مالزیه خشیییی کال سرعت وانظام ایله احضار اولمکددر . خلاصه : اولیدرجهقی ، او تعمیر ایندیرجهک اولانلر ایچون برکه و دارالصناعة غنایه به مراجعت شرطدر . رسملرمن قاریغه تک ذکر طرفدن کوروشیله داخله مانده بالکر ایکی منظره یی کوروشیور .

بو کوروشلر اوراند قالدیرلوب دیر یولر اوزرنده ما کنلی عجبیلرک اوکته کلپور ، عجبیلر سیرت طوبولار بر مکملیت وسرعتنه بو قوجه کوروشلری اولانلرین . سوکره ده اایجه نجه حاده کتیررکیور . بو نجه بر مدت استفده بر اقبولوب سوی چکده کن . بر کرده قزنده ایجه قورودقدن سوکره قاریغه تک ریخی دستکاره کتیررکیور اوراده . متلاچرچیوه اولاجق ایسه . رنده . پلایه . دلیک . باشلق دستکارلرین کیوره سوکره اوست قاه جیقوب سوچه . پرداخ .

منتظم شرکت ادارسه کیمدهکجه لازم کنن مکملیه مالک اوله میه جقددر . یولک اوزرجه مؤسسلرجه وریرلین قرار مویجهده ۱۵ نوز سنه ۱۳۹۵ تاریخنده جیری الیشیر ایرالق آتی یوز حصه سندنیک بکونی اولان اوتوز بک لیرا سرمایه ایله اسپاهلی بر قوماندیت شرکای تشکیل وادامسی مؤسس رانف بک الهدی ایله غزیه من صاحب امتیازی احداحسان بک طرفندن درعهده ایلدی . بکی شرکت بدایت ناستده اسپاهلیک بالکر اون بش بیک لیرالقی ارکانی بیاندده قدده بحویل اجیش ایسی ، یوکون یکرسی بیک لیرالی تماماً سالتمش وشیاقسی شرکنجه سرمایه یوزم کوردهکجه ائدن ییغارلنده یوتقددر .

بکی شرکنک مقصدی هر نوع مرانوزلق اییشلری ، هر درلو معمولات و مصنوعات خشیه میدانه کتیررک ، هر نوع انشا آتی درعهده ایلمک وواسع بر کرسته نجهاری ایکندن عبارتدده قاریغه مشتتلاته عطف اولوتجهقی بر نظر بومقصدک لفسل تأمیننه چالیشدیقی و تأمین اولوتدیقی کوروشلر . دارالصناعة غنایه به ایله سنک بر طرق شرکنک نجهت استیجارنده یولونان آغو طاقی اورماللرین کتیررکیور بکیرلش ییتین ییتین چام سکووتو کارنه دولودر .



اخور یو کرسته فابریکاسک داخل منظره لرین : ما کنلر و بخارلی دسترلر .
La salle de machines mécaniques.

Fig. 1.13 Ahırkapı Kereste Fabrikasının Dâhili Manzaralarından: Marangozlar Salonu [The interior views of Ahırkapı Lumberyard: Carpentry Workshop] (upper); Makineler ve Buharlı Testereler [Machines and Steam Saw] (lower), in Servet-i Fünun 448, 89.

Midhat's *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan* (1889) and his other publications about traveling, including novels, fictional stories and articles, had a great role in the shift of Ottoman intellectuals' idea of travelling as an activity.¹⁵² Before writing his account, in several of his fictional works travel was a recurring topic, through which Midhat complained about the disregard of travel in the Ottoman education system and intellectual discussions. Giving the example of European travelers in Ottoman lands and his own experience, he asserts traveling as the best method of learning about the others while being self-reflective. For the preface of Mehmed Emin Bey's travelogue *Istanbul'dan Asya-i Vusta'ya Seyahat* (published first in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* in 1879 and as a book in 1880), Midhat overtly stresses the virtue of travelling at length and celebrated Mehmed Emin as the first modern Ottoman traveler.¹⁵³

In fact, except for the two accounts written in 1851 on the Great Exhibition London, no Ottoman travelers published a book-length travelogue. Nine years after he published Mehmet Emin's account, Midhat described travelling as a 'surveying business' (*pişegah-ı tedkik*) in his own account.¹⁵⁴ In the prologue, he discusses travel literature as a genre and the power of first-hand impressions on intellectual profundity in all fields. Another curious detail of his travelogue is that it includes a criticism of European experts in East (orientalists), claiming that some of them did not have any knowledge and experience about Ottoman culture as most of them did not travel to the Ottoman lands. According to Midhat's understanding, travelling is the only way for intellectuals of all cultures to learn about others.¹⁵⁵

İhsan follows in Midhat's footsteps and champions travelers as an intellectual group, for any religion or nationality. In the preface of his fictional travelogue *Asya-yı Sarkî'ye Seyahat* [Travel to East Asia], he asserts that travel should be perceived as a scientific and educative undertaking. As an ardent supporter of the idea of travelling as a practice of self-development, İhsan theorizes that "the first medium for the true expansion of ideas and enlightenment that were emerged out of a scientific study is to travel; geographical studies might be beneficial for understanding the world however they are quite abstract and could not exceed beyond the limits of theory without traveling."¹⁵⁶ While the educative aspect of travel was directed towards the literate Ottoman public in the second group, İhsan further highlighted that the traveler can also be a student who needs to embark on journeys to learn as a supplement of his reading and formal education at schools. In addition to these theoretical comments, there are anecdotal instances where İhsan reflects his pride as an Ottoman traveler. When asked if he is a diplomatic official, İhsan responds in the negative and states that he is a journalist and publisher from Istanbul travelling just to see Europe.¹⁵⁷ In his rather long account, he repetitively and critically admits that Europeans were surprised to see a civilian traveler in their cities even in 1890s.

İhsan's take on the activity of traveling as a cultural activity should be read in concert with his

152 On Midhat's diverse range of travel literature see: Akyıldız, Olcay. "Muhayyemat-ı Ahmed Midhat: Söylemsel Bir Strateji Olarak "Seyahat-ı Zihniye" ", *IU Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 47, (2014), 9-34 and Esen, Nükhet. *Hikaye Anlatan Adam: Ahmet Midhat*, İstanbul, İletişim Yay., 2014.

153 Mehmed Emin Bey, *Istanbul'dan Asya-i Vusta*, İstanbul, Kırk Amba Matbaası, 1295 [1878].

154 Ahmet Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, İstanbul, Tercüman-ı Hakikat, 1307 [1890].

155 Ibid., 44.

156 Ahmed İhsan, *Asya-yı Şarkî'ye Seyahat*, İstanbul, Âlem Matbaası Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı, 1307 [1890], 196.

157 Ibid., 324.

personal connections to experts in the publishing sector in Ottoman lands as well as in Europe. Firstly, the establishment of *Servet-i Fünun* was possible through his connection to D. Nikoladis who had been publishing the Greek newspaper *Konstantinapolis*. İhsan asked for a publication permission under the patronage of D. Nikoladis as it was easier to apply for a permit for a Greek citizen. Moreover, in his memoir İhsan mentions that he imported photography papers, metal photography and zincography templates from France and Vienna through his connections and constant correspondence. In fact, in the early years of *Servet-i Fünun* he added imprint information about the images published, with notes like “printed in Vienna”; “special printing in Vienna”, “zincography (*çinkografi* in *Servet-i Fünun*)”.¹⁵⁸ Like Ebüzziya, İhsan also had connections in European cities which he established through professional visits, exchanges of visuals and printing materials and written correspondence.¹⁵⁹ Within this framework, İhsan was a part of a professional network of publishers and had international aspirations for his business. Thus, for him, traveling to Europe was as personal and technical as it was ideological and intellectual. It is not surprising, therefore, that the content on artistic, architectural and urban issues, as well as the page layout and quality of the visuals in İhsan’s weekly had arguably the most ground-breaking impact on Ottoman intellectuals. Starting from Mahmud Sadık’s article in 1893 on Baalbek, *Servet-i Fünun* paid utmost attention to travelers, their perception of the Ottoman historical sites, museums and in a broader scope, the agency of travelling within the grand scheme of modernization and progress.

Another account that includes discussions on the meaning of traveling was Mehmed Enisi’s *Bir Denizcinin Avrupa Günlüğü Avrupa Hatıratım*, written few years after Midhat and İhsan. Enisi wrote lengthy passages, praising travel as a cultural and patriotic activity:

Traveling is nice and useful in all respects. It is the doctrine of political and civic geography. To tour and see are the operations of traveling. We need to travel to see what we read, to believe what we heard and to reinforce our knowledge. All the people know the other via traveling. [...] I am going to a foreign land, a place of knowledge and art, most popular skills and the center of eminent civilization. I will study, educate myself, learn and gain experiences. Then I will return to my homeland; start to serve.¹⁶⁰

Enisi also notes all basic touristic attraction points in European capitals as sources of contemporary knowledge (*ondokuzuncu asr-ı miladinin eser-i celile-i irfanı*); and writes that “although the buildings in these capital cities were recorded in previous Ottoman travelogues, what is important now about travelling is just being able to see these structures”.¹⁶¹ In a similar line with İhsan, Enisi framed civilian Ottoman accounts as patriotic and practical guidebooks -rather than being artistic or literary- in the pursuit of true Ottoman and Muslim modernization.

Mağmumi, on the other hand, had a more critical and lucid tone than Enisi’s generalized and didactic commentaries in his travelogue called *Seyahat Hatırları* (1896). He alludes that, in

¹⁵⁸ See the online database of *Servet-i Fünun* for examples: <http://www.servetifunundergisi.com/>.

¹⁵⁹ For the visuals of the *Servet-i Fünun*, photographs were sent to Vienna on a weekly basis by train, so that they could be imprinted on zinc plates for publishing. See: Ahmed İhsan Tokgöz, *Matbuat Hatıralarım*, Istanbul, Ahmet İhsan Matbaası, 1930; and Ersoy, Ahmet. “Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy”.

¹⁶⁰ Mehmed Enisi, *Bir denizcinin Avrupa Günlüğü: (Avrupa hatıratım)*, Istanbul, Kitabevi, 2008, 38-39.

¹⁶¹ İhsan, 27.

Ottoman society, travelling is still not conceived as a leisure or cultivation activity and he also remarks that it is a mistake to take traveling as merely an entertainment activity.¹⁶² Along the line of previous travelers in the second group and earlier accounts from the beginning of the 1890s, Mağmumi believes that traveling is a practical/applied lesson (*ders-i ameli ve tatbikidir*) that no one could get enough both for education and also for edification. He indicates that “in Europe, traveling is deemed as a life-sustaining practice and in this respect Americans, British and Germans are pioneers.”¹⁶³

Nesimi’s and Zeynep Hanım’s accounts, written in 1893 and 1906 respectively, are notable in terms of their upfront attitudes towards both the Europeans and Ottoman intellectuals. Nesimi entitled the introduction section of his account as “Seyahate dair fikrim” [My Idea about Travel] and devotes this section to the meaning of traveling, specifically to Europe. Like İhsan, he summarizes the gist of this section as “[i]f history and geography constitute the theoretical part of history, travel occupies the mode of operation/application.”¹⁶⁴ Nesimi also mentions Midhat’s numerous publications on the theme of traveling, describing its benefits and placing it as a fulcrum of Ottoman modernization. He aptly underlines the multiple dynamics of travelling: “The virtue that urban civilization reached today was made possible by the steam [engine technology] and printing. With the power of these two, the progress that spreads to the minds of the people of all nations and societies, all over the world will always be present.”¹⁶⁵ His definition of the 19th century progress and its dependence on steam and printing is parallel to the framework provided in Nile Green’s analyses which I referred to in the Introduction chapter.

In addition to these male perspectives, Zeynep Hanım’s viewpoint is insightful regarding the notion of travelling as an entertainment and educational activity for female Ottoman elites. She constantly defines travelling as the most enjoyable method of acculturation and advancement, as well as a symbol of freedom. Zeynep Hanım’s pen-friend, who published her letters in the travel account format, claims succinctly that “sightseeing was what [Zeynep] Hanoum then called freedom”.¹⁶⁶ As an Ottoman intellectual self-exiled from Istanbul, Zeynep Hanım could not refrain from thinking that traveling to foreign countries is the only way to learn about the other, to learn from and enjoy cultural diversity without restrictions.

1.2 A New Urban Middle Class: Polyvalent Intellectuals & Solo Travelers

Seyyah is an Arabic rooted word meaning ‘traveler’.¹⁶⁷ Similar to related words like *gezgin*, *yolcu*, *seyyar*, *seyyare*, the word *seyyah* not only implies a mobile subject with various foci, but also an individual who travels frequently as a way of cultivation and often produces works based on first-hand experiences. Before the advent of mass tourism, *seyyahs* were from the upper echelons of the society: merchants, pilgrims, excursionists having interest in art, philosophy, literature, geography, religion, natural sciences and later diplomatic figures. In

162 Enisi, 203.

163 Şerafeddin Mağmumi, *Avrupa Seyahat Hatıraları - Bir Osmanlı Doktorunun Seyahat Anıları - Dr. Şerafeddin Mağmumi*, Istanbul, Boyut Yayın Grubu, 2008, 204.

164 Durak, İbrahim Behçet. “Fağfurizade Hüseyin Nesimi ve Seyahat adlı eseri üzerine bir inceleme”, PhD. Diss., Istanbul Uni., 2015, 96.

165 Durak, 131.

166 Zeynep Hanoum, *A Turkish Woman’s European Impressions*, with Grace Ellision, London, Seeley Service Co. Ltd., 1913, 59.

167 Şemseddin Sami, *Ḳāmūs-ı Türķī Dersa ‘adet: İḳdām*, 1317 [1899-1900].

Ottoman society, privileged men have been returning from formal visits or expeditions with travel reports, since the 15th century. These reports were written for the sultan or served for archival purposes. With a strict formal tone, it was a non-personal brief of the journey without personal remarks due to representative roles, group traveling and arduous conditions.

From the second quarter of the 19th century onwards, the Ottoman word *cevelan* started to circulate increasingly in publications. This contradicts with the dominant belief about the ‘genuine ignorance of Ottomans’ regarding the rest of the world. *Cevelan* means globetrotting or wandering but it also denotes the activities of touring and circulation that are often associated with the phenomena of curiosity, interaction and flow. The emergence of this terminology coincides with the development of a particular sense of modernization among the Ottoman bureaucratic elites and intellectuals, and also with an international climate of mobility and cultural entanglements. As such, starting from the second group, several Ottoman travelers were anchored to professional networks and had international aspirations in their occupations.

Ottoman travelers emerged and thrived in symbiosis with the changing means of travel and motivations to publish. London, Paris and towards the turn of the 20th century Berlin, became almost a hub for Ottoman intellectuals, and the third group of travelers were connected to and in fact part of these individuals. In a special edition on the late Ottoman intellectuals in Berlin it is revealed that “[...] in Berlin, diplomats, doctors, and writers, the likes of Basiretçi Ali Efendi, Sadullah Pasa, İhsan and Hüseyin Hulki familiarized Berlin society with the Ottoman Empire’s best and brightest.”¹⁶⁸ All these individuals -including the travelers in the third group- built organic and personal connections to European professionals. Coming from different family backgrounds but with similar modernized educations, Ottoman travelers carved out new roles themselves in and out of the Ottoman lands in the trajectory of modernization. They acted as statesmen, businessmen, travelers, intelligentsia, authors, as well as political advocates were woven around curiosity about European cities as an official but also public appeal.

An overall look at the profiles of Ottoman travelers indicates that the 19th century economic and political transformations provided a base for new patterns of social stratification in the capital. These developments gave birth to a new group of intellectuals that were comprised of successors of *ulema* (religious governor) families and court members, but also first generation entrepreneurs, low-ranking officials, artists and authors. Even though overwhelmed by the bureaucratic influences, these new groups generated an intellectual stratum encompassing opposition parties as well as those who, while in the same communities and platforms, advocated distinct proposals for modernization. In this sense, Ottoman travelers were not only the builders of the theory of Ottoman modernization, but also the instigators of an auspicious modern urban life which proliferated in the late 19th century Istanbul. The second and third group of civilian Ottoman travelers were the mediators between the traditional governing elites and the newly emerging urban middle class.

A common ground for all civilian Ottoman travelers was their self-acclaimed role to seek after and identify European methods that would guide the Ottomans to realize nineteenth-century industrialization and modernization. Secondly, and more importantly for this study, they believed in personally experiencing the results of these grand concepts, thus performing their

168 Quoted in Christensen, 54.

modernity. With this approach, towards the end of the century Ottoman travelers steadily put more emphasis on the urban and material culture of Europe. The physical appearance of the cities, the spatial and visual qualities of the buildings, all in all the tangible, concrete objects of European modernization became a focal nexus to observe, experience, enjoy and convey to their readers. Ottoman travelers were ardent believers in industrial and scientific progress, both to create ordered cities, the tallest towers and the longest bridges, but also to restore the oldest buildings and to excavate and unearth ancient cities as the foundation of modern urban and material culture. The triumph of science over backwardness within the vision of historical progress in Europe became the guiding element of their debates over the changing urban and material culture in Istanbul. Attuned to their European counterparts, Ottoman intellectuals became the epitomes of a newly emergent urban culture in the Ottoman capital. Ahmet Midhat's etiquette book *Adab-ı Muaşeret yahut Alafranga*, which he published five years after his travel to Europe in 1894, directly addresses the issues regarding the formation of Ottoman urban middle class. According to Midhat, Ottoman intellectuals should comprehend and perform European decorum -not imitate them- in accordance with the Ottoman sensitivities.¹⁶⁹ The emergence of a new, ideal gentleman -what Midhat calls the *kibar zümre* in his book *Sayyadane Bir Cevelan*- evinces the attunement of his formulation to Western middle class cultural practices.¹⁷⁰ The book in itself is composed of travel notes detailing Midhat's trip around the Marmara coast for hunting with a group of friends. Midhat portrays a modern individual with westernized education who has hobbies like hunting, cycling and photography and who travels for pleasure with curiosity about other cultures and world fairs. In this rendering, traveling to local and foreign lands is one of the pillars of urban middle-class cultural practices. Watenpaugh asserts that in Egypt in the first decade of the 20th century, "[...] a discrete middle class emerged in the cities of the Eastern Mediterranean that was defined not just by the wealth, profession, possessions or level of educations of its members, but also by the way they asserted modernity."¹⁷¹ The Ottoman counterparts of this group were the travelers who had the "[...] intention to take a prominent role in the production of knowledge and culture, not just for themselves but for the society at large."¹⁷² For Ottoman urban middle class, traveling to Europe transformed into a fundamental dimension of modernization that is based on performativity. The new 'bourgeois values' among the urban-middle class had to be performed in the capital but also compared to the Europeans in their lands during personal trips.

169 On the discussion about fobs, along with Yalçınkaya, see: Yaşar, Fatma T. *Alafranga Halleri: Geç Osmanlı'da Âdâb-ı Muâşeret*, Istanbul, Küre Yayınları, 2016.

170 To address these individuals Midhat uses multiple terms with minor alterations such as upper-class gentlemen (*kibar-i nev-i beşer*), gentlemen (*kibarzade*), the governors in power (*zevat-i sahib-i iktidar*), the noblemen, (*kibarzadegan*), privileged and honorable men (*zat-i memduh ve muhterem*). Ahmed Midhat, *Sayyadane Bir Cevelan*, Istanbul, Dergâh Yay., 2015, 13-21.

171 Waternpaugh, 8.

172 Ibid.

Chapter 2

Tour d'Europe: Discursive and Narrative Tools

Since the fifteenth century, trade and warfare created plentiful interaction between the Ottomans and Mediterranean Europe -mostly Italian city states, and later Spain and Portugal. The meaning of West (*Garb*¹⁷³ in Ottoman) and Europe (*Frangistan*)¹⁷⁴ and occasionally *Evropa* in Ottoman) was strictly dependent on those interactions, for both the state and a limited part of the Ottoman public. Till the 17th century, relatively settled relations between European countries and Ottoman Empire set the ground for the trade activities. As the analyses of Cemal Kafadar and Gottfried Hagen reveal, a new sense of connectedness and the rise of encyclopedic knowledge altered the meaning of West and European cultures for the pre-modern Ottoman world -particularly through figures like Katip Çelebi (1609-1657) throughout the 17th century.¹⁷⁵ In *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi esfâri'l-bihâr* (1669), Çelebi divides the world into four main parts. The fact that two of these parts were Islamic and European indicates his meticulous geographic knowledge and self-perception in relation to the Europe.¹⁷⁶ As such, for the Ottoman court, West denoted a non-uniform but tangible culture via distinct trade agreements, diplomatic and cultural exchanges like the press -albeit utilized by a very limited part of the society. Later, in the mid-eighteenth century, central Europe, and specifically Habsburg Empire, was deemed not only as an enemy but also as a critical party of the treaties.¹⁷⁷ Evident in the diplomatic letters from this period, West was not handled as a single unit but as a variety of European countries, some of which had the potential to be allies and some enemies. This distinction became more and more critical after the 1774 defeat by the Russians. As the economic and political power of Ottoman Empire could not be regained, the tone of Ottoman diplomatic texts became more self-conscious, with less stress

173 It is important to note that *Garb* is an Arabic-rooted word meaning West and sunset. The second meaning of the word is “to be foreign and unusual”. It is recorded as old. *gbârbân*, (adv) meaning to or towards the west. Sir J. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, Constantinople, 1890, 1340.

174 Frank is the name of one of the Germanic tribal people situated on the lower Rhine from the 3rd century that conquered Romano-Celtic northern Gaul. Modern France and French emerged in this territory and partly from their language. The Persianized form of the word, Frang and Frangistân (meaning the place of Frangs) was the name given to anyone of western nationality and of the Levant that has been used since the 17th century to denote West in general, Europe in particular. *Evropa*, on the other hand, is used by Katip Çelebi in 1648, meaning West (*garb*) and also used by late Ottoman travelers occasionally. It is also recorded in Redhouse’s 1890 edition *A Turkish and English Lexicon* as ‘Western Europe excluding Turkey and Russia’, 248.

175 I use the term ‘encyclopedic knowledge’ referring to Kafadar, Cemal. in K Dahl (Ed.), *The Sultan’s Procession: The Swedish Embassy to Sultan Mehmed IV in 1657–1658 and the Ralamb Paintings*. Istanbul, Swedish Research Institute Press, 2006, 58–73.

176 Quoted in Kafadar, 60. See also Hagen, Gottfried. *Bir Osmanlı Coğrafyacısı İşbaşında Katib Çelebi’nin Cihannüma’sı ve Düşünce Dünyası*. H. Görgün (trans.), Istanbul, Küre Yayınları, 2015.

177 In Evliya Çelebi’s account the only European city that is discussed in detail was Vienna; he also wrote on other small towns in Central and Eastern Europe.

on sultans' religious leadership, and gave way to more phrases like "the major countries like France" (*Françe gibi büyük devletler*).¹⁷⁸ Two envoy reports from the late eighteenth century herald minor yet significant changes in Ottoman bureaucratic elites' conceptions of the West and Europe. Ahmed Resmi Efendi (1700-1783) wrote *Viyana Sefaretnamesi* in 1757 and Ebubekir Ratib Efendi (1750-1799) wrote *Lahiya* and *Nemçe Sefaretnamesi* in the early 1790s. Their detailed and celebratory reports on Vienna, first and foremost, evince the inclusion of the capital of the Habsburgs into Ottoman international relations next to the British or French.¹⁷⁹ Further, these envoys emphasize, in an unprecedented manner, the cultural and social aspects of Vienna which, according to them, is as praiseworthy as London or Paris. Ratib Efendi focuses systematically on the administrative strategies of Habsburg Empire and frames those as the reason for the Western-ness of Vienna.

Concurrently, particularly from the second half of 18th century onwards, the authority, role and image of the Ottoman sultan in the capital as well as in provincial centers was altered due to political debacles and growing propensities towards the French aesthetics. The porcelain collections of the princesses were the most noted European pieces circulating in the Ottoman court, as I mentioned before herein. New modes of cultural openness, integration and assimilation of European culture and architecture, as well as a specific penchant for the French 'taste' that was initially transforming the bureaucratic bourgeoisie in Istanbul, soon found its way into the circles of community leaders (*ayans*) and into communities who were more closely connected to Europe than Muslims, with the agency of provincial merchants. The consumption habits of the French elite became a sign of technological supremacy and prestige, which gained an unprecedented currency in the higher echelons of Ottoman society and non-Muslim communities towards the last decades of the 18th century.

Nonetheless, these official changes and this openness to French taste did not directly correlate to a homogenous, holistic or totally new intellectual agenda of the Ottoman elite concerning the West.¹⁸⁰ The traditional interest in Occidental knowledge still remained cast in a traditional mold that was wrapped around courtly display/aesthetics, along with administrative and technical utilities. Yirmisekiz Çelebi's talk with an astrologist in the Paris conservatory and his curiosity about water transportation systems, table clocks and spacious royal gardens well reflects this perspective. Yirmisekiz Çelebi depicts Paris as the embodiment of the West and posits the capital as the counterpart to Istanbul. This perspective manifests from his perception of the West as a cohesive society, reducing its boundaries to France, while deeming it as the quintessential 'other' through phrases like 'paradise of the infidels'.¹⁸¹ He does not exclusively highlight distinctive features of European cultures or use cultural characteristics as a tool for an alterist rendition. Yet, his emphasis on religion -which used to be the most obvious distinction between Ottoman Empire and the West- is still in effect, alongside a new characterization of the West as a 'paradise' -which until then had been considered an inferior

178 Uzunçarşılı, İbrahim Hakkı. *Osmanlı Tarihi, IV/1*, Ankara, TTK, 473-486. I based my argument on Ahmet Resmi and Ratib Efendi's accounts and secondary studies on Ottoman diplomatic reports.

179 Aksan, Virginia. *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi 1700-1783*, E. J. Brill, 1995; Bilim, Cahit. *Ebûbekir Ratib Efendi, Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*, in *TTK Belleten*, LIV/209, (1990), 261-295.

180 Murphey, Rhoads. in: P. Dumont, J.- P. Bacque-Grammont (Eds.), *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'empire Ottoman*, Louvain, Editions Peeters, 287- 298.

181 Yirmisekiz Çelebi, Paris'te Bir Osmanlı Sefiri - 28 Mehmet Çelebi'nin Fransa Seyahatnamesi, Ş. Rado (Ed.), Istanbul, İş Bankası Yayınları, 2006.

world.¹⁸² Ottoman official travelers' visions were not free from these long-established reactionary impulses. All in all, there was a clear undertone to the travelogues, which yielded a utilitarian guide for the victory of the Ottoman Empire over West.

From the second quarter of 19th century onwards, with the growing number and variety of settings and modes of engagement, the encounters with other civilizations transformed into encounters with individuals. But it was not all related to firsthand encounters. While the urban middle class in Istanbul were developing a propensity for traveling, vicarious relations was intensifying at all levels through press, trade and education. Concomitantly, the agency of non-Muslim Ottoman citizens, whose organic relationship with Europe provided a head start with European cultural and consumption patterns, increased their interactions in multiple arenas such as theatres.¹⁸³ Middle class Ottoman urbanites started to read, learn and experience the 'European' versions of virtually everything; these individuals were the mediator between different strata in the society. Another important shift that intensified the curiosity toward Europe was the physical transformation of Istanbul from the first quarter of the nineteenth century onwards. The ever-changing image of the capital was engraved in the Ottoman intellectual's mind as a contentious topic. For the travelers, Istanbul was not only a point of departure, but also a benchmark to constantly reflect upon, just as a European city was not only a point of arrival but also the main motivation for setting off. The image of Istanbul lingered in the minds of travelers not as a contrast to Western European capitals but as an equally grandiose city that is lacking a proper modernization. Thus, travelers sought after and consequently perceived an oblique view of Istanbul, hence the meaning of West and Europe as a geographic and an intellectual construct that at the same time substantially altered travelers' approaches to their own material and urban culture.

In order to put Ottoman travelers' perceptions of European cities into context, this chapter documents discursive engagements and narrative tools of the travelogues. It is important to understand travelers' filters, whether shaped at home or during their journeys, to be able to comprehend their approach to European urban and architecture culture and not to leap into facile evaluations. The first three sub-chapters, namely "Borders of Europe", "Oblique Views: Istanbul as a Subtext" and "'Scripted Site': Baedeker on Hands" scrutinize the themes of the accounts which, I argue, are the shared constitutive elements of Ottoman travelers' personal filters while perceiving European cities. In each part, history and technical progress serve as two grand concepts that formalize travelers' perception of urban and material culture. The following two sub-chapters provide an in-depth look at the facilitators of travelers' selective perception that were forged by two main narrative tools: Baedeker guidebooks and their personal propensities as authors, painters and or publishers. The French Baedeker editions published between 1830-1890 substantially delineated Ottoman travelers' research techniques and observation methods in Europe. Lastly, to finalize the documentation of the basic information about the travel boom, the routes of the travelers will be analyzed. The changing routes will set the background to the Ottoman travel boom in order to analyze the urban and architectural content of the accounts in the subsequent chapters.

182 For instance, in Evliya Çelebi's account the terms *dar-ül harb*, *bilad-ül küfriye*, *Frengistan* and *kafiristan* (abode of war, lands of infidels meaning Christians, Christian land and lands of infidels) are used to address West.

183 In fact, since 1660 the Greeks had legal right to be in bureaucratic positions, but after the industrial revolution their mediatory role became more and more effective both in the capital and provincial towns in political, economic and cultural arenas.

The visual and literary presentation and content of the guidebooks had a mediating role in navigating the cities, selecting what places to visit, what to observe and on what to write. Thus, in the fourth part, “The Anatomy of Ottoman Travelogues”, I aim to compare the texts and subtexts, sources, visual and literary dissemination techniques in the Ottoman travelogues with the travel guidebook discourse. This analysis is necessary to unravel the perceptive mechanisms of the traveler as mobile figure and the literary mechanisms of travel writing. Balancing these two poles of inquiry, in addition to the socioeconomic and cultural background of Ottoman capital as well as the loaded discussions of the relationship between the East and West is a challenging task. The goal, therefore, is to focus specifically on travelers’ self-evaluating strategies and filters in accordance with the routes of their journeys. Due to the decisive ‘westwardness’ of the Ottoman travel boom, I include the *tour d'Europe* in the title of the chapter through which I intend to refer to the much-studied *tour d'East* regime by European travelers starting from the 18th century within a comparative manner.

2.1 Borders of Europe

Cultural framing and geographic demarcation of the West became a significant part of the Ottoman intellectuals’ ideological preoccupation from early 19th century onwards.¹⁸⁴ For Ottoman travelers too, Europe denotes a geographical region, and further, it is a geography with changing borders. Parallel to the Western formulation of civilization conditioned on geography, travelers’ conceptions of Western civilization were predicated on central and northern Europe -particularly before their journeys. The margins of Europe and limits of West were not discussed at length by the first group of Ottoman travelers. In fact, the focus was solely on London among the first group accounts; it was basically where the Ottomans first started their inquiries about Europe. The second group of travelers added more cities to their itineraries, but they did not dwell on the reasons for their selection or what that meant regarding their understanding of West and Europe. Yet their emphasis on some and disregard for other parts of their itinerary well reflects the framework in their minds. In Ottoman travelogues, the margins of Europe are Greece, the Balkan peninsula and Russia - excluding the south European countries, Portugal, Spain and the northern countries in the continent. Italian cities are incorporated in the accounts in a cursory manner as transitional cities -if mentioned at all.¹⁸⁵ In fact, this attitude would not alter even at the turn of the 20th century; none of the Ottoman travelers subscribe to the post-Renaissance European discourse concerning Greece and Italy as the seedbed, infrastructure, and origin (therefore a must-see) of the Western civilization.

Before 1860s, all Ottoman travelers had to cross Mediterranean Sea to reach both the European continent and Britain, avoiding the Balkan region altogether. Hayrullah Efendi is the first

184 Soon enough it solidified as a comprehensive ideological position. The Young Ottomans movement was influential for most Ottoman intellectuals from both conservative communitarianism and pro-westernization as they ascribed themselves as the agents of the conciliation between Ottoman culture and Western civilization. In line with the Young Ottomans, the second and third groups of travelers were both conservatives and visionary progressives who found traveling to Europe imperative to gain personal understanding about modernization. The distinct background, class and profession of the travelers nuanced their approach, yet urban middle-class culture in European cities set the shared ground for all.

185 Unfortunately, the pages that cover Mehmed Rauf’s return journey are missing, which are supposed to contain his experiences in Vienna, Slovakia, Hungary, Serbia and Bulgaria. Pages 6 and 7 are about the palaces in Napoli in Rauf’s account.

traveler who included Balkan cities in his account on his way back to Istanbul, with limited curiosity. He pays attention only when there is a direct Ottoman connection and mostly criticizes the underdeveloped urban conditions. Curiously, his indifferent attitude also prevails for Greek cities; including Piraeus and Athens.¹⁸⁶ Another region that Hayrullah Efendi mentions quite cursorily is Russia - while discussing the limits of Europe -even though it was not a part of his itinerary. He occasionally puts forward that Russian customs are similar to that of Ottomans and Russia is not distant or foreign to Ottoman Empire. For Hayrullah Efendi, Russia has a liminal position -not geographically but metaphorically.¹⁸⁷ In fact, like Russia, the borders of Europe -namely Greek, Balkan and Eastern European cities- are also put in a liminal position by the second group travelers, yet it is not based on tradition -it is a spatial and temporal liminality. Athens, Sofia or even the southern part of Hungary were cast as rapidly modernizing cities that used to be a part of the Ottoman Empire. Describing the historic buildings, landscapes and socio-economic conditions, travelers put those cities within binary frameworks: international or local, formerly Ottoman or soon-to-be European. The developing conditions in those regions had a critical impact on comparisons of European and Ottoman cities. Passing through the underdeveloped towns and also the modernized city centers -almost as the future versions of the towns- travelers started to perceive the Ottoman Empire as a potential global actor that was not totally detached from the industrializing world. It gave a clear prospect to the travelers for how and in which ways Ottoman cities could transform and achieve European standards in the near future.¹⁸⁸ As such, Hayrullah Efendi, Samipaşazade and Ebüzziya justify their non-essentialist positions between West and East through these Europeanizing cities and the blurring borders of Europe in Balkan regions.

The Egyptian traveler Rifa'a al-Tahtawi's demarcation of Europe after his sojourn in Paris during 1830s displays strong parallels with first and second group Ottoman travelers' perceptions. Tahtawi is more explicit, defining the Eastern borders of Europe as: "[...] the lands of Greeks, Constantinople, Khazars, Bulgarians, Wallachia (Eflak), the lands of the Serbs [...]"¹⁸⁹ He defines Alexandria as a European -particularly a French- city although he does not qualify any other Ottoman city, including Istanbul, as such. His speculation of a European city outside of the continent recalls the depictions of Cairo as 'the Europe of Egypt' or 'Paris in Egypt' in the 19th century Ottoman travelogues on Eastern Ottoman lands.¹⁹⁰ Tahtawi's specifications about the European borders might not sound surprising, but the fact that he discusses 'where Europe starts and ends?' is in itself critical, concerning eastern travelers' approaches to Europe. He does not only give a geographical answer to this main question of virtually all Eastern accounts, in fact he adds Alexandria to his map of 'Europe'. In his categorization, Europe equals a quality exceeding its geographical region. By doing that, he defies the ontological gap between east and west as prescribed by orientalism.

The third group travelers are certainly more knowledgeable about the description of Greek

186 Hayrullah Efendi, 62.

187 The position of Russia against Europe also discussed by Melek Hanım, and by Ahmet Midhat almost half a century later. Russia is cast as a third category in between Europe and Ottoman Empire. See footnote 36.

188 On the 'gradation of orientals' concerning Balkan regions' position as Orient and Europe see: Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford University Press, 1997.

189 Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi, *An Imam in Paris: Account of a Stay in France by an Egyptian Cleric (1826-1831)*, D. L. Newman (trans.), London, Saqi, 2004, 114.

190 The description of Cairo as 'Paris of the Orient' or 'little Paris' with modern hotels with European furnishing, ballrooms and concert halls was highly common in the late 19th century travelogues.

culture as the source of Western identity. They noticed the way Greek cities are depicted as the seedbed of West in the publications and guidebooks. Nevertheless, none of them, not even wordy Midhat, paid particular attention to Greece.¹⁹¹ In fact, Greek cities are not deemed as European -let alone as the historic origin of European culture. They slurred over Athens, Thessalonica and Piraeus as they swiftly wandered around the historic sites in order to reach the 'real Europe'. There are arid descriptive passages, yet the geographical proximity, cultural resemblances, Ottoman heritage and well-preserved antiquarian character of the architecture and archeological sites do not hold a considerable place in any narrative. Neither physical distance nor proximity, distinctiveness nor similarities, nor the Ottoman heritage therein, not to mention historiographical and artistic connections with Greek culture, grabbed the Ottoman travelers' attention. As such, their vision of western civilization is not one that harks back to the past and, on the basis of these roots, makes projections to the future. On the contrary, each traveler focuses mainly on the present and future, and only occasionally projects this vision back to the past, with the main focus on material realities rather than conceptual/intellectual legacies.

Starting from Midhat's travelogue (1889), the spatial/geographical projection of industrial modernization moves towards north-western Europe. As aforementioned, during the official part of his tour, Midhat visits Stockholm and Kristiania (today Oslo), passing through Copenhagen. Before spending weeks inspecting Paris, he pores over the modernized Scandinavian cities which, according to him, should be praised as a rectification of European civilization along with northern French and German cities. His perspective is sharpened after the first shock of arrival in the unknown territory of the north. Subsequent to his tours in French and Central European cities, where he feels certain degree of uneasiness about his anonymity, he comes to feel and relate to the local and genuine character of the northern Europe. Midhat specifies more than once that, while evaluating Europe, the survival of traditional life and historic values is the most important criteria. According to him, the capacity to preserve and maintain historic values in libraries and museums is the culmination of industrial and technical progress. Within this perspective, the limits and center of the Occident is redefined by Midhat as northern Europe. Curiously, despite their geographical, cultural and also spatial remoteness, northern European cities do not strike him as incommensurable to Ottoman cities and despite his 200 pages long exhaustive praise for Paris, Midhat acclaims each northern city as an ideal modern urban culture while criticizing the lack of knowledge on and interest in that specific part of Europe by the Ottomans. His understanding of Ottomanness as embracing both traditionalism and technical advancement directly corresponds to relatively smaller cities like Stockholm and Oslo. They are also latecomers to industrialization, and thus deemed as more comparable to Istanbul, like Germany or later Japan. In addition to the instant shock of being distant from home and visiting places with almost no preconceived opinions, what really stoked his attention, I believe, was the way traditional and historical heritage was deployed in a modern manner and with great technical capacity (which I will discuss further next subchapter). Moreover, Russia was a topic of discussion for Midhat as an example of true modernization since, according to Midhat, Russians did not lose their traditional values but progressed scientifically and technically.¹⁹² Midhat's travel companion Madame Gülnar, a Russian woman, and a group of Russians attendants to the Oriental Congress triggered him to write about

191 Nevertheless, his visions of the environs of Istanbul in *Sayyadane Bir Cevelan* are rich with underlayers of Greek mythology.

192 Midhat claims that "the French say that if you scratch a Russian, a Tatar emerges, and the same is true for an Ottoman." Midhat, 193-194.

Russian culture at length. According to him, unlike western and central Europeans, Russians could preserve their traditional culture and local references in the course of modernization as Muslims should do.¹⁹³

A year later, İhsan opens his account with the description of his European tour stressing that it covers all the necessary parts of it: “If you remove all the countries I visited during my tour from the map of Europe, Russia and Sweden and Spain remains. By this calculation, my trip to Europe is at a very good level.”¹⁹⁴ For him, Russia, Sweden and Spain are of secondary importance in his investigation into how modern industrial cities operate. Later, in the beginning of the episodic part of the travelogue, İhsan mentions that all his traveler peers, embarked with the same steamboat to the same tour; thus, regular transportation options not only determine the itinerary of late Ottoman travelers but also the definition and limits of Europe. His stress on the technical and engineering capacity of north German cities such as Hamburg is important to note here as an indicator of the changing limits of Europe, predicated on the material and urban culture of the last decade of the 19th century. (fig. 2.1)



Fig. 2.1 *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm - Ahmet İhsan Bey'in Hatt-ı Seyahati*, [What I see in Europe - The Itinerary of Ahmet İhsan Bey] in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 488-489.

193 Carter Findley also discusses the perception of Russia by Midhat and rightfully describes Midhat's Occidentalism as political conformism and cultural self-strengthening. Findley, Carter. “An Ottoman Occidentalism in Europe: Ahmed Midhat meets Madame Gülnar, 1889”, *The American Historical Review*, 103/1, (1998), 15-49.

194 İhsan, 5.

The rest of the third group travelers do not directly speculate about the borders of Europe or debate the limits, margins, center and periphery of the West or Europe per se. An isolated case is Nesimi's account, in which he includes a section on the meaning of a 'European tour' similar to the introduction to İhsan's account. In 1893, which is important concerning the urban transformation of German and Austrian cities, Nesimi remarks, in a critical tone, that Ottoman travelers expect nothing from European cities other than Paris and London, yet German and Austrian cities should be included in itineraries as he is most impressed by Vienna.¹⁹⁵ He emphasizes German progress and the architectural heritage of Rome to a great extent and warns future travelers to pay attention to those 'truly European' cities. Nesimi finds Rome worthy of explanation in minute detail, and he gives contextual background of historical edifices as well as their meaning and use for the Italian people.

Nesimi portrays Germany as a part of Europe due to the spread of modernization in all parts of the cities and also due to current social and cultural transformations.¹⁹⁶ His description is not essentially personal, yet he skillfully consolidates the country into western civilization by underscoring its idiosyncratic geographical features next to the scientific efforts to modernize it physically and culturally. On the other side, in his account Nesimi extends the Eastern border of Europe by focusing on Greece and Bulgaria to an unprecedented level. He does not downgrade Balkan cities, but rather highlights those agricultural activities in Bulgaria are better than those in Ottoman lands.¹⁹⁷ What Nesimi finds powerful is the appropriation of European progress in Bulgaria and its determination to realize belated improvements, instead of focusing on Bulgaria's contemporary underdeveloped conditions. In fact, Nesimi mentions all the countries he passes in the region and tries to point out a positive aspect from each to take as an example, except for Serbia.

Selim Sırrı's account is another example of Ottoman travelers' interest in northern part of the Europe that was increased at the turn of the 20th century.¹⁹⁸ Swedish cities garner a high level of esteem as fearless followers of pioneer cities like Paris and London. The newly modernized north, including German cities, presents a more flawless model of modernization and more relatable instances for Ottomans. Selim Sırrı travels specifically to Sweden and aptly titles his book-format account as *Bizce Meçhul Hayatlar* [Lives Uncharted by Us].¹⁹⁹ As the reporter for the sports section in *Servet-i Fünun* and a representative for sports associations, Sırrı traveled with the support of the Ministry of War; yet despite this semi-official scope, his account soon reached the public as periodical articles with extensive content on daily life. After visiting Paris and Berlin, Sırrı arrives in Stockholm and is swiftly convinced that the city and also Uppsala are quintessentially European. The order, hygiene and modernized cityscape constitute a boundary marker. More importantly, in line with Midhat's account, the built environment, modest domestic architectural culture, and representation of folkloric values in ethnographic museums are deemed as perfect symbols of uncontaminated European culture. In addition to the laudatory mentioning of women's participation in all domains of public life,

195 Unlike most of the travelers who merely write in detail about Paris and London, Nesimi devotes around ten pages to detailed depictions of Rome and writes about his genuine excitement about edifices such as St. Peter's Basilica, Pantheon and The Church of Santa Giovanni.

196 Nesimi, 123.

197 "Bulgaria is busy with appropriating and following useful developments via imitation and representation of already prosperous and progressed." Nesimi, 130.

198 In addition to Midhat and Selim Sırrı, there are other accounts on northern Europe such as Cemal Nuri İleri's *Şimal Hatıraları* [Memoirs from North] that was published in 1912.

199 The serialized version of his account in *Şehbal* was entitled as "Memoirs from Sweden".

there is no hesitation or warning about morality or decadence in family life in Selim Sırrı's account. During his visit to an exhibition for the King of Sweden, Sırrı learns that the state transformed the education system in order to develop a national identity, national art and artistic perspective via authentic material culture.²⁰⁰ He becomes aware of the emphasis put on creating local artworks designed and executed by local artisans as well as on displaying these values, teaching and learning them. Further, he finds the Swedish people and their culture more relatable to the Ottomans, much more so than the anonymous crowds in Paris or London. All in all, northern Europe becomes an unprescribed geography of encounter for these travelers as they did not have any information or expectations prior to arrival but met with a 'true European' civilization with localized modes of modernity.

In addition to Greece, the Balkan countries, Russia and Scandinavian cities, Granada also became a conspicuous European city for a few Ottoman travelers at the turn of the 20th century. Spain was certainly not a part of the Ottoman conception of Europe; as such it was not even mentioned in the travelogues. Tunalı Hilmi visits there in 1900 and leaves a note in the visitors' notebook with interesting details, like likening the Alhambra to Yıldız Palace in Istanbul due to the fact that both of the rulers who commissioned the buildings fell (he was assuming the fall of Abdülhamid). In 1914, Samipaşazade also writes in the same visitors' notebook that reads: "The affections that Gırnata induce do not resemble the impression that comes from Palymra (Tedmür) ruins, the Acropolis or Colliseum. Unheard of elsewhere, individual, unique feeling!"²⁰¹ According to Samipaşazade, the historic relics, old Muslim buildings, and north African climatic conditions create a unique environment. Samipaşazade describes the Alhambra focusing on the 'Arabic soul' of the town and claims that in order to understand the palace one should understand its oriental gist, or better, be from the Orient.²⁰² The site is intriguing for the traveler; the borders and limits of Europe start to blur in his mind as he personally observes the changing identity of the cities which were once Ottoman and Muslim and now European.

All in all, for the Ottoman travelers mapping civilization and progress, as well as reconstructing its limits, certainly depended on Euro-centrism and modernity, which recalls Hegel's definition of north-western Europe as the beginning, end and the center of the modernization.²⁰³ Where Hegel sees a land emancipated from 'custom and tradition', Ottoman travelers saw ideal ways of representation and reinsertion of traditional values into modern and local frameworks. For the Ottoman travelers, technological progress is substantial only if it is bound to tradition and when it is localized to reach wider parts of the public. In this context, Swedish cities came to the fore as successful examples of localized modernity, which was the ultimate goal of the Ottomans. In general, despite nuances, travelers did not elaborate on Europe as the center of history with groundbreaking shifts such as Renaissance, Enlightenment or French Revolution. What they looked for and what drove the main discursive tool to construct the socio-political borders of Europe in their accounts, was the place of industrial modernization. Even in the first

200 A similar format exhibition was held ten years prior to Sırrı's travels in Stockholm with 'European products, while in 1909, the exhibits were only local manufactures. Selim Sırrı, *İsveç Hatıraları 2*, Şehbal, 7, 1325 [1908], 126.

201 Samipaşazade, 132.

202 For a detail reading of Ottoman visitors to Alhambra -including Tunalı Hilmi and Samipaşazade see: Eldem, Edhem. "Ottomans at the Alhamra 1844-1914: An Investigation into the Perception of Al-Andalus by Ottoman Subjects in Times of Modernity", *Turcica*, (2018), 239-359.

203 On Hegel's approach to northern Europe see: Dussel, Enrique. "Eurocentricism and Modernity", *Boundary 2*, vol. 20, no: 3, (1993), 71.

group of travelers with semi-official features, West was not a concern of travelers; Europe was not conceived as a concept but as a governing body and more importantly physical space. (fig. 2.2) In other words, it was seen as the place of modern administration with the tools and data to realize the creation of modern cities, buildings and urban culture within it.

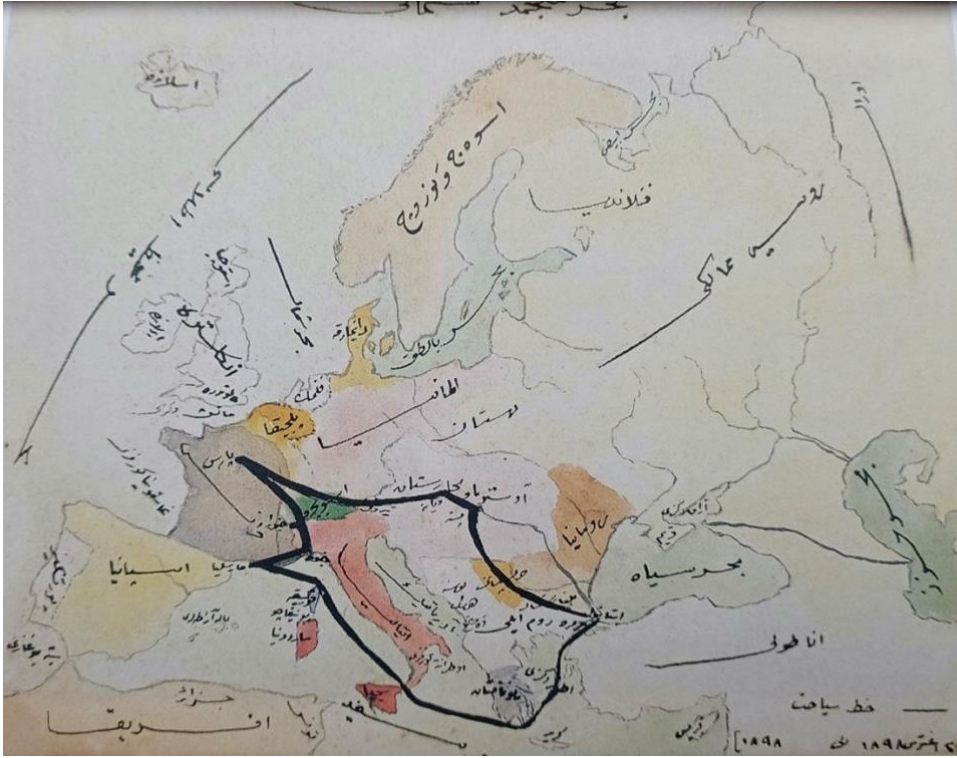


Fig. 2.2 *Hatt-ı Seyahat, 23 Agustos 1898 ila-...* [Itinerary, 23 August 1898 and ...], in *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi* (1889).

2.2 Oblique Views: Istanbul as a Subtext

Due to the very nature of traveling and writing an account on a foreign land, there was an impulse to reflect on their homeland that mirrored the curiosity to learn about the visited lands. Ottoman travelers' descriptive and comparative impulses were nourished by a strong admiration of European cities, coupled with a belief that Ottoman power would incite modernization in their homelands. Particularly in the accounts that encompass several European cities, Istanbul holds a critical place as a point of reference. The Ottoman capital arose as a familiar background that enabled a clear visualization of Europe in readers' -and travelers'-minds. The comparative descriptions were rarely based on travelers' taste but more on statistical data, physical conditions and geographical features. As a methodological strategy, the majority of travelers gathered or approximated quantitative data and established a comparative analysis between Ottoman and European cities. Vahid Vahdat summarizes this principle of comparison in westward Persian travelogues as "[w]hile adopting [...] approximations as referents [travelogues] encourages readers to project their own preconceptions onto description of Europe, the measurements solidify the domesticized imagery with a quantitative authority."²⁰⁴ In Ottoman travelogues, too, the dominant positivist approach was supplemented by comparisons, numbers and domestic examples. For instance, the width of the Parisian

²⁰⁴ Vahdat, 51.

boulevards or the height of Pisa Tower are compared to the streets in Istanbul and Galata Tower. Most importantly, the statistical data they put forward provide a set of standards and benchmarks to be achieved in the Ottoman Empire. Further, particularly towards the end of the century, a comparative framework was deployed to remind Ottoman readers of the glorious past of Istanbul, and thus Ottoman Empire. The historicist evaluation of the Ottoman capital within a scientific approach was deemed as a source of progressive outlook for the future of Ottoman society. The underlying tone of the comparisons was tacit pride of Ottoman history and belief in the great power of Istanbul -for some travelers -like Mağmumi and Nesimi- power that had been wasted.

The first group of travelers neither glorified the history of Istanbul nor criticized the current conditions of the city as their concentration was locked on the governance of London. Conceived as a manual of European-style administration, the first group accounts were written within a practical, technical and an urban strain of thought without reflections on homeland. The second group, however, incorporated a set of binary criteria to understand and evaluate European cities visà-vis Istanbul. In the first leg of his travel, Mehmed Rauf was in Italy where he was not only in awe but also baffled. Thus, his descriptions on Italian cities are full of adjectives such as bizarre (*acaib*), odd (*tuhaf*) and strange (*garip*) and indescribable.²⁰⁵ The pompous architecture and decoration of churches and palaces surprises Rauf to a point that his comparative framework collapses.²⁰⁶ Yet, his exotic tone abruptly dissolves when he arrives in London and starts to compare the physical and urban features of British capital to Istanbul. According to Rauf, the streets in London are twice as wide as the ones in Istanbul and they are unprecedentedly straight and long, nothing like the ones in the Ottoman capital.²⁰⁷ The majority of his comparisons are based on such material aspects, dimensions and technical specifications. Obviously, the technical precision and capacity of engineering in fine-tuning the built environment was an important part of the difference between the urban environments of Istanbul and London.

Like Rauf, Hayrullah Efendi mentions Ottoman counterparts to almost every urban and material specialty he had seen in every European city, including parks, towers, and public squares. The obvious reference points in Istanbul are: Kağthane for recreation areas like Serpentine Park in London; Beyazıt Tower and Galata Kulesi for all the observation platforms and church towers; Beyazıt Square and the courtyard of Beyazıt Mosque for the public squares and plazas in Europe; Hagia Sophia for the domed basilicas; khans and covered bazaars for the arcades and hotels. These references are reiterated in all the subsequent accounts with minor additions and omissions till the end of the Ottoman travel boom. In addition to such unsurprising comparisons, Hayrullah Efendi had a particular comparative perspective about the restored historical sites, archeological remnants, public sculptures and squares -most of which had no equivalent in the Ottoman capital.

Ebüzziya Tefvik was also not content to list typified guidebook data or plain comparisons of the urban and material cultures of Istanbul and European cities. As a meticulous observer of the built environment, he makes comparisons with respect to public perception, use and

205 Rauf, 7-21. The section on Italian cities was almost half of Rauf's account.

206 The adjectives and descriptive patterns about Italian cities recall the '*acaib*' theme that is inscribed into Arabian travel literature in early modern period. It is also similar to Yirmisekiz Çelebi's vocabulary in his account on Paris. I believe, like Çelebi, that Rauf did not have the terminology to describe the architecture and decorative patterns.

207 Ibid., 22-29.

cultural connotations. Not only in his travel notes but also in his articles or anecdotal stories, he constantly portrays an oblique view of Istanbul reflecting upon contentious transformations of the city with overt criticism. An article that Ebüzziya wrote after visiting Paris reads:

Yes! I compared this night to the night on the Champs-Elysees. As I envisioned my hometown in Paris, I was dreaming the Champs-Elysees while I was walking up the Bab-ı Ali Street. However, the building that *Düyun-ı Umumiye* built between the double-palaces was dominant in the scene. What a contrast! One was in agreement with the wisdom and order of the nation living in it, and indeed, it was worthy to be regarded as 'Champs-Elysees', and the other was deemed to be the witness of the deeply devout people.²⁰⁸

As the excerpt manifests, the idea of comparing Champs-Elysees to Bab-ı Ali streets and *Düyun-u Umumiye* to Arc De Triomphe depends on Ebüzziya's personal experiences and daily life. He also adds political and cultural connotations, describing the French examples as symbols of success and Ottoman ones as consequences of an economic downfall. His perspective is intriguing as symbolic meaning and collective memory of the material culture were not the main determinants for most of his peers.

The period between 1850-1880 was actually when the transformation of Istanbul drastically intensified. The destruction of Viennese city walls, for instance, was frequently discussed in Ottoman periodicals and Ebüzziya, too, comments on this issue in an attentive manner. He believes that a city wall is a part of the architectural heritage; therefore it is wrong to take the destruction of Viennese walls (1864-1868) as an example in order to demolish the walls around Galata.²⁰⁹ Ebüzziya acknowledges the positive results -in terms of order and beauty- of replacing the bulky city walls in Vienna with pompous boulevards, but he believes that historic heritage should be preserved and the modernization efforts should not impede the conservation of existing cultural values. In 1864 the city wall of the Galata district was demolished and caused debates that were published in the Ottoman press, yet it was not included within the narratives of the other Ottoman travelers.

Towards the last quarter of the 19th century, Ottoman travelogues, while harboring the distance between Western civilization and Ottoman Empire, at the same time highlighted the proximity between European cities and Istanbul. Along with the bureaucrats and middle-class intelligentsia, a growing number of the Ottoman public became acquainted with Europe through Pera. The neighborhood stood out as a small version of Europe, where Ottomans watched theatre plays, went to concerts in parks, read *L'illustration* (the popular French weekly), and attended balls in European embassies. The high number of Europeans who migrated to Istanbul after Crimean War (1853-56) -minorities with stronger relations to Europe and Christian communities- forged an Istanbulite version of a European urban and material culture. In time, as Pera assumed a more European and contemporary form, the image on the other side of the Golden Horn started to stand out with its historic, non-contemporary attributes. While a new form of urban life blossomed in Pera, Istanbul was still, as Murat Gül describes, "chaotic, overcrowded, poorly sewered, badly administered, prone to catastrophic

208 Akgün, Adnan. "Ebüzziya Tevfik'in Mecmuma-i Ebüzziya'daki Hatıraları", PhD. Diss, Marmara Uni., 1987, 128-129.

209 On Ebüzziya's perception of the urbanism in general and destruction of city walls in particular see: Türesay, Özgür. "Modernleşme, Medeniyet ve Şehircilik Üstüne", *Kebîçek* 5, (2003), 5-19.

fires and plagued with ineffective transportation systems”.²¹⁰ According to Gül, it was only after the first quarter of the 20th century that “the city was a metropolis with large avenues, postwar modernist architecture and city blocks which had swept away much of its traditional nineteenth century street pattern and altered its urban form.”²¹¹ Third group travelers acknowledge the problematic conditions in Istanbul, yet there is no trace of contempt or dislike in any of the accounts. The dignity of the capital became an important sensitivity and the historic image of all parts of Istanbul started to hold a greater place than the current conditions. Particularly at the turn of the century, in line with Abdülhamid II’s regime, nationalist quests fueled these historicist and nationalist perspectives. Within the imperial ethos, Istanbul was defined as an Ottoman capital par excellence during the time of an overhaul. Midhat frankly explains his subjectivist position stating that “our approach to Europe and the self is changed when there is a national point which was actually followed by the subsequent travelers.”²¹²

Within the travelogues of the third group travelers, common Istanbul references like Hagia Sophia and Kağıthane are repeated, but some new local/emerging reference points are added to the list: the coastal towns on the Anatolian side of Istanbul including Moda and Erenköy are deemed as the equivalent of French coastal region and the country side of Central Europe; Tepebaşı was compared to almost all the greenery and parks; Théâtre des Petit Champs (theatre in Tepebaşı), Concordia, Crystal and Beyoğlu French Theatre were compared to the European theatre venues and concert halls; Beyazit was compared to the book sellers area in cities like Paris; Bon Marché was compared to the European department stores and the arcades; İstiklal Street was compared to the Ringstrasse in Vienna. (fig. 2.3) The urban and leisure culture of Istanbul altered the comparisons even though the evocative descriptions and ceremonial tone for certain regions like Kağıthane continued. At the same time, the comparisons between European cities increased in the third group of accounts. Ahmet İhsan, for instance, writes that Unter den Linden in Berlin is the equivalent of Champs-Élysées in Paris. Similarly, Joinville-le-Pon and Luxemburg Gardens in Paris, and Serpentine and Hampton parks in London are paired and described together in several accounts, as Paris and London became benchmarks themselves, similar to Istanbul.

210 Gül, *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernization of a City*. I detail the issue of urban transformation in Chapter 3.

211 Gül, 1.

212 Midhat, 663-664.

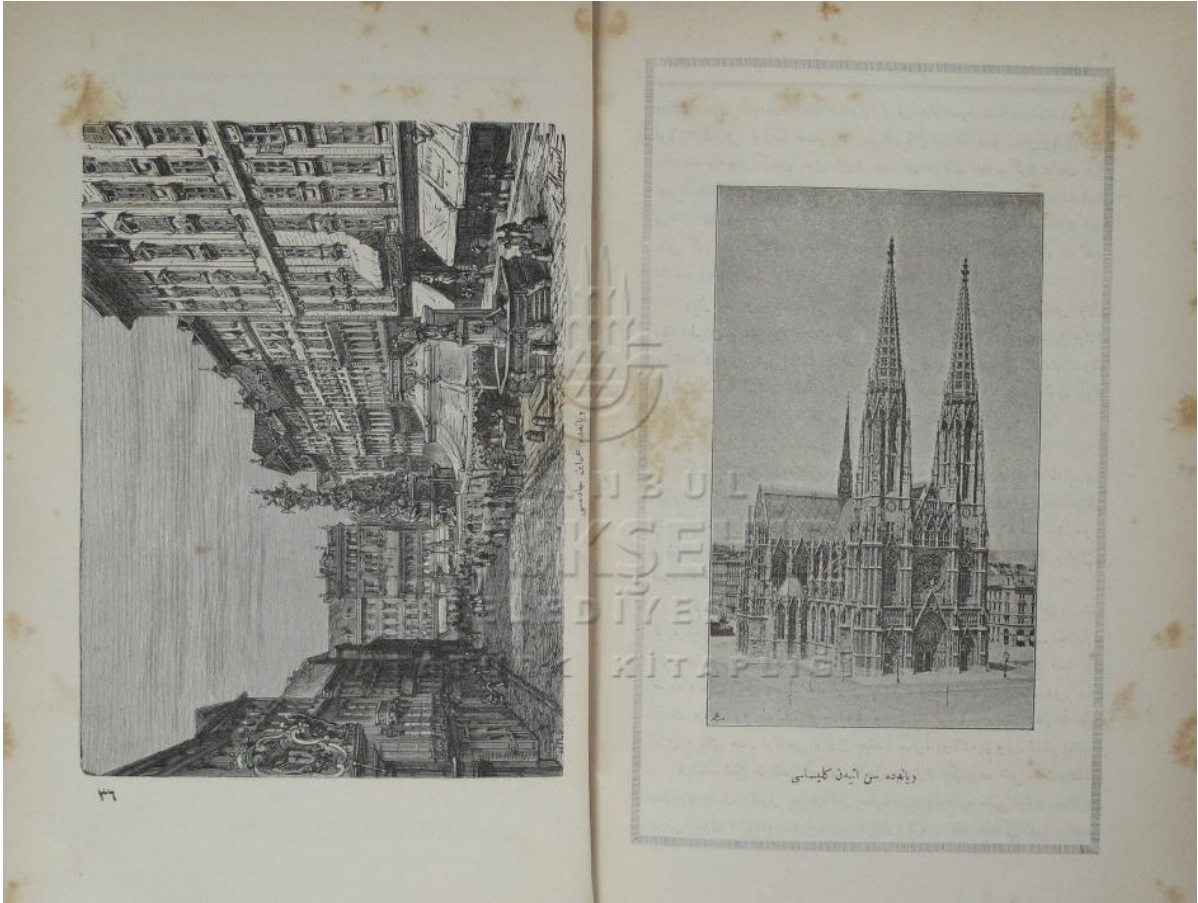


Fig. 2.3 *Viyana'da Sen Etiyen Kilisesi; Graben Caddesi* [St Etienne Cathedral and Graben Street], in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 552-553.

İhsan's travelogue well reflects his Europeanized way of life in Istanbul as he describes his daily routines and habits at homeland that are similar to his portrayal of the Parisian urban culture.²¹³ He always posits the urban culture in Istanbul as the benchmark and communicates his perspective from there -not as a Turkish Ottoman. He likens the Parisian department stores to Ömer Efendi Mağazası (Orosdi Back) in Bahçekapı in the historical peninsula, (fig. 2.4) Parisian cafés to the lobbies of hotels in Istanbul, the crowded streets around Palais Garnier to the Grand rue de Pera around Concordia.²¹⁴ On the other hand, İhsan incorporates his observations regarding the use of European materials, decorations or architectural elements. His descriptions are full of phrases like “The front of the window-cases has been circumambulated by the columns one after the other, like the one under the Ministry of Finance in Beyazıt.”²¹⁵ Another description is worth quoting at full length:

The roofs of Paris are not as we know them. I will give you the Ömer Efendi's store in Bağçekapısı, Istanbul as an example to describe the state of the roofs. If you look

213 In fact, Istanbul was not only İhsan's homeland; it was the main denominator of his identity. On the train from Frankfurt to Freiburg, he had a conversation with a passenger and defined himself as “a journalist and printer from Istanbul”. İhsan, 324.

214 Since 1860, in *La Turquie* and *Journal de Constantinople*, multiple hotel advertisements were published highlighting the cafes and lobbies. There are popular but also lesser-known establishments in the newspapers such as Hôtel de la Corne d'Or, Palais des Fleurs Bahçesi and Teke Bahçesi.

215 İhsan, 136.

at the roof of this store, you will see that the windows of the upper floor have almost come out of the roof, it constitutes the attic. This is the case for all the Parisian households; the roofs keep the surface of the slate and are enchanted with slate. Then on the edge, they produce the steep angle almost like standing up to the horizon. The windows opened on that surface are the attic -the cheapest rent place.²¹⁶

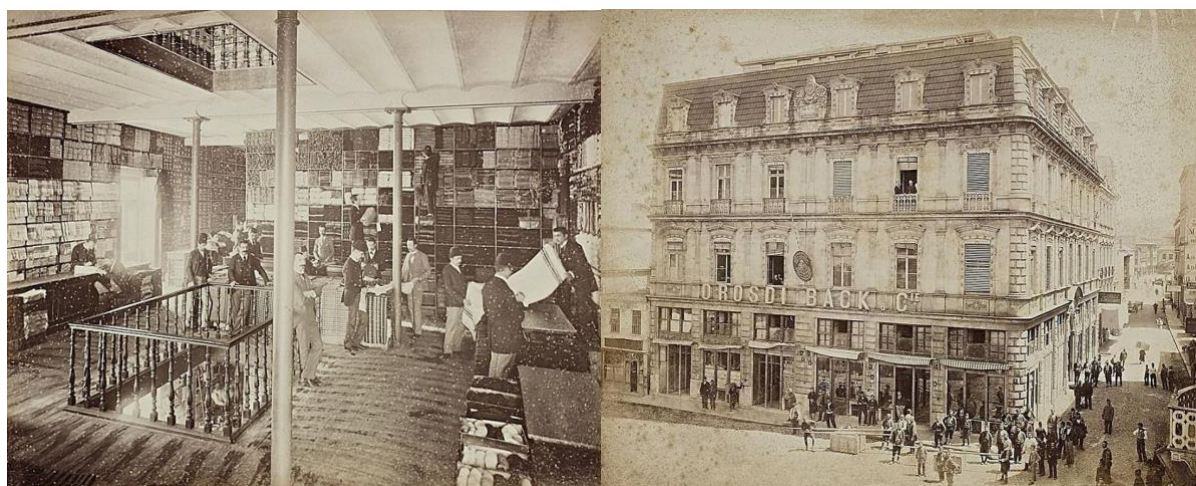


Fig. 2.4a and 2.4b The interior and exterior view of the popular department during late 19th century Orosdi Back (Turkified as Horozdibak) in Bahçekapı owned by Ömer Efendi, Author's Archive.

The specific references he gives reflect that certain stores, apartment blocks and cultural venues were well-known reference points among the Ottoman bourgeoisie and middle class. Yet, there is no clear systematization in İhsan's comparisons. His pairings pivot around a specific point of visual resemblance as he pairs housings blocks with department stores, arcades, or a municipality building. In addition to such lengthy explanations and personal commentary, İhsan also gives crude statistical data similar to the second group travelers: "The height of the stage is three meters less than the Beyazıt fire tower"; "the white performance stage is as big as Beyazıt Square"²¹⁷

Despite the common ground of a nationalistic approach and a penchant for statistical comparisons, travelers' personal interests and experiences also left marks on their remembrances of Istanbul. For instance, Enisi's account from 1893 is full of pastoral and exotic portrayals of the French coast with rather generalized references to the cityscape of Istanbul. As a naval officer in professional life and enthusiast about the French Riviera, he tends to portray Istanbul as a conglomeration of seashore resorts:

Marseille is similar to Istanbul. First of all, it is cosmopolitan, like the old harbor Haliç, Galata, Limon Pier and Balıkpazarı. [...] When we got up from here, there were magnificent castles among the dead trees on our left, at the border of the fields, in the gullies, in the gateway of the florid gardens. We arrived at Toulon by stopping at Saint Marcel, Saint Menet, Calanque de Morgiou, Aubagne and La Ciotat and more. Each of these positions, like our Erenköy, Kızıltoprak, are

²¹⁶ İhsan, 34.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 45 and 47.

bestowed by divine beauty.²¹⁸

Similar to Enisi, Mustafa Said and Mağmumi likens all the Mediterranean countries to the coasts of Istanbul. Said writes that “On the way from Marseille to Italy - like the land between Haydarpaşa and Bostancı, there are all kinds of vineyards and orchards.”²¹⁹ These three accounts from the final years of the 19th century are full such pastoral descriptions and ‘panoramic views’ of European cities without casting new light on any of them. Mağmumi almost draws a verbal picture of Nice on top of the Anatolian coast of the Ottoman capital:

Let's take the Gulf of Kalamış as an example for a complete depiction of Nice. Widen the Lantern and Moda Cape three or five times and lengthen it. Lift the islands in front of you and assume in front you lie a sea. Line up a few Camlica Hills back-to-back. [...] Lay the channel of Kurbağalidere with pebbles and then flow an arch into the sea. [...] Now let's bring the dock from Mesarburnu to Büyükdere with its buildings and mansions and set it aside. Let's bring the summer resorts of the Moda Point of the Bosphorus and the Mualla hotels of Beyoğlu and sprinkle them behind. Nice is now formed.²²⁰

In addition, Mağmumi glorifies the panorama of Istanbul seen from multiple viewpoints and compares it to the Europeans’ efforts to create such vistas by building high towers.²²¹ In most of the cities he had been to, he was either guided or personally climbed to a high point in order to grasp a holistic view of the city. Upon his observations, Mağmumi recalls the view of Istanbul from afar, which is a strong hallmark in his mind. He proudly names the hilltops of Istanbul, Galata and Beyazıt towers to observe the cityscape and also explains that a short sail to the Marmara Sea opens the unique silhouette of Istanbul to everyone. Nevertheless, Mağmumi did not confine himself to solely glorifying the image of Ottoman capital from afar, he immediately adds the deficiencies of the streetscape when one gets close by. His rendition of the streets of Istanbul without pavement or hard-cover materials and the constant construction in every part of the city creates a different -almost opposite- portrayal of Istanbul; as a bird-eye view image and a close-up. While most Ottoman travelers preferred not to include sharp criticism about any city -either Ottoman or European- Mağmumi criticizes the streets of Rome, Beyoğlu and Vienna within the same reasoning. Except for Mağmumi, Ottoman travelers never wrote about the unpaved streets in Vienna since they, in all likelihood, did not go outside of the belt of Ringstrasse or intentionally omitted those from their narratives to provide a normative perspective of modern European city.

It would be intriguing to compare the Ottoman travel narratives concerning Arab provinces and Anatolian cities that were published in the *Servet-i Fünun*. In accounts of Arab provinces, Istanbul is a constant reference point – not exclusively but usually as a superior or normative model against which defects are emphasized. In some Anatolian towns, in contrast, progress, modernizing infrastructure and change, that is mostly reified as a decent hygienic hotel,

218 Enisi, 72.

219 Mustafa Sait Bey, *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi 1898*, Burdan Günaysu (Ed.), YKY, 2014, 27.

220 Mağmumi 226 and 239.

221 The verbalization of his comparison is worth quoting in original: “From the aforementioned streets, one can climb the wide terrace on this wall by double stairs with 171 steps. Just as the panorama of the Golden Horn, Der-Saadet and the Bosphorus and Galata and Üsküdar sides can be seen from a bird's eye view in the courtyard of the Süleymaniye Mosque, the Brussels district and surrounding countryside can be watched from here.” Ibid., 136.

townhall or a high school building, is compared to favorable European examples.²²² Thus, most Ottoman travel narratives contain silent references. Additionally, in the Anatolian travel narratives of *Servet-i Fünun*, the panoramic view is documented by photographs along with the newly built infrastructures or buildings. The literary and visual representation of urban environments started to be standardized as the dissemination methods and technological tools circulated across imperial and national borders. (fig. 2.5)



Fig. 2.5 *Ankara Demir Yol Hattında Sapanca Gölü ve Mevkifi*, [Sapanca Lake and its environs on Ankara railway line] in *Servet-i Fünun* 79, (13 Ramazan 1308 [26.6.1892]), 4.

The booklet of Hüseyin Galib, *Efel Kulesi* (1892), is an isolated case in terms of its comparative strategy of European and Ottoman material culture. Galib's affinity for quantitative data resulted in a rather long list of the highest buildings in the world.²²³ He opens his account with the specifications of the height of Eiffel Tower and then compares it to Yeni Mosque and Beyazıt Tower.²²⁴ In total, Galib lists the twelve tallest buildings in the world in order to put Eiffel in the context of new industrial products, developments of construction and engineering in the global scale. His strictly empirical attitude about the height and load bearing capacity of the buildings was based on his interest in the advancements of industrialization, the entrepreneurs' role in this process and the international repercussions of national improvements. His booklet is, at first glance, an uninspiring text with crude statistical data, yet his emphasis on the industrious efforts of individuals and their reputation as scientists reflect that, for Galib, the Eiffel Tower was a symbolic model for Ottoman industrialization, which was on the lookout for figures like Gustav Eiffel. (fig. 2.6)

222 See for instance the short travel notes on Damascus that was described as truly European: Ahmet İhsan, *Suriye'de bir Cevelan*, in: *Servet-i Fünun* vol. 12/302, 245.

223 Hüseyin Galib, *Efel Kulesi*, Istanbul, Asaduryan/Şirket-i Mürettibiyye Matba'ası, 1308, [1892], 1-4.

224 Hüseyin Galib, 2.

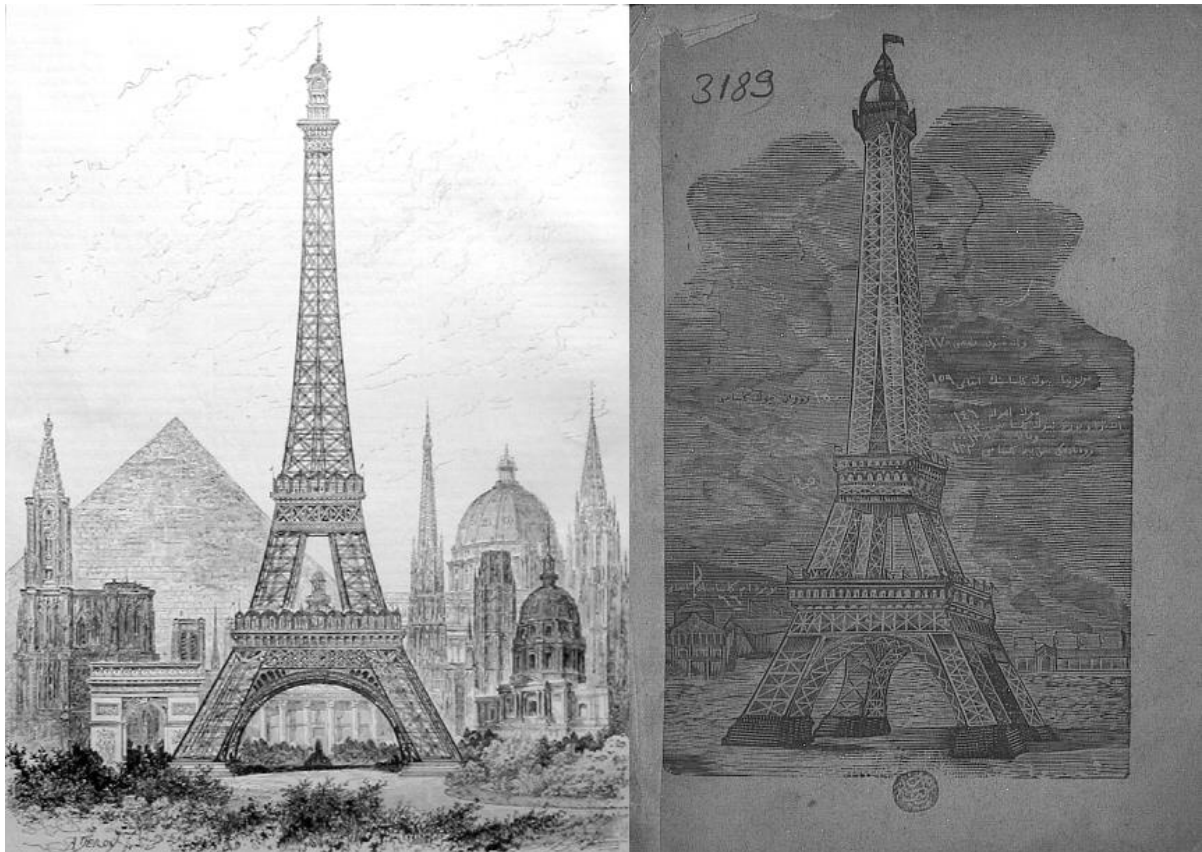


Fig. 2.6 A typical engraving of Eiffel Tower comparing its height to other high edifices and similar view of it in Hüseyin Galib's booklet *Efel Kulesi*.

Hauteur comparée de la Tour Eiffel (300 mètres) et des principaux monuments du monde (left), in *L' exposition de Paris, publiée avec la collaboration d'écrivains spéciaux, Vol. 1* and the rear cover of *Efel Kulesi*.

2.3 'Scripted Site': Baedeker Guidebook at Hand

The travels of 19th century Ottoman intelligentsia were essentially a structured expedition to the cities of modernization. Travelers' personal curiosity about urban life and material culture triggered a 'reconnaissance' of Europe in order to learn standards and gain factual information.²²⁵ Along with such positivist approaches, writing about the journey became an intellectual operation in order to reflected upon, as a lived history, what was experienced. Within these writings, Ottoman travelers persistently underscored that travelling meant personally surveying what they have been reading for years. In other words, referring to Buzards, Europe was a 'scripted site' for Ottoman travelers.²²⁶ Before setting off, they acquired academic (*kitabî*) knowledge from -mostly official- travel accounts, books on

225 I used the military and geographical term reconnaissance here following the fact that it denotes 'to discover' what was not known before. The Ottoman westward travelers assumed to discover not an unknown territory but the facts, standards and technical specifications of industrial modernization; thus, I found the term proper to use. The title of Yerasimos's article in which Ottoman diplomats are qualified as 'explorers' should be recalled here. Yerasimos, Stéphane. "Explorateurs de la modernité. Les ambassadeurs ottomans en Europe", in: *Genèses* 35, Berlin, (Juin 1999), 65–82.

226 Buzard, James. *The Beaten Track European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to "Culture", 1800-1918*, Oxford University Press, 1993.

geography, periodicals and other related publications.²²⁷ Certainly, Ottoman intellectuals were more accustomed to exploring books than cities. Ultimately, travel became a necessity in order to gain firsthand knowledge of European modernity and travel guidebooks such as Baedeker and Murray became a springboard for the Ottoman *tour d'Europe* during the latter half of the 19th century. Here I argue that the textual and visual content of these guidebooks was not only instrumental in guiding the traveler through unfamiliar terrain, but it also introduced them to a new and holistic narrative device which they instrumentalized -sometimes to the point of copying- while turning their travel experience into a travel account. As Churnjeet Mahn describes, “[t]he power to transcribe reality, or at least the innovation of rhetorical devices to render textual description as recognizable facsimiles of real places, has been the defining characteristic of modern guidebooks.”²²⁸

Travelogue discourse forges a special kind of narrative, which is hinged on the urge to modernize within the Ottoman context. On the other hand, the travel guide-book genre has a specific structure, which was established from 1825 onwards. The ostensibly prosaic and practical narrative of guidebooks, in fact, embodies social, cultural and political developments that arose through the late 19th century. The background that created it is not linear with a clear causation, but rather, a convergence of factors such as the stabilization of European politics, advancements in transportation infrastructure and print technology.²²⁹ In the aftermath of French revolution, the establishment of a certain degree of peace and the rapid construction of the roads in western and central Europe were in effect the first modern touristic events.²³⁰ Concurrently, as the social currency of travelling grew apace and expanded beyond aristocrat male figures, two heavy-hitters of publishing industry in Europe generated the guidebook genre almost on their own. The German publisher Karl Baedeker and British publisher John Murray started their series of guides for tours around their hometowns.²³¹ Baedeker's first guidebook *Rheinreise von Mainz bis Köln* (1832) is actually an abridged version of the history book by Prof. Johann August Klein with short additions on Rotterdam and Strasbourg.²³² Baedeker continued to publish numerous editions including Holland, Belgium, northern Germany and Switzerland, therewith consolidating a specific guidebook narrative. Murray's first guidebook, on the other hand, is constituted of his own travel notes in Britain, which claim to be insightful but also practical. *A Handbook for Travellers in Holland, Belgium, and along the Rhine, and throughout Northern Germany* (subtitled “The Continent”) was

227 The Ottomans who learned Europe in the field were the diplomats and the students who were sent to Europe starting in the 1830s in order to create the ‘man of knowledge’ (ashab-ı malumat) whom the empire was in urgent need of. Şişman, Adnan. *Tanzimat Döneminde Fransa'ya Gönderilen Osmanlı Öğrencileri 1839-1876*, Ankara, TTK Yayınları, 2004, 4-6.

228 Mahn, Churnjeet. *The virtual tourist gaze in Greece, 1897–1905*, in: *Annals of Tourism* 48, (2014), 198.

229 “Baedeker's Universe” is still one of most comprehensive articles that analyses the formation of guidebooks as a politically charged genre. Mendelson, Edward. “Baedeker's Universe”. *Yale Review* 74, (1985), 386-403.

230 The French publisher John Anthony Galignani (d.1873) organized a group tour in Paris in 1815 which is accepted as one of the earliest instances of touristic events in the modern sense.

231 The studies display that the protomodern travel guidebooks go back to the first years of the 19th century. Among other examples Mariana Starke's letters published between 1802-1820 and Charles Campbell's guide from 1815 are the most referenced sources who attempted to write systematically structured guides for a broad range of readers.

232 Professor Joh. Aug. Klein, *Rheinreise von Mainz bis Köln / historisch, topographisch, malerisch bearb. vom, Koblenz, Röhling, 1828*.

published by Murray in 1836, which ignited interest in the idea of traversing north-western Europe and equated it to the continental tour.²³³ Baedeker added more cities into the itineraries of each travel guidebook, while Murray, on the contrary, published detailed guidebooks for specific cities. The two publishing houses were aware of each other and their contest was heightened towards the last quarter of the 19th century. Baedeker mastered the guidebook narrative focused on routes and a star-system evaluation within a handbuch/büchlein (booklet/manual) format, although Murray used all these features prior to Baedeker. It must be noted here that Murray borrowed the technique from Marianne Starke - the creator of the template of the 19th century guide-book genre that was distinct from the earlier scenic guides of Grand tour.²³⁴

None of the Ottoman travelers referred to Murray guidebooks; Baedeker was virtually 'the guidebook' for all. As Hayrullah Efendi emphatically writes, Baedeker emancipated all travelers from unknown territories of knowledge and place.²³⁵ Decades after Hayrullah Efendi, Midhat and İhsan also write that, even though there are many other guidebooks, they prefer to travel by Baedeker.²³⁶ One reason for their selection could be that the Baedeker includes more maps than Murray, which Ottoman travelers heavily utilized. In addition, Baedeker guidebooks refrained from including information outside of urban topography in the narrative while Murray could contain rather lengthy and witty descriptions evocative of the British novels on urban life. The comprehensive descriptions of the urban scenery in Baedeker guidebooks, like a verbal veduta with information on the garden, park as well as specific artworks in the museums, were well received by the Ottoman travelers. The maps of Baedeker regulated their movements and the urban life descriptions guided them for the visual overview of the cityscape.²³⁷ (fig. 2.7)

The Baedeker publishing house popularized a specific discourse which, I argue, steered the genre of the 19th century Ottoman travelogues into a similar informative and advising tone.²³⁸ Baedeker guidebooks created the main layer of 'scripted continent', via a strict narrative structure composed of a specific set of content, order and titles. In the London edition, for instance, Baedeker content reads as: Introduction (including 'historical sketch of London'), Preliminary Info (amenities including cafes, libraries, charities etc.), Sights of London, the

233 Soon enough, in 1840, Thomas Cook started to guide groups of travelers in their 'pleasure tours'. The target readers of travel guidebooks were slightly distinct from these groups even though Cook claimed that all the travelers would gain 'the perspective of an explorer not a 'touristic gaze' and enjoy a la carte journey' like Baedeker and Murray. The nature of group tours' fast pace created a form of collective experience, rather than Baedekers' suggestion of 'tour of a learned man'. Baedeker criticizes travel narratives, which do not leave any place for personal experience but also lack convenient information.

234 Pickford, Susan. in: Kuehn, Julia, Smethurst Paul. (Eds.), *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, Routledge, 64-80.

235 Hayrullah Efendi, 3.

236 Midhat, 146 and İhsan, 76 and 173.

237 Due to these reasons, I will focus on only the Baedeker in this study and refer to Murray only when there is a direct thematic relation.

238 Following the works of preeminent names like Rudy Koshar, James Buzard, John Urry there has been a tardy increase in the analysis of guidebooks in relation to other travel media during the 2000s. A selection of examples are: Walton, John K. *Histories of Tourism Representation, Identity and Conflict, Bristol*, Channel View Publications, 2005; Nance, Susan. "A Facilitated Access Model and Ottoman Empire Tourism", *Annals of Tourism* 34/4, (2007), 1056-1077; Harlan, Deborah. "Travel, Pictures and a Victorian Gentlemen in Greece", in *Hesperia* 78, (2009), 421-453.

West End, the Surrey Side, Excursions from London, List of Maps and Plans.²³⁹ For every edition, following a prologue intent on familiarizing the uninformed reader and conveying necessary/practical information, Baedeker editions principally provide a panoramic description of cities with the economic and demographic information, genealogy and religion as well as natural features. Baedeker guidebooks are generous about describing geography, local flora and fauna, trade and natural resources in this section. Building upon this encyclopedic information, statistical specifications of material culture and historic heritage such as information on religious edifices, institutional buildings and industrial architecture is provided. Even though Baedeker ceased to write long praiseworthy poems or laudatory prose before introducing practical information about the specific journeys after 1850s, the glory of European cultural productions is often infused into the formulaic content of the body sections. In fact, shortening the patriotic poems left more space for portrayal of the monumental history of European nations within more detailed accounts of art, architecture and archeology. The information on urban novelties such as galleries, museums, urban lifestyle and habits are portrayed such that traditional and national values are hinged around a unifying background of European identity.

239 Until the 2000s, Baedeker continued to structure the guidebooks around four main body parts: “Background”, “Tours”, “Destinations from A to Z” and “Practical Information from A to Z”. For an analysis of guidebooks on Ottoman capital: Martinidis, Vilma H. “Visions of Constantinople/Istanbul from the Nineteenth-Century Guidebooks”, *Journeys* 4, no. 2, (2003): 40-57.

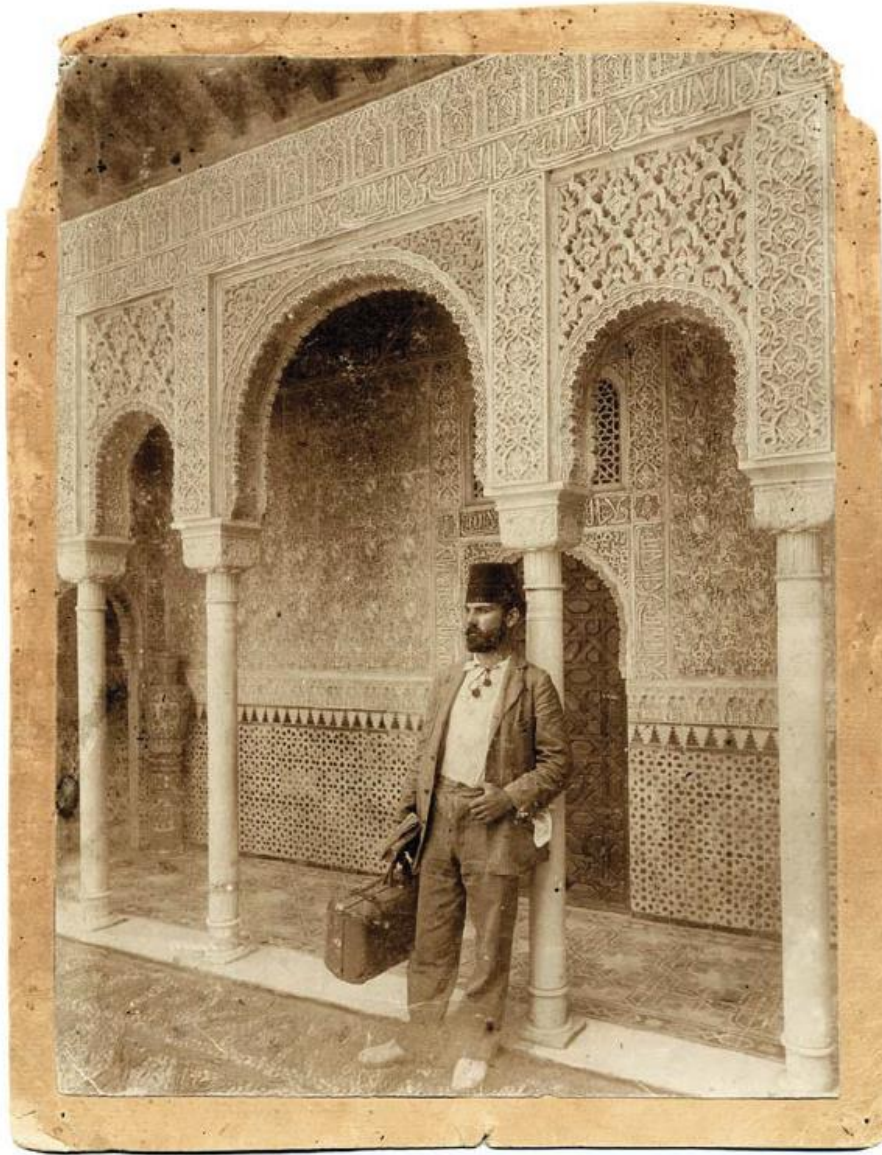


Fig. 2.7 Tunalı Ahmet Hilmi posing as a traveler in Garzon's studio in Granada with Baedeker on his hand, in S. Ateş, *Tunalı Hilmi Bey. Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e bir Aydın*, 2009, 74.

Until the 20th century, some seemingly minor shifts in the content of Baedeker guidebooks, I believe, had significant impact on Ottoman travelogues. The hallmarks of these changes can be traced in the second group and more so in the third group of Ottoman travelogues. In 1849, the heir of Karl Baedeker started to add his name as the 'author and traveler' of the guidebooks and took over the responsibility of gathering all the information rather than developing the text from the writings of historians. The romantic and lengthy introductions, most probably written by a German intellectual, were replaced by objective information on modern city life, urban attractions and historical sites. In so doing, the second generation of Baedeker guidebooks consolidated the authority of the traveler as the author and intellectual. This is only two years before Mehmet Rauf Bey decided to leave "a humble memory" (*acizane bir hatıra*) for future Ottoman travelers.²⁴⁰ Rauf might have been impressed by the idea of personalizing the travelogues while at the same time conveying scientific (read statistical)

240 Mehmed Rauf, 3.

knowledge –as Baedeker contends to do. When Rauf wrote his account there were no French Baedeker editions; he could only have read a German version, which is likely because Rauf notes that he had been to Vienna to learn German.²⁴¹ This period also saw the blossoming of the Ottoman press, which provided a platform to both read about Europe and also to widely disseminate one's personal experiences of engaging with Europe to those outside the Ottoman bureaucracy. Ottoman intellectuals started to discuss the potential drive of 'public opinion' on the transformation of the empire. Şiviloğlu defines 1855-65 as the formative era of the public sphere in which the second group travel accounts occupied a critical place.²⁴² Their constant urging of the Ottomans to take action, notably parallels the role of elites in Europe in establishing educational institutions like unions, botanical and zoological gardens. On the other hand, the growing number of translated materials had a critical impact on Ottoman travelers, as it was through these that they read about the Westerners' views and preconceptions about the East before embarking on their journeys. The author of *Seyahatname-i Londra*, for instance, constantly refers to writings, news and books on Muslims and Ottomans that he read back in Istanbul. He criticizes the generalizations and presumptions of the Europeans regarding the Ottomans, and he thinks their ignorance is affirmed during his journey.²⁴³ As such, Ottoman travelers became conscious of the authority of the word and the influence of authors in conceptions of 'the other' before setting off. Consciously or not, all of the second group travelers emphasize the power of writing and having personal experiences of Western civilization. Despite the fact that the first two travelers in second group had an official duty in the Great Exhibition in London (1851) and even met with the Queen of England more than once, they specifically discuss the potential of civilian travelers and their personal impact on the Ottomans.

Soon after, Karl Baedeker II -the third generation- decided to leave out any references to historians and books; Baedeker guidebooks transformed into completely personal accounts from 1864 onwards. As a result, the narrative focus of Baedekers was structured around the union of scientific data and personal insights (practical information). Albeit uncited, the scientific data was acquired from previous accounts and books, yet the stress was put on the personal voice. Simultaneous to such discursive alterations, the first French translation of the guidebooks on the Rhine and Switzerland were published in 1859 and two years later were followed by the first English translation.²⁴⁴ Thereafter, Karl Baedeker II started to publish new editions in three languages, German, French and English. In this period, Baedeker guidebooks increasingly started to cover plural routes with more and colorful lithographed maps instead of a limited number of wood cuts on a single route. In 1875, Syria and Palestine; in 1877, Lower Egypt; in 1883, Russia and Greece; in 1891, Upper Egypt; in 1897, Spain and Portugal; and only in 1905 Constantinople and Asia Minor were added to the 'Baedeker's universe'. For the guidebooks on the East, the lack of personal experience steered the publishing house back to their previously abandoned method of using the work of historians and mentioning them as

241 Mehmed Rauf mentions his journey to Vienna in a single sentence in the initial part of his travelogue, thus the date and other details about his trip are not definite.

242 Şiviloğlu, particularly 72-110. In this period all the accounts were first published as series or singular articles including a lesson for the Ottoman public.

243 In a reactionary tone, the traveler mentions that European travelers wrote about crazy people in the streets of Istanbul and thus he would write about the ones in London. See *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 12 and 19.

244 Before 1859 there were few French editions exclusively on a single route around German lands: Voyage du Rhin (1832), Le Rhin de Bale a Düsseldorf (there are 1846, 1852, 1854, 1855 and 1856 editions) and Suisse (there are 1852, 1854, 1855 and 1857 editions).

a reference for further information.²⁴⁵ The iterative nature of Baedeker's Eastward guidebooks was compounded by the Orientalism of the constantly referred to texts and older travel accounts, some of which were written without even traveling to the places of interest.

Most notably, the impact of Baedeker guidebooks is apparent on Hayrullah Efendi's account in terms of its structure, content and discursive features. First and foremost, much like Baedeker, the idea of writing about personal experiences as a guide for future travelers was the driving force of Hayrullah Efendi's account. He notes that, although there are a number of accounts written by honorable Ottomans like Sami Efendi, an Ottoman travel guidebook with detailed practical information is still a necessity.²⁴⁶ For the 1860s, Hayrullah Efendi's text, with specific attention on practical and daily information and written in a plain language, could be put in early modernized Ottoman literary production. The French Baedeker editions on the Swiss region and on south German cities were published in the beginning of 1860s and were, in all likelihood, Hayrullah Efendi's main sources. While selecting the sights to visit in urban centers and what to write about them, Hayrullah Efendi effectively adheres to the prescription set forth by Baedeker's *Bords du Rhin* (1859), *Allemagne* (1860), *Suisse* (1862), *Belgique et Hollande* (1862), *Paris* (1865) editions. Secondly, the Baedeker narrative, formulated around the routes, is also mirrored in the structure of *Yolculuk Kitabı*. Hayrullah Efendi charts the two main routes from Istanbul to central Europe and Baedeker follows exactly the same routes from the other direction, around Central German, Austrian and Swiss cities.

In the same vein as the Baedeker guidebooks, whenever Hayrullah Efendi arrives at a new city he provides a 'potted history'²⁴⁷ constituting of a brief political history, some information on its administrative organization, language and etymology along with a description of the topography and natural environments. Following such information, also similar to a Baedeker guide, statistical data is given on the fortifications, houses, religious buildings, schools, libraries, khans, baths and fountains. The penchant for quantifiable facts was again a mirror image of Baedeker guidebooks, with minor additions mostly in the form of comparisons to Ottoman society. In *Yolculuk Kitabı*, the exhaustive information -like the commissioner of the public institution buildings, construction and renovation dates, the cost and height of the building forms, typical narratives on art and architecture of the cities- are most obviously borrowed from Baedeker. Clearly, Baedeker guidebooks and Hayrullah Efendi operate within a similar discursive framework despite different personal agendas and backgrounds; descriptive introductions of the cities, practical information of daily apprehensions of traveling and finally, historical and scientific portrayal of middle-class urban culture created the shared ground of their narrative.

The third group of Ottoman travelers constantly mention guidebooks in anecdotal notes. Ahmed Midhat's first experience in the streets of Paris is his detour around the Ottoman Embassy to go and buy *delail-i seyyahin* (French Baedeker editions) on Germany and Sweden-Norway.²⁴⁸ He uses the term *rehnüma* (guide) and *delail-i seyyahiye* (testimony of travelers) interchangeably to address guidebooks. Years later, Nesimi also describes the guidebooks as

245 The German, French and English editions are indexed in: <http://www.bdkr.com/index.php>. Curiously, Murray had already published *A handbook for travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople* in 1840 and continued to publish, particularly on Greece.

246 Hayrullah Efendi, 3.

247 Carter Findley uses this description for Ahmet Midhat's travelogues.

248 Midhat, 93.

delil kitabı (the book of testimony) and manuals of his excursions.²⁴⁹ Other than such anecdotes, among the eleven travelers of the third group, only Midhat, İhsan and Mağmumi specifically mention the name Baedeker. İhsan and Mağmumi note it more than once in a laudatory and confirming manner either before or during visiting the 'Baedeker sights'. During his visit to the 1889 Paris Exposition, Midhat provides a direct quotation from the guidebook on Eiffel Tower.²⁵⁰ The height of Eiffel Tower occupied Midhat's mind during his tour and he was surprised when he realized that the same issue was raised in Baedeker's explanation of the exposition.²⁵¹ However, in general, Ottoman travelers did not fully acknowledge the reference value of the Baedeker guidebooks -let alone discuss the value of them in their journeys. The information in guidebooks was regarded as common knowledge that could be transferred to another similar guidebook, the Ottoman travelogue, without any references. In fact, as I noted previously, this method was adopted by the Baedeker guidebooks themselves. In this regard, only Nesimi is distinctive, as he principally annotates whenever he borrows statistical information with phrases 'according to the guidebook', 'with references to the narrative of the guidebook', 'as we follow the guidebook information' (*Delilin rivayetini atfen, Delilin rivayetini göre, Elimize delil kitabını alarak*).

It would be erroneous not to mention here an Ottoman travelogue which lies beyond the scope of this dissertation because of its geographic focus, yet it is important for the Ottoman guidebook discourse during the 19th century. *İstanbul'dan Asya-yi Vustaya Seyahat* (1878) by Mehmed Emin well reflects the guidebook impact in terms of content and structure with direct representation of sources. Following the introduction by Ahmet Midhat Efendi, Mehmed Emin divides his account into four main sections: "İfade" [Introduction], "Seyahatnamenin Me'hazları" [Sources of the Travelogue], "Preface" [Mukaddime] and "Tahdîs-i ni'met ve Prens Yusuf Kemal Beyefendi Hazretlerinin vasfında manzûme" [Expression of Blessing and Poem to Prens Yusuf Kemal Beyefendi Hazretleri].²⁵² Mehmet Emin unprecedentedly lists the Islamic and Western sources that he utilizes in his travelogue as "Accounts describing the travels of European, German or French travelers at different times to Africa, the history of Herodotus, the History of Sudan written in Arabic by Naum Şakir, some other history books, Ibn-i Halikan, Ibn Khaldun, History of Bonaparte and Tacü't-tevârih and others."²⁵³ He also refers to Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah* as the most quoted text in travel literature -particularly in the Islamic cultures. Mehmet Emin's indication of source books, which were neither an essential part of guidebooks nor Ottoman travelogue discourse, stood as a modern and scientific approach.²⁵⁴

Like their overall itineraries, the daily course of Ottoman travelers was never trivial; thus, the

249 Nesimi, 16.

250 Midhat, 562.

251 Baedeker started to publish supplements specifically on the world fairs beginning with the 1855 Paris Exposition, including comprehensive plans. The supplements on the 1855 and 1867 Paris Expositions, the 1862 London Exhibition, the 1873 Wiener and 1889 Paris Exposition might have read by Ottoman travelers. Curiously, a specific edition on Gotthardbahn in Switzerland was also published in 1882. See for the list of supplements: <http://www.bdkr.com/gallerybeilagen.php>

252 Mehmet Emin, *İstanbul'dan Vusta-yi Asya-i Seyahat*, M. Dargan (Ed.), Istanbul, Everest Yayınları, 2007.

253 Ibid.

254 For the latest and most comprehensive analysis of Mehmed Emin as a traveler, see: *Ottoman Arcadia - The Hamidian Expedition to The Land of Tribal Roots (1886)*. The book sheds light on his take on the official expedition and production of three volumes of photograph albums.

intensity of the plans and maps in Baedeker guidebooks left a mark on their tours and narratives. Aerial views of urban landmarks, particularly the ones in Paris, are explained in multiple accounts, to the point where there are pages of basically literary description of the architectural plans. The long-winded Baedeker editions on Paris, London, Berlin and Rome have bound-in booklets containing a street index and detailed plans which were apparently always in the Ottoman travelers' hand. Midhat, İhsan, Mağmumi and Nesimi also mention that they studied the maps before starting their tours in cities, museums, galleries, and libraries. They were effectively performing what Baedeker describes as 'tours that merits a ride'. For travelers like Midhat and İhsan -who were in the printing business- the quality of the visual representation of the maps was critical. They were aware of the power of visuals as a representational method and a scientific tool, in addition to their being a manual for their daily tours. The use of visual clues in the accumulation of spatial knowledge, use of maps, booklets, display of artefacts, signs and representation of history in institutions like libraries, hospitals, townhalls and universities are among the awe-inspiring qualities of European material culture for the travelers at the turn of the 20th century. ²⁵⁵

The issue of quality visuals and maps, in fact, is directly linked to travelers' studious interest in the representation of history, classification and order. These grand issues are the main concerns that shape travelers' sensitivities about architecture and urbanism. In fact, particularly in the third group of travelogues, three dimensional and experiential qualities of European cities occupy far less space than the lists and descriptions on maps and plans. Nesimi and Mağmumi have an attentive attitude and they convey renderings of places with sculptural, façade and volumetric qualities, yet even in their accounts most spatial depictions are as flat as the maps, plans and charts. Baedekers' laconic description and official portrayal of the establishment of museums seems to be enough for the travelers. Even in the museums with murals and paintings travelers dwell less on the artworks or building features and more on the classifications, organization and placement of the artworks. Maps might flatten the physical sensation and integrate response to the immediate space; yet they also represent the power of organization and planning from urban scale to the object classification systems that travelers find crucial to create modern personal and collective order and civility. Martinidis describes the maps in the guidebooks as the most "[...] condensed expression of the identity of the city" and "[...] a portrait easy for lay person to understand." ²⁵⁶ The predilection toward maps recalls John M. MacKanzie's description of 'cartographical imperial project' in explaining the British Empire's colonization project via travel guidebooks. ²⁵⁷ Both metaphorically and literarily, the cartographic representations -based on ordering and overall portrayal of districts and buildings- became the main tool to claim power and control. For Ottoman travelers too, the physical constitution of such tools and representations of history were critical to emulate for the empire. On the other hand, for Ottoman travelers' these ordered descriptions and representations had a practical meaning. Their tacit assumption of the coherence of Western European countries was justified by Baedeker's consistent and formulaic narrative of scientific authority.

255 Like Baedeker, İhsan at times gives the duration of the tour. There are multiple sentences like: "the straight avenue starts from Arc de triomphe de l'Étoile, passing through Concord Square, Champs-Élysées and Grand Arme street till Courbevoie Street. From start to finish it lasts two and half hours in total. Curiosity let me walk this whole path so that I can say this." İhsan, 69. In fact, decades before his journey, in his novel *Paris 'te bir Türk* (1876) Midhat Efendi discusses the lack of a map of Istanbul. 256 Martinidis, 49.

257 MacKanzie, John M. *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960 (Studies in Imperialism)*, Manchester University Press, 1986.

Another obvious pattern of consistence was the penchant for statistical and encyclopedic information that travelers reiterated from Baedeker editions. As Findley remarks, even though Midhat claims that he won't swell his books with guidebook information, "compilation, a method used by earlier Ottoman travel writers, was essential for his fast-paced encyclopedism."²⁵⁸ For Baedeker, the code of instructions and statistical information is the reflection of the European capability to measure and execute. The quantifiable data on religious buildings is also framed as the convergence of culture and technology in a celebratory tone. The population and surface area of the city, the number of the rooms and books in the library or the dimensions of the elevator are all expressed to portray a calculated image of European cities. The predilection for statistical surveys consolidates guidebooks', thus Ottoman travelers', didactic position with a knowledge-based authority and objective data. Yet it must be noted here that even in the first group of travelers, who did not mention using Baedeker guidebooks, the systematization, mechanization and precision of the municipal services and scientific progress formed the main content on urban and material culture. Travelers started to write specific data on minute details as a set of standards to be followed in the 1830s. Half a century later, in all the travelogues, the numbers were ascribed to assist Ottoman society in the reification of modern life. Carter Findley asserted that Midhat "presented his trip as a research project, in which he sought to proceed as disinterestedly as if he had come to earth from another planet."²⁵⁹

Starting from Mağmumi's accounts penned between 1894-1900, the subjective nature of Ottoman travelogues became more apparent with less direct quotations and statistical guidebook data. Travelers' intellectual curiosity and the need for variety and pleasure cut the reiterations of long paragraphs replete with information like the height of mountains or length of the bridges in every city. The urge to guide Ottomans in shaping material embodiment continued, yet the emphasis was more on the methods and mentality that made, according to travelers, the seemingly marginal numbers possible. Within this perspective, personal inclinations and selective mechanisms became more discernable towards the end of the 19th century. For instance, unlike Midhat and İhsan, Mağmumi visits a selection of museums, spends enough time in the ones he selected and purposefully skips the others. In fact, even before, personal filters started to be effective in the selection of daily itineraries- on what to focus and what to ignore. French Baedeker editions, for instance, included recommendations to attend church services or public events in order to gain an idea of local government, customs and traditions, yet this is never mentioned or applied by the travelers. Also, İhsan systematically follows the Baedeker recommendations on place but not on timing. He stayed less than Baedeker's suggestions in every part of Europe – except Paris; he generally spent one third of the suggested days.²⁶⁰ On the other hand, there is almost an obsessive urge to mention the height and amount of iron that was used for the construction of the bridges described in Ottoman accounts, however, compared to the content in Baedekers, travelers were not as verbose while giving details about the history of churches.²⁶¹ Further, travelers never utilize all the literary tools of Baedeker guidebooks such as 'Baedeker parentheses'.²⁶²

258 Findley, 23.

259 Ibid., 23. Nevertheless, in a contractionary manner, as I aforementioned, Midhat also constantly underlined his Ottoman identity, to which he is culturally bound, and stated that it delineates his perception of Europe.

260 İhsan, 458-459.

261 Hayrullah Efendi 27 and 36.

262 In Baedeker guidebooks, the quality of hotels and restaurants as well as the comments of the putative were given in parentheses as a short, practical, and effective way.

Among the multiple discursive frameworks of the 19th century, travel guidebooks were the portrayal of modernization on top of monumental history. The guidebooks were replete with historicization of the built environment; they were basically the narratives of the institutional representation of history that could reach the overall public. For Baedeker guidebooks, the representative arenas of nations, such as architecture, art and entertainment were primary factors that drew a complete portrayal of a synthesized history of Europe. The reiterative realism of a Baedeker edition in each city was based on European imperialism; European identity and Western superiority were the undergirding frame of the historical renditions about all the cities in every country. For Ottoman travelers, it set an example for representing the supranational history of the Ottoman empire. As a response, the third group of travelers allocated the longest parts of their accounts to the information on representing historical and cultural artefacts.²⁶³ The rising concern for scientific examination and positive analysis of Ottoman cultural assets were already on the agenda of Ottoman travelers since the 1860s. Hayrullah Efendi insistently notes that the city of Bursa is a value that waits for the Ottomans to explore.²⁶⁴ Later, during the reign of Abdülhamid II -which is concurrent to third group travelers- Islam is represented as a modernizing ideology with imperial demarcations. This formed a fulcrum for the Ottoman travelers in their readings of the guidebooks. The secular terms of modern urban life, technical and precise descriptions of the cultural productions and historical artefacts became prevalent information to be borrowed from Baedeker.

As Deriu and Özkaya assert, “whilst never replacing the act of physical displacement, [travel narratives] contributed to broaden the realm of architectural representations through which tourist attractions were depicted — and, indeed, culturally coded as sights.”²⁶⁵ Conformingly, in each Baedeker edition on a major European city there is a list of ‘Sights to Visit’, predominantly featuring national museums, public service institutions, religious edifices and grand operas. In its ranking system and hierarchical categorization, religious buildings and national cultural institutions were in top positions. Particularly at the turn of the 19th century, the romantic idea of constructing a ‘spiritual bridge’ with the past through objects, spaces and images marked every Baedeker edition and thus Ottoman travelogues. Nevertheless, for Ottoman travelers, the cultural construction of sights and sightseeing was not directed only by the guidebooks; the historization was encapsulated also in the building styles, in descriptive booklets of institutional buildings, theatre plays, dioramas, and in postcards. Not only the artistic, or noteworthy religious productions, but also quotidian reflections of the history catch travelers’ attention. The reification of historical information and its tangible reflections that penetrated into the daily life of the European public, as well as the inclusion of mundane realities from historical periods into the display of history, were constantly noted by travelers—a topic on which I will dwell thoroughly in Chapter 4.

Ottoman travelers were writing accounts and reading Baedeker guidebooks at the same time, but their perception of European urban and material culture was dominantly dependent on their mode of reading as much as it was shaped by the mode of transportation and about publication of their accounts. In fact, in 1898, Samipaşazade warns Ottoman society about the hardships of writing a book: “However, if reading a book was not as complicated as writing a book, not everyone would find such decency in dominating the literary arts.”²⁶⁶ With this

263 I detail the issue in Chapter 4, carrying it forward from Baedeker influence.

264 See the Annex I.

265 Deriu, Davide, Piccoli, Edoardo and Turan-Özkaya, Belgin. “Travels in Architectural History”, *Architectural Histories*, 4(1), (2016), DOI: <http://doi.org/10.5334/ah.234>

266 Samipaşazade, *Muhasabe, İkdam* n. 1538, 1315, [1898].

approach, travelers constantly reminded their readers that they were not only touring but also reading about cities. They referred to and rephrased from the guidebooks, which are imbued with an ideology that presets form and content on urban and material culture of Europe. Starting from Midhat's travelogues, the long prose passages are strategically structured following the maps, content, structure and even the wording of the titles. Travelers appropriated the way of looking at Europe prescribed by Baedekers and thereby encoded a European method of depiction of the other, and thus self.

2.4 The Anatomy of Ottoman Travelogues

The emergence of opinionated bureaucrats shifted the relationship between the authors and patrons in late Ottoman society, which was virtually only between the state officers and poets/chroniclers before the 19th century. A high-ranking state officer used to be a patron, both the financier and endower of virtually all the textual production; sometimes it was the Sultan himself. This established relationship between the parties is one of the often-ignored reasons for the similarities between diplomatic reports written by generations of diplomats.²⁶⁷ The genre of etiquette literature also had impacts on Ottoman travel literature on foreign lands.²⁶⁸ After the rise of an independent print media, Ottoman authors began to choose the topics to emphasize, include criticisms and subjective commentaries in their publications. As I mentioned before, even in the articles about royal affairs published in the official gazette after the mid-century, a subjective tone arose as a new form of official statement. In this milieu, the late Ottoman traveler's position as an author was variable, as reflected in the discursive characteristics and the object quality of the travelogues, including the length of the account, quantity of publication, format, page layout and visual content. Unfortunately, it is hard to quantify the impact of these factors on the readers as no statistical information about the readership has been recorded. Nevertheless, limited though it may be, it is critical to highlight the circumstantial aspects of Occidental representations, which have often been missing in late Ottoman historiography. Indeed, the codependent variables shaping of the travelogues were the press, printing technologies and reader/audience demand. If the self-contained nature of traveling triggered encounters with Europe on a personal level, the circumstantial nature of publishing forged the recounts of journeys on a collective and cultural level.

267 Nir Shafir's dissertation, particularly the final chapter, provides an insight on the influence of author-commissioner relationship on the textual production and circulation in early modern Ottoman Empire. Shafir, Nir. "The Road from Damascus: Circulation and the Redefinition of Islam in the Ottoman Empire 1620-1720", PhD. Diss., UC Press, 2016.

268 Hasan Korkut indicates in his analysis of Ottoman sefaretnames: "[t]he impressions of Morali Seyyid Ali Efendi, who visited the same institutions about 70 years after Mehmed Efendi, are not much different from him Korkut, Hasan. *Osmanlı Elçileri Gözüyle Avrupa*, Istanbul, Gökkuşbuca Yay, 2007, 137.

GROUP	Publication date	Travelogue	Number of pages	Number of visuals	Printing Details
Transitional period from diplomatic reports to civilian accounts	1834	İngiltere Fransa Sefaretname- Seyahatname	112 pages	3 black-and-white drawings (all were redrawn in color in the 3rd account in this list)	lithography printing in black and red ink
	n.d.	İngiltere Seyahatnamesi	19 Pages	3 black and white maps	manuscript (black ink)
	n.d.	İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat	76 Pages	16 colored drawings - 2 colored maps	manuscript (black and red ink in text, colored drawings)

Table 1: Printing Details of First Group Accounts

The table above displays the object quality of the accounts including the text length, number and printing technique of the visuals. The shared markers of the first group of accounts are palpable throughout both the narrative structure and the formats of the manuscripts. The manuscript of *İngiltere ve Fransa Sefaret, veya Seyahatnamesi* is penned and prepared in lithography format with red and black ink, containing numerous, elegantly drafted lists. There are long literary passages and three visual depictions of transportation vehicles: train coaches, a carriage and a balloon. (fig. 2.8) It is possible that the captions of the visuals were integrated into text during the preparations for publication as the color and material of the ink do not match. *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat* is also written in *rika* (the most common Ottoman calligraphy technique in Arabic scripts) text with numerous lists, drawings of urban scenery, and a smaller number of colorful maps of Regents and Hyde Park. (fig. 2.9) The three images in the previously mentioned account are re-drawn in this account with more details and vivid colors. *İngiltere Seyahatnamesi* includes three black and white maps. (fig. 2.10) The quality of the illustrations could be related to the budget provided by the royal commissioning of the account. (fig. 2.11)

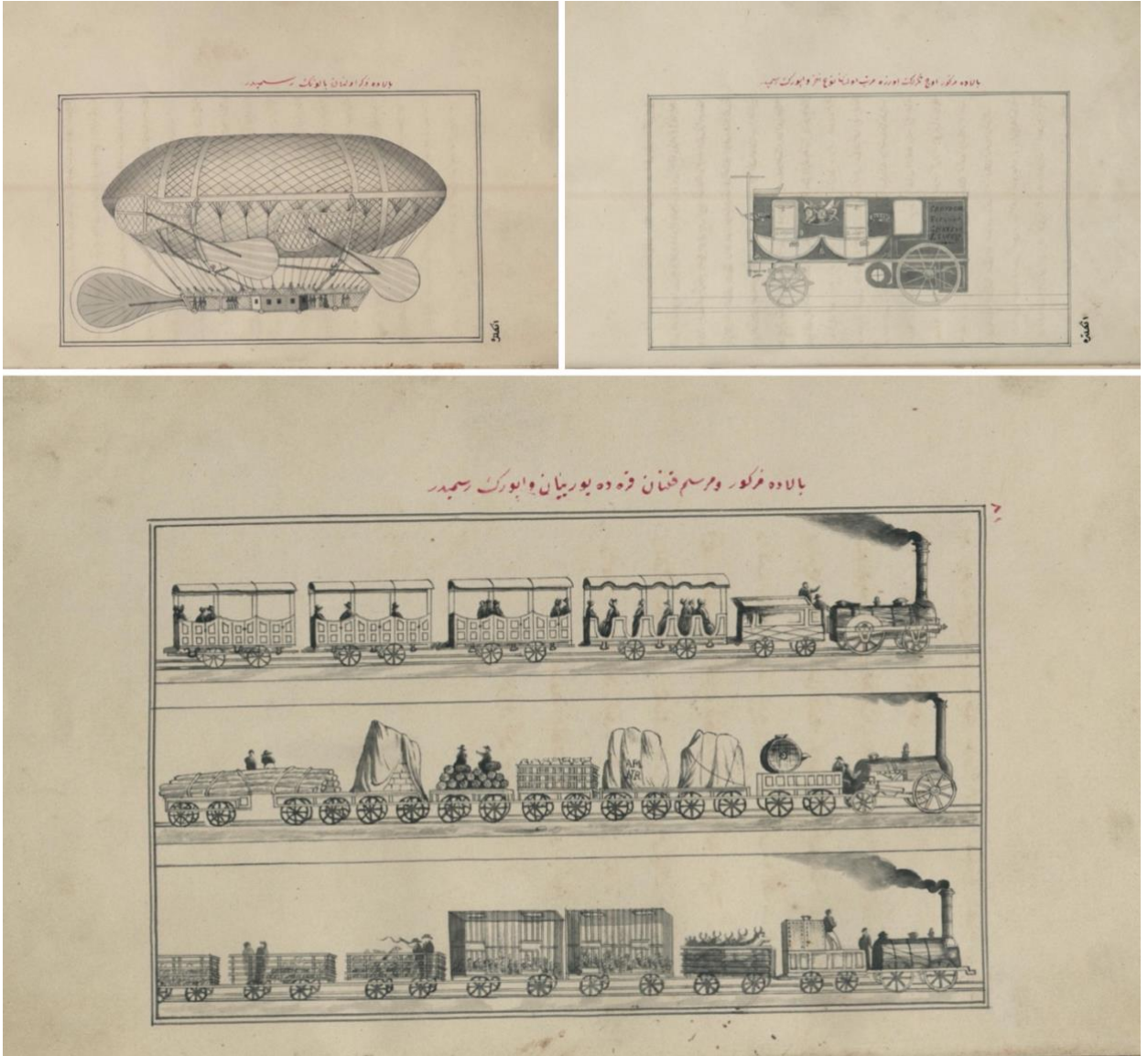


Fig. 2.8a *Bâlâda zikr olunan balonun resmidir.* [Drawing of the above-mentioned flying balloon.], in *Resimli İngiltere ve Fransa Sefaretname-Seyahatnamesi*.

Fig. 2.8b *Bâlâda mezkûr üç tekerlek üzere müretteb olunan nev-i âhar vapurun resmidir.* [Drawing of a carriage on three wheels.], in *Resimli İngiltere ve Fransa Sefaretname-Seyahatnamesi*.

Fig. 2.8c *Bâlâda mezkûr ve müressem kılınan karada yürüyen vapurun resmidir.* [Drawing of train coaches.], in *Resimli İngiltere ve Fransa Sefaretname-Seyahatnamesi*, 81.

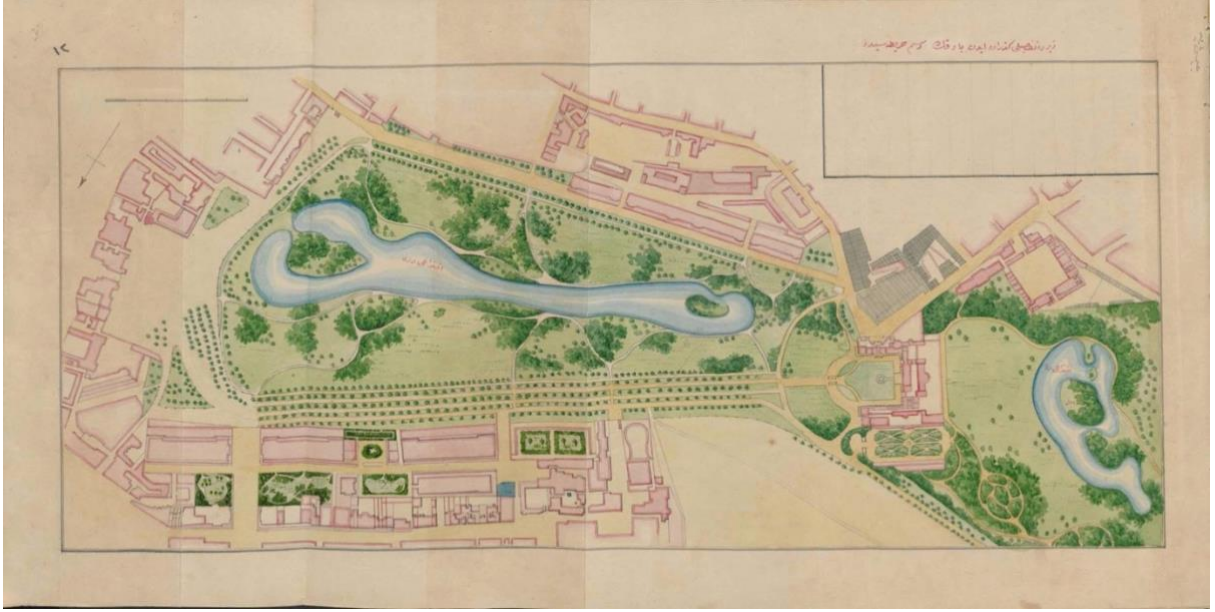


Fig. 2.9 Zırde tafsili güzerân iden barkın [park] resm-i haritasıdır. [The map of the park elucidated below.], in *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*, 11.

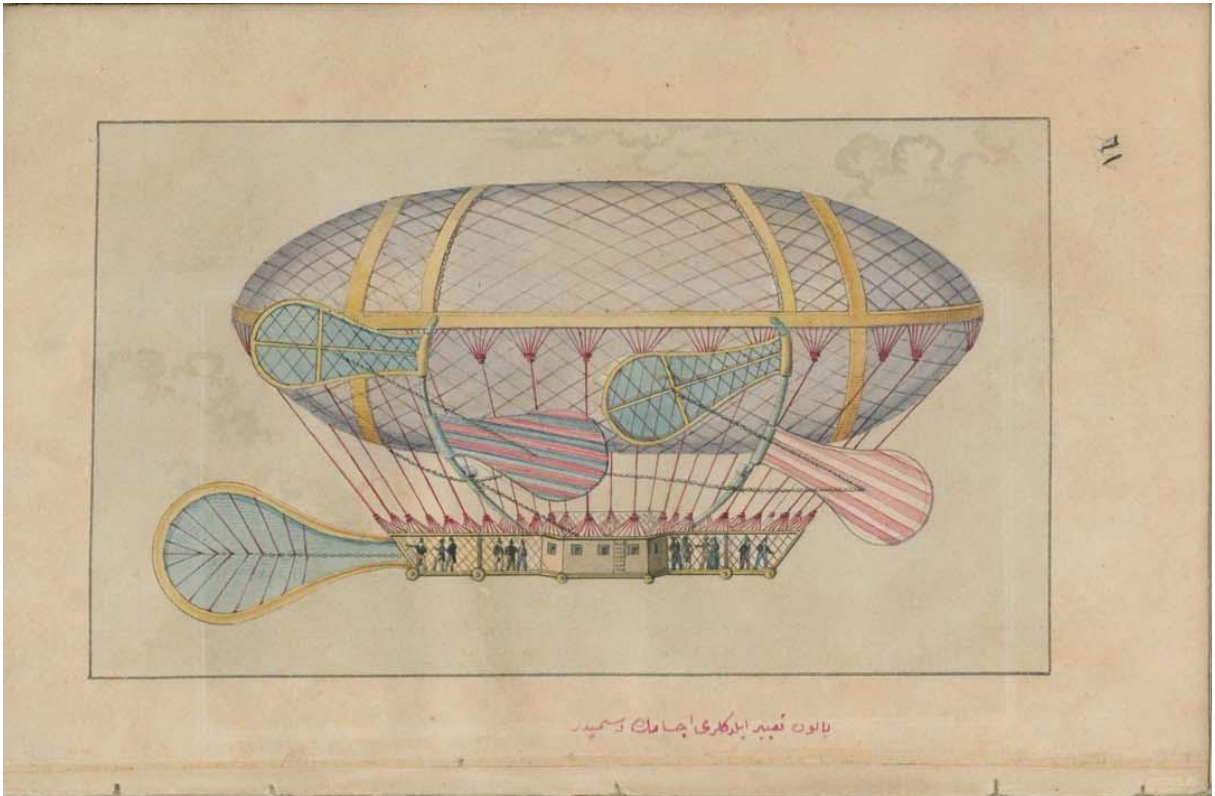


Fig. 2.10a Balon tabîr eyledikleri ecsâmın resmidir. [The object named baloon.], in *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*, 61.

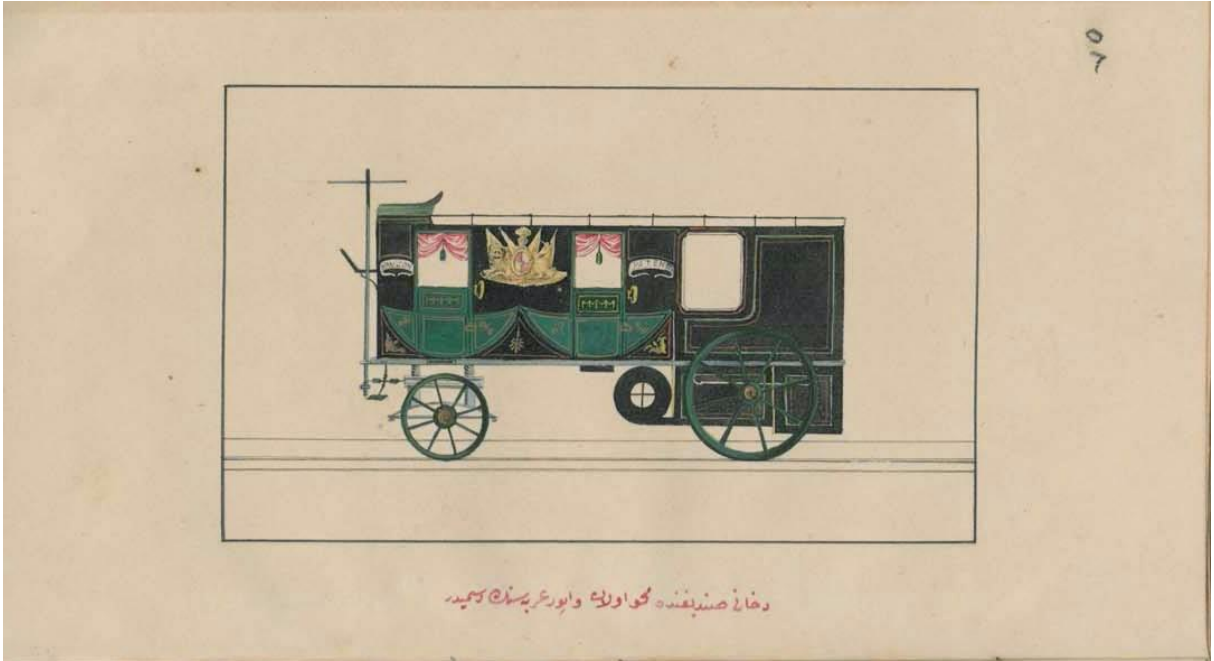


Fig. 2.10b *Duhâni sandığından mahv olan vapur arabasının resmidir.* [The carriage repurposed out of tobacco crate.], in *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*, 58.

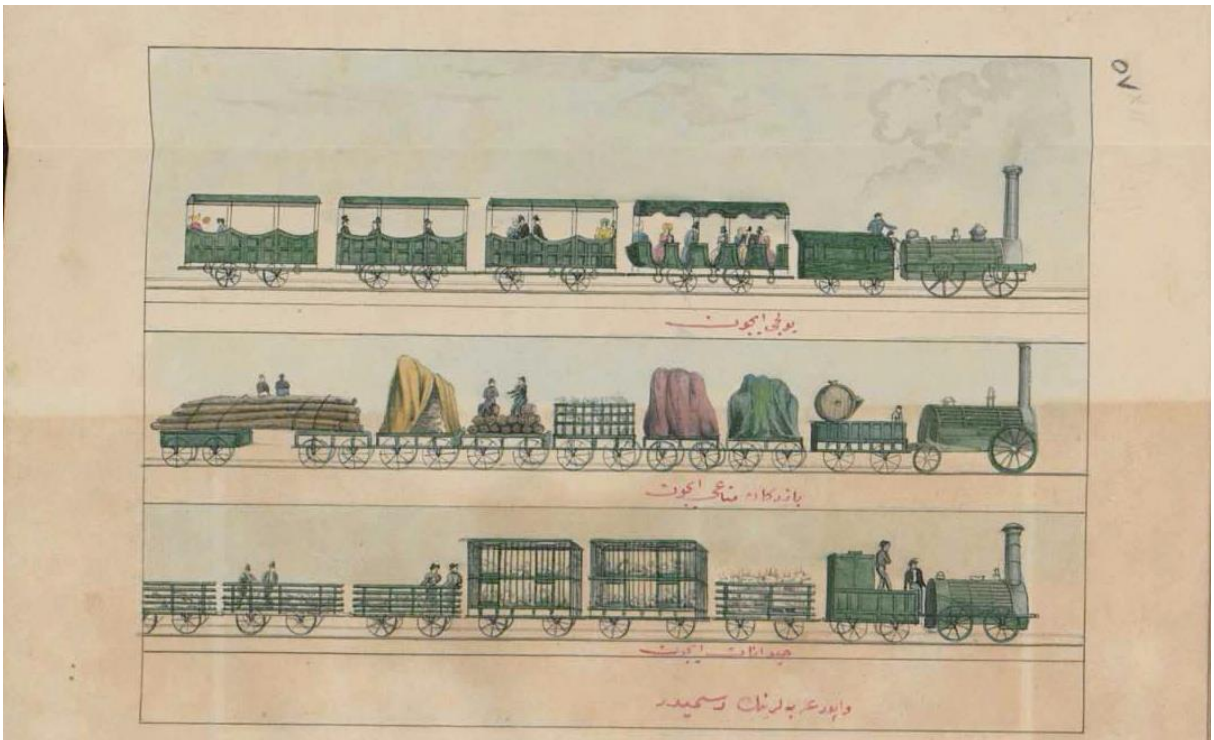


Fig. 2.10c *Yolcu için - Bazergân metâi için - Hayvanat için vapur arabalarının resmidir.* [Train carriages for passanger, commercial goods and animals.], in *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*, 57.

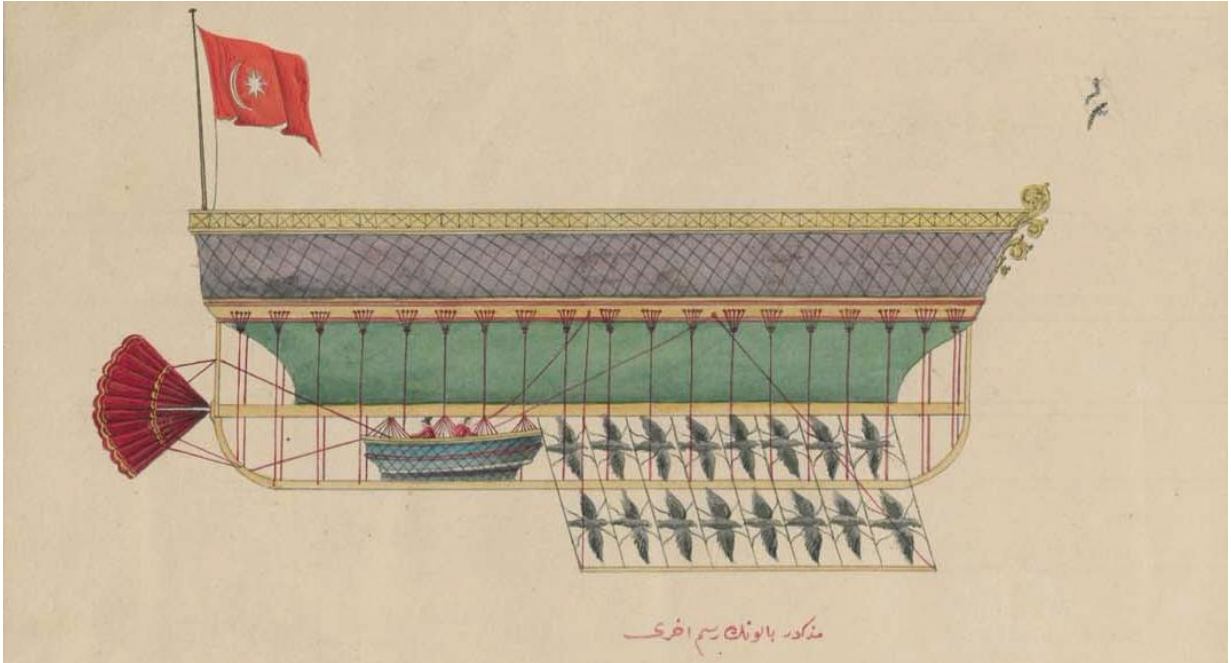


Fig. 2.11 *Mezkur balonun resm-i âharıdır.* [Another drawing of aforementioned baloon.], in *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*, 62.

GROUP	Date of Publ.	Traveler	Travelogue	Number of pages	Printing Details
Journalists' travel accounts mostly in article format	1853?	Mehmed Rauf	Seyahatname-i Avrupa	50 pages (8 pages missing)	First serialized in <i>Ceride-i Havadis</i> and then republished as a book. The missing 8 pages are on Versailles and Vienna that he visited on the way back.
	1852	Anonymous	Seyahatname-i Londra	92 pages	First serialized in <i>Ceride-i Havadis</i> and then republished as a book.
	1870s	Hayrullah Efendi	Yolculuk Kitabı Avrupa Seyahatnamesi	396 page manuscript	First published in Egypt in 1870s and then translated into French in 2015; into Turkish in 2012.

1873	Melek Hanım	Six years in Europe	333 pages	This is an account of exile in Europe.
2012	Ömer Faiz	Abdüllaziz-Avrupa Ruznamesi	395 page manuscript (first three pages missing)	Transliterated and published first in 1970 with the title <i>Avrupa'da Sultan Aziz</i> by Cemal Kutay.
1878	Sadullah paşa	Berlin Mektupları, 1878 Paris Ekspozisyonu-Londra	each article is single page	Published by Ebüzziya Tevfik in <i>Numûne-i Edebiyyât-ı Osmaniyye</i> [An Antology of Ottoman Literature] first in 1885.
1880-1890	Ebüzziya	Paris'den Londra'ya ve Otel Metropol	each article is around 4-5 pages	Serilaized in <i>Mecmua-i Ebüzziya</i> volume 68-69-70.
1986-1910	Samipaşazade	Makaleler-notlar	articles are around single page	There are fourteen articles published in <i>İkdam, Gayret and Servet-i Fünun</i> . The details of articles are provided in the bibliography.

Table 2: Printing Details of Second Group of Accounts with No Visuals

The table above demonstrates the varied nature of the second group accounts in terms of page numbers, subtitles, information on images, lists, visuals, and the number of printings -when possible. A record of daily experiences composed into a systematic narrative in the book format was first introduced in Mehmed Rauf Bey's account in 1851 -yet it must be noted that it was not immediately published. Similarly, in *Seyahatname-i Londra*, a series of articles are first published in a newspaper, then presented in a book –format, as opposed to the short cautionary articles that were prevalent in the majority of the second group accounts. Subsequent to these two examples in book format, Hayrullah Efendi's account framed around two main itineraries within a guidebook discourse. His manuscript, full of notes and corrections, manifests

Hayrullah Efendi's working process; it is a compilation of daily notes he has taken during the trip into a book, and also an appropriation of Baedeker guidebooks. (fig. 2.12) Another distinguishing account in this group is Melek Hanım's *Six Years in Europe*, which is the first travelogue edited by a hired editor and twice as long as the rest of the accounts in the second group. Melek Hanım's travelogue of exile days consists of 24 chapters that are in the form of short commentaries and diary entries. The chapter titles, formulized as descriptive sentences, are similar to the rest of the accounts in the second group. On the other hand, despite the variety in format, there are no illustrations incorporated in the second group Ottoman travelogues except in Melek Hanım's book -even though the first illustrated Ottoman journal *Mir'at* was published in 1862. The solitary travelers' accents were based on text and presented Europe entirely in words. Technical and financial limits might have been definitive in these accounts. It must also be added that Hayrullah Efendi could not publish his guidebook and Ömer Faiz's manuscript was not prepared to be published.

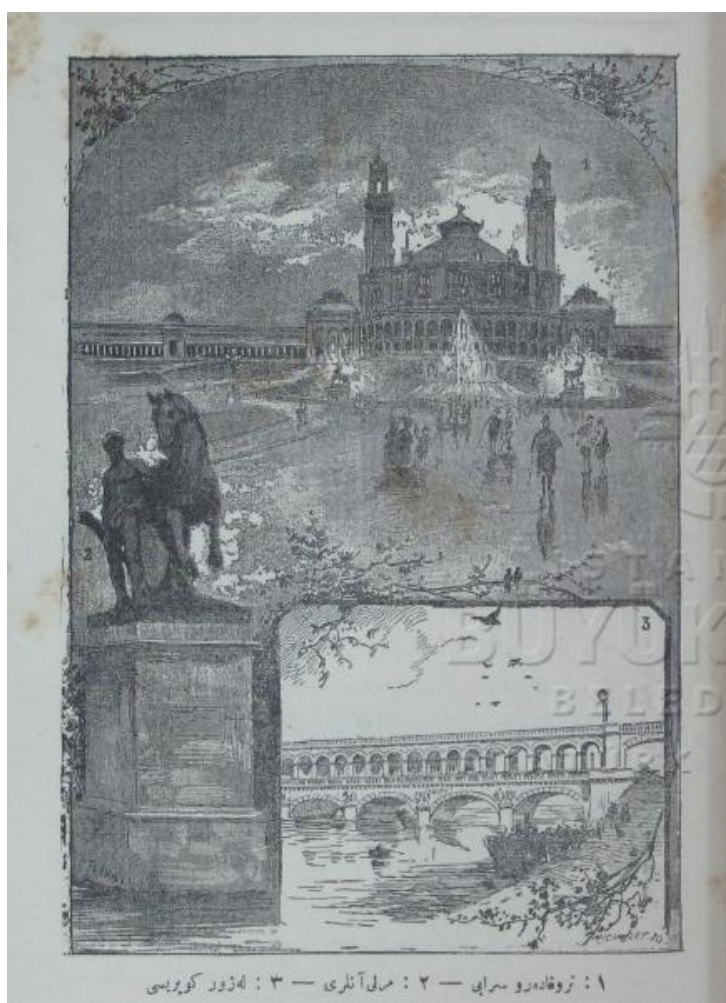


Fig. 2.12 I: *Trokadero Sarayı* II: *Marlı Atları*, III: *Lejür Köprüsü* [I: The Palace of Trocadéro, II: The Marly Horses, III: Du Jour Bridge], in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 113.

The second group of Ottoman travel accounts was published when writing travel notes in journals was a convenient way to build intellectual prestige and to transform personal experiences into a political tool. A shared characteristic of the travelers is that all were high-ranking officials with similar educational backgrounds and literary foundations. Except for Melek Hanım, all travelers were actively engaged in producing Ottoman literature at home. In

this group, all journeys had a political tinge, yet their narrative is not analogue to the format of a political treatise -Hayrullah Efendi and Ebüzziya Tevfik's texts come to fore as the most distinct examples. Even the most politically engaged figures started to incorporate personal selections of topics, quotidian details and utilized novel narrative features challenging the conventional Ottoman literature and formats utilized a similar strategy to the emerging Tanzimat literature that utilized the spatialization of changing moral and economic conditions in the Ottoman Empire vis-à-vis Europe.²⁶⁹ Namık Kemal's articles well reflect how the ideology and physical constitution of modern life reserve a place, parallel to contemporary literary productions. Travelers' experiences in European cities became an efficient framework to exemplify the old and the new in the broadest sense within reified urban and material compositions. For instance, Sadullah Paşa's coverage of the 1878 Paris Exposition is highly different from the official depictions of the world fairs with their focus on the number of attendant countries, types of works, visitor statics, construction expenses, etc. He prefers to stress the success of world fairs as a cultural event and also as a representation of scientific and industrial progress. Even though Sadullah Paşa did not incorporate any visuals into his article, his depiction of the fairground evokes a visual imagery of the crowded cityscape of Paris. Against the background of such imagery, as a typical lexiphane he overlays an ideological discussion of scientific progress and freedom as a global phenomenon.

Group	Date of Publ.	Traveler	Travelogue	Number of pages	Number of visuals	Printing Details
Accounts in the format of quasi-memoir or epistolary travel notes	1889	Ahmed Midhat Efendi	Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan	1044 pages	no visual	First serialized in the newspaper <i>Tercüman-ı Hakikat</i> then printed as a book.
	1891	Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz]	Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm	588 pages	76 visuals (one map and photos)	First serialized in <i>Servet-i Fünun</i> then printed as a book.
	1892	Hüseyin Galib	Efel Kulesi	32 pages	2 photos	Published by A. Asaduryan Şirket-i Mürettibiye Matbaası in Istanbul and sold for 2 kuruş.

269 Şerif Mardin was a pioneer in scholarly reading of Tanzimat Reforms via literary production including novels. Mardin, Şerif. *Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century*, London, Brill, 1974.

	1895	Mehmed Enisi [Yalkı]	Bir Denizcinin Avrupa Günlüğü Avrupa Hatıratım	222 pages	no visuals	He planned to publish a series of 3 book. First two part were published in Matbaa-i Ebüzziya in 1909 and 1911.
	1909-1908-1914	Harid Fedai Şerafeddin Mağmumi	Seyahat Hatıraları (Three volume cilt) ve Paris'den Yazdıklarım	Vol 1: 312 pages, Vol 2: 239 pages, Vol.3 303 pages	no visual	Volume 1: Anadolu ve Suriye'de first serialized in Tercüman-ı Hakikat; Volume 2: Bürüksel ve Londra'da first serialized in Musavver Malumat; Volume 3: Fransa ve İtalya ve İsviçre'de was first in İkdam. Vol. 1. and Vol. 2 were published as book by Matbaatü'l Fütuh in Cairo and Vol. 3 by Matbaatü'l Mikdad.

Table 3: Printing Details of Third Group Accounts with Pages, Visuals and Medium Specifications

The discursive characteristic and object quality of the third group accounts are substantially different from the previous travelogues. As seen in the table above, the travelogues are much longer and systematically curated around multiple titles, either reflecting itinerary or theme. The constellation of common terms used in the titles includes departure, return, arrival, transit, arrive, arriving at (*azimet, avdet, vürud, mürur, muvassala, vusul*). Just like Baedeker subtitles, they were formalized as: “Transit from Paris”, “Arriving at Stockholm”, “From Stockholm to Christiania”, “Set off to Gothenburg”, “Moving from Interlaken”, “Arriving at Vienna”, “Return to Istanbul From Trieste”. Midhat, for instance, uses 107 titles in total, recounting all the details in epistolary form, including the days he spent on the steamboat on the way to and returning from Europe. Following Midhat, İhsan divides his account into four main parts with multiple subsections, all of which sums up to 66 titles. In İhsan’s travelogue, the titles of the Paris section mainly include the architectural typologies such as Parisian restaurants, churches, and museums following Baedeker. In the Paris section, İhsan also devotes specific sections to the themes he found critical, such as: “Eğlencelerden Tiyatro, Sirk ve Kahveler” [Theatre, Circus and Cafés Among Entertainments] and “Vesait-i Nakliye” [Transportation Vehicles].

By these two accounts, the narrative structure of the Ottoman travelogues was set and not changed substantially throughout the following twenty years of the Ottoman travel boom. Still, there is a degree of nuance in the format of each account. For instance, Hüseyin Galib writes his booklet under one title after he explains the rationale of his account in a short introductory paragraph. On the other hand, Nesimi's title selection is distinct from the rest, as seen in the table. He writes a clear introduction and *raison d'être* of travelling to Europe, his experiences and finally what he deduced from his experience. The episodic nature of the body of the text, with commentary sections at the beginning and end, creates a distinct piece of narrative in a rather modernized styling. Şerafeddin Mağmumi's first two volumes and Zeynep Hanım's whole account are constituted from letters. Zeynep Hanım entitled her letters with specific themes, unlike Mağmumi who merely enumerated them.

The third group of Ottoman travelogues are written as the diversified concerns, agendas and circumstances of travelers got even more complex through the agency of visual media. As the rapid increase in the number of publications testifies, the reader base increased throughout the second half of the century and this expansion ensured that the sphere of political and cultural debates became accessible to more circles of the society. The increasing number of illustrated periodicals in this period created a new image-text relationship in the Ottoman print media.²⁷⁰ İhsan was one of the pioneers in integrating photographs and postcard images into his periodicals and travelogues.²⁷¹ In his travel account, there are almost one hundred illustrated pages. A great majority of the visuals are comprised of reproductions of photos, postcards and other media he collected during his travels. İhsan created illustrative pages with a layout composition including more than one image per page and he also incorporated a few in-line images that are related to the text on the page. The image compositions generally include monumental structures or examples of a building typology, such as triumphal arches or statues, while the in-line images depict a person with a specific occupation like a policeman or an English soldier. For some in-line images, İhsan uses personalized captions like 'the postman who delivers my post everyday' or 'the female traveler I met during my tour'. The photos of museum hall interiors or well-known sculptures in public squares that İhsan used were popular -almost typical scenes from the postcards of late 19th century. The emblematic images of boulevards, landmark buildings and train stations constitute the majority of the visual representations on urban environment. Further, İhsan reproduced a few pastoral landscape lithographs (possibly both metal and woodcut) as depictions of towns and rural regions following the typical Baedeker guidebooks.²⁷² In fact, most of the image compositions, in-line images and final maps are similar to the Baedeker layout and style. (fig 2.1) One year later, when he started his publishing business and established *Servet-i Fünun*, İhsan continued to use similar styles of images and reproductions of postcards. (fig. 2. 12) The Ottoman post office, which was already established in 1840, might have hastened the circulation of postcards between Ottoman cities and Europe in the last decade of the century. The impact of postcards circulated in and around Ottoman lands are also obvious in other popular journals like *Şehbal* (published between 1909-1914).

In the same year as İhsan's travelogue, Hüseyin Galib published his booklet on the Eiffel

270 Ersoy, "Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy: Archiving Everyday Life and Historical Space in Ottoman Illustrated Journals".

271 Ahmed İhsan published an Ottoman guidebook of taking a photograph two years before his journey: Ahmet İhsan, *Nev Usûl Fotoğraf*, Istanbul, Cemal Efendi Matbaası, 1306, [1889], 9.

272 After the 1870s, certain Baedeker editions included folded maps that covered different cities or parts of a single city with commuting information.

Tower with two visuals: a reproduction of his portrait and a lithographic illustration of Eiffel tower. The image of the Eiffel he selected is similar to the illustration of the Eiffel Tower in *Sharaf*, an Iranian journal published in 1889 -three years prior to Galib's booklet. It is, in fact, a prevalent portrayal of the tower -even a portrait that would be recognizable for everyone. Following these two accounts from the final decade of the 19th century, Zeynep Hanım and Selim Sırrı are the other two travelers who incorporated photographs into their accounts. In Zeynep Hanım's travelogue there are 22 black and white reproductions of photographs of herself and her family -not images of Europe. (fig. 2.13) As Zeynep Hanım was describing her life in Istanbul to her European pen friend in the text, the visual images presented a visual narrative of her urban and private life in Istanbul. (fig. 2.14) Selim Sırrı, on the other hand, added photos related to the themes of his accounts such as the interiors of classrooms, school buildings or sports fields. (fig. 2.15)



Fig. 2.13 One of the rare photographs attached to Zeynep Hanım's letters displaying the interior of her domestic space, *A Turkish Woman's Impressions*, 16



A CORNER OF THE HAREM

This Turkish lady collected the ribbons of the battleships on the Bosphorus, and they are hanging on the wall.

Fig. 2.14 Zeynep Hanım in her house representing the typical decorative pattern of upper middle-class Ottomans in late 19th century, *A Turkish Woman's Impressions*, 161.



استوقهولمده والينسكا مکتب اناتک مطالعه سالونى
La Salle de lecture de l'Ecole Wallinska à Stockholm.



اسره مکتب والينسكا اناتک اعداد ورسناه لدرسه برى
Une classe à l'Ecole Wallinska.

Fig. 2.15a and 2.15b *Istokholm'de Wallinska mekteb-i inasının mütalâ'a salonu*; bir sınıf [A lecture hall (above) and classroom (below) of Wallinska School of Girls in Stockholm], in *Şehbal 18*, (K.evvel 1325 [1908]), 360.

Among the limited number of illustrated travelogues, Mustafa Said's account is an isolated case incorporating 54 water-color paintings in an album including intriguing reproductions of a self-portrait, the map of his itinerary, and a museum plan. Said also added reproductions of several postcards, which he might have bought during his tour. Curiously, four of those reproductions are identical to the postcards in İhsan's travelogues -some of which were also published in *Servet-i Fünun* afterwards. The rest of Said's water-color paintings constitute panoramic urban and landscape scenes as well as almost advertisement-like images of museum interiors, monuments, boulevards, frontier facades of landmark palaces and churches. (fig. 2.16) (fig. 2.17) Yet there are also curious compositions such as those of a woman walking in Boulogne, France and people shopping in an open market, which creates an interesting flow of images when contrasted with the painting of well-known one-point perspective of Louvre Apollo Gallery and a 'portrait' of the Bastille column. The literary iterative nature of Mustafa Said's account -he borrowed from Midhat's travelogues at times word by word- was also true for the visual content, considering the similarities with İhsan's travelogue. (fig. 2.18) It is not possible to determine whether Said reproduced certain images from İhsan's accounts or whether he bought the same postcards seven years later than İhsan. What is certain is that the visual depictions of Europe by Ottoman travelers are repetitive and interwoven with ever-recurring preconceptions and illustrations. Ottoman travelers utilized these European self-representations as they did not draw, paint or take any photos. Even Mustafa Said did not compose but copied every visual in his account -either from postcards or from other publications like museums booklets. There are intriguing paintings like plans, which are by nature informative visuals more than artistic representations. (fig. 2.19) The juxtaposition of an expressive genre into formulaic information reflects, I believe, Mustafa Said's liminal position as a traveler who deployed a very personal approach to the use of visuals while also still depending on the ever-cherished documentary power of visuals.²⁷³ Still, it is interesting that he did not prefer to use his portrait or map, which he probably could access after his journey to add his travelogue, but instead chose to create a water-color painting marking his personal effort and homogenizing the genre of the illustrations in the book.

273 On use of photography as empirical data versus subjective representation see: Schwartz, Joan M. and Ryan, James R. (Eds.), *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, I.B. Tauris, 2003.



Fig. 2.16 The exact same view of Concorde Square in the format of lithography reproduction of a postcard in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 33 and its water-color painting in *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi* by Mustafa Sait Bey representing “citationary nature” of the accounts.

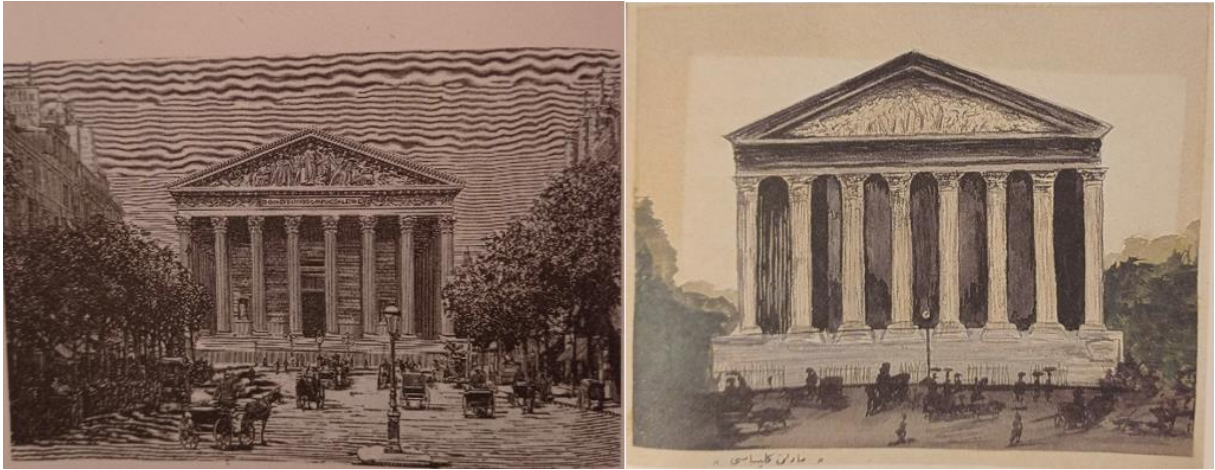


Fig. 2.17 The Madeleine Church, in *Avrupa'da ne Gördüm*, 97 (lithography reproduction of a postcard), and the exact same view as water-color painting in *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi* by Mustafa Sait Bey.



Fig. 2.18 *Envalid Sarayı* [Les Invalides], in *Avrupa'da ne Gördüm*, 120 (lithography reproduction of a postcard), and the exact same view as water-color painting in *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi* by Mustafa Sait Bey.

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Fig. 2.19 The variety of the content of water-colors by Mustafa Sait Bey including portraits of royal figures, landscape views, architectural plan and cityscapes (from left top to bottom right: portrait of Madam Sara Bernhardt, Saleve Mountains, Luccheni - Elizabeth of France - the murderer of Luccheni and the plan of the murder site in Beau-Rivage Hotel), the market halls, in *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*.

Here Baedeker's non-visual approach and its appropriation by Ottoman travelers should be linked to the use (or lack thereof) of photographic images in travelogues. Even after the turn of the 20th century, Baedeker editions lacked photographic representations; the architectural and urban portrayals exclusively depended on maps and on a lesser number of plans -with very rare vertical sections. (fig. 2.20) Overlaying the guidebook textual descriptions to the assortment of postcards, travelers affirmed the empirical value of visuals. As they wander around the 'scripted sites' with multiple available visuals including panoramas, birds-eye views, carte de visite style photos of landmark buildings, sculptures and boulevards, travelers did not choose to take personal snap shots. The postcards images provide crucial parts of the didactic narrative conveying empirical information and complementing the flow of the virtual tours in the accounts. Photography's scientific authority as a method of providing an unmediated representation of reality fit with late Ottoman travelers' urge to provide empirical

data of European urban and material culture.

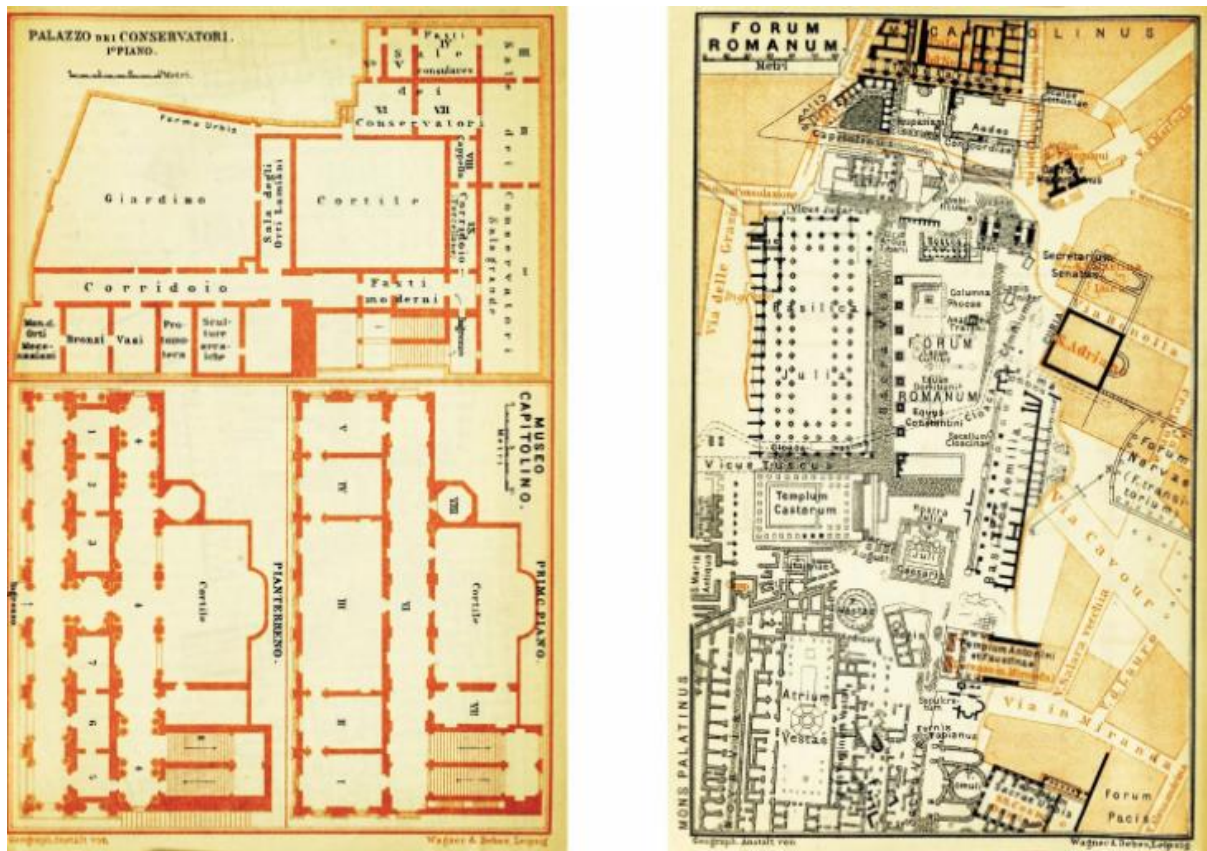


Fig. 2.20 An example of site plans of Roman Forum and Palazzo dei Conservatori included to Baedeker editions on Italy along the systematic use of maps in every edition.

In Saidian terminology, particularly the third group of Ottoman travelogues had ‘citational nature’²⁷⁴ in their literary and also visual content. Edward Said highlights that Orientalism was mainly a textual production by which he highlights the great number of publications written by generations of Western scholars on the Orient.²⁷⁵ On the Ottoman side, *tour d'Europe* was also a project that was dependent on text; travelers quoted, referred and reiterated the texts and visuals from the accounts and guidebooks they read. Their citational nature was substantially fed by the upsurge of the journalistic milieu in Istanbul. Similar opinions and generic observations were constantly repeated as watchwords, as in the formula of ‘Ottoman morality and European materiality’. Likewise, the exact same images of Concorde Square in Paris, The Apollo Gallery in Louvre Museum or the Trafalgar Square in London were circulated and reproduced several times in travelogues and popular journals. For visual and literary narratives alike, the combination of technology, historical appreciation as well as generic depictions of urban environment seemed to be the criteria of the selection visuals. The instantaneous details and life-like representations of photographs were not preferred to represent Europe till 1910s, when Ahmet İhsan pioneered his selection of

274 Edward Said used this term to describe the references and repetitions of certain forms of representations in Western travel literature on East. Said, Edward. *Orientalism*, Penguin Books, 1979.
 275 Edward Said, 73.

photographs in *Tuna'da Bir Hafta* (A Week in Danube) (1911). (fig. 2.21)



Fig. 2.21 An image of interior of Louvre Museum that was published several times in *Servet-i Fünun* and also painted by Mustafa Sait Bey.

Luvur Müzesinde Apollo Salonu [Galerie d' Apollon in Louvre Museum], in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 96.

In fact, the issue of taking photos and using postcards was raised by Ahmet İhsan, Mehmed Enisi, Mustafa Said, Nesimi and Selim Sırrı in their accounts. Travelers mention anecdotes of buying postcards, bringing photographs as keepsakes during their travels and the habit of collecting brochures, cards and maps.²⁷⁶ For İhsan, collecting images was a professional practice and part of his journey. Enisi, on the other hand, notes that he bought photographs and numerous souvenirs from the museums and that he decorated his camera with those, along with a mirror and around 15 books he brought from homeland.²⁷⁷ Enisi's selection of objects is indicative of the modernized standards and decoration trends in Ottoman cities -or at least in Istanbul. On the other hand, Midhat and İhsan were keen on improving the methods and mechanical tools for printing quality visuals, thus they were very receptive to colorful restaurant menus and banners, as well as advertising signs in the cities they visited. Nevertheless, other than anecdotal notes, there is no elaborate discussion on the visual culture of Europe in the Ottoman travelogues throughout their accounts. In fact, terms used for defining various visual objects were not even standardized at the turn of the 20th century.

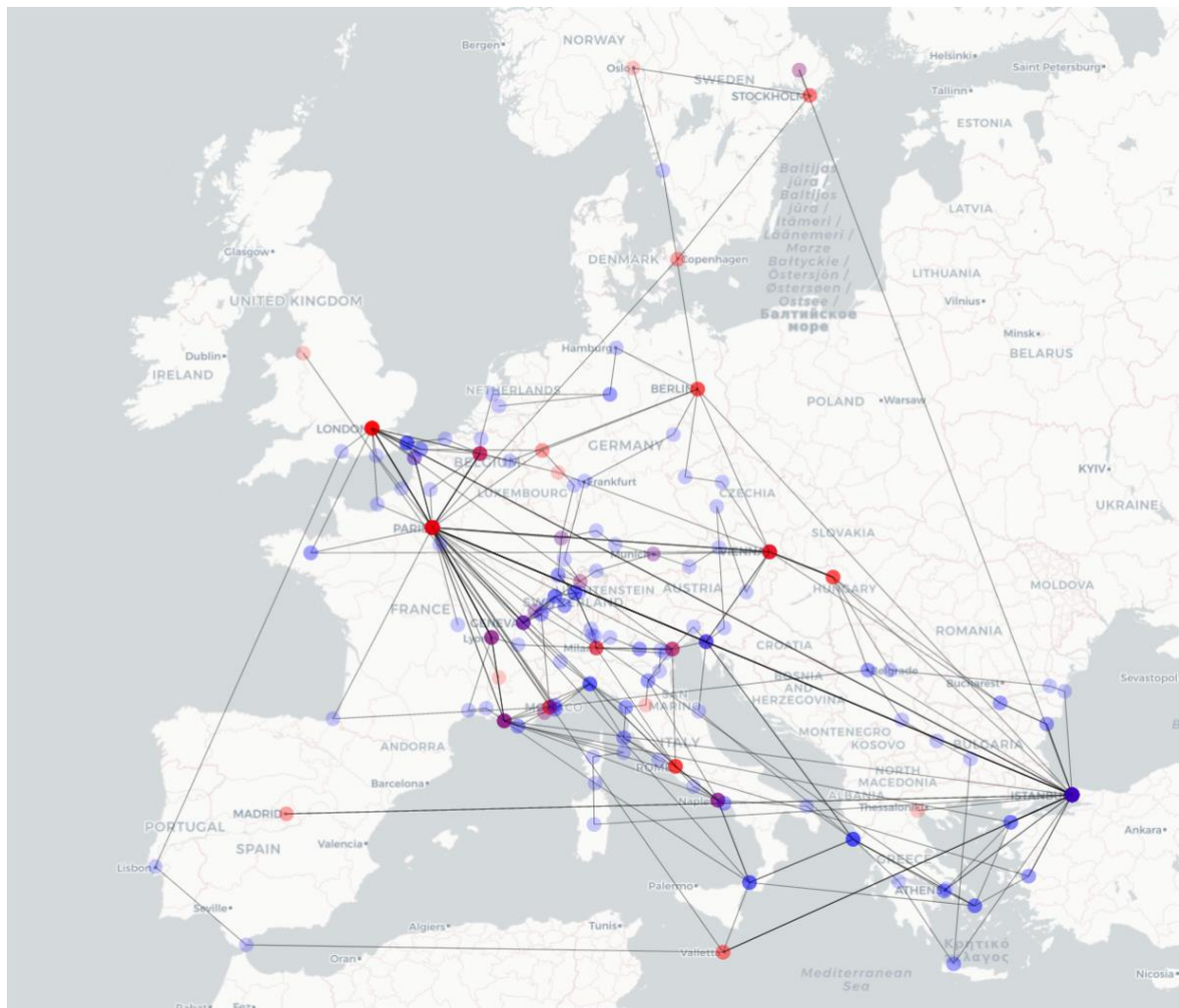
²⁷⁶ I came across only two Ottoman travelers who mentioned having a camera during their journeys. First, in 1897 the Hamidian Divisional General Sadık el-Müeyyed, "an accomplished amateur photographer", included authentic photographic material in his travelogue on Africa. Secondly, Mehmed Mihri added photos, drawings and maps to his illustrative account on Sudan which he penned during the first decade of the 20th century.

²⁷⁷ Enisi, 77.

Nesimi, for instance, used the words *fotograf resimleri* for photos and *resim levhaları* for oil paintings.²⁷⁸

Having said that, there seems to be a contrast in the use of visuals in travel narratives in the Ottoman illustrated journals of this period, particularly on Anatolian towns. Ahmet İhsan's own travel notes, and also readers' submissions in *Servet-i Fünun* between 1892 to 1920s, include several amateur photographs taken by authors that are emblematically personal. İhsan's account of his tour to Konya on the railway and his wanderings in the Syrian region with a fellow author are replete with instant images taken by authors. Ahmet Ersoy observes that the only exception is Jerusalem and Bethlehem, on which İhsan uses ready-made postcard images like European cities. These sites were, in the full sense of the word, scripted sites that had numerous popularized visual renditions. On the other side, along with late Ottoman travelers' fascination with Europe's self-representations, starting from the 1860s their interest in comprehensive and syncretic representations of histories grew unprecedentedly. As a result, the iterative postcard images with indexical connections of European cities fit well within Ottoman accounts.

2.5 Routes

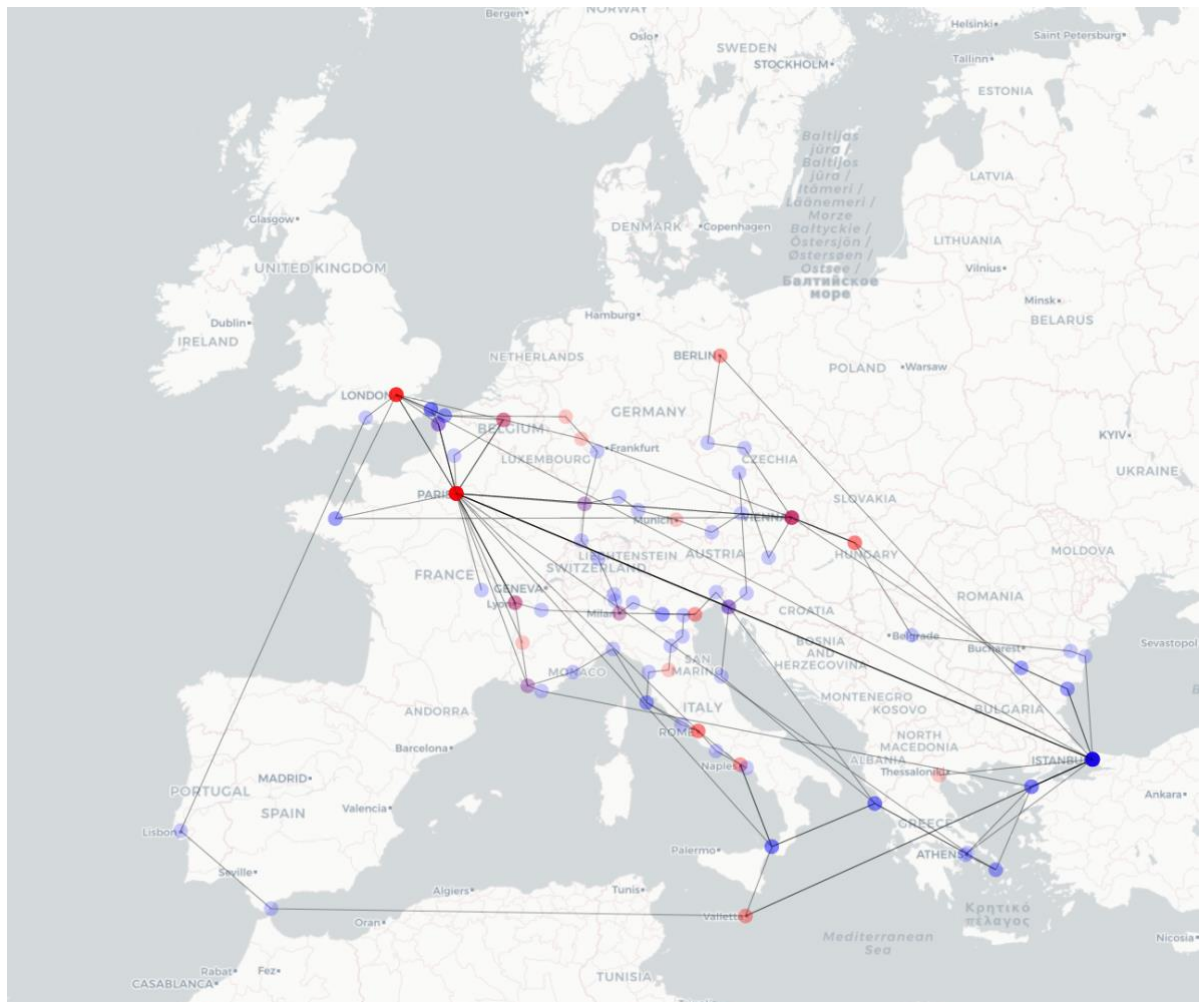


²⁷⁸ Nesimi, 9 and 10.

Map 1: 1st - 2nd – 3rd Group Itineraries Superimposed on Each Other

Ottoman travelers’ search for Western civilization and the “real Europe”, in the words of Midhat, followed a geographical path. The map above marks the itineraries including all the mentioned stopovers and destinations visited on the way to and back from Europe. As seen, except for the travelers in the first group who visited only London, the majority of the travelers traveled to more than three European cities, and the capitals of Western Europe are the intersection points of all journeys in each group. The itinerary maps draw a picture of Europe as a constellation of port cities as frontiers and the Western European capitals as nodes.

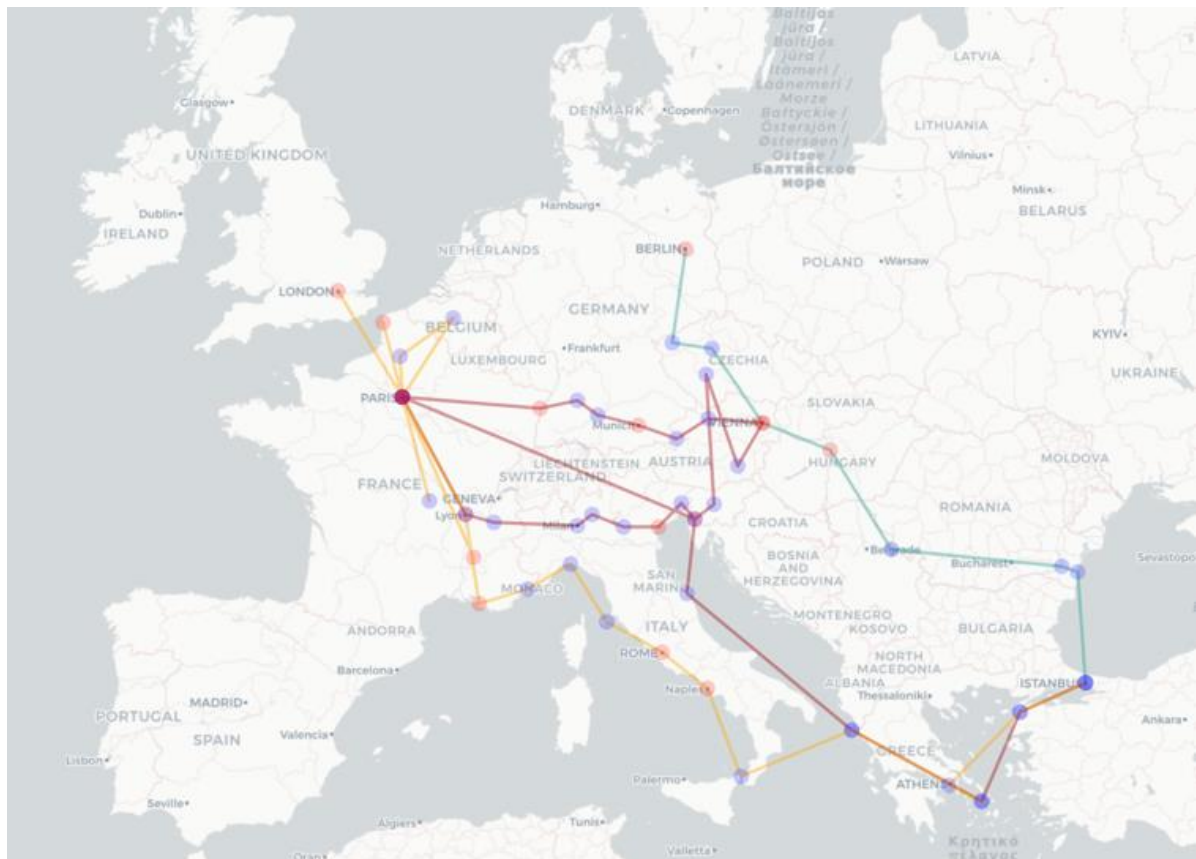
Between 1830-1850 the journey from Istanbul to London was taken through İzmir to Malta, and afterwards Gibraltar to Falmouth, which took approximately more than a month without delays. The first group of Ottoman travelers did not provide detailed information about this itinerary or their experiences, observations and dialogs en route as the official idioms were still influential. The cityscapes seen from the ferries and trains, as well as limited experiences during overnight stays in small towns were not included in these narratives as this information did not support the gist of the first group - to decode modern governance.



Map 2: Itineraries of the Second Group

Starting with the second group accounts, the destination points and possible routes to European capitals diversified; travelers curated their itineraries with various determinants such as world fair locations, comfort of vehicles or personal preferences amongst train and ferry companies.

In 1851, an anonymous reporter and Mehmet Rauf sailed from Istanbul, passed through Çanakkale and Izmir and arrived in Malta. The anonymous traveler spent a night in Malta while Mehmet Rauf stayed there for more than one week. In their travelogues both travelers describe the island as the first European place they have ever seen. Their enthusiastic approach to the cityscape, built environment and urban life in Malta manifests that both travelers had certain expectations in their minds, which later reified on their visit to the island. Subsequent to Malta, Rauf continues to sail to multiple Italian cities including Messina, Napoli and Milano (map) before passing through Switzerland, and France. After a detour in Belgium and a couple of German cities, he continues his tour from France to London. According to Dumont, Mehmet Rauf's itinerary is a typical composition of the mid-nineteenth century tour de Europe that changed only after the establishment of Orient Express in 1883. The anonymous author of *Seyahatname-i Londra*, on the other side, sails the full width of Mediterranean Sea passing through Malta, Gibraltar, Lisbon and then proceeding up north, passing through the British port of Southampton and arriving in London. His amazement with Malta at the frontier of Europe then seems to falter, and he does not write at length about either Lisbon or Southampton. In Lisbon, he is content to only mention the filth of the city, and he writes nothing about Southampton. On the other hand, Rauf writes rather long descriptive paragraphs for almost all of the Italian cities he visits, and his description of Rome is almost six pages long.



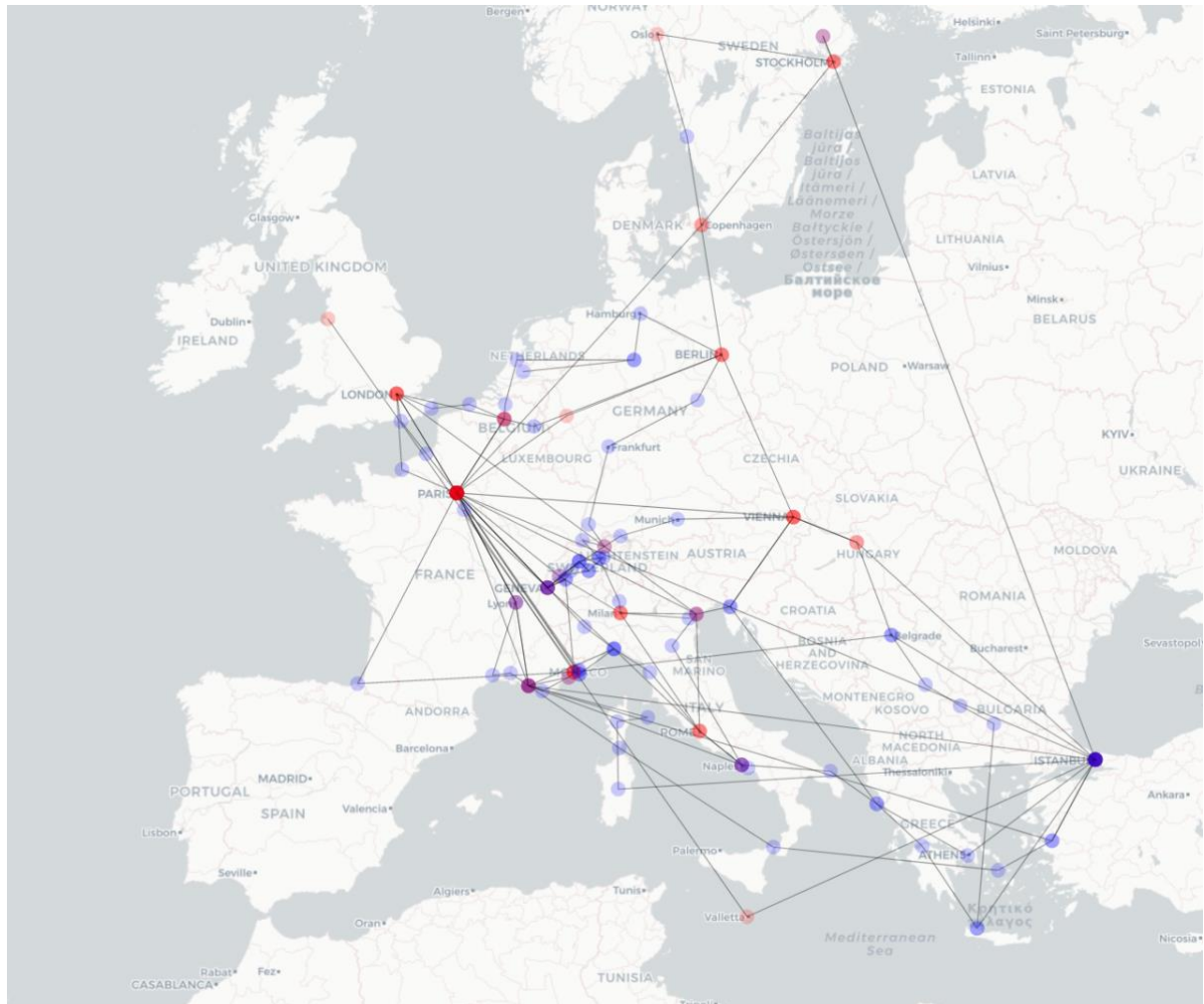
Map 3: Three Routes of Hayrullah Efendi's Guidebook

Among the second group accounts, Hayrullah Efendi's travelogue is intriguing in terms of itineraries as his account is laid out as a guidebook detailing three main routes (*yolculuk* in the account) from Istanbul to Europe with additional notes and commentaries. Taking the contemporary guidebooks as a model, Hayrullah Efendi aims to include all maritime lines and railway options (*vapur ve demiryol tariki*) in which various ferry and tour companies were operating. He provides exhaustive details about the days that ferries operate, duration of the trips, ticket prices and alternative road and train connections in between various Ottoman cities, including Arab peninsula, north Africa and in the Balkans. In the first section, titled "Birinci Yolculuk" [First Route], Hayrullah Efendi lists the ferries operating between Istanbul-Hereke and Izmit; between Istanbul-Mudanya and Gemlik (that is connected to Bursa by road transportation); the ferries going from Istanbul to Silivri that were connected to Edirne by land; ferries operating between Istanbul-Gallipoli-Lesbos and Izmir; and lastly ferries going towards Sinop-Samsun-Trabzon. He concludes this part with a snapshot of the mobility in between the main Ottoman ports of Istanbul and Izmir, as well as introducing the railway lines towards Bagdad and Beirut to the east, Alexandria and Tripoli to the south. Hayrullah Efendi also incorporates laudatory descriptions of Ottoman cities like Bursa and Izmir as he finds them as two significant port and historical cities in Anatolia. He notes his plan to write an addendum on Bursa, which he then realizes and includes in his manuscript of the account. Regarding Izmir, Hayrullah Efendi specifically details the connections to Alexandria by Egyptian ferry companies that even reaches to Jeddah through Suez Canal; connections to Beirut, Syria and towards Bagdad; connections to Rhodes, Kavala, Thessalonica, Samos as well as the port town of Athens, Piraeus. Upon writing on Bursa and Izmir, Hayrullah Efendi underlines, in a rather modern manner, that travel options in Ottoman lands are critical for trade, local tourism and publicity of significant Ottoman cities. In this manner, unlike the purely practical information in Baedeker style travel books, he devotes the introduction of his guidebook and first itinerary section to long-winded descriptive text reflecting on how Ottoman lands are interconnected with each other and their immediate surroundings, which are further linked to Europe.

In the following three sections, which are named as 'Second Journey', 'Third Journey' and 'Fourth Journey', Hayrullah Efendi gives detailed information on traveling options from Istanbul to France and England, as well as his personal preferences on vehicles and companies. According to him, there are three main routes. The first option is sailing to Trieste and passing through Italian [and French] cities until arriving in Paris. The second option is embarking from Trieste towards Vienna, passing through German cities and arriving in Paris -which Hayrullah Efendi finds much more joyful than the route in Italy. His apparent choice and tone of narrative evince his lack of interest in Italian cities and curiosity about Central Europe. His third option is sailing to Costanza (a Black Sea port city in today's Romania) and taking a train to a ferry port on the Danube River. On the Danube, Hayrullah Efendi explains, several ferry companies operate between Belgrade, Budapest and Vienna. He recommends Austrian ferry companies and clarifies his preference highlighting the comfortable conditions of Austrian vessels which are, according to him, nothing like the uncomfortable experience of Ottoman ferries and trains. Upon describing these three main routes to Europe from Istanbul, Hayrullah Efendi starts to write about his observations en route and incorporates his sons' letters, which complements the personal tone of the guidebook. Subsequently, he continues to provide suggestions, price comparisons and conditions of different companies in line with the format of Baedeker guidebooks. Hayrullah Efendi exclusively suggests following the Lloyd Company's network and their evaluations of hotels in small European towns.

Except for the book format travelogues detailed above (*Seyahatname-i Avrupa, Seyahatname-*

i Londra and Yolculuk Kitabı), the rest of the travelogues belonging to the second group do not include detailed information regarding their itineraries and the connections between Ottoman lands and European cities. These later accounts were exclusively focused on a specific Western capital, which must be due to the fact that they were written in a shorter, article format. Curiously, between 1850-1880, transportation developments and the experience of going to Anatolian and Middle Eastern cities by train were popular themes in the Ottoman newspapers and periodicals. Yet, regarding Europe, the focus of travelers was narrowed down to the urban centers with no attention paid to the travel experience or the pastoral townscapes seen from the vehicles.



Map 4: Itineraries of the Third Group

The map above manifests the increase in the variety of land and sea routes between Istanbul and Europe during the last decades of the 19th century. Since the 1870s, travel to a majority of the European cities became schedulable in advance, due to much more rapid transportation timelines which in turn shortened the duration of the trips by around half. It was also the period when the Baedeker and Murray companies started to write guidebooks that covered more than one country, both in Europe and Middle East. The ferry companies operating between Izmir and Marseilles were a significant addition as from Marseilles there were multiple railway and land route options to central Europe and England. The position of Malta as the frontier of Europe was superseded by Marseilles, Toulon and Nice in southern France; La Havre, Dunkerque, Boulogne, Calais in northern France; and Southampton and Dover in England.

Yet, not surprisingly, Ottoman travelers were hesitant to select the routes passing through the Balkan region or -at minimum- to write about it. As Hayrullah Efendi already introduced more than ten years prior in 1861, the Balkan region was another option to reach to Central and Western Europe via the Danube.

Third group Ottoman travelers perceived and described the cities they visited as international and interconnected places. This interconnectedness -provided by travel, postal and press networks- created an infrastructure where it was possible to send/receive mail from different parts of the world and to read a multitude of newspapers, periodicals and books in a variety of languages, and at first shocked but then motivated travelers to gain a new perspective about the position of Ottoman Empire in the global map. The degree of modernization and industrialization in almost every part of Europe also widened their perspective. The third group of accounts all include long passages reflecting a fascination with their first encounters with Europe. These observations, either from afar in a vehicle or during their first tour in a town center, are written vividly, as a meticulous sequence full of amazement. For the second group accounts, this European frontier was Malta and for the third group it was Marseilles.

The consolidated and extended form of the genre opened a way for long prose sections, which allowed travelers to incorporate in their writing the corporeal experience of seeing and walking in Europe for the first time. Travelers like Midhat, İhsan, Enisi, Nesimi also added long dialogs and text describing interactions with other travelers and locals during their arrivals. The diversified route options substantially transformed travelers' expectations from and experience of a tour de Europe. Due to this variety, towards the 1880s, first Southampton and then towns in southern France became points of attention, along with major European cities. Even though travelers spent limited time in those parts of Europe their amazement at the modern conditions even in remote towns and villages was discernable particularly in the accounts of İhsan, Mustafa Said or Mağmumi. İhsan literally trotted Europe and opens his account with a prologue noting all the countries he visited. He categorizes the countries in his itinerary in three: France, northern Europe and southern-central Europe. İhsan defines Switzerland, Belgium, Flemish and German cities as northern Europe. Rome, Venice and Austrian cities were included in his third category, southern Europe, which demarcates the place of ancient civilization. In fact, particularly in regard to Italian cities, İhsan adds a disclaimer noting that, since everything in Italy is a part of history, he would give historical information -albeit in a cursory manner.

The itineraries of late Ottoman travelers reveal that, starting from 1830, there were two main routes starting from Istanbul and arriving at Europe. The northern route passed through the eastern coast of Black Sea and went into Central Europe via the Danube river. As there were a smaller number of companies operating this route through the 1870s, it was not the preferred option for Ottoman travelers. The southern route, on the other hand, was the Mediterranean-Adriatic course, passing through Izmir and Greece and arriving in Marseilles. The first boats operating in regular intervals on this route started to operate in 1851 -not surprisingly during the Great London Exposition. The latter route became almost a beaten track in the final quarter of the 19th century, since it was preferred both for voluntary journeys and to flee into exile.

Chapter 3

Urban Sensations

As mentioned before, the ‘European city’ became a recurring theme in Ottoman travel literature beginning in the 17th century, if not earlier. Ottoman travelers’ curiosity in the subject expanded unprecedentedly in tandem with the 19th century urban and social changes. Superimposing the urban and architectural history of Istanbul on civilian travelogues, this chapter is an in-depth analysis of the travelers’ perceptions of European cities in a comparative manner. It explores how they perceived, reacted, observed and performed in European urban settings, which are, indeed, the main constitutive parts of the accounts. I aim to elucidate how travelers respond (or lack thereof) to specific elements of European cities, and what these perceptions imply about the changing realities of the late Ottoman Empire concerning urban and material culture.

Similarities between travelers’ perceptions and also their distinct approaches to the similar urban settings delineate the structure of the chapter. The first three subsections examine the shared themes and normative approaches of the three designated traveler groups specified in the Chapter 1. In relation to the parallel proliferation of Ottoman literature on foreign and local cities, there are distinct approaches in the third group, cultivated by travelers’ professional, social, gendered, and ideological backgrounds. In order to account for these differences, the last three parts of the chapter analyze the diversification of urban imagination and idiosyncrasies as indicators of personal perception of urbanity in the 19th century Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the inconstancy of travelers’ urban lexicon as well as the rich variety of terms utilized are also examined in order to expound on the web of intertextualities between the travelogues themselves and also between the travelogues and popular late Ottoman journals. The aim is to trace the new spatial idioms and terminology that were coined by travelers to address urban novelties and to evaluate the verbal expressions that they used to narrate their sensations, curiosities and aloofness.

3.1 A Melancholic Farewell to Istanbul

Against the background of the Ottoman capital in the apex of its transformations during the last quarter of the century, a sense of separation and an awareness of change started to prevail in the minds of travelers. Transformations in Istanbul concomitantly entailed a growing sentimental sense of past for Ottoman travelers. Their positions regarding Istanbul’s transformations were particularly intriguing since they were not mere travelogue authors but promoters and sometimes generators of a more modern/contemporary order for the capital. Istanbul was attributed as an index of Ottoman society with its monumental development, the expanding lands it controlled and modernization efforts. Thus, a melancholic farewell to the homeland became almost a standard within the narrative introductions of all accounts written after 1860. The dissolving view of the capital was the first urban scenery that fell under the gaze of Ottoman travelers. Accordingly, almost all third group travelers initiated their accounts with the depiction of a scene of Istanbul fading away in front of their eyes, instead of an arrival to a new city.

Hayrullah Efendi expresses a typically sentimental look back at the city from a steamboat:

Ultimately, when the steamboat takes off from the port of Istanbul and wanders around Sarayburnu, if Istanbul is homeland, after the grief leaving of homeland, kith and kinds is mingled with its view with perseverance [...]. (When Istanbul is out of sight), the desire to see things comfortably and peacefully begins.²⁷⁹

The rest of the accounts in this group do not dwell on the experience of a form of displacement -even though some were exiled travelers. From their writings it can be deduced that a romantic sensitivity towards an irremediable loss is not a prevailing state of mind among the travelers before the 1860s. For instance, the anonymous author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* includes neither melancholic thoughts about Istanbul nor a yearning for the homeland and its glorious past, nor any criticism about the past and present transformations. Later, towards the end of 1870s, in contrast to Hayrullah Efendi's brief sentimental sentences, Namık Kemal, Sadullah Paşa and Ebüzziya wrote in critical manner about the historicist inclinations that prevailed among Ottoman intellectuals. This perspective is effective in their travel notes as they did not write an epistolary account; their reactions are more explicit in the form of thematic columns or poems. Namık Kemal was particularly dismissive of the constant glorification of Ottoman past which was, according to him, not instrumental for progress.²⁸⁰ Similarly, Sadullah Paşa enlists all possible sources of historicist perspectives that glorify Eastern societies and asserts that they are not of value today and in the future. In 1878, during his ambassadorship in Berlin, Sadullah Paşa wrote that Europe is 'wide human-made palace' (*füşhat-sera-yı ümran*) in a praiseworthy tone.²⁸¹ This metaphor reveals his attention to the mastery and technical capability of Europeans. Years later, Sadullah Paşa's poem *Ondokuzuncu Asır* (1885), which meticulously reflects that, for him, Western civilization is based on liberty and positivism with no place for a nostalgic outlook on the Ottoman past, was published in *Mecmua-i Ebüzziya*. Throughout more than ten couplets of the poem, the merits of Eastern literature, philosophy and the tradition of talismans are shown to be superseded by Western sciences such as chemistry, astrology and industrial developments. Sadullah Paşa then writes in a critical tone that the Ottomans, he indeed addresses all Eastern cultures, should focus on creating a modern future through synthesis of European technique. He thinks that there is no place and time to think about the glorious past, traditional values or the splendor of popular Eastern cities.²⁸² He implicitly criticizes the Ottomans who gazed upon the history of Istanbul as a testimony to Ottoman glory. A selection of verses which manifest his perspective are worthy of translation:

Now talk is of astronomy and geology, physics and chemistry
 No longer of devilish promptings empty conjecture and analogies
 ...
 Should not this age take rightful pride among all the ages
 [Its] innovations have narrowed the distances of time and space
 ...
 Alas that the dawns of wisdom have arisen from the West

279 Hayrullah Efendi, 39.

280 See the footnote 45 in this chapter for a criticism of Namık Kemal.

281 Sadullah Paşa's letters and articles were published in Ebüzziyâ Mehmed Tevfik, *Numûne-i Edebiyyât-ı Osmâniyye*, Istanbul, Matbaa-i Ebuzziya, 1329 [1911], 202-210.

282 In fact, in the same vein, Namık Kemal fervently urges Ottoman scholars to have the pertinacity to search, instead of excepting and having faith similar to Tahtawi's stress on the habit of questing and positivism.

The fame of Anatolia and Arabia of Cairo and Herat is no more.²⁸³

In parallel to the growing historical sentiment ignited by the Hamidian regime and its drastic transformations, Ottoman travelers also deployed a historicist approach with a degree of romanticism towards their own culture, in the last decade of 19th century.²⁸⁴ In line with the rising historical awareness of 19th century, they started to posit Ottoman culture into long-term narrativity and within a strong contextualization. In doing so, third group travelers do not tend to glorify the stable periods in the history of the Ottoman Empire, but rather put forward the natural course of history consciously. Further, in every part of their excursions they assert that Ottoman intellectuals should define tools from the past and current period to represent authentic features of the Ottoman society for the future generations. This mentality, combined with the consolidated form of travelogue genre in book format, made room for a sentimental look back at homeland as a common topos in the prefaces or introductions to the third group accounts. The enticing silhouette of Istanbul is presented as a romantic discovery of and pride in the homeland as one is distancing from it. As travelers sailed further away, Istanbul's panorama and the first night on the boat are meticulously depicted, including crowded lists of coastal towns, Princes Islands and laudatory descriptions of the historical peninsula. Midhat's long-winded account sets an exemplar as he spends several pages describing Istanbul with a tone of incurable optimism, a great sensitivity about the Ottoman capital. Under the title "İstanbul'dan Tebaüd-i Tedrici" [Gradually Getting Distant From Istanbul] Midhat portrays the panoramic view of 'the precious Ottoman lands', in his words.²⁸⁵ Looking back to all districts from afar -like a moving image- he portrays Istanbul as a benchmark for himself and his readers in order to be able to evaluate European cities in comparative manner.²⁸⁶ Istanbul's cityscape might have already been a common view for Midhat -as for most urban middle-class Ottomans- as rowboat rides were a common activity and the cityscape from the sea was a major trope since 15th century well before regular ferries started to operate in 1851. Even so, Midhat writes that no traveler could focus on the cities ahead of them while facing back at such scenery as the boat sails away; one could start to plan their journey only if the sun had set or the course of the boat does not allow them to see this spectacle:

[...] On that side, there is nothing but a line that separates the water from the sky, which is called 'horizon', and behind it is the big Istanbul, which everyone is

283 Mebâhis-i felek ü arz ü hikmet ü kimyâ
Değil vesâvis-i ezhân ü vehm ü temsilât

...
Tefhür eylemesin mi bu asr a'sâra
Kısalttı bu'd-i mekân ü zamânı muhtereât

...
Megarib oldu dirîğa metâli'-i irfân
Ne kaldı şöhet-i Rûm u Arab, ne Mısır u Herat

...
I relied on the translations in Kalpaklı, Mehmet. "Sadullah Pasha's Poem, "The Nineteenth Century": A literary Echo of Ottoman Modernization", *Studia Et Documenta Turcologica*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, (2014), 223 – 230.

284 I use the term romantic historicism without its connotations in dominantly Western use in the 20th century where it denotes relativism and opposes modernism.

285 Midhat, 32.

286 For a commentary on the relationship between the landscape, fear of loss and melancholy, specifically in the context of modern Istanbul see: Akcan, Esra. "Melancholies of Istanbul", *World Literature Today* Vol. 80, No. 6, University of Oklahoma Press, (2006), 39-43.

convinced that there is no other kind of love on the face of the world. Thus, everyone tends to look backward inadvertently. What a sight (eye-catching)! [...] Then Fenerburnu, Kadıköy, Haydarpaşa, Selimiye, Ahırkapı, Kumkapı, and Yedikule form a monolithic arc. [...] Truth! Whatever side of Istanbul it is, how magnificent is its appearance from afar!²⁸⁷

Midhat's emphasis on the 'exterior view of Istanbul' recalls Judith Adler's still influential essay "Origins of Sightseeing". She asserts that "it would appear evident that the form of seeing cultivated by erudite travelers by sixteenth and eighteenth centuries made its own contribution to the perpetual creation of the earth as a continuous, lawfully regulated and empirically knowable secular terrain."²⁸⁸ Midhat's panoramic depiction of the Ottoman capital, I believe, recalls such a conscious view about the image of the city. In fact, his awareness grows simultaneously with the urban planning attempts by the Ottoman government. The changing urban episteme progressed in governmental and civilian circles alike and both underscored the power of the image of the city since 1840. Exactly in this manner, Midhat continues by comparing Istanbul and Western European cities in terms of the role of panoramic and bird's-eye views in conceiving a collective image of a city:

Since most of the European states are based on flat lands, the grandiose architectural works cannot be viewed from a point-of-view perspective. As a remedy for this, travelers climb up to the most devoted towers and roofs to look around yet even so they cannot see most buildings in distance. As the famous city Istanbul is located on the hills, the mosques, imperial buildings and other major edifices located on their own hills are self-evident and amazing.²⁸⁹

The appealing spectacle of Istanbul from various hilltops is a source of pride for Midhat and he finds the holistic view an instrument to appreciate all parts of the city at once. A view of an extensive and ordered cityscape, in fact, becomes a kernel for Midhat's portrayal of European cities in the subsequent parts of his account. However, despite this common ground, Midhat has a distinctive approach to Istanbul. As a 'verbal painter' –referring to the term introduced by Marie Louise Pratt– he looks at the Ottoman capital as a piece of art while describing European cities factories working in full flow.²⁹⁰

Two years later, in 1891, İhsan writes four pages in a gloomy tone, under the title "İstanbul'dan Paris" [From Istanbul to Paris] underlying his fear of being away from the homeland.²⁹¹ His pride in being an Ottoman and Muslim becomes explicit in İhsan's wordy pages of nostalgic farewell. He anticipates a feeling of longing even before he starts to experience it; the likelihood of yearning creates a strong uneasiness for him to embark upon his journey. In fact, the radically changing Istanbul becomes a substantial theme in the subsequent sections of İhsan's account. In broad strokes he constantly expresses his belief in the better physical

287 Midhat, 33-34.

288 Adler, Judith. "Origins of sightseeing", *Annals of Tourism Research* Vol. 16/1, Elsevier, (1989), 7-29.

289 Midhat, 34.

290 Here Hayrullah Efendi's one long paragraph describing Istanbul's silhouette and claiming that even artists like Rafaello cannot draw such an image is worth remembering. Hayrullah Efendi, 6.

291 İhsan, 27-30.

conditions of the capital in the previous centuries. İhsan does not demarcate a particular, glorious period of Ottoman history, yet continuously reminds his readers that the potential of Istanbul as an urban environment is infinite, without specifying much. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, his attachment to Istanbul is very strong, so much so that İhsan defines himself as Istanbulite. This attachment can be sensed in the farewell sections which are without any sign of criticism or negative comments unlike his predecessors Sadullah Paşa, Ebüzziya or Namık Kemal.

As a naval officer, Enisi must have been accustomed to the view of Istanbul from afar yet he still finds it valuable to write at length while he sets his eyes on the city until its silhouette fades away. He writes around twenty pages, addressing all parts of Istanbul and, in contrast to the relatively simple language of the travelogues in the third group, Enisi forms long sentences evoking the Ottoman prose style from earlier periods.²⁹² One might say that the frequent use of exoticizing expressions such as “untouched unique nature” or “divine nature” in these passages is similar in tone with the Western orientalist discourse:

As I lay my feet to the post on the stern, for a while, I talked about my hometown, that divine landscape. The sea, land, and sky of this holy land were a source of sadness for me now. [...] Is there any doubt that leaving this holy land, which is the cradle of my being, is special form of the saddest feelings? [...] While I was dealing with such contemplation, a divine light shone from orient. There is a sign of bravery and heroism on each hill and an abundance on every corner of Istanbul.²⁹³

In a similar fashion, Mustafa Said opens his account with a melancholic look back toward Istanbul in 1898. He curiously writes that sailing away is similar to looking back at an old photograph of the Ottoman capital.²⁹⁴ In a way, Said’s narrative is an appropriation of the Orientalist temporal gap that separates the East and the West. In his conception, traveling to Europe means traveling to future, leaving the capital in the past. Said does not highlight any specific element of Ottoman culture with a fear of loss, yet he continuously urges the reader, in broad strokes, to protect the history of the capital. The repetitive and almost cliché expressions, like “Istanbul is peerless”, are one of the main narrative layers of his account. In his account, a deeply rooted sense of urban identity, overlapping with self-orientalizing/romantic nostalgia is effective in setting Istanbul as a narrative background -and also later in perceiving the European urban setting.

Even Zeynep Hanım, self-exiled and living in Paris, starts her introduction with her childhood

292 A selection of his wording to describe Istanbul are: *Boğaziçi, mehasin-i mutlakanın teşgiri, şairlerin kürs-i istiğrakatı, çiçeklerin, güzelliklerin levha-i inkişafı, bülbüllerin lane-i zi-behçetidir*. There are articles with similarly elaborate, sentimental tone in *Servet-i Fünun* articles, which bring a modern approach to Ottoman prose. See, for instance, Ahmet İhsan, *Büyük Ada*, *Servet-i Fünun* c.5, 225-234, 1309, [1893], 119; and İnciciyan, Ğugas V. in: Y. Nabi (Ed.), *İstanbul Sayfıyeleri: Boğaziçi*, Alfa Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2018.

293 Enisi, 32, 34, and 42.

294 Mustafa Said, 5-16. His emotional look at the Ottoman capital evokes orientalists’ look at eastern cities, painting a faded, glorious and sometimes corrupt past amidst present chaos and dilapidation. Mustafa Said similarly experienced a time leap in his vision of the city, but more so in relation to a glorious past and natural beauty, which might work as a reservoir for a better modern future. These are both similar and nuanced forms of “denial of coevalness”.

in Istanbul, in a way developing a quasi-journey starting from the homeland and moving toward Europe, albeit her itinerary was not a round-trip one. Zeynep Hanım's melancholia becomes vivid later on during her sojourn, particularly when she writes about walks in the parks in Paris, recalling her experiences of pleasure in Istanbul. In an emotional tone, she writes in her second letter "[...] there can be tears behind eyes that smile, that a daughter's heart is not necessarily hard because she breaks away from the family circle, nor is one's love for the Fatherland any the less great because one has left it forever."²⁹⁵

Mağmumi, on the other hand, opens his account in a rational manner, explaining the meaning of traveling in order to raise the curiosity of the readers with no mention of Istanbul. Mağmumi is different in the sense that he wrote all his notes while he was living in Europe, so his account was actually from within Europe juxtaposed with his previous experiences in Ottoman Empire. Living there seems to have nullified the wonder stimulated by a cultural or geographical displacement triggered by physically embarking a journey. Also, in the subsequent parts of Mağmumi's account, there is neither melancholic look at the homeland nor exoticizing remarks on Western and Ottoman cities. Nevertheless, in every city he passes through, Mağmumi never fails to look at the foreign and Ottoman newspapers in search of the latest news from Istanbul to address the ever-changing conditions of it. While the rest of the travelers relied on glorification and protection of traditional values within stereotypical ideas, Mağmumi claims that Ottoman traditions and folkloric culture should be prone to change -if necessary- in order to adopt industrial and modern culture. As such, he urges Ottoman intellectuals to learn about historical values in order to reinvigorate them within modern methods -not just to preserve or protect. In this sense, Mağmumi is in the same line with Ömer Faiz – the deputy major who accompanied sultan Abdüllaziz- who insistently highlighted the value of change and the transfer of practicalities and know-how he observed thirty years ago in Europe. Mağmumi adds to this perspective his professional expertise in governance and medicine, both of which are free of melancholia and emotional renditions. For instance, he is sharply critical of the habit of spending idle time in the cemeteries due to the lack of parks in Istanbul.²⁹⁶ As opposed to travelers like Zeynep Hanım, who write nostalgic remarks about the tradition of having picnics in the cemetery grounds, he believes that such urban traditions are impossible to continue, due to increasing population and concerns about the hygiene, and shall be swiftly altered. According to Mağmumi, the conservative approach of the Ottomans would be constructive only if the historical values are reinterpreted in accordance with the modern urban life via novel technologies.

At the turn of the 20th century the speculation about the material embodiment of history and modernization starts at the point of embarkment. It also continues during travelers' visits to museums and libraries, which I detail in Chapter 4. Travelers like Nesimi felt the uneasiness of change and possibility of complete loss of the traditional Ottoman or Muslim character at the highest level.²⁹⁷ Svetlana Boym asserts that nostalgia is not an exclusively retrospective sensation; there is a 'prospective nostalgia' coeval with modernism.²⁹⁸ In this very sense, I argue, Ottoman travelers usually appealed to the prospective nostalgia that they themselves or their readers felt. Although it is focused upon the capital, their sentimentality is about the

295 Zeynep Hanım, 53.

296 Mağmumi, 84.

297 For a counterpart to the European sense and fear of loss and entropy in their vision of the traditional values and charms of the east, see Behdad, Ali. *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution*, Duke Uni. Press, 1994.

298 Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia*, NY, Basic Books, 2001, 8.

future of the Ottoman Empire in general and certainly was not a yearning for a specific historical period. They explicitly express the fear or anxiety of inevitable loss and change in Muslim heritage. In fact, they devote their travelogues to understanding the material embodiment of this change and also to recover from nostalgia that is coeval with modernization. With this urge, they constantly seek for systematic and innovative ways to carry the Ottoman past into the future. Istanbul is the most vivid image of the glorious past in the minds of travelers, and thus it is set as the main object of the operation of ‘making history’ during the nostalgic farewells.

3.2 Oblivion Toward Rural Scenery

The dichotomy of rural authenticity against contaminated urban culture was a prevailing issue during the course of the 19th century, both in European and Ottoman society. Unmistakably, the urban environments of France and Britain transformed most sharply due to them being at the core of industrial modernization. Starting from the late 18th century, not just the physical space but also the daily and social life within the cities were altered in these countries. As the eminent historian Raymond Williams’s research displays, the impact of education and acculturation was the overturning of family and village as the basic constituents of the social structure.²⁹⁹ The fact that working and social environments were becoming the basic delineators in individual’s life was the target of contemporary criticism of this era. In the Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, the impact of industrial transformation was gradual, and it was substantive in only limited parts of the major cities. As such, Ottoman travelers did not hold a sharp perspective about the disparity of rural versus urban. For all, the city (virtually the European city) was perceived as a center of “learning, communication and light”³⁰⁰ with no major disadvantages. The conditions of Anatolian towns were constantly evaluated in comparison to the major cities with less attention given to the pastoral qualities, local cultural or natural features. Thus, all travelers were in awe of the idea of urban culture, which left no space for curiosity about rural Europe. By extension, the scope of the travelogues includes very limited discussions on the modernization or the pastoral scenery of rural Europe.

Evliya Çelebi also neglected the rural areas during his journeys. Dankoff describes his travelogue as a list of the names of towns and personal descriptions of the cities.³⁰¹ Likewise, in the first group of travelogues, written two centuries later than Evliye Çelebi’s account, the transit towns are mentioned very briefly -if mentioned at all. The main representations of rural regions were actually drawings of bridges with a background image of the greenery -which would be the typical focus of the subsequent travelers in rural Europe as well as the publications on Anatolia in the popular Ottoman journals through the turn of the 20th century. (see fig. 1.10 and 2.5) In the first group there are no literary depictions but one image explained as ‘the Roads of the Peripheral Districts’.³⁰² (fig. 3.1) For the second group, as the railroad transportation schedules improved in-between European capitals, the route itself and the transit towns started to be more comfortable and to fall into the focus of the narrative. Still, beyond the passages on the practicalities and technical progress of infrastructure, stations, tunnels and bridges, travelers glossed over the nature and pastoral views. On their way to London, Mehmed Rauf and the anonymous author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* write short and plain passages on geographical

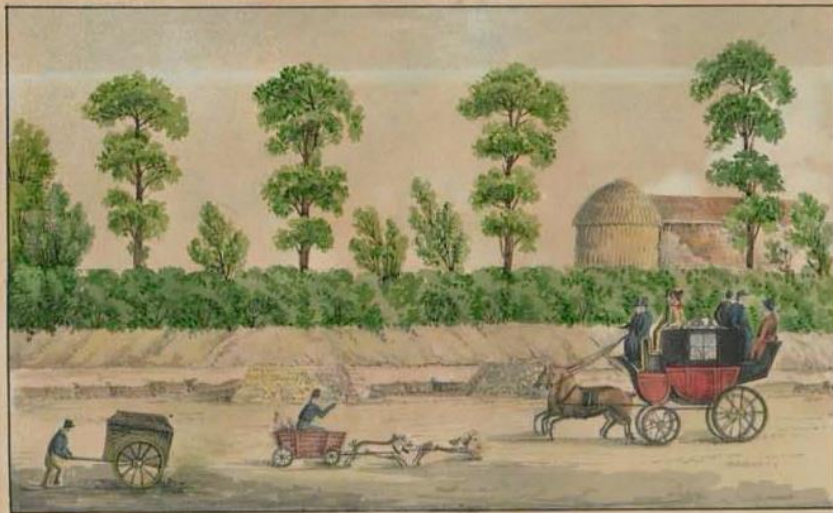
299 Williams, Raymond. *The Country and The City*, Oxford University Press, 1978.

300 Ibid., 1.

301 Dankoff, 48-56.

302 *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*, 52.

information and political discussions about the hegemony of British government in Northern England -which were typical sentences adopted from Baedeker guidebooks. The anonymous author then writes briefly about Lisbon with an Orientalist perspective. Despite the beauty of nature and the peerless houses -in his words- around Lisbon, the lack of European order and hygiene blunts his curiosity. Mehmed Rauf, on the other hand, makes a detour to Italy before leaving for London and, similarly, the rural or pastoral locales in Italy are not a part of his interest. As several travelers would feel in the following decades, Rauf was genuinely mesmerized by the tunnels built between Italy and Switzerland; smart strategies of Swiss government to compete with the austere winter conditions.³⁰³



یونسه نوری تدریسان پلانر عظیم شریک فارغنده اولیج بودان کتیبور

Fig. 3.1 *Posta kurulu getirmeyen delkans arabasıyla şehrin haricinde olan yolların resmidir.* [The view of periphery of the cities to which mail coach do not go.], in *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*, 56.

The level of development in the European countryside, which incorporated a specific way of modernization -without losing the traditional lifestyle- was a surprise and source of inspiration for the second group travelers after Mehmed Rauf, even though they prefer to write succinct comments with no descriptive tone. Hayrullah Efendi, for instance, briefly touches upon the material and moral prosperity in both European cities and rural areas saying that these aspects are interdependent to each other. Among the second group, Ebüzziya is most cognizant of the material progress and technical developments in rural towns. He principally gives generic information on the flora and climate of the rural regions, keenly highlighting the order of the agricultural products, planters, gardens, greenhouses in English and French villages. Ebüzziya esteems, for instance, the town of Canterbury as a place where several factories serve the “needs of humans” and “new-found industries” (*havayic-i beşeriye ve sanayi-i bediaya mahsus*).³⁰⁴ He also admires the grid-iron pattern of Denver “like a big chess-board” while passing through the town by train.

303 Mehmed Rauf, 24-25; also quoted in Asiltürk, 221.

304 Ebüzziya, 38.

For the third group travelers, route options were varied, and they write about the regions or towns through which they selected to pass. Not surprisingly, the Balkan region was mostly left out in their narratives even though most passed through it on the way to Europe or while returning. Being exceptionally curious about everything, Ahmed Midhat names every small town he passes through. For instance, on his way to Paris, he describes the public garden of Lyon (*Jardin botanique de Lyon*) as his first experience in a truly European park. The precision of the geometric layout, parterres in varying shapes and sizes, straight lines of trees alongside allés mesmerized him.³⁰⁵ Evidently, it was not the nature, pastoral and romantic scenery but the scientific way of designing the parks, the quality of the built environment in the villages, the technical profundity of the villagers, and the improvement of the education and production systems that are the focuses of Midhat's observations. He then infers that all developed countries are aware that the population and surface area of rural areas is always greater than that of the urban populations, so they required the utmost attention. Midhat finishes his argument with a pessimistic tone, noting that Ottoman government is not successful enough to elevate the level of civilization in the rural regions even to the minimum, concluding that it is better to concentrate on city centers.³⁰⁶ Further, along with his critiques and similar to the other travelers of the third group, Midhat also comments on the progress of railway transportation throughout rural Europe. He writes long passages on Decauville coaches hovering around Paris and deems them as marvels of French engineering. Parallel to his comments on the parks of the region, Midhat describes the river canal between Lyon and Paris as one of the most important observations of his travel in between European cities. Such engineering is, for him, the manifestation of technological know-how used to regulate nature, just as Mehmed Rauf wrote forty years prior. Further, he is surprised that even certain infrastructural elements have architectural merits, like piers with gothic arcs, in addition to their technological success.³⁰⁷ The arc-bridge seems exceptional to Midhat as he expects only technical capability, not an 'artistic touch' in the design of a bridge. Apparently in his mind, the practical/technical realm is dissociated from aesthetical considerations and artistic merit. With a similar perspective to Midhat, Ahmed İhsan opens his account with the portrayal of the lush appearance of Marseilles and short paragraph on *Paledökristal* as an important spectacle in the vicinity of London. He almost ignores the town itself, mentioning only that the small towns raise the readers' expectations about destination points like Paris, London or Vienna and the rural scenes must be perceived as warm-up laps.

In fact, from the last decade of the 19th century onwards, travelers' outlooks on the countryside become more nuanced as the passages on rural scenery and towns blend with the enthusiasm to see truly European culture, which is apparent in towns more than in the major cities. The urban culture in Istanbul among the middle-class Ottoman intellectuals started to include tours in and around the city center enjoying the nature, sea or forest views. *Sayyadane Bir Cevelan* (1891) by Ahmet Midhat is an example of such Europeanized leisure time activities, wherein the traveler writes much about the need to enjoy nature. In *Servet-i Fünun*, too, traveling is described as a leisure time activity and cultivation of personal taste exceeding the didactic meaning. Ahmet İhsan particularly notes that his journeys around Anatolia are 'particularly leisurely travel' (*gezinti cevelanı*).³⁰⁸ He also mentions that the authentic towns of Anatolia such as Eskişehir, Konya, Ankara have already been advertised by Societe du Chemin de Fer

305 Midhat, 82-83.

306 Ibid., 841.

307 Ibid., 83.

308 Anonymous, "İzmit'te Hamidiye Caddesi", *Servet-i Fünûn*, 77, 1309, [1892].

as places of leisurely outings. However, as opposed to İhsan's personal and pleasure-centered tone, the advertisement images still focused on technological feats of the Ottoman empire.

Mehmed Enisi opens his account with a rather different attitude than previous travelogues; although he was going to travel to the most urbanized places in the world, he declares "I have an incredible desire to travel into the wild, mountains and hills."³⁰⁹ He follows with extensive descriptions of the countryside and the architecture of European coastal towns which have a dual image involving "scientific urban" and "romantic rural" features: "On the one hand, these are the coastal houses that are elegant enough to be called in the elegance of the technique of architecture, palatable and the delightful mansions. The mansions that are covered in flowers and greenery, as they are replying to the souls, and the coasts that are magnificently embellished."³¹⁰ Further, in Monte Carlo as he tours around the city on a tram, Enisi admires the architectural and natural scenery of several summerhouses in the Andalusian architectural style: "On the coastal line the best examples of Andalusian buildings, the summer houses and mansions are seen."³¹¹ The ornamental architectural culture in the towns throughout the French Riviera catered to Enisi's curiosity at a variety of levels including technical precision, progress of aesthetics and authentic culture. As a naval officer, he could not refrain from bestowing his attention upon to the nature of coastal towns, rather than the central European imagery dominated by the hills, lakes, forests and agricultural fields.

Mağmumi, who toured Europe in the same period with Enisi between 1895-1900, is another traveler who has a watchful eye on European countryside. Especially during train voyages, he includes his observations on the changing architectural styles against the distinctive natural environment. On his way to Brussels from Paris, for example, he detects the changing style of rural architecture, from Gothic to Flemish (*Gotik tarzı yerine Flandr mimarisi*).³¹² Not long after Mağmumi, Said describes the French coast using similar -at times the same- adjective clauses and sentences as the previous travelers. Said also adds two water-color paintings of the countryside between Geneva and Lousern towards Salève mountains in France. The visual depictions of nature and countryside are limited in his account, while the vehicles that made visiting the mountains and smallest villages in Switzerland possible are a particular fascination for him. (fig. 3.2) The drawings of the *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat* in first group of accounts is very similar to Said's paintings created almost half a century later; although the literary expressions are very different in these two accounts, the same transformation did not occur in the visual representations. (fig. 3.3)

309 Enisi, 32.

310 Ibid., 32-33.

311 Ibid., 136.

312 Mağmumi, 24.



Fig. 3.2 *Yataklı vagon* [Wagon-lit], in *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*.

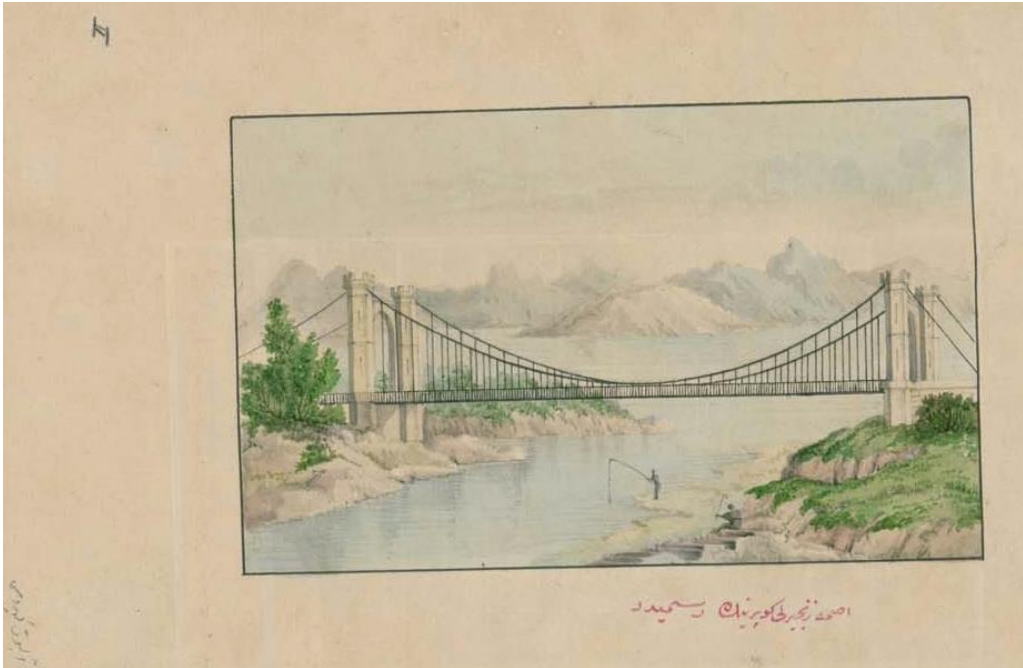


Fig. 3.3 *Asma zincirli köprü*nün resmidir. [The image of cable-stay suspended bridge], in *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*, 4.

Between 1900-1910, as traveling became common, faster and shorter, Ottoman travelers started to include even fewer observations on rural regions. They, in all likelihood, quickly eluded the anxiety and disorientation of leaving their homeland; travelers were ready to reconcile with the European urban rhythm from the outset. In fact, this was a period of contentious discussion

about urban life in Ottoman cities, posing it as the binary opposite of the countryside. The urban-rural polarization and criticism of new modes of city life became a topic of several novels, plays and other forms of Ottoman literature.³¹³ According to the Ottoman travelers, the duality exists between the modern urban life and morality of the Ottoman society. Yet travelers also believed that the middle class in both European and Ottoman society would be the mediator. Following the binary opposition of European science (which settled mostly in the cities) and Ottoman morality (that is linked to the tradition and innocence in the country), travelers detached the European rural towns from the European cities. Ultimately, they embarked to seek out a vision of Europe that was constituted out of cities and continued imagining what they idealized en route - instead of observing the realities of the rural regions passing in front of their eyes.³¹⁴

3.3 Normative Approaches to European Urban Centers

Yerasimos puts forward that urbanism has been one of the fundamental bases of comparison between the Ottoman court and Europe ever since the 17th century. According to him, the depiction of Vienna by Evliya Çelebi was among the earliest Ottoman texts on European urban planning and city design.³¹⁵ Accounts on Europe from the following centuries pursued this curiosity; Ottomans evaluated foreign and intra-imperial cities in comparison with the benchmark of European major cities' guidelines.³¹⁶ A curious manifestation of the Ottoman authorities' perception of European city as a category is evident in the portrayal of a small Greek town of Volos in the early 1830s. Yerolimpos refers to the portrayal of new Volos as "orderly, worthy of a European city" in official correspondences.³¹⁷ Continuous efforts on modern planning, attention to and praise for the European image of even a rather remote Greek city indicates that authorities' concerns regarding urban transformation were not merely a practical but also a representative issue. In a same manner, urban transformation in Istanbul during the late 18th and 19th century was regarded as more than a matter of everyday life but rather a state and image problem. The capital of the empire was subject to a foreign gaze cast both by the foreign residents of Istanbul and foreign travelers; thus the 19th century sultans

313 There are several literary works that discuss this divide some examples for novels are *Akabi Hikayesi* (1851) by Vartan Paşa and the well-known novel *Araba Sevdası* (1889) by Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem; for theatre plays *Açıkbaş* (1874) by Ahmed Midhat; for novel genre in between anecdotes, episodic articles and essay *Şehir Mektupları* (1897-1899) by Ahmet Rasim.

314 In the travelogues written after 1910 during the Early Republican period, the distinctions between town and countryside also reflect on the use of imagery. The rural regions and villages are observed and portrayed, if they are mentioned at all, as urban summer resort regions. For analysis of Early Republican travelogues see: Kırış, İrem Maro. "Türkiye'de Kentsel İmgelemin Gelişimi: Erken Cumhuriyet Metinlerinde 'Bati' Kenti", PhD. Diss., ITU, 2007.

315 Yerasimos, Stéphane. in: P. Dumont and F. Georgeon (Eds.), *Modernleşme Sürecince Osmanlı Kentleri*, A. Berktaş (trans.), Istanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996, 1-18.

316 Nevertheless, it must be added that throughout the 18th century and during the first half of the 19th century, urban planning in Ottoman cities was practically based on hygiene, control between ethno-religious territories and fire. The policies regarding the image of the city, unity and harmony among the buildings became a concern but could not be implemented systematically without holistic regulatory sanctions.

317 Yeralimpos, Alexandra. in: P. Dumont and F. Georgeon (Eds.), *Modernleşme Sürecince Osmanlı Kentleri*, A. Berktaş (trans.), Istanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996, 31. See also: A. U. Peker, in B. Schmidt-Haberkamp (Ed.), *Europe and Turkey in the 18th Century*, Bonn University Press, 2011, 489-503.

and governing elites were susceptible to the image created by Istanbul's construction and presentation. Hence, not just technological know-how but also the aesthetic preferences of the state were influenced by Western standards and policies. The reports of Reşid and Ali Paşa are well-known examples that manifest a conception of modern urban planning as based on scientific methods and orthogonal geometric layout in order to create a holistic image out of high stone buildings, straight and wide roads with tree strips.³¹⁸

Against this background, late Ottoman travelogues were conceived as civilian guidelines to learn the constitutive elements of modern cities. Within a normative manner, travelers put major European urban centers at the core of their narrative, typically poring over all-encompassing features ranging from the greatest scale -like grid-iron planning- to the regulation of door signage. Ignoring any negative aspects, difficulties, challenges and also quotidian features, the epitomic qualities of urban centers, according to the travelers' perspective, were listed. Soon enough, Istanbul's streetscape underwent a renovation process that would consume more than half a century. A set of regulations prepared by the Sixth District Administration and the Council of Laws governed the alterations. Cognizant of all the official reformations and with meticulous attention, each of the three group of Ottoman travelers approached different aspects of urban centers: first group travelers had an administrative perspective focusing primarily on municipal services; second group travelers incorporated their didactic approach and esteemed the notion of ordered urban image as the symbol of prosperity and scientific progress; and the third group travelers had an almost mythical construct of the European city as an epitome of technological improvement, civility and also as a spectacle within.

Semi-official Approach: Municipal Services

The focus on state diplomacy and protocols in the 18th century *sefaretname* was replaced by the notion of municipal services even in the early civilian Ottoman travelogues. The main distinct feature of first group accounts is that travelers were driven by the preconceived image of the West as an efficient governing body. Further, for them the London municipality is the governing center of the British society, which is the leader of modern and industrial world. During their journeys, the regulation of urban life in Ottoman cities was still the responsibility of *kadis*; only a few years after the last traveler in the group, in 1855, were the urban regulations entrusted to the *şehremaneti* (municipality). The first official document that specifies the physical properties of new streets was registered in 1839, yet the three anonymous travelers visited Europe before the implementation of comprehensive legislations.³¹⁹ Less than ten years later, in 1864, the first regulations pertinent to local government in Istanbul were enacted and the first regional municipality was established in 1869 in Beyoğlu. On the other hand, physical and legislative transformations were concurrent to the introduction of new public services like national postal service, railway transit, sea transit and formal education that reshaped urban daily life, which was described in the travelogues with minute details. The 'urbanizing mission' of Ottoman bureaucratic intellectuals became explicit in regulations, the official gazette and also in the first group travelogues with their emphasis on hard data and detailed scientific knowledge. Travelers' perspectives indicate an understanding of Europe whose success is dependent on administrative system. The interest in empirical knowledge and practical information is framed as a way to optimize the new technologies/regulations/governance that

318 Mustafa Reşid Paşa's account is emblematic as he directly refers to the European's outlook to Ottoman cities. See footnote 22.

319 Yerasimos, 8.

is to be introduced to the Ottoman Empire.

The need for holistic order and top-down management of the city center was the inference of all travelers' observations in London. Despite its title including France, the content of *İngiltere ve Fransa Sefaret veya Seyahatnamesi* and *İngiltere memalikiyle Londra şehrine seyahat* were directed at a singular goal: to break the codes and methodology of efficient governing in London. London was portrayed almost independent from the rest of England, and effectively Europe, as a city working like a factory and the quintessential product of the industrial era.³²⁰ To comprehend the key points of administrative efficiency, travelers dwelled on issues such as correlations between distinct municipal bodies, technical capacities of vehicles, expenses and income of public transportation, economic management of cultural amenities like theatres including details like the ticket prices, types of vehicles and projections of ridership.³²¹ The material aspects of transportation vehicles grabbed the utmost attention and were conveyed through technical drawings and exhaustive lists in both of the accounts. (see fig. 2.8) The visual representations in these accounts were also directly related to amenities like the underground transportation system, continuous pavements or street lighting. In fact, both accounts share the same two drawings of the train cars.³²² Apparently, not only the infrastructure and administrative strategies but also the material aspects and object quality of all matters became a part of the scope of the accounts towards the mid-nineteenth century. Nevertheless, travelers did not connect all these issues to municipal governance; they did not identify that the municipality specified those architectural details and the municipal control has direct physical and architectural outcomes such as the number of windows, height of the buildings and façade articulations according to the taxations.

First group travelers' personal engagement with the city is almost non-discernable since the accounts are replete with meticulous technical and operational details. The social repercussions and cultural consequences of modern governance were rarely discussed, and then only in highly limited and cursory fashion. Travelers did not incorporate parks into their detailed analysis of London's municipal services. In fact, even the second group of travelers would express that the public park is a novelty for Ottoman culture. Yet, the two ostentatious drawings of site plans of the Hype and Saint Regents parks in *İngiltere memalikiyle Londra şehrine seyahat* indicate that leisure culture amenities were starting to be incorporated as public works. (see fig. 1.1) (see fig. 2.9) In the same vein as Sadık Rıfat Paşa and Mustafa Sami Efendi's concurrent treatises on Europe, travelers became conscious about the correlation between administrative strategies and public affairs, socio-cultural aspects and the civility of urbanites.

The time when the first Persian travelers embarked on westward journeys coincides with the first group of Ottoman travelers. Parallel to their Ottoman peers, for Persian travelers *Farangistan* (European) and *Farangi* (Europe) had evolved into an 'advanced' and 'civilized' conception of the West and Westerners.³²³ Curiously, they had a rather distinct perspective on

320 Albert Dumont claims that German travelers of this period are also baffled by the improvement and transformations of London. Dumont, Paul. in: R. Geybullayeva and P. Orte (Eds.), *Stereotypes in Literatures and Cultures – International Reception Studies*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt, 2010, 131.

321 There are more than twenty lists that would be put in this category in *İngiltere ve Fransa Sefaret veya Seyahatnamesi*.

322. Curiously, the Ottoman envoy in London in this period, Nuri Efendi, (who is also speculated as the author this *İngiltere ve Fransa Sefaret veya Seyahatnamesi* as I mentioned in Chapter 1) sent a British passport to the Ottoman state who then wanted to create a modern passport for its citizens.

323 Vahdat, 51.

municipalities; they were interested in the order and image of the cities but disregarded the role of institutional foundations and regulations. Vahid Vahdat explains and exemplifies that “Farrokh-Khan, who attended a city council session during his stay in London, is silent about the institution and its purpose. Abolhasan had found the municipality of London to be a useless office that needed to be abolished. Persian travelers apparently felt that the regulatory order of Farangi space was unrelated to Farangi forms and institutions of spatial governance.”³²⁴ In 1815 Mirza Muhammed Saleh Shirazi explicitly writes that he set off to investigate the ‘urban affairs and the people’s traditions and behaviors’, yet he then alludes to his main desire, which is to write about ‘broad socio-economic issues’ criticizing previous impressionist accounts. Twenty years later, Rezaqoli Mirza also asserts that a trip to the West should be about utilities and useful institutions of Europe, not trivial exhibitions and amusements. The emphasis was to be put, in his words, ‘not on impressions but improvements’.³²⁵ Despite this, both traveler groups have a similarly dominant utilitarian perspective that surpasses the personal experiences of the urban centers.

Another critical issue was travelers’ perspectives on the appropriation of European governing strategy. Vahdat observes that Persian travelers never explicitly advocate the adoption of European governing strategies with the exception taxation and sciences that are bound up with central administration.³²⁶ Similarly, first group Ottoman travelers only advocated for European strategies in areas related to public transportation. Even though the material-based and practical definition of London set the foundation for the aspiration to gain insight into creating an Ottoman version of a European city, travelers did not state it overtly. The potential reaction of the readers as well as the lack of a definite method for incorporating these strategies into the accounts could be the intimated reason.

Concurrent with Ottoman and Persian travelers, the Egyptian intellectual Tahtawi was living in Paris (between 1826-1831). During his sojourn, he writes with awe, underscoring the scientific methodology, systematical design and implementation of regulations within long-term plans.³²⁷ Tahtawi deduces that the distinguishing features of the West are a belief in ‘reason’ (positivism) and the work ethics of the European people.³²⁸ Further, he writes that the public well-being in Europe is connected to science and technology but also to their habit of hard work. In a more refined manner than others, Tahtawi defined European urban culture in terms of the mentality of the governors in conjunction with the public. He systematically sought after the constituent features of urban culture and the role of the people in its creation which, as he affirms, means more than the administrative strategies. His approach is similar to the Ottoman treatises by Sami Efendi and Sadık Rıfat Paşa from the same period. Despite having the same motivation, the first group of Ottoman travelogues were written with a more limited perspective with less attention on role of the public. The accounts were geared to list and expound western standards of urban governing to form a knowledge basis upon which new policies would be developed through processes of appropriation, critical evaluation and adaptation. Specific innovations and urban features were not overtly advocated for emulation, but long-winded lists and the numerical data of municipal decisions were potentially instrumental in governors’ organization of Ottoman systems. Thus, despite limits, I believe the first group of accounts are evidence of the polyvalence of Ottoman modernism – a more

324 Ibid., 97.

325 Ibid.

326 Ibid., 90.

327 Tahtawi, 176-179.

328 Ibid.

multi-focal approach- even though they could be defined as semi-official narratives. Within the portrayal of London, as filtered by these three travelers, are indicators of the diversification of official reformation processes. Europe was not a remote idea anymore but a tangible system corollary to cultural and governmental characteristics in specific countries. West as ‘the prison of Muslims, paradise of the infidels’ in Yirmisekiz Çelebi’s words was transformed into a place where one can observe, study and learn to create modern governing bodies and public. With almost no alteritist renditions of Western and Eastern cultures (read Muslim and Christian cultures), first group travelers’ relations to occidental knowledge focused on the material aspects of modern administration and individual’s roles as governors and less so, as citizens. The detailed description of theatre saloons next to analytical approaches and documentation of quantifiable details manifest the shift from preconditioned reports punctuated by surprise into personal, almost a veritable, how-to books.

Aspirational Paths: Ordered Urban Image

Starting from Yirmisekiz Çelebi’s account (1721), Paris was envied by the Ottoman court, specifically regarding its palaces, museums, and imperial parks. Nevertheless, the public interest in Parisian culture did not start to hold a substantial place in Ottoman intellectual circles until after 1850.³²⁹ London was perceived as the abode of civilization with almost no comparisons to the other European cities until Baron Haussmann’s Paris. Hayrullah Efendi was the first traveler to write about Paris, praising the city as a quintessential image of the European condition: “A foreigner can understand the state of Europe, especially after she arrives at homeland from Paris”.³³⁰ The ordered and enlightened image of the French capital arose as the precedent (*enmuzec-i ‘âlem*) for Ottoman cities and main object of travel accounts towards 1860. Another critical transformation of this period is the Ottoman journals’ inclusion of personal and material issues. Şiviloğlu asserts that the content of *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the only Ottoman newspaper of the period, started to include more articles on material culture and modern society. He also points out that the news about official affairs, -for instance Mahmud II’s visits to Istanbul dockyards, seasonal movements of his court in between palaces or information about the Sultan’s travels to observe “the conditions of his Muslim and non-Muslim subjects”, as put in the newspaper- breaks the abstract identity of the ruler and personalizes him.³³¹ Further, as early as in 1856, the official decrees about new urban plans were published in periodicals like *Journal de Constantinople* and thus became public knowledge. From this point on, even the official narratives of the court started to become personally tinged with social and cultural dimensions.

While the narratives personalized, the urban setting of Istanbul started to be codified. 1848 Building Regulation (*Ebniye Nizamnamesi*), 1853 Regulation on Streets (*Sokaklara Dair Nizamname*), 1863 Roads and Building Code (*Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi*), 1875 Regulation on Construction Methods in Istanbul (*İstanbul ve Bilad-ı Selasede Yapılacak*

329 In his memoir, Halil Halid writes about the biased views of Ottomans about English culture and London during the early nineteenth century: “At that time, the British were more respectable in the eyes of the Ottoman people compared to other Europeans. For this reason, everyone would look at every European guest as British, and I was in the same point of view for this couple.” Halid, Halil. *The Diary of a Turk*, London, 1903, 95.

330 Hayrullah Efendi, 97.

331 Şiviloğlu, 68.

Ebniyenin Suver-i İnşaiyesine Dair Nizamname) were devised to reshape the architecture and inner-city roads in the capital.³³² (fig. 3.4) The virtual aim of all the regulations was to create an ordered image of Istanbul, influenced by London and Paris, and to transform the volatile urban fabric into sturdy and fire-proof structures.³³³ Wide and straight boulevards, orthogonal building parcels and perpendicular street junctions were exclusively deemed as the main elements of the new order and image of Istanbul. This official disposition was mirrored in the second group accounts. In the broadest sense, travelers were invested in two aspirational paths that are interrelated in urban order: modernity (*asriyat*) and urbanization (*tamassur*). In Arabic, the words ‘city’ (*madina*) and ‘civilized’ (*madani/tamaddun*) has the same etymological origin; in fact, for the travelers the notion of civilization is conditioned to urbanism.³³⁴ Thus, for all, urban image is directly interconnected to the level of civilization; the civilized (*mütemeddin*) equates to the urbanized. Particularly the Young Ottoman supporters in the second group such as Sadullah Paşa and Ebüzziya, defined the physical aspects of European cities and the institutions that enforce the urbanism regulations as the seal of civilization. Interestingly, urban life is still tackled primarily as a governing issue, yet urban setting is evaluated as the tool to foster a civilized community with urban residents in the lead. The role of urbanites and their power over the representation and reception of urban transformations was a main aspect of their approach to Europe.³³⁵ In Ömer Faiz’s account (penned in 1867), Şehzade Murad is personified and he emblematically declares that “a civilized life could only be possible when the cities that allow such a life are built.”³³⁶ All in all, the focus on Western civilizations’ political stability, professionalization and administrative capacities shifted towards a stress on industrialized and modernized urban settings and public.

332 There are other codes including those for the docks in Istanbul and important developments such as the establishment of the Commission of Road Upgrading (Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu) in 1866, and 1882 Building Act (Ebniye Kanunu). See Yerasimos, Gül, and Çelik, Zeynep. *The Remaking of İstanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*. University of Washington Press, 1986.

333 Numerous fires burned down sizeable areas and districts of Istanbul throughout the 19th century. In result, all the regulations addressed the issue of fire prevention and spread through material selection, width of the roads and the intervals between the buildings.

334 The term *medeniyet* acquired the meaning of civilization only in the 19th century under the impact of the western concept. Before this, the concept of civilization, as we use it in the modern context, did not exist. Hence the idea of “Islamic civilization” which, as opposed to the ummah, is a totally modern concoction based on a Europeanized mode of thinking.

335 On the role of urbanites as public figures and the reciprocal relations between city and citizens in late Ottoman Empire: Demirakin, Nahide Işık. “The City as a Reflecting Mirror: Being and Urbanite in the 19th century Ottoman Empire”, Phd. Diss., Bilkent Univeristy. 2015.

336 Kutay, 46-47.



Fig. 3.4 Two contrasting images of masonry official edifices around Harbiye Nezareti (today Beyazıt Meydanı) versus a street view with wooden housing fabric in Uskudar from late 1800s; Author's archive.

As the urban reforms became more publicized and Istanbul transformed following Haussmann's Paris -based on a radial plan and grid-iron street network³³⁷ - travelers aimed to parse out European urban order into comprehensible elements. The three main components of an ordered European city were listed as: the grid-iron layout, a hierarchy of boulevards/avenues/streets, and public squares. The perfect orthogonal geometry of all urban elements was the basic criteria to identify a city as modern, which was inextricably bound up with science, industry and technology. Straight forms, wide roads and orthogonal spaces in between the buildings grabbed travelers' attention demonstrating technical capability of engineering and design.³³⁸

None of the second group travelers fail to mention a grid plan and the orthogonal relations of the streetscape if they could detect it or had read about it from the guidebooks. Mehmed Rauf's account well reflects that he was prepared for the Parisian streets but was highly surprised by the ordered streets of Italian cities, to which he devotes almost one third of his account. In Naples, for instance, the wide and long streets, which, according to him, take half an hour to get across, as well as the perfectly straight tree lanes grab his attention -indeed as much as the ostensions Italian palaces.³³⁹ Even in small cities like Terracina, Rauf observes, the straight tree lines arise as an important factor to create an ordered image. He uses the word '*nizamat*' (literally regulations and arrangements) in a praiseworthy tone, addressing basically the organization and layout of the streets.³⁴⁰ It must be added here that order had been a critical theme even in Evliya Çelebi's account, as well as in two influential diplomatic reports that were written concurrent to the first group travelers by Sami Paşa and Sadık Rıfat in the 1840s, as discussed previously. For these diplomats, the most imperative aspect of Europe for

337 The new image of Paris designed by Haussmann actually depended on the radial city planning which is subdivided by grid-iron street network. Ottoman appropriation did not base more on the grid system than radial plan.

338 The earliest mentioning of a grid-iron plan in a travelogue was by Evliya Çelebi in 1721. He specifies that the grid plan (*safrançvari*) of Edirne includes 6170 long and short public roads; and in another volume of his travelogue, he notes that the trees around Tersane Sarayı in Istanbul are planted in a grid layout. Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi Vol.1*, Istanbul, YKY Yayınları, 2013, 264.

339 Mehmet Rauf, 6-7.

340 It must be added here that the order of the European city was brought even to the titles in the first group of accounts.

Ottoman empire to appropriate is ordered urban life, which includes ordered entertainment, the order of the financial relations between public and government and the order of the crowds in the street. From 1850 onwards, the awareness of order that had once merely denoted the technical capacity to create orthogonal and straight urban elements also gained further implications related to architectural style and urban manners.

Arriving at Venice, Mehmed Rauf writes that it is an odd city with peerless features; most of the features he highlights are about the order or orderlessness of the streets surrounded by water. Later, he interestingly describes San Marco Square as a living room without a ceiling.³⁴¹ In general, Mehmed Rauf does not write about the function, location or meaning of the squares, rather he refers to the iconic buildings that marked out the squares, ground materials and surrounding beautification. In fact, the paving material of squares and particularly the perfect orthogonal geometry of the tiles would surprise all the Ottoman travelers even as late as in the 1900s; hard-covered streets and continuous sidewalks were built only in the limited parts of Istanbul till the turn of the 20th century. As a result, travelers observantly and constantly note down the paved roads (*parke yol*) and sidewalks and define the lack of these elements as an important shortcoming for the image Istanbul. Later in London, Rauf deploys a comparative strand about the urban element, claiming for instance, that the equivalent streets in London are three times wider than the ones in Istanbul.³⁴² He tries to scale the street networks with common, recognizable benchmarks like the duration of walking or well-known streets in Istanbul like Divanyolu.

In the same year, the author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* wanders around London, yet neither the dimension nor the geometry of streets holds a critical place in his account. He rather pays attention to the beautification of open areas with sculptures, fountains, and neoclassical edifices as constitutive elements of the ordered and enticing urban image. Just like Mehmed Rauf, the anonymous traveler thinks that the buildings around the squares of London are the best examples of modern architecture with an array of different styles. He then lists the variety of vehicles that roam the streets of London including vapor/steam car (*vapur/buhar arabası*), train (*şimendifer*), bike (*velospit/velosipede*) and trams (*omnibus*). He is more interested in the technical, economic and social details of urban transportation than the visceral, experiential attributes of those modern vehicles. Overall, he was more surprised at the scheduled, calculated and punctual urbanites who could easily find their way in London. Locals and tourists created an enchanted imagery which he describes in a mesmerized manner: "... As everyone let go as a passenger, the wind was whispered with a buzz, and the visible places seem to flow like water, and we fly as if we are standing where we are..."³⁴³ The anonymous travelers' descriptions are similar to third group travelers in this manner, expressing enchantment with the ordered but complex image of cities.

The anonymous author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* introduces a perfectly shaped communal garden (also named as garden square) in London as: "The appearance of the park and green areas, which they call a square, is very nice here. These green areas belong to the whole neighborhood and are in a rectangular shape. Rows of houses are lined up around these squares, and the gardeners of this place are common." The traveler then continues: "At every corner of the square, there are streets with small doors opening inwards and people from other places are

341 Mehmed Rauf, 22-29.

342 Ibid.

343 *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 9.

not allowed to enter here. London's main big city park is outside the city. (Hyde Park).”³⁴⁴ He highlights that individuals and unions provide financial support for the maintenance of establishments like public gardens, square or zoos for their scientific researches.³⁴⁵ Concerning the design and maintenance of the ordered urban image, he repetitively stresses private entrepreneurs, unions and dilettante groups with specific themes such as botanic or zoology which, according to him, were totally absent in Ottoman culture and were important factors for scientific progress and public education.

Hayrullah Efendi was in Europe when the grid-iron plan had started to be implemented in the districts of Istanbul including Aksaray, Imrahor, Salma Tomruk (in Edirnekapı), Ayvansaray, Hocapaşa and Samatya in the aftermath of fires after 1853.³⁴⁶ Further, the 1863 Street and Building Regulation guaranteed that the new parcels in Istanbul would be square or rectangular. The orthogonal shape of building parcels was standardized with the continuation of the street regulations. Coming from this context, Hayrullah Efendi devotes numerous pages to the streets in Paris under four titles: “*Paris’in tarifi ber-vech-i tafsil*” [The Depiction of General Topography of Paris], “*Champs Elysees’nin vasfi*” [The Description of Champs Elysees], “*Champ de Mars Meydanı*” [The Champ de Mars Square], “*Bulvarların Tarifi*” [The Description of Boulevards]. He does not give any dimensions or describe the statistical data of the boulevards, yet he repetitively highlights that the fame of Parisian boulevards is rightfully unmatched. He summarizes “The general sketch of the city” as:

Within the 10-hour-wide garden, line up beautiful palaces in all kinds of architectural styles in order along the edges of several large roads and square. Roads illuminated by gas lanterns, decorated and beautiful shops on the entrance floors, many cars, men and women wandering in the promenades... This is a short description of the city.³⁴⁷

Hayrullah Efendi then specifies, ‘various oddities’ (*garaib-i mütenevvia*), in his words, including roundabouts, water sprinklers and pools with orthogonal shapes and different sizes. He repeatedly underlines that Paris is enticing to his eye noting novelties such as wide boulevards, tiled streets and sizable squares. Hayrullah Efendi was enthralled by the vistas from the windows of a moving vehicles and the spectacle of mobile vehicles and people reflected on shiny and wide surfaces, and these are the hallmarks of his perception of Paris. As for the anonymous author of *Seyahatname-i Londra*, the crowded, enticing but still ordered and highly functional image of the European cities is the main subtext of Hayrullah Efendi’s narrative. In this respect, two travelers’ perspectives are close to the third group, whose writings were predicated on the idea of European city as a spectacle. Different from these travelers, Ebüzziya Tevfik mentions that he enjoys looking at Dover from the elevated tracks of the railways, ten to fifteen meters above the buildings, en³⁴⁸قوچ. He highlights the technological capacity of European planners to order sizeable districts with minute precision in each corner.

The focus on municipal services continued in second group, with a particular stress on technological tools to create public order. Street lighting is deemed as one of the quintessential services for security as well as an enabler of nightlife, including both nighttime business and

344 *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 71-72.

345 Ibid., 30.

346 The planning of Samatya was described as chessboard-like (*satrançvari*) in the official documents.

347 Hayrullah Efendi, 89.

348 Ebüzziya, 38.

cultural activities.³⁴⁹ In Istanbul, lighting was already a factor for surveillance and nightly social gatherings, yet only the high echelons of the society enjoyed the benefits of gas lamps in their mansions, private gardens and on the rowing-boats sailing through Bosphorus.³⁵⁰ The earliest regulation regarding street lighting was enacted in 1845. Later, in 1846, the new regulation ensured that Ottoman police forces would hang lamps in front of several stores/homes and made it obligatory for the public to carry a lantern while walking on the streets during nighttime. One year later, the main boulevard of Beyoğlu was illuminated by numerous lamps upon the demand of the residents of Pera. As is obvious, the cityscape of Istanbul was far from thoroughly illuminated and thus the second group travelers were mesmerized by the glory of a lighting network illuminating lengthy boulevards and department stores in throughout the entirety of London. Travelers used a variety of adjectives to express their astonishment including bewildering, incomparable style (*bedi'ü'l ushup*), new style, (*nev usul*) and shiny (*parlak, mücella*). The anonymous author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* assertively indicates that nighttime is the best time to search for a European lifestyle. As much as he is impressed with the street lighting, he is surprised by the impact of gas lamps -not the oil lamps- in the interiors. For him, the way gas lighting turned the theatre venues into luminous spaces, without the odor and smoke of the oil lamps, is an indicative of the level of civilization.³⁵¹

Hayrullah Efendi's journey also coincides with the introduction of gas lamps in the interiors of Dolmabahçe Palace and the proliferation of street lighting outside of Pera, towards Kurtuluş and Tophane districts. Still, street lighting was implemented primarily for the improvement of security rather than a desire for nightlife. With this mentality, Hayrullah Efendi was astonished by the continuous street lighting and window illuminations creating pompous, lively and spacious atmosphere.³⁵² Hayrullah Efendi then proceeds to describe how various light sources and the architecture react to one another, creating unexpected, spectacular effects on reflective surfaces:

[I]f there are ten flashes of gas lamps in shops, their illumination [inside] triples with the reflection from mirrors. While passing by with a car, reflections of gas lamps on shop windows and from both sides of the street, as well as the movement of headlights on these windows seems very peculiar and bizarre; it is impossible to describe this circumstance.³⁵³

Furthermore, similar to the anonymous author of *Seyahatname-i Londra*, Hayrullah Efendi notes that even without a real show going, the interior of Grande Opera and Cirque Imperatrice in Champs Elysees, sparkling with gas lamps, is a great spectacle in itself.³⁵⁴ He includes many pages of statistical information about the amount of lighting in different parts of Paris such as stores, palaces and parks -possibly borrowing from guidebooks and advertising documents.³⁵⁵ Upon such observations, Hayrullah Efendi claims that Paris is the quintessential representation of European progress and Ottoman travelers could only comprehend the status of it after returning to the Ottoman capital and making comparisons.

349 On the role of lighting to create absolutist state see: W. Schivelbusch 80-84.

350 A. Wishnitzer, in: J. Meier, U. Hasenöhr, K. Krause and M. Pottharst (Eds.), *Urban Lighting, Light Pollution and Society*, Routledge, 2014, 66-88.

351 *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 19-20.

352 Hayrullah Efendi, 89.

353 Ibid., 90.

354 Ibid., 103.

355 Ibid., 131.

From 1860 onwards, street lighting was also among most important topics of discussion in the Ottoman newspapers and popular journals. In 1864, the well-known article “*İstanbul Sokaklarının Tenviri ve Tathiri Hakkındadır*” [On the Illumination and Cleaning of the Streets of Istanbul] by Şinasi, an eminent Ottoman journalist of the period, was published in *Tasvir-i Efkar*.³⁵⁶ In his article, Şinasi publishes the official decree, stressing the security and beauty of the illuminated streets. He also relates the issue to enlightenment at the metaphorical level. Three years after this article, during his tour in Paris, the deputy mayor of Istanbul Ömer Faiz defines street lighting as a primary duty of the municipality along with other basic infrastructural services such as water supply and sanitation. Ömer Faiz writes multiple anecdotes in order to highlight the disparity between the capacity of the Sixth Municipality in Beyoğlu and European municipalities. He underlines details such as regular lighting compared to the momentary applications in Istanbul, and focuses on the practical uses of lighting, not its symbolic power or metaphorical implications.³⁵⁷ Even though he is personally a member of municipality, Ömer Faiz had a strong sense of personal aspiration and individual responsibility; he wanted to create institutional reforms that follows idealized standards, thus he overtly criticizes himself, Ottoman individuals and institutions and at times Europeans. Unlike the first group of Ottoman travelers -and also their Persian peers- who did not effectively build the causal connections between the material advancement, mentality and institutional structure, Ömer Faiz praised the ordered cities as municipal efforts, public engagement and scientific progress all at the same time. He, in fact, explicitly explains that even the seemingly foundational features of Ottoman culture could be altered for the sake of progress.³⁵⁸ The desire for change and progress forced him to deconstruct the essentialist and dichotic perspectives of the East and West to focus on the urban culture and social conditions.

Towards the final quarter of the century, trips to many European cities became schedulable with the introduction of more rapid transportation options, which led to many Ottoman travelers adding as many cities as possible to their itineraries. An intriguing result of these relatively long-continued journeys was that Ottoman travelers had the chance to grasp the common traits of several European cities. Regardless of the proximity to or distance from Ottoman lands and culture, all Ottoman travelers sought common urban features -like well-regulated built environments- in all European cities, with little to no emphasis on diversity. According to them, a set of physical urban features marked the European city; they stressed less the geographic, climatic or other local determinants. Certainly, the second group travelers were well-aware of the differences between cities in southern France and, for instance, Central European cities, but they were inclined to write on what made all of them ‘European’ instead of dwelling on distinguishing attributes they possessed from nation to nation, geography to geography. From this period onwards, their approach to Europe as a cohesive society of

356 *Tasvir-i Efkar*, nr. 192, 28, 1280 [1864]; the translated version is published also *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi* by Ebüzziya.

357 In 1872 Namık Kemal follows the same strategy and defined illuminated streets as an aspect of progress and civilization in his article *Terakki* [Progress]. Namık Kemal, “Terakki”, *İbret* 45, (1289) [1288], 1-3.

358 He was most astonished by the fact that in Europe everyone is an active part of the nation including the men, women and even the children; each are a part of the public life. Aware of the possible controversies this would raise, he suggested that Ottoman society could also be transformed accordingly. Ömer Faiz, 69.

civilized cities, a synthetic perspective on European urban cultures, marked all the accounts.³⁵⁹

A similar tendency arose in Persian travelers, especially after the mid-nineteenth century. They started to identify European standards as global, almost scientific, truths and to deploy them in comparison with Persian and Ottoman cities. Mirza Muhammed Saleh Shirazi describes İzmit as a European city only because of the high-rise apartment blocks disregarding any other features of the city. Later in 1856, on his way to Europe, Farrokh Khan mentions that in the streets of Beşiktaş/Istanbul there are European stores and houses, yet while on his return journey from Paris he writes that he now thinks differently after being to a truly European city.³⁶⁰ He also uses phrases like Dardanelles is “a filthy city, nothing like European” which reveals that European order and hygiene is the benchmark for him to evaluate every city.³⁶¹ In fact, phrases like ‘smooth like the Russian and English streets’ and ‘uneven like the rocky and rough roads of Iran and Turkey’ were abundant in Persian accounts.³⁶² Travelers’ speculations about an Ottoman city being labelled as European recalls Rifa’a al-Tahtawi’s discussion of the limits of Europe as based on cities, in which he intentionally excludes Istanbul in his list of European cities.

Semi-mythical Construct: Ordered Urban Spectacle

Although Ottoman travelers were still intrigued by the European municipal organizations and technical progress, cultural aspects of modernism started to be included at an unprecedented level in the third group of travel accounts. British and French administrative strategies were framed as tools of social change -not as the defining features of the Western identity - particularly after 1880. In fact, already the latter travelers in the second group like Sadullah Paşa, Ebüzziya and Samipaşazade placed less emphasis on statistics like building heights or construction expenses and more on the daily life and urban culture in their travel notes written during the 1870s. Still under the strong awe of British culture, Namık Kemal describes London as a place where “the bewildering profusion of miracles of civilization” could be observed.³⁶³ Although he aimed at demystifying the success of London, he glorified the progress in the city so much as to define it as a spectacular marvel and, he thinks, it would be enough to see only London to learn about ‘European city’. Similarly, in his article “*Ufacık bir İbret (Londra ve Şehircilik)*” [A Tiny Lesson (London and Urbanism)] Namık Kemal states that he intends to expound on the development of London, and yet again glorified descriptions of the clean and prosperous cityscape dominate his narrative.³⁶⁴ In 1872, his newspaper article “*Terakki*” [Progress] drew a literary image of the British capital as a world of vehicles floating on the roads. Despite the fact that he adds exhaustive quantitative information such as the total number of commuters in the city, the idea of the hectic yet programmed schedule of the public transportation and urban spectacle was his main focus. According to him, the movement in the city and mobility of the urbanites are the essential hallmarks of the progress that truly resides in this quintessential European city.³⁶⁵

359 Vahdat comments on this aspect also, noting that Persian travelers had the tendency to search for a “syncretic understanding of European modernity” in all the cities they had been to.

360 Quoted in Vahdat, 53.

361 Ibid.

362 Vahdat, 80.

363 Namık Kemal, “Terakki”, 1.

364 Namık Kemal, “Ufacık bir İbret (Londra ve Şehircilik)”, *İbret* 35, (1288) [1872], 1-3.

365 Namık Kemal, Terakki, 3.

After 1880, London was gradually superseded by the new image of Paris, but more importantly by the Parisian urban culture in Ottoman travelogues. The International Exposition of 1867 had already been a critical factor by which the ethos of ‘imperial feasts’ delineated travelers’ experiences in the city, starting from the Deputy Major Ömer Faiz. The material progress in the ‘city of fair’ and the liberty of the different parties in the city became particular foci of attention. Ten years later, Sadullah Paşa discusses the 1878 Paris Exposition, also emphasizing that Paris is the city of freedom where technological innovations and scientific progress are fostered.³⁶⁶ He underscores that underlying European progress is the liberty of the cities, distinct from to the established perspective of other Ottomans shaped by the astonishment at giant machines, statistical significance and order. Sadullah Paşa annotates that Paris is not only the capital of France but also the magnificent capital of the world of maturity and the seat of the kingdom of civilization.³⁶⁷ The images of Paris with long boulevards, tree-lined avenues and newly-built train stations epitomized it as an icon of 19th century urbanization. (fig. 3.5) Travelers’ studious interest in London as a factory of modernity was reshaped by Paris as the spectacle of modern urban life.



Fig. 3.5 Paris'in manzar-i umumisi [The panorama of Paris], in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 17.

³⁶⁶ Sadullah Paşa, 291.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

By positing Paris as the most ‘authentic’ and ‘civilized’ face of post-Haussmann Europe, Midhat single-handedly set a framework for the rest of the third group of travelers.”³⁶⁸ Interestingly, from the outset until the end of his journey, he defines Parisian urban culture as the equivalent of civilized Ottoman society. The potential ridicule and criticism that Ottoman intelligentsia could receive in Europe as well as in cultured places in Istanbul stimulated him to meticulously observe the public spaces, manners, clothing and decorum in urban life. Being fluent in French, Midhat did not hesitate to actively join the Parisian cultural circles as a part of his observation and experience in order to gain a fuller understanding of social protocols. In so doing, he assures the reader that he did not fall under the illusion of or become confused by the visual and touristic attractions of Paris.³⁶⁹ With this purpose, Midhat actually has a binary tone in his account; he is conscious of being an outsider, a Muslim Ottoman visiting Paris, but is also an insider, an admirer of the city subsumed by its thriving urban life parallel to his experiences in Istanbul. Jale Parla interprets Midhat’s accounts of Parisian cultural environments as an Ottoman example of *Bildungroman* in terms of his motives to educate the public about personal participation with the *medeniyet-i umumiye* (public civilization).³⁷⁰ Along similar lines, I believe Midhat’s aim was to be an active interlocutor for Ottoman intellectuals, as he did not want to be a submissive traveler in Paris and wanted to avoid having ‘asymmetrical encounters’ -in Timothy Mitchell’s generalized description- due to being a non-European individual in Europe.³⁷¹ There certainly was an asymmetrical relationship, yet he was conscious about the authenticity of his experience and determined to transfer this experience as a tool for the transformation of Ottoman urbanites. The intended audience of his travelogue is one of the main delineators of Midhat’s account from the outset of his account.

Following Baedeker guidebooks, Midhat visited and portrayed Piccadilly Street in London, Champs-Élysées, Madeleine, Montmartre, Haussmann Boulevards in Paris, the Ring Strasse in Vienna and Unter den Linden in Berlin. His descriptions were based on the locations of the boulevards in the city, the layout, the finishing materials and famous stores around them. In Paris, he plans his daily tours strictly using different scale maps and aiming to experience the boulevards on different vehicles as well as on foot.³⁷² The account of each day includes typical Baedeker information, including exhaustive names of edifices, sculptures and anecdotal notes.³⁷³ Midhat also -however occasionally- writes his suggestions about regulations of streets

368 Midhat constantly announced the urban culture of Paris as the ultimate face of European culture and continued this portrayal in his etiquette book *Adab-i Muhaşeret* with nuances. In a reversal of the celebratory imperial rhetoric of his travelogue, Midhat shifted towards a critical and demystified description of the European urbanism in his etiquette book. His tenacious observations as well as participation in Paris’s urban culture must have been effective in his critiques and negative portrayal as “Paris is also house of disgrace”. Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Avrupa Adab-ı Muhaşereti yahut Alafranga*, 1312/1894, I. Doğan, A. Gurbetoğlu (Eds.), Ankara, Akça, 2001.

369 He criticizes most Ottoman and European travelers who act like tourists, which does not, according to him, teach enough about the other culture.

370 Parla, Jale. *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993.

371 “Throughout the nineteenth century, non-European visitors found themselves being placed on exhibit or made the careful object of European curiosity.” Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonizing Egypt*, University of California Press, 1991, 2.

372 He notes that there is a simple and detailed map of Paris in the guidebooks. Midhat, 490.

373 Midhat uses titles that reflect his itinerary; he did not use thematic titles except in Paris. In addition to the boulevards and squares, a selection of parks, department stores, hotels, barracks, churches, museums, theatre venues, school buildings and hospitals were depicted under specific titles.

and roads of Istanbul inspired by Paris. For instance, he suggests that the freight trains operating between Makriköyü (today Bakırköy) and Ayastefanos (today Yeşilköy) could be improved by taking the transportation infrastructure following the path of Seine, as a model. Moreover, not different from second group travelers, he describes the square as a unique French urban typology and often explains them based on their plans with not much experiential information. In general, what strikes Midhat's attention is the precision in the construction, like the equal widths of well-known boulevards or the machinery that cuts the stone tiles of the continuous pavements. The execution and maintenance of an orderly city is a key, according to Midhat, to creating an enticing ordered city -more so than administrative deliberation.

For Midhat, Istanbul is still far from being an ordered city, lacking enough boulevards and avenues. He justifies his judgement explaining that only Dolmabahçe Street and Divanyolu could be comparable to Champs-Elysees boulevard, with no other compatible avenues in the entire districts of Ottoman capital.³⁷⁴ (fig. 3.6) He, in a rather professional way, spends considerable time along Champs-Elysees in different hours of the day and observes it with and without the crowds of people on foot, on the tramway and in cabs. According to him, the avenues are the best routes and vantage points to sense the rhythm of the city tackling them as visual and physical channels of the urban culture. In fact, in the very same manner, half a century earlier the Egyptian traveler Tahtawi also describes boulevards as 'places of entertainment and recreation areas', along with parks, which welcome street artists and strolling in addition to being transitory roads.³⁷⁵ It must be noted, though, that along with such positive observations Midhat feels a constant disappointment regarding the dimensions of the Parisian boulevards and avenues since they were not as long and wide as those of his dreams. He felt the same dissatisfaction in front of Eiffel Tower as, according to Midhat, it was not high as he dreamed nor as influential in its urban setting.

374 Midhat, 96.

375 Tahtawi, 236.

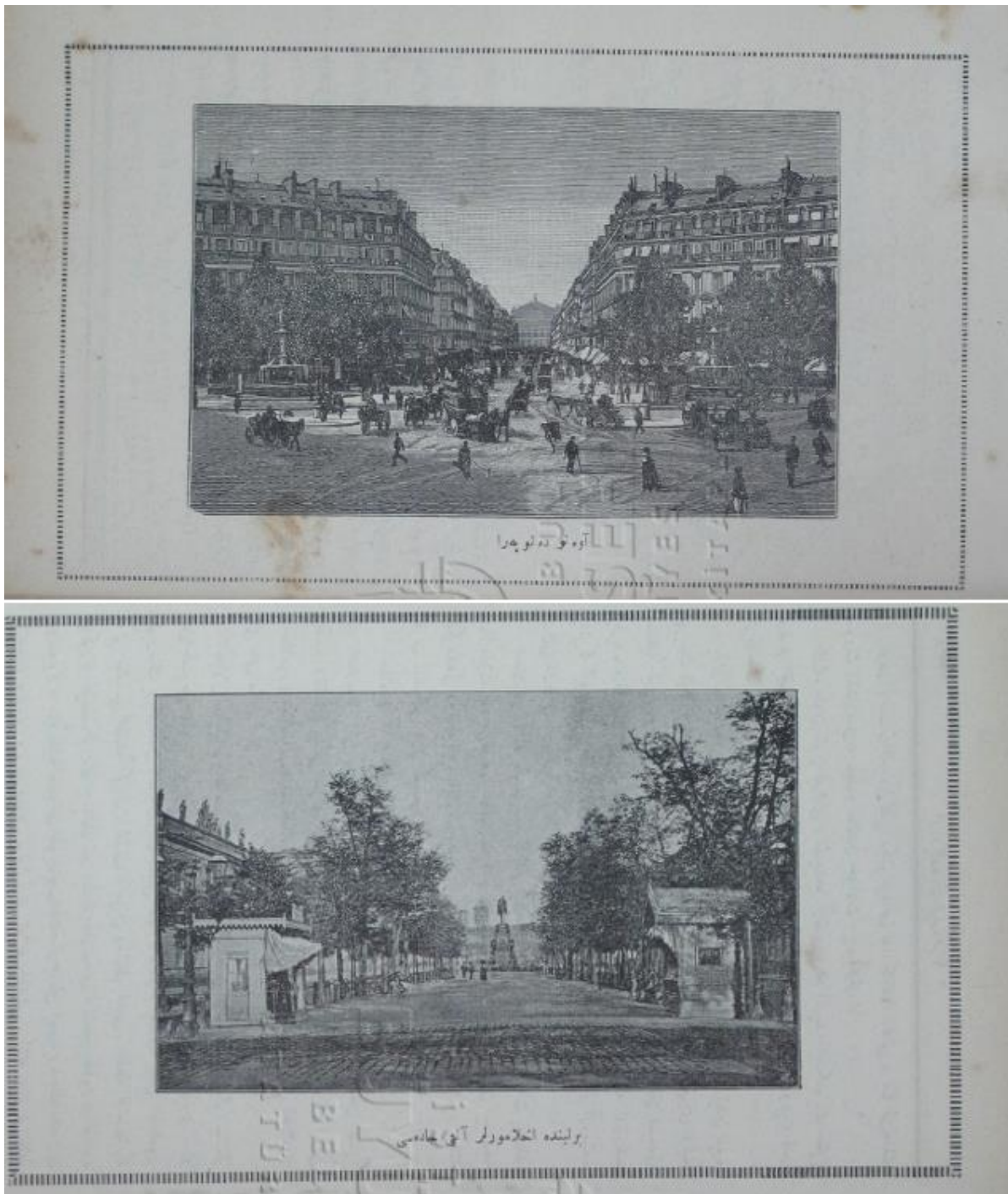


Fig. 3.6 *Avenü delopera; Berlinde Ihlamur Altı Caddesi* [Avenue de l'Opera; Berlin Unter den Linden] in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 40 and 337.

As much as the order of the streets, there is almost an infatuation with the nighttime spectacle of European cities and particularly with the conviviality of boulevards in third group accounts. Before experiencing his first night in Paris, Midhat writes about the technicality of interior gas and electrical lighting. He is precise and deliberate in his observations, almost like an entrepreneur who would start a business in the field, annotating production strategies and

expenses, the budget for regular lighting and prospective revenues.³⁷⁶ He devotes several pages to summarizing the content of the theatre plays he watches and the illuminated atmosphere of the venues -physically and metaphorically.³⁷⁷ Interestingly, Midhat does not mention nighttime social life on Parisian boulevards or women at peril in dark streets. In all likelihood, his normative approach was influential in his decision; he decidedly puts forward the best exemplary aspects of Parisian entertainment culture in which nightlife -apart from theatre- has no place.

More than his long-winded account on Paris, Midhat's amazement with Stockholm as a proper European city is critical to analyze. His detour in northern part of the Europe clearly manifests both his preconceptions and the ways in which his definition of a European city is altered in his mind. In this and the first leg of his travels, Midhat touches upon the boulevards and streets but more so ethnographic museums, libraries, folkloric musical pieces and architecture of traditional Nordic houses. He pored over these features with admiration as refined elements of Scandinavian culture that had been protected and were successfully represented in the museums of the city and in streets. What is most surprising for him is the fact that traditional and modern elements had an equal share in the modernized urban setting. In fact, later in Paris, Midhat is again baffled, but it is a prescribed -almost prepared- amazement that he developed by reading guidebooks. He did not write anything in particular on local culture or French history. Effectively, Midhat defines the value of libraries for Paris as the endless showcases of the national pride in a distinguished place in the city. Like the Nordic Ethnography Museum in Stockholm, he stresses that the national library is a tool for modernization and scientific process but also a repository of past for the public to gain awareness about tradition and history. His surprise about the power of representation in museums and libraries, and also the inclusion of authentic cultural artefacts into exhibitions demonstrates a raised awareness in Midhat about the power of display and integration of historical values into daily life of urbanites. Starting from his account, subsequent travelers also directed their attention towards the combination of technological progress with cultural and historical values.

One year after Midhat, Ahmet İhsan introduces Paris by defining the notion of etiquette -the *Frankish* way of behaving- in the urban environment and what fits into *alla Franca* society. Before his first encounter with the city, he writes lengthy didactic passages to prepare the readers for what to discern from his experiences in specific Parisian urban settings such as tram stops or theatre lobbies.³⁷⁸ İhsan follows Hayrullah Efendi and Ahmet Midhat – as all follow Baedeker- to describe the city centers as laced around the boulevards and squares. Under the title *Sokaklar ve Vesait-i Nakliye* (Streets and Public Transportation) he reiterates the sentences of Midhat with minor additions. (fig. 3.7) I believe there is a direct continuity and intertextuality between Midhat's and İhsan's accounts, particularly regarding Parisian urban settings. İhsan refers to Midhat's travel, which strengthens the impression that he might have read the account and adapted from it. İhsan also follows Midhat's suggestions to experience critical Parisian streets in different hours of the day and to try out different vehicles. Even though he anticipates and plans his daily tours well in advance and with minute detail, İhsan is unequivocally amazed by the public transportation vehicles roaming the ordered streets and the harmony of the daytime streetscape, as opposed to the clean and orderly state of these same streets in the morning. As typified by the second group of travelers, he is amazed at the composition of high

376 It was not very different than what Hayrullah Efendi wrote almost forty years prior to Midhat.

377 Midhat, 590-592.

378 İhsan, 35-43.

apartment blocks, cobblestone paved sidewalks and vivacious avenues with sizeable open squares swarming with hundreds of people. After writing short generalizing sentences about his bewilderment during his tours in Paris, İhsan, rather professionally, groups streets into three in an encyclopedic tone as boulevards, avenues and small streets. He includes standard dimensions for each type of road and lists well-known examples.³⁷⁹ His classification is in parallel with 1882 Building Law of Istanbul with slight differences in the dimensions. For example, according to the 1882 law the widest street to be built in Istanbul should be 15 meters wide while the Parisian boulevards were generally around 20-22 meters wide. Certainly, due to the lack of regular inspection, the implementation of these regulations resulted in even narrower boulevards than the law suggested. İhsan also touches upon the representative and aesthetic values of the streetscape using anatomical metaphors, in spirit of the planning jargon of the era. He explains that the avenues in the urban periphery work as a spinal column (*amud-i fekari*) while the central avenues are limbs with an additional aesthetic role. On the other hand, more than three quarters of the images in İhsan's account are the reproductions of postcard images of the well-known boulevards, squares and avenues. As a summary, he explicitly places the boulevards at the center of European urban culture:

Unless the boulevards are seen, it is not possible to get an idea about them, because the straight shape, order, the rich shops and grand buildings surrounding them create the unique streets of the world. Especially on the big boulevards, it is not possible to depict the general vivacity and mobility. Anyway, the world of Paris boulevard is a life unique to itself, there is no precedent elsewhere.³⁸⁰

379 İhsan, 35.

380 Ibid., 37.



Fig. 3.7 I: *Monmartr Bulvarı II: Madlen Bulvarı III: Büyük Mağazalar* [I: Boulevard Montmartre II: Madlen Boulevard III: Big Department Stores], in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 65.

Unlike Midhat, who could not climb up more than two stories of the Eiffel Tower, İhsan was able to observe the otherworldliness of the illuminated Parisian cityscape from above. He most is impressed by the Parisian city lights while going up on the elevator:

When we climbed to this floor according to the description above, the view of Paris was very altered and gained a peerless charm. The air gases enlightening inside the world fair and washing in the streets of Paris and in particular, the colorful lanterns on the fair buildings were creating otherly world.³⁸¹

İhsan's praise of the streets does not persist in his description of the public squares in Paris. He mentions well-known squares-Concorde, Bastille, Palace National, Voltaire and Republique-by simply noting their artistic appearance in an arid tone. He was neither enthusiastic about the

³⁸¹ İhsan, 21.

use of sculptures, statues and fountains in the urban scale nor their value as an artwork or ornamentation.³⁸² Thus, generalizations in the description of squares as urban typologies ‘possessing the marvel, unique only to Paris’ are ubiquitous. Later though, when he encounters in Italian squares, İhsan becomes intrigued, as he was not expecting such ordered and glamorous urban images built around sizeable openings. Even so, İhsan still thinks that Italian cities are behind the level of progress and civilization in Paris, mainly due to the short, narrow and sloped street layout in certain parts of the urban fabric. (see fig. 3.4)

In fact, İhsan is not as amazed as Midhat in Paris; on the contrary he was expecting more than what he found. The height of the buildings, the width of the roads, the spectacle from the high towers, all mostly fell short of his anticipation. He repeatedly writes that he was expecting wider boulevards, a higher Eiffel Tower and greater Parisian houses. His disappointment had a result on his descriptions of all cities. İhsan’s portrayal of European urban settings are delineated by the penchant for numbers and scientific portrayal of the urban environment on the one hand, and imagery of spectacle and technological progress on the other. Obviously, the semi-mystical imagery of the French capital in his mind would never meet with the reality. On this point, Vahid Vahdat also underlines that the prescribed expectation and image of a ‘French city’ in Persian accounts at times occupied more place than the reality. Vahdat asserts that “the theatrical, magical, surreal, and high-tech imagination of European architecture drove the travelers to gradually abandon an in-depth search for construction details in favor of virtual representations that conformed to a utopian idea ...”³⁸³

Towards the end of his journey, on his way to Vienna, İhsan writes that he would specifically inspect the nocturnal streetscape of Vienna³⁸⁴ which, according to him, would be enough to assess progress in the city. He was intrigued by the electric lighting but never mentioned its power of control or security, but rather focused on the urban image streetlights created.³⁸⁵ The newly discovered place and time of the enchanted nightlife of Paris, as Wolfgang Schivelbusch puts it, left a mark on İhsan’s mind. Even though he did not dwell on its dangers, challenges and tempting appeals, he uses Parisian nights as a benchmark for comparison.

Not only regarding night life, but on all urban issues, did İhsan keep the bar high when evaluating central European capitals after Paris. Yet, he was particularly amazed at urban order in Vienna and Berlin and surprised about how Ottomans, including himself, are incognizant about the developments in those cities.³⁸⁶ It must be recalled that İhsan wrote these sentences in 1889 when German culture and image of German cities arose as topic of interest among the

382 He points out the Egyptian Obelisk in Concorde Square and likens it to the Obelisk of Theodosius in Atmeydanı (today’s Hipodrom). In fact, the area around Hagia Sophia and the Hippodrome was also levelled by the municipality to enhance its monumentality in 1865, together with the oldest ceremonial artery in Istanbul, the Divanyolu (which is also the Byzantine *mese*) which was enlarged and regularized. The monuments around Divanyolu, like Constantine’s column, were repaired and revealed on a clear sizeable opening after these renovations, yet İhsan did not refer any of these efforts.

383 Vahdat, 62.

384 İhsan, 470.

385 Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. *Disenchanted Night, The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*, A. Davis (trans.), University of California Press, 1995.

386 İhsan, 472-475.

Ottomans.³⁸⁷ His description of Belle-Alliance-Platz (today Mehringplatz) is emblematic of his evaluation of streetscape based on orthogonal geometry:

I liked the Bel Alyans square; the center of the square was a beautiful garden, surrounded by buildings in a full circle. Since both the garden and the surrounding buildings were in full circle, even the street between the garden and the buildings created a perfect circle.³⁸⁸

More than such arid descriptions of ordered city, in Berlin the infrastructure, station buildings, and the disciplined urban life of the citizens were the emphasis of İhsan's account.

Unlike his peers, Şerafeddin Mağmumi did not hold an ordered image of a supranational or unidimensional European city that is reified as French. Still, Paris is the silent benchmark for his evaluation of European and Ottoman cities. He asserts that labyrinthine street layouts and congestion are characteristically Oriental while wide boulevards with tree lines are the symbols of European culture, reflecting more than just physical characteristics. In this sense, for Mağmumi, Italian cities like Genoa and Naples are very much reminiscent of the Orient; he even groups the districts in Rome into European-esque (*Avrupa-vari*) and non-European parts. He writes: "The architectural style is different. The living style is diverse. Open bazaars are set up in the streets and squares. As such, there is nothing similar to Europe here. ... As I said, it's very reminiscent of Orient homeland. It's like an endless labyrinth for the foreigner."³⁸⁹ In general, he writes unfavorably about southern French and all Italian cities as he finds them disorderly and dirty as well as lacking long boulevards. Yet, when not focusing on Haussmann's transformation, Mağmumi praises the municipal constructions (*inşaat-ı belediye*) he encounters in Genova, Marseilles, Rome, Napoli, Florence and Milan. In Marseilles, he was surprised to see straight boulevards with the same width of Hagia Sophia square, in his words.³⁹⁰ Later, he explains that the Italian municipalities demolished huge districts and rebuilt them with railway lines, bridges and institutional buildings in short time. He adds that in fifty years Italian cities will look like an ordered city (*bilad-ı muntazama*) like Paris. The resplendent surfaces created by the clean and shiny tiling on San Marco, for instance, amazed Mağmumi. He compares the piazzas San Pietro, Venice, Popolo and San Marco to Beyazıt square criticizing the ragged tiling in Beyazıt. In general, in Italian cities, Mağmumi is mesmerized by the artistic and historic quality of the squares, but even more by the people's interest in history and culture via urban elements. He thinks that in Istanbul and for the Ottoman public in general, there is a lack of interest in historical architecture. He adds, however, the curiosity of the Ottoman public regarding history could be aroused by official efforts, such as placing sculptures and monuments in strategic parts of the city.³⁹¹

Mağmumi asserts that European and Istanbul municipalities are incomparable; in Europe the municipality is the major agency of destruction and erection of the buildings as well as the decoration of urban fabric, while in Istanbul the officials of the municipality were busy with inspection of street-vendors or distribution of breads to bakeries.³⁹² He writes these sentences

387 Rona, Zeynep. (Ed.), *Osman Hamdi Bey Kongresi Bildiriler*, Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1992.

388 İhsan, 307.

389 Mağmumi, 245.

390 Ibid., 231.

391 Ibid., 212-213.

392 Ibid., 84.

almost fifty years later than the first group of accounts that focused on municipal services with addition of urban beatification and the adorning the urban environment. Additionally, even though there is around thirty years difference between Mağmumi's and Ömez Faiz's -the deputy major of Istanbul - journey, their complains about municipal responsibilities are similar.

At the turn of the 20th century, instead of citing guidebook information, Ottoman travelers' personal input becomes more prevalent in their evaluations of urban centers. In a less preconceived manner than the previous travelers, Nesimi, for instance, approaches each city with great curiosity. In Vienna, he writes that Wiener Ringstrasse and Gartnerstrasse are as perfect as Parisian boulevards and the surroundings of Ringstrasse are almost better than the well-known boulevards in London and Paris. According to him, the Viennese streetscape creates a perfect public life around itself with impressive edifices and department stores on the ground level.³⁹³ Further, in Berlin, Nesimi is surprised to learn that even back in the first half of the 19th century, there was no sewage system in the city and that the municipality had worked hard to create the most clean and neat urban center in a very short period of time. Like İhsan and Mağmumi, Nesimi finds central European cities, including the rapidly developing Belgian cities, critical to describe for the Ottoman travelers as they were on par with Ottoman cities.³⁹⁴ Beyond such observations on urban setting, Nesimi tackles the issue of public order as a governing problem and political issue that is settled properly in the German capital. As a former local governor, he has clear ideas about the need for a coordinated relationship between the public, municipality and central government, rather than top-down implementation. In fact, right after the turn of the 20th century, the enhanced official relations with Germany as a political ally re-cast Berlin as a European city in the eyes of most travelers. Before this period, Ottoman travelers were generally disappointed or uninterested in a detailed analysis of Central Europe. In the last decade of the century though, Berlin, Vienna, and occasionally Hamburg and Brussels, were observed closely as symbols of discipline, method and hygiene by travelers like Mağmumi and Nesimi. As I noted before, already by İhsan's account, Berlin was defined as the home of military order and justice, with the envious evaluation that it is the newest truly European city.

Unlike Mağmumi and Nesimi's personalized tone, Mustafa Said's treatment of the urban centers is highly conventional. He repeats İhsan's sentences defining the three Parisian street types as the boulevard, avenue, rue (*bulvar, avenue, rüi*) and notes the optimum dimensions. Mustafa Said's description of Parisian streets is actually a fine summary of late Ottoman travelers' amazement with technical properties, the rhythm of flow and perfect orthogonal elements of the streets in European urban centers:

The width of the streets, shaded by mature trees, is four times as much as our Divanyolu's, and even the sidewalks called 'trottoir' were quite wide. Elegant and neat iron columns for electric lamps, elegant mansions for the advertisement of newspaper and book decorate the streets, and the sculptures and fountains in the squares are especially attention-grabbing. Although electric, steam trams, omnibuses, cars are

³⁹³ Nesimi, 124.

³⁹⁴ In his memoir his son summarizes Nesimi's position. According his son, Nesimi was in favor of "social associations" and against "central government" which was the model of Hüseyinü'l-Alevî communities. He asserts that Nesimi's ideas were based on Islamic tradition –particularly Bektaşî doctrine- not Western literature and that several Ottoman governors (including his father) were not in sympathy with the idea of central government and parliament; they preferred the system of consultancy (*meşveret*). Durak, 50.

always filled with humans, they are occasionally turning the streets and the passers-by on the roads are floating like a fast river. The streets are wooden sidewalks. There are also stone covered sidewalks. Thousands of cars came and passed on the streets with wooden sidewalks.³⁹⁵

He interestingly complains about the narrow and muddy streets of Vienna, as opposed to its glorious Ringstrasse.³⁹⁶ Said walks around the Ringstrasse and notices that moving further away from the main streets alters the image of the city drastically -like Beyoğlu. Later, Mustafa Said also compares Vienna and Paris according to what they offer to their citizens during nighttime. He claims that, even though Vienna has the most ornamented and elegant buildings, it suffers from the lack of a vigorous nightlife.³⁹⁷ He does not include any nocturnal scenery in his paintings, yet he provides lengthy verbal descriptions of the nighttime entertainment facilities that were enticing for him -theatre being the most prominent. Said thinks that theatre audiences are a reflection of the high morality and education level of the population; thus, he adds, theatre venues are illuminated buildings in accordance with the enlightened public.

Along with infrastructural development, street types and lighting, small-scale municipal services such as built-in street furniture and public toilets cabins (*tebevül* in the accounts) were also discussed at length in third group accounts. The variety of urban furniture, the vast array of physical elements crowding the streets such as lamppost, banners or door numbers, creates almost a dizzying scenery for travelers. Yet figures like İhsan carefully search for the elements that work in concert with each other. He, in fact, writes longer than one page about the teamwork of the municipality workers and the construction tools they used while marking and replacing the obsolete tiles from the pavements.³⁹⁸ After such observations, İhsan thinks that the cooperation of the urbanites and municipalities in keeping the public spaces clean is an important factor for urban order. To make a comparison, he humorously defines public toilet cabinets (*def-i hacet mekanları*) as populated/inhabited pavilions (*meskun köşkleri*) on the sidewalks of the Parisian boulevards.³⁹⁹ In Istanbul, İhsan claims, even in the cleanest districts and mosques, the toilets are dirty and smelly. His discussion recalls Ebüzziya's correlation of the level of civilization and cleanness of toilets.⁴⁰⁰ A few years later, in the same vein, Mustafa Said was also astonished by the design and placement of the street signage, unified fonts of street names, building numbers at the same height on the facades of the buildings, aligned banners, announcement columns and the iron benches that are placed at regular intervals in parks.⁴⁰¹ In a rather surprised tone, he dwells on the notion of advertisement as a municipal service which, he thinks, is totally absent in Istanbul even though it could be a vital mechanism to invigorate public cultural activities and the image of the city. As a painter, Said writes about the image, the ubiquity of visual elements in the urban setting and the complex but harmonious imagery of European cities in a praiseworthy tone.

Another feature of urban order that Ottoman travelers addressed was the habit of queuing up while waiting for the public transport or entering a theatre venue. Hayrullah Efendi, Ahmed İhsan, Hüseyin Galib and Şerafeddin Mağmumi explained how and why it is important as a

395 Mustafa Said, 21.

396 Ibid., 163.

397 Ibid., 166.

398 İhsan, 136.

399 Ibid., 37.

400 Ebüzziya, 68-70.

401 Mustafa Said, 87.

strategy to provide order in the cities. Midhat, who actually wrote an etiquette book four years after his travels, (discussed in Chapter 2) briefly notes his encounters with queuing but does not dwell on it. İhsan, on the other hand, writes that it is a French habit and one of the reasons for French superiority and virtue (*muhassenat*).⁴⁰² Two years later than İhsan, in 1892, Hüseyin Galib gives the dictionary meaning of queuing when he first sees a line of people waiting to climb the Eiffel Tower: “Although the word queue is used to mean tail in French language, this word denotes the line. formed by people to wait. For a watch wherever it may be, the decency of the method is indispensable.”⁴⁰³ His concise explanation of the queue is actually one of the rare personal and experiential descriptions in Galib’s account, in which he predominantly focuses on the technical specifications of the Eiffel Tower. Ten years later, Mağmumi compares people in Belgium and France in terms of their habits of lining up while getting on a tram. His surprised tone, written as late as 1898, almost half-a-century later than Hayrullah Efendi, indicates that it was still not a part of the urban etiquette in Istanbul at the turn of the 20th century.

As much as the statistical descriptions of orthogonal urban elements, Ottoman travelogues are full of expressions of their general sensations and overall judgements on urban settings. Not surprisingly, comparisons between Paris and London that disfavor London are a common theme until the 1890s. Hayrullah Efendi openly writes: “Although the city of London is greater than Paris, and its almost three million are residents. And even though its roads are wide, and the shops are grand and ornated, it is not like Paris.”⁴⁰⁴ He actually groups the success of the cities into two levels: ‘appealing’ and ‘scientific’ (*fusun* and *fünun*), and adds, “If the city of Paris is conceived as a pride and adornment, the city of London remains like a philosopher of all sciences.”⁴⁰⁵ His comment indicates that London has the first rank in economic and scholarly fields, while Paris is the quintessential model for urban spectacle. Hayrullah Efendi also categorizes the Italian and south French cities as Oriental, pointing out that the street markets in Genoa and vendors in Napoli evoke an Oriental urban life built around *bedestens* (a kind of covered bazaar) and *bazaars*.⁴⁰⁶ Ahmet İhsan also constantly complains about the gloomy atmosphere of the London streets due to the weather, brick buildings and the general character of the city. Towards the end of his account, he attempts to define all the European countries and cities in a nutshell, as deduced from his tours. For him, “Italy is the garden of the world [and] the most beautiful region of this garden is Milano. ... London is a place to see and take as an example while Paris is a place to tour and live. ... and Vienna is nothing more than a pleasant city.”⁴⁰⁷ In fact, decades ago Ebüzziya used a more critical tone and was skeptical about such general evaluation of the European cities. He warns Ottoman readers about the superstitious ideas and particularly the cursory comments on Paris. Ebüzziya writes: “Paris, ... is the word every person knows. But when Paris is not seen, it cannot be known. Even by seeing and living in it, it is not a muse for everyone to know.”⁴⁰⁸ Despite such warnings, even the most meticulous Ottoman travelogues were not bereft of superficial ideas or generalizations such as: “[t]he country of Italy is the paradise of the world and even the city of Naples is the fury of this paradise.”⁴⁰⁹

402 İhsan, 71.

403 Hüseyin Galib, 17.

404 Hayrullah Efendi, 128.

405 Ibid., 185.

406 Mağmumi, 345.

407 İhsan, 479.

408 Ebüzziya Tevfik, 128.

409 Nesimi, 99.

3.4 *Tenezzühgah* and *Teferrücgah*: Parks, Botanical Gardens and Zoos

Maurice M. Cerasi groups Ottoman open public space into three main categories: square, prayer and promenade (*meydan*, *namazgah*, *mesire*).⁴¹⁰ He adds that beyond these defined spaces, ubiquitous urban greenery and rural elements were intrinsic parts of the Ottoman cities. Built around multiple water streams and on the edge of sea, the heterogeneous and fragmented fabric of Istanbul is a quintessential example of this premise. The Ottoman capital was surrounded by agricultural fields close to the urban center, small open spaces around monumental trees and fountains, grand cemeteries, imperial orchards, and groves and hunting grounds which were interwoven into urban life. Throughout the 18th century, the proliferation of urban culture in Istanbul ignited intense architectural and urban construction, including numerous water fountains and the restoration of multiple gardens all around the city.⁴¹¹ Despite the restrictive public access, garden culture was embraced by a larger group of the society as some gardens and promenades were open to everyone on certain days of the week. In this period, the lush greenery around the Kağıthane river was enjoyed by the royal entourage and the public side by side. Towards the 19th century, the coasts of the Bosphorus and rivers as well as the verdant valley regions like İhlamur Parkı in Beşiktaş were occupied by the public as recreational and picnic grounds.

The pre-modern open public spaces in Istanbul could be defined, in broad strokes, as “freely rambling grounds.”⁴¹² Çamlıca was the first public park, which opened around 1825, and later in the 1870s certain parts of Grand and Petite Champs du Mort were transformed into Taksim Parkı (today’s Gezi Parkı). Tepebaşı Municipal Garden was opened in 1880 in which private entrepreneurs rented and ran the entertaining activities in closed and semi-open structures along with the greenery.⁴¹³ Thus, 19th century public open spaces in Istanbul were heterogenous with layouts ranging from “Western” and “organized” to purely “Turkish”, referring to Sedat Hakkı Eldem’s description.⁴¹⁴ The common point of all groups of parks is that they have been, first and foremost, *tenezzüh* and *teferrüc* (excursion/leisurely outing and recreation) grounds and new facilities like concert halls, theatre venues, coffee shops became part of leisure culture after

410 Cerasi, Maurice. “Open Space, Water and Trees in Ottoman Urban Culture in the XIIth and XIXth Centuries”, *AARP Environmental Design*, (1985), 37.

411 Hamadeh, City’s Pleasures, 76-110.

412 Evyapan, Gönül. *Old Turkish Gardens - Old İstanbul Gardens in Particular*, METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2000.

413 Kentel, “Assembling ‘Cosmopolitan’ Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman Istanbul”.

414 Eldem, Sedat Hakkı. *Türk Bahçeleri*, Ankara, Milli Eğitim Basım Evi, 1976. Concurrently, there was a change in palatial gardens that was piqued by European gardeners who were commissioned to design the groves of Yıldız Palace in 1850s.

the final quarter of the century.⁴¹⁵

The transformation of leisure culture in open public areas in Istanbul is traceable in second and third groups of travelogues. In the first group accounts the elaborate drawings of parks were not complemented by detailed experiential information. One of the earliest travelers in the second group, the author of *Seyahatname-i Londra*, spends an afternoon in Greenwich Park as a day trip from London and writes favorably and surprisingly about his observation of English families strolling together (*geşt ü gûzar*) on an ordered greenery.⁴¹⁶ Ten years later, starting from Hayrullah Efendi's account, travelers utilized a variety of terms for public parks: promenade (*tenezziühgah*), recreation park (*teferriücgah*), national garden (*millet bağçesi*), people's garden (*halk bağçesi*), municipality garden (*belediye bağçesi*), public garden (*umumi bağçe*). Zoological and botanical gardens are evaluated as a different category, linking them to scholarly endeavors such as universities and museums. Travelers espoused the same agenda and criteria they utilized for urban centers in their approaches to the parks; their assessments were predicated mainly on physical order and municipal services. The ordered geometry and design, hygiene and technical capacity to create orthogonal spatial features were the main focus of curiosity with the emphasis on technical details of planters, parterre, irrigation systems, and lighting, along with benches, hardscapes, floor coverings and sturdy spatial boundaries. The soft landscape, natural characteristics or the plants themselves are not much discussed, except brief, dispersed notes recalling Istanbul's greenery. Hayrullah Efendi, for instance, acknowledges the Jardin des Plantes as a place where civilization meets with nature (*medeniyat ve tabiyyatın buluştuğu yer*).⁴¹⁷ He also bluntly indicates that all types of European gardens including plant and animal gardens (*nebatat ve hayvanat bahçesi*) are foreign to the Ottomans and they are the best excursion sites in European urban centers.⁴¹⁸ He specifically draws attention to the fact that there are parks that are open to all citizens without any payment or membership, which was not the case in Istanbul at that time. Upon his observations, Hayrullah Efendi thinks establishing a park is a fundamental effort of the government for modernization, both in terms of shaping the urban environment and creating a civilized body of society. Hayrullah Efendi's mansion on Bosphorus with a European style garden seems important to note here as the photos of his family, which might be among the earliest family photos in Ottoman society, indicate that the garden, with its pools, flower and fruit gardens was an important place for both male and female members of the family. (see fig. 1.4) Hayrullah

415 In Europe, on the other hand, there were numerous parks which had already become an indispensable part of public life by the mid-nineteenth century. Due to the unsanitary conditions of poorly planned urbanization and the unhealthy conditions of working-class people, parks became essential parts of policies and acts after 1830s. Physical, psychological and moral health of the citizens was a major concern that resulted in the improvement of the aesthetics and the use of existing green areas as well as the designing of new ones. Starting in England, followed by France and northern European countries, developing attractive and entertaining parks became an obligatory service of the municipalities. Most of the parks hosted music, dance, sport events and horticultural activities. Unlike the palatial gardens of previous centuries with the symbolic meaning of 'display of power', these spaces were planned primarily with a utilitarian perspective: to respond the social needs of working class, to compensate for the pollution and congestion in the cities. Among many sources see a selection of recent and nuanced articles: Møller, Jes Fabricius. "The Parks of Copenhagen 1850–1900", *Garden History*, Vol 38 No. 1, (2010), 112-123.; Nolin, C., 2004. "Public Parks in Gothenburg and Jönköping: Secluded Idylls for Swedish Townsfolk". *Garden History*, Vol. 32, No. 2, (2004), 197-212.

416 *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 27.

417 Hayrullah Efendi, 126.

418 Ibid., 129.

Efendi is known to have had the photos taken by a foreign photographer in 1860s -possibly after his visits to Europe.⁴¹⁹

Towards the final quarter of the 19th century, the leisure culture in public parks became a frequent part of Ottoman intellectuals' life in Istanbul. A selection of travelers in the second group and a majority of travelers in the third group express that they are regulars of the peripheral orchards, promenades, and parks in Pera as well as the natural sites around the city center, including the Kağıthane meadow and Bosphorus villages. Accordingly, they put more emphasis on entertainment, spectacle and cultural aspects next to technical and technological details. For instance, Samipaşazade Sezai's article "*İngiltere Hatıratı II Haziranda Hyde Park*" [The Memoirs of England II Hyde Park in June] from 1886 emphasizes the leisure culture in London, which thrived in the parks. Samipaşazade asserts that being "the first class of the world" is possible only with the healthy bodies and civilized manners of people in parks. According to him, English people are distinguished at "the education of the mind" in schools and "strength of the body" in parks (*terbiye-i zihniye* and *kuvvet-i bedeniye*).⁴²⁰ Additionally, Şamipaşazade is particularly impressed by English ladies who act properly according to social etiquette unlike the general belief in Ottoman society. He alerts his readers not to dramatize and over-concentrate on the morality of European women, as had become prevalent among the Ottoman literature on Europe. He continues, noting that he had met several edified females in Europe with high morals, negating the established dichotomic rendition of Muslim women with high morals against European women with no values or respect for family.⁴²¹ Samipaşazade thinks that the elegant atmosphere in British parks is formed by the virtuous women and that the stereotypical belief in the degraded morals of European women should be reconsidered by first-hand observation. Among the second group, Ebüzziya is another name who includes comments on leisure time activities while approaching European public parks in a different tone than the other travelers of the group. He underlines the coffee culture in the parks and introduces the French typology of the *café chantant*: "Tonight, we visited the garden of promenade, known as the Jardin de Paris, for the noble and the nobleman. In this location, there are excellent music, singers, a variety of dance and gymnastic places, restaurant, open theaters. In other words, here are many occasional events that will invite people's enthusiasm and lust."⁴²² For Ebüzziya, artistic and sportive expression, as well as the stimulation of the public is critical, and parks are efficient tools for that purpose. Two decades later than these travelers, Fağfurizade Hüseyin Nesimi would use a similarly laudatory tone as Samipaşazade and Ebüzziya. He uses almost the same phrases as Samipaşazade to describe Jardin de Paris as "promenade for the nobles".⁴²³ Nesimi also adds that in European parks there are areas to dance, exercise, dine and watch a performance. In line with Ebüzziya's conception, he thinks that parks must be the places that stimulate enthusiasm and energy, which in turn have a positive mental and physical impact on the public.

Despite such short notes, Ottoman travelers have an aspirational and didactic approach to the

419 The garden of the mansion is described in *Nouvelles promenades dans le Bosphore ou méditations Bosphoriques*. A. Timoni, *Nouvelles promenades dans le Bosphore ou méditations Bosphoriques. Ouvrage historique, archéologique, politique, descriptif et moral*, Constantinople, Litteraire Francais, 1844.

420 "İngiltere erbab-ı asalet ü servetinin mevki-i içtimaı ve mahal-i tenüzzühüdür." Samipaşazade Sezai, "İngiltere Hatıratı II, Haziran'da Hyde Park", *Gayret*, n.28, 1302 [1886], 110-111.

421 Ibid.

422 Ebüzziya, 20.

423 Nesimi, 20.

parks, as with their perceptions of streets, relating them to the education and edification of public as well as to European order and elegance. In fact, third group travelers' portrayals of the parks are not substantially different than Yirmisekiz Çelebi's depiction of royal French gardens in Paris. In 1721 Çelebi attended a light festival in Chateau de Cantilly in the vicinity of Paris and was amazed at the ostentatious luminous atmosphere and the different lighting fixtures (gas lighting, chandeliers). He focuses on the lighting of the parks in conjunction with patrimonial power and leisure culture, but most importantly as technical progress, emphasizing statistical information such as the power of water fountains, size of the pools, number of trees and columns, dimensions of the walking lane. (fig. 3.8) Almost two centuries later, Ottoman travelers included the same emphases with the additional premise that parks are for most civilized urbanites and could cultivate social decorum.



Fig. 3.8 *Paris'te Grand Hotel ve Boulevard Capucine; Şanzelize* [Grand Hotel and Capucine Boulevard in Paris; Champs-Élysées], in *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*.

Again, same views were published in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm* and *Servet-i Fünun*.

In 1889, Ebüzziya travels to the zoological gardens in Vienna, Berlin and Frankfurt upon his unexpected appointment by Abdülhamid II as the head of the public zoological garden project to be established around the Ihlamur valley in Beşiktaş. After submitting his excursion report to the Ottoman court, Ebüzziya published his excursion report as an article series: “*Zamanımız Tarihine Ait Hatırat Hayatü'l-Hayvan Bahçesi*” (Memoir of Recent History - Zoological Garden) in *Mecmua-i Ebüzziya*.⁴²⁴ Throughout his travel, Ebuzziya becomes aware that the zoological garden as a typology has a double purpose: it is a recreational site as well as a scientific establishment. Even though he was already doubtful of the idea of establishing a zoo in Istanbul, Ebüzziya studies the architecture and planning of zoos in detail, including their spatial aspects, design considerations, cage constructions, features and the maintenance of a zoological garden as a public institution. He meets with the architects of the Munich and Frankfurt Zoological Gardens and notes all the details about the projects from the architectural

424 Ebüzziya Tevfik, *Mecmua-i Ebüzziya* v. 138, v. 139, v. 140, v. 143.

design stage to the feeding of the animals. After meeting with the architect and director of the Frankfurt zoological garden Doctor Wilhelm Streiger, Ebüzziya repetitively underlines that the establishment and maintenance of a zoological garden requires a steady financial support.⁴²⁵ He also touches upon the issue of philanthropic associations' support for zoological and botanical gardens as a management strategy for the public amenities -recalling the discussions *Seyahatname-i Londra*. Ebüzziya's precision and professional approach is an isolated case, in contrast to the majority of accounts that are filled with generic impressions or numeric data, like the sizes of the gardens, aquariums, sanitary and climatic standards, without an explanation of the cause-and-effect relations of this information with the architectural qualities.

In the same year as Ebüzziya's excursion, Midhat was in Europe touring parks in the centers of and vicinities surrounding European cities. He describes Jardin de Plants as a combination of school and museum where the students can learn about botany and zoology. Midhat was not as keen on the technical data on parks as he was on that of the boulevards and avenues. As opposed to Midhat, İhsan puts emphasis on his personal experiences and the users' perspective. In London, he writes briefly on Hyde Park in a negative tone mentioning the dark and gloomy atmosphere.⁴²⁶ He did not find the cheerful, high-spirited people he witnessed in Fontainebleau or Joinville promenade in any park in London. İhsan also makes purposeful excursions to the palatial gardens and the groves in and around the city centers, including Versailles, Bois de Boulogne, Luxembourg Garden, Fontainebleau, Joinville in Paris; Tiergarten and Unter den Linden in Berlin; Prater and Stadtpark in Vienna. (fig. 3.9)

425 Ebüzziya Tevfik, *Mecmua-i Ebüzziya*, v. 140.
426 İhsan, 189.



Fig. 3.9 The Medici pool in Luxemburg Garden represented with the same view in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 80 by Ahmet İhsan and *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi* by Mustafa Sait Bey.

He describes the tree lanes as, in his words, as “typical of French order” and writes lengthy passages about his admiration of the spatial organization of green areas with cafés, concert halls and restaurants, comparing them to the popular facilities in Istanbul: “The gardens that are concealed and disguised by grand buildings on the right and left of the avenues are established and in the middle of them coffees and restaurants are built. The most famous ones are Ambassadeur and Alcazar.”⁴²⁷ Later, in Switzerland, the natural greenery and parks remind İhsan of the panorama of Istanbul, Kağıthane River and other ‘timeless places in Anatolia’, in his words. After such experiences, he laconically writes “There is some mountainousness in man. He feels better whenever he comes to places like this”⁴²⁸ (fig. 3.10)

427 İhsan, 87.

428 Ibid., 336.

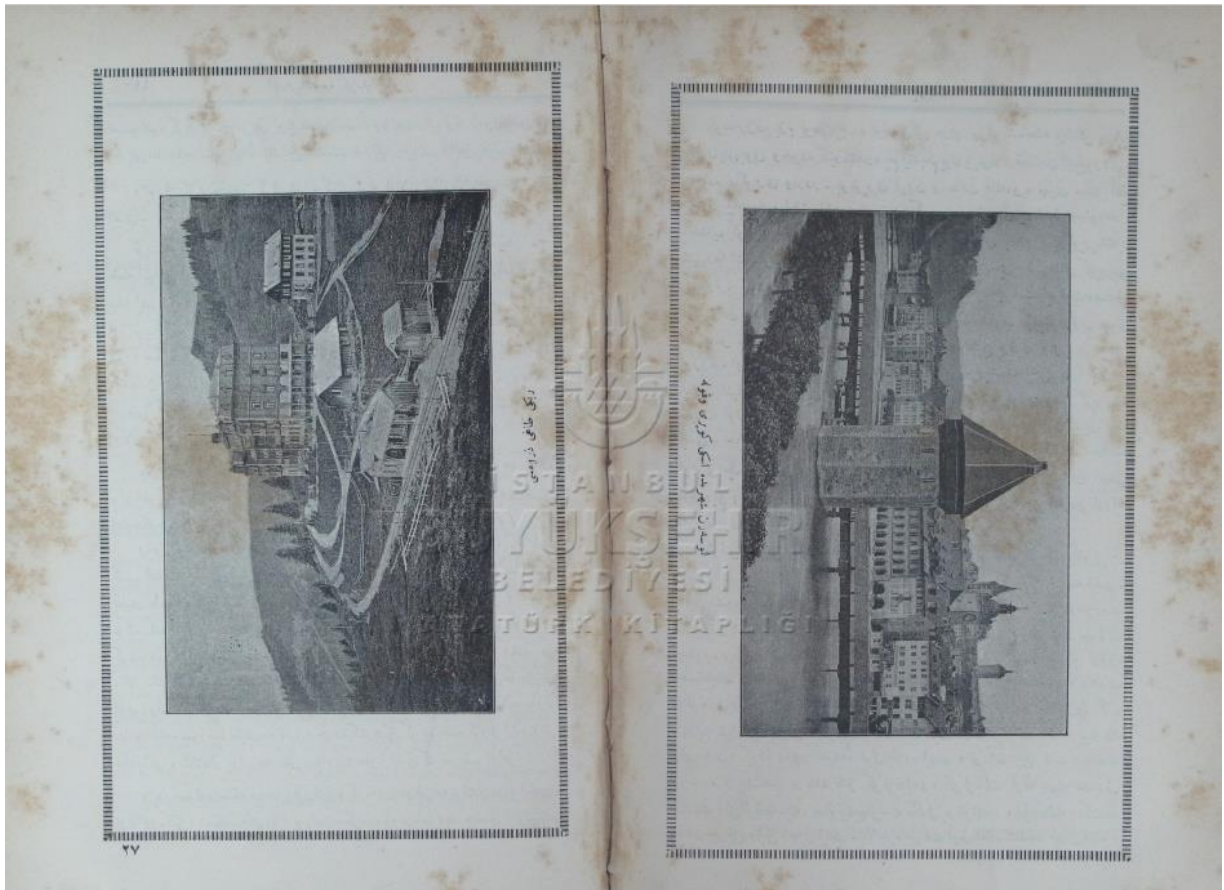


Fig. 3.10 *Lusern Şehrinde eski köprü ve kule; Rigi dağı zirvesi* [An old bridge in Lusern; The peak of Rigi] in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 408-409.

Following his peers but in a more critical tone, Mağmumi meticulously analyses European parks and compares them to the ones in Istanbul in terms of hygiene and other modern facilities. He pays utmost attention to botanical and zoological gardens in Brussels, more than any other feature of the city. In the British-styled *Jardin Botaniques* (*İngilizvari* in the account), Mağmumi lists numerous sculptures noting their materials, street furniture, water and lighting fixtures.⁴²⁹ Subsequently, in the Glasshouse (*limonluk* in the account), he recalls the Botanical Garden of the Imperial Medical School in Sarayıçi in the Ottoman capital. Mağmumi criticizes the botanical garden in Istanbul for not being open to public and assertively suggests that museums and botanical gardens should be open for the public at least occasionally.⁴³⁰ In a modern manner, Mağmumi framed the leisure activity of going to park on the weekend similar to his description of the museum display, which, for him, was firstly a place to educate the public while also entertaining them.

In London, Mağmumi continues his criticism and gives suggestions about the placement of the parks in Istanbul. He specifically strikes at the Beyoğlu Municipality as, even in 1897, there were only two parks - one in Taksim and one in Tepebaşı- and they could not be enjoyed by everyone due to the entrance fees. Mağmumi opines that there is a deficiency of public parks in almost all districts of the Ottoman capital. He pinpoints suitable locations, according to his observations, like the Garden of Ayasofya, Yenibahçe Meadow, Sarayıçi, and the prairie in

429 Mağmumi, 30.

430 Ibid., 33.

front of *Mekteb-i Nüvvab* (The School of Law, today Istanbul University Manuscripts and Rare Books Library). His call for Ottoman municipalities to take action is worth quoting at length in order to display how invested he is in the problem of public parks:

Many of the permissible points remained untouched in the form of the city walls, fields, meadows and hamlets. Shouldn't the Hagia Sophia Garden be extended to the School of Industry and that dear public square transformed into a park? Shouldn't the Yenibahçe Meadow be established as a garden and the Güreba Hospital constitute an island in Gülistan? Why not that lofty place called Topkapı Palace turned into a Bologna Forest or a Hyde Park? Like the white land in front of the schools, there are lots of lands beyond our city, and there are many favorable lands, so that a small garden can be built with expropriation, without any need for land supply. This way, on Fridays and Sundays, the people who are flooding to Eyüpsultan and Edirnekapı cemeteries and sitting on the stones would avoid that activity which is not appropriate for both health and religious reasons.⁴³¹

Mağmumi then notes that, although Taksim and Tepebaşı are named as 'public' and 'municipal' (*umumi* and *beledi*), they are but a private park only accessible for a limited part of the society. He thinks that if they would be free the Ottoman public would have a first-hand experience of parks instead of thinking that European parks are similar to taverns.⁴³²

Upon his visit to Regents Park, Mağmumi also devotes pages to the zoological gardens in London with a particular emphasis on their role as a scientific research institution.⁴³³ He unprecedentedly stresses that both the medical students and the public could make first-hand observations in zoological gardens, observing the aquariums and other animals in flesh to become acquainted with the field of natural history. In a rather modern manner, Mağmumi underscores that these establishments and displays of natural history in official buildings bring entertainment and education together, thus cultivating people from all walks of life. According to him, the Imperial School of Medicine, the Ministry of Education and also the Ministry of War should be proactive in building these gardens. The garden of the Imperial School of Medicine is a proper site, according to Mağmumi, for that purpose. He includes a detailed explanation of the rental vegetable garden site between Ottoman School of Fine Arts and the Imperial Museum (*Müzehane-i Amire ve Sanayi Nefise Mektebi'nin kain olduğu seddin payesinde gayet vasi' arazi bostan*), and notes that in this place animals could be kept and scientific research could be pursued.⁴³⁴ On the other hand, Mağmumi adds short romantic passages depicting the ornated kiosks and small greenhouses in the parks alongside the French Riviera. Yet even in those passages the technology of the greenhouse, climatization or the taxonomy of plants and animals arise as critical issues, much more so than the aesthetics of the gardens. Like the rest of the third group of travelers, he was not impressed by the parks which celebrated natural topography and scenery; he was, rather, fond of modern recreational spaces with novel elements like aquariums or greenhouses as an amalgam of technology, science and art. As a small note, Mustafa Said did not write much about the parks, but he painted many watercolors in Marseilles representing baths and conspicuous scenes in Bois de Boulogne. (fig. 3.11)

431 Mağmumi, 83-84.

432 Ibid.

433 Ibid., 105-107.

434 Ibid., 107.



Fig. 3.11 The water-color paintings of upper middle-class females wandering around in Boulogne grove, in *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*.

3.5 Melek and Zeynep Hanım's Outlook on European Cities

Melek and Zeynep Hanım's impressions of European urban environment and culture, though separated by a forty-year interval -1866-1872 and 1906-1912- were saliently different than those of middle-class male Ottoman intellectuals and had parallels to each other. In 1866, Melek Hanım, the wife of a high-ranking Ottoman bureaucrat, set out from East to the West as Ottoman lands became, in her words, 'a prison' while West is a place of refuge for herself and her daughter. Hence, her approach was distinctly emotional and reactionary regarding Ottoman and European urban settings."⁴³⁵ Due to her life-threatening situation and years of difficulties in Istanbul, Melek Hanım compartmentalized the West and East (read Christian/European and Muslim/Ottoman) as safe and clean lands versus dangerous and malign places, respectively. She did not write very much about her experiences on streets and other open public spaces since, as an exile, she was taking refuge within her acquaintances' mansions. There are dispersed sentences in her account about her complaints about the urban setting and the dirt in Balkan cities and less experiential descriptions from Central and Western European cities. She speculates on the future of Greece and Turkey in terms of their position in Europe. Melek Hanım believes that the former would be included with these civilizations and latter would be thrown out of Europe by the Russians. As seen, she perceptively positioned Russians as the third category between the Europeans and Ottomans. This notion was also deployed by Persian travelers of the time and would be used by Ahmet Midhat fifteen years later in his travelogue.

Zeynep Hanım, on the other hand, spends much time in the parks and streets of European cities

⁴³⁵ In fact, she opens her memoir with the outcry: "Free! This was our first thought and exclamation on finding ourselves safely on board the *America*, the mail steamer about to convey us to the Western world." Melek Hanım, 13.

like the male travelers, despite the challenges of self-exile. For her, not different from the comments of Midhat, İhsan, Mağmumi or Nesimi, travelling is not a privileged experience but a necessary form of escape, for retreat and reclusion. Having a similar class-based background to the rest of the travelers, she writes in a similarly nostalgic tone about Istanbul, yet she constantly underlines that her experiences in the city are highly restricted and hence limited. (fig. 3.12)



Fig. 3.12 Zeynep Hanım's visual depiction of Ottoman upper middle class women's leisure time activities in Istanbul, *A Turkish Woman's Impressions*.

Despite the difficulties, Zeynep Hanım writes in an apologetic tone about Istanbul as a unique natural beauty that is not preserved as necessary. With much anticipation, throughout her letters she mentions several touristic towns in France and Switzerland by constantly comparing them to the natural greenery and panoramic views of Istanbul.⁴³⁶ She also draws attention to the fact that parks in the city centers are inclusive of people from all walks of life in Europe. Zeynep Hanım asserts that the design of the parks may not be the ultimate aspiration for the city governors, but it is imperative to be added to the imperial agenda since it helps to organize and embody a charming and urbanized (*tamassur*) life.⁴³⁷ Curiously, unlike all her male peers, Zeynep Hanım writes favorably about parks in Istanbul and explains the culture of strolling in the cemeteries fondly to European readers. "To go for a walk in a burial-ground I know is exclusively an Eastern form of amusement" writes Zeynep Hanım.⁴³⁸ Her tone is the direct opposite of Mağmumi, with no attention to public education, urban image, hygiene and order.

436 Zeynep Hanım, 63-73.

437 Ibid., 156-157.

438 Ibid., 38

Instead, she weaves her portrayal of European parks and her previous experiences in Istanbul around the grand concepts of freedom, civilization, public opinion and independence. Certainly, the undergirding reason for emphasizing such concepts was her advocacy for a stronger role for women in Ottoman society, which she finds equally problematic in both European and Ottoman cities. She deploys symbolic readings in order to highlight the connection between the urban settings, freedom and edification, similar to second group travelers and figures like Namık Kemal.⁴³⁹ In doing this, Zeynep Hanım repeatedly suggests that the ‘royal ambiance’ of London, with its aristocratic buildings and kingly architecture, is a reflection of British pride and ‘self-respecting democracy’. In comparison, for her, France is the ‘country of Liberte’. Not very different from İhsan’s generalized commentary on urban characters, towards the end of her account, Zeynep Hanım lists her general yet selective impressions on European cities: “Munich, Venice (the city of tradition), the Basque countries, the Riviera, and London I hope to see again. Art and music, the delightful libraries, little towns.”

The chapter “Dreams and Realities” includes three letters comprised of her comments about theatre as a leisure activity. It is through these letters, entitled as “A Walk with Pierre Loti in a Western Cemetery” and “Comedie Française”, that she started to think that “it is a city of crowd and pushing that hides the few intellectuals in it.”⁴⁴⁰ Zeynep Hanım also writes that the Muslim’s leisure time activities are basically a habit of wandering in the cemeteries in a positive tone in contrast to the travelers like Ebüzziya and Mağmumi both of whom had negative critiques about the practice.

Like Fağfurizade Nesimi, Zeynep Hanım opens her travelogue by reflecting on the curiosity about the ‘other’ and ways of learning. She underscores the oriental people’s attention to the West and her own enthusiasm about Europe.⁴⁴¹ Furthermore, she criticizes the lack of Ottoman accounts on European cities as opposed to the abundance of the travelogues on East written by Western travelers. Such comments in the initial part of her account recall the notes of the anonymous author of *Seyahatname-i Londra*, written more than fifty years previously. Zeynep Hanım also details the Ottoman penchant for the French culture and technique. She remarks that it was not the expansionist policy of Napoleon but the Crimean War in 1854 that could be marked as a turning point from the influence of British culture in favor of French. “Then there was a craze for everything French...”, Zeynep Hanım writes, “with the craze for the education of the West, French governesses came to Constantinople in great numbers; for it was soon known what high salaries the Turks paid, and how hospitable they were.”⁴⁴² As the daughter of a bureaucrat, Zeynep Hanım is well informed about the privileges of French experts in the Ottoman capital as well as the fact that two generations of Ottoman bureaucratic intelligentsia were educated in French, which passed this legacy to the majority of the urban middle class. Thus, she was not truly shocked by Parisian boulevards or sizeable parks in London -these cities were ‘scripted’ for her, through the literature she had been reading for so long. On the other

439 Zeynep Hanım, 67-69. Similarly, Namık Kemal related the public order and urban culture in London to the British buildings; he comments that the parliament and all school buildings in London are the symbol of strong British education, order and steadiness. Namık Kemal thinks that the urban fabric constituted by enduring masonry structures with strong appearance objectify not only technological but also ideological power. Such a symbolic reading of parliament and school buildings is very similar -almost word to word- with Zeynep Hanım’s description that would be written forty years later.

440 Ibid., 156. The emphasis on the word is directly transferred from the book.

441 Ibid., 48.

442 Ibid., 96.

hand, Zeynep Hanım is surprised when she encounters the lack of even basic information on Eastern cultures among the European middle class. She highlights the ignorance of the middle-class females who are supposedly among the most educated members of the European society. Without stressing the superiority or inferiority of material culture or technological progress with statistical data, Zeynep Hanım warns Ottomans not to glorify the quality of education in European countries. She highlights that modern education should be sincerely open to learn about the ‘other’ before having an opinion about it. As such, Zeynep Hanım’s attitude was highly different from the normative approach of male travelers who almost never criticized European cities and citizens.

3.6 Evasion – Non-Encounter

Despite their meticulous analysis of European urban culture, there were also circumstances in which Ottoman travelers were inattentive or indifferent. Firstly, the majority kept their distance from the nightlife and, in their words, the ‘marginalized’ corners of European urban culture. All three groups of travelers avoided writing on potentially offensive scenes such as women walking on dark streets, beggars on the boulevards, pubs and slums. Only the author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* and Mağmumi write about their observations and interactions in pubs. Both define pubs as a foreign architectural typology that is important for European urbanites for socializing. Further, Ottoman travelers do not comment on contentious issues like ‘human zoos’, except for Nesimi. He, albeit very briefly, writes about his conversation with humans who were kept in cage in Bois de Boulogne.⁴⁴³ Although Nesimi defines himself as a humanitarian in his account, he does not add any criticism about men displayed in a cage. It is also worth noting that the human zoos that existed in Bois de Boulogne were opened in 1877 and were not closed till 1910. There are more than ten travelers from the second and third group who visited the park during this period, yet they either did not visit it or did not find it worth noting. Also, Ebüzziya visited the Frankfurt Zoological Gardens when human displays were still going on, yet he too does not write about this issue.⁴⁴⁴

Ottoman travelers’ indifference to negative or potentially controversial issues stems from the fact that the travelogues were conceived as practical guidelines for modernization rather than records of personal discovery. Therefore, they exclusively portray the prestigious, decent and civilized European urban culture in a normative manner. Any problems such as pollution, poor

443 Nesimi, 110.

444 The zoological garden is a topic that is frequently discussed in urban and architectural studies with reference to orientalism, colorism and postcolonial literature. Irem Maro Kırış also devotes a subchapter to the perception of Early Republican travelers of European zoos in her dissertation. She remarks that Turkish travelers, who toured Europe between 1930-1958, were highly curious about the zoos and relates their interest with the “representation mechanism of modern Europe” referring to Timothy Mitchell’s main conceptualization in *Colonizing Egypt*. Following Mitchell’s theory on Eastern intellectuals encountering occidental knowledge, Kırış suggests that zoos were places of confrontation with modern order and representation of the ‘other’ as with museums, theatres or world expositions. Mitchell’s rendition of the inevitable position of the Eastern travelers as ‘exhibited’ and ‘exhibitor’ in the modern world is the basis of Kırış’s argument, yet she also writes, contrastively, that Turkish travelers did not have a consciousness about being the ‘spectator’ or ‘viewer’. I argue that Mitchell’s theories related to subalternity or exhibitionism would be a far-fetched reading given Turkish travelers’ perception of zoos as disciplined places of colonial relationship. Even late Ottoman travelers approached zoological gardens as scientific and entertainment establishments with no interest in colonist interplay and exoticization of the ‘other’.

social or physical conditions for the working class or the discrepancies between the center and periphery were shaded by the idealized image of the modern described in the travelogues.⁴⁴⁵ The regulatory order of European cities was preconceived and framed travelers' perception.

Travelers' normative approach to European cities impeded elaboration, not only on negative aspects but also on mundane realities such as suburbia and provincial districts in European cities. Suburban settlements, some of which were not far away from urban centers, are effectively not discussed in the accounts. *Seyahatname-i Londra* is the only account that provides brief observations about the vicinity of London. The anonymous author underlines the poor conditions of families and the dirty streets of the slums as well as the dramatic socio-economic differences between central and provincial neighborhoods.⁴⁴⁶ Given the fact that it was one of the earliest travelogues, it could be asserted that subsequent travelers had the chance to observe and write on these neighborhoods but chose not to. Almost half a century later, in a much more subtle manner, Midhat mentions the commuter towns in Berlin and Vienna as distinct places without the beauty of the city centers. İhsan also writes a very short sentence about the 'poor people', in his words, in Unter den Linden whom he identifies as 'working class families' in Berlin.⁴⁴⁷ Unlike the elegant image of British and French parks, people from different socio-economic classes in Unter den Linden were a surprising and unexpected detail for İhsan. Another aspect of the travelers' normativity, and thus their obliviousness, stems from the increasingly nationalist tone that was strongly initiated by Midhat and then cherished by the rest of the travelers. The third group travelers zeroed in on the latest European architectural and urban topics, like housing for the working class, as they were only susceptible to the issues exclusively related to the Ottoman case. During the journeys of Midhat and İhsan, in fact, one of the most debated topics about London and Paris was public housing for the drastically increasing worker families in and outside of the city centers, yet it is not mentioned in their long-winded accounts -let alone discussed. Besides, the parks and squares, especially in London and Paris, were built auxiliary to the working-class districts for residents to have a public life and understanding, yet Ottoman travelers again construed the urban greenery within the issue of civility of urbanites. Another example is Midhat's description of garden of the Tuileries Palace in Paris. The habit of counting steps while walking in the boulevards or crossing the avenues in urban scale continued in his description of parks and gardens. He counted the width and length of marble pool and praised its perfect octagonal shape. Midhat did not mention anything about the fact that the district surrounding the palace was set on fire in 1871 by the Paris Commune protesters and most of the building were demolished in 1882. He just briefly notes that each part of the palatial complex was designed and constructed by different architects in different time periods, thus the lack of holistic appearance, and uniform geometric and decorative language. Typical to the rest of the travelers, his concentration was on the urban middle-class part of the society, to which they also belonged in Istanbul, and which they believed to have the means to transform urban and material culture in Ottoman cities.

Still, there are nuanced approaches in the third group that are worthy of mention. At the turn of the century, Nesimi writes in an open manner, albeit briefly, about the poverty and unrest in European cities. He does not refrain, describing Paris as "companion of misery and men of leisure".⁴⁴⁸ On Parisian parks he briefly writes that "What happens in the garden in Paris is not

445 Vahdat makes a parallel reading about Persian travelers' perception of European cities. 121.

446 *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 52.

447 İhsan, 307.

448 Nesimi, 66-67.

very suitable for the Turkish nation thus I will not write about it".⁴⁴⁹ In fact, Nesimi's descriptions of London and Paris are in tune with contemporary literary pieces, sharing a large degree of verisimilitude regarding urban contradictions, as with Emile Zola's depiction of Paris or Charles Dickens's novels on London.⁴⁵⁰ Nesimi touches upon the spatial boundaries which set the frame of new, modern, urban conditions in the center and the opposite image for the periphery. He boldly underlines that dignity and disdain are side by side in European urban centers and, he adds, the ornamentation and beauty of the urban environment does not guarantee the quality of life.⁴⁵¹ As opposed to the majority of third group travelers, Nesimi thinks that the moral, economic and artistic assurance was better in London, even though Paris had a brighter appearance.

All in all, as outsiders, Ottoman travelers worked constantly to make sense out of the multiple stimuli they received in European urban centers. In all three groups of accounts, travelers' amazement at the level, excess and variety of information they encountered is obvious. The urge to break down the abstract concept of the West into material and personal levels and frame it as 'European city' with the main example of London was the dominant perspective in the first group. The penchant for numbers and lists formed three almost how-to books to start to build and govern a modern Ottoman city. Between 1850-1880 the political aspirations of travelers marked their approach and the ways to socially and physically engineer an ordered city became dominant in the narratives. After 1880s, travelers were spellbound by different public transportation modes, and the conviviality of the parks and electric lighting despite the fact that they primarily aimed to focus on the hard data of the cities. Long and on-the-move exposures to the crowded squares, streets full of vehicles, lights and reflections on shiny surfaces and numerous visual spectacles triggered them to write overwhelmingly experiential descriptions next to bland statistical information on streets and geometrical order.

449 Ibid., 66-67.

450 The absence of any reference to Zola, Dickens or Baudelaire is interesting since travelers like Ebüzziya, Midhat, İhsan, or Enisi were up to date about the publications in Europe, read French and were highly knowledgeable about European literature.

451 Ibid., 111.

Chapter 4

Perception of Architecture

In Ottoman society, the intellectual awakening towards the material and cultural repertoire of Europe diffused into the fields of art and architecture at the public level after the 1860s. In this period, architectural production was essentially overhauled by the replacement of the traditional systems with modern administrative, technical and cultural conceptions. Certainly, the precursor to all these changes was official; *Ebniye-i Hassa Müdürlüğü* (The Directorship of Royal Buildings) was established in 1831 to systematically reformulate the design, construction and supervision processes. Connected to the newly established *Umûr-ı Ticaret ve Nâfia Nezareti* (Ministry of Public Works), it became the departmental part of the central authority in 1839. Based on this institution, Ottoman government -not the palace- began to control public construction projects, set the standards, and supervise the construction and financing procedures. Secondly, towards the last quarter of the century architectural practice was defined as a profession that used to be basically a technical service - praxis and craftsmanship learned and inherited via apprenticeship.⁴⁵² Upon the foundation of the Imperial School of Fine Arts (1883) architectural education was located within the transforming economic and cultural system. Concurrent to the official transformations, the civilian agents of architectural production -patrons, clients, user groups, producers-, technological tools, needs, approaches and materials were varied at an unprecedented level.⁴⁵³ These developments transformed architecture from a bureaucratic occupation to a marketable expertise at the turn of the 20th century.

The main change at the public level was that knowledge about the built environment became an intellectual -not only practical- domain. The prestigious role of buildings in urbanization and civilization became evident in the cultural arena through visual and representational descriptions in official and private newspapers as well as popular journals. Commentary articles and descriptive texts were influential in expressing and igniting interest in architecture as a part of technological progress, representation of social status and as historical heritage.⁴⁵⁴ Public discussions were escalated by controversial urban reforms and interventions such as the

452 On the changing organizational patterns of Ottoman architectural practice, along with Şenyurt's book mentioned before, see: Baydar, Gülsüm. *The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect*, University of California Press, 1989.

453 Particularly in major cities like Izmir, Damascus, and Cairo the alterations were unprecedented and there are several monographic analyses on each city. In addition to Zandi-Sayek work that was referred before see: Hanssen, Jens, Philipp Thomas and Weber, Stephan. *In the Empire in the City; Arab Provincial Empire in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Beirut, Orient Ins. Der DMG Beirut, 2002; Weber, Stefan. *Damascus: Ottoman Modernity and Urban Transformation*, Aarhus University Press, 2005.

454 Çelik, Zeynep. *About Antiquities: Politics of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire*, University of Texas Press, 2016; Tosun, İsmail. "İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi Osmanlı Dergilerinde Mimarlık," PhD. Diss., Yıldız Teknik Uni., 2019.

removal of the Galata city walls and the restoration of Spice Bazaar -both realized in 1864.⁴⁵⁵ Another important factor was the rising nationalist sentiment fueled by the Abdülhamid II's reign in parallel to the international ethos of historicist perspectives. Imperial and personal interest in the past, as well as the understanding of old buildings and materials as "objectified symbols of the identity", in Rudy Koshar's words, became a major theme in Ottoman intellectuals' reactions to the modernization of the built environment.

Underpinned by this changing atmosphere of the architectural culture in Istanbul, Ottoman travelers attentively observed European buildings. Numerous edifices underwent scrutiny and were evaluated in terms of scale/dimension, new programs and materials. There is obviously a predilection for guidebook information, which was complemented by curiosity for the experiential features, stylistic and representative character of the built environment at the turn of the 20th century. This chapter is a close inspection of travelers' various and ever evolving perceptions; the enouncing and appropriation of European buildings reflecting the ways in which Ottoman architectural culture influenced their assessments. The grouping and naming of the sections are based on travelers' associations of the building typologies and how they relate different typologies to each other. Also, the order of the sections follows the narrative route of majority of the accounts starting with evaluations of the colossal edifices and ending with details about interior design and decoration patterns. For each group of buildings, pertinent Ottoman architectural features are discussed as the background information and reference point. In a similar way to Chapter 3, instead of noting Melek Hanım and Zeynep Hanım's perceptions in each typology, a specific section will be devoted to comprehending their approaches, nuanced by their distinct experiential, educational and gender-based backgrounds. The innovative vocabulary and idioms that were used by travelers to compensate for the inadequate and underdeveloped lexicon about European forms, styles and functions are also noted.

4.1 Colossal Edifices: Order of the Modern City

Leaving the citadels and mausoleums out, Ottoman travelers often addressed imperial and religious edifices as *ebniye-i cesime* (colossal edifices). Similar phrases like *mebani aliye* (royal edifices), *mebani-i âsâr-ı alîye* (royal architectural works), *maabid-i diniye* and *maabid-i aliye* (religious and royal edifices), *mebani-i âliye ve mübareke* (imperial and sacred buildings) are used to denote the magnitude of the buildings in terms of scale and representative power. An important factor in travelers' stress on grandiosity of these typologies is the contrasting physicality of the smaller-scale wooden houses to the grand imperial structures -mosques, social complexes (*külliyes*) and palaces- as the main architectural typologies shaping Ottoman cities. (fig. 4.1) Colossal edifices are deemed as the constitutive element of both the historical and the newly ordered modern city. Typically, travelers built their narratives around three major themes: critical location of colossal edifices in the urban setting; the majestic scale, sturdiness and salient image of the facades; and the dimensions of signature features such as the height of the tower or the diameter of dome. Without and exception, the penchant for specifying empirical data and comparing it to the Ottoman edifices -mainly Hagia Sophia and Beyazıt Tower- marks all the descriptions.

⁴⁵⁵ I mentioned the removal of the walls and the fact that yielded positive and negative comments by intellectuals. for a different perception of the renovations see: Yerasimos, 1-18.



Fig. 4.1 The contrasting image of Ministry of Foreign Affairs (later mansion of the eminent bureaucrat Tefik Paşa) and German Embassy against smaller-scaled wooden houses in Ayaspaşa, in MSGSÜ Resim Heykel Müzesi Arşivi Leyla Turgut Terekesi Fotoğraf Dosyası, Env. No: 7/8921.

On lower part of the photo: *Leyla's Gebruchhaus; Tefik Paşa Haus Constantinople, Nov 1911- 30 Marz 1912.*

In first group accounts, there are virtually no descriptions of the palaces or churches with the exception of the visual portrayal of the ‘students in a church in London’, as noted in *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*. The given information was mostly about the school, education, student numbers -not the church- itself but the vibrantly colored one-point perspective towards the church organ provides almost a photographic image of the clerestory, ceiling decorations and the military-like order of the graduation ceremony of the students. (fig. 4.2)



Fig. 4.2 *Tafsîli gûzerân iden Londra şehrinde kâin kenîsâ ve derûnunda mal'ûmu'l-mikdâr şâkirdânın resmidir.* [The image of a church in London that is elucidated before with several school-age children], in *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*, 20.

Around a decade later, from the second group, Mehmed Rauf writes arid, cursory descriptions of palaces, for instance mentioning that Luxembourg Palace in Paris is located on the best piece of landscape in the world and the building has the best appearance.⁴⁵⁶ In Italy he visits several palaces which, according to him, stand out with great number of rooms, wall-paintings and ornate lighting fixtures. As expected, and as would be repeated by several other travelers, he evaluates St. Peter's Basilica (Sain Pier in the account) as the prime example of Italian art and architectural culture. He compares its length, width and height to Hagia Sophia but did not write any deductions out of this comparison. In France, Rauf emphasizes the palatial gardens, ponds and landscape, which left limited space to describe the buildings, which is in fact similar to Yirmisekiz Çelebi's account.⁴⁵⁷

In *Seyahatname-i Londra*, the anonymous traveler makes intriguing comparisons between

⁴⁵⁶ Mehmed Rauf, 38.

⁴⁵⁷ Mehmed Rauf's approach could be seen as a part of the long-running tradition in Ottoman literature on French palatial culture. Versailles, for instance, was described focusing on the garden design in Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi's account in 1721, and also Mağmumi's travelogue from the first year of the 20th century. It has been evaluated as the great representation of French power and prosperity with the tone of envy; palatial gardens spoke to the travelers more than the buildings.

European and Ottoman churches, which he finds distinct from each other in terms of plan, elegance and solidity (*resm, zerafet, metanet*). He is the only traveler who refers to the churches he has seen in Istanbul. His description of St Margeret's Church in Westminster Abbey reads:

And the palace itself was a magnificent building in the form of a castle, built with a very large and solid old-style architecture, which is impossible to describe. First of all, we entered the church inside the palace. We visited the inside and outside of the church. In fact, although I have seen churches in Istanbul and elsewhere, I have never seen a church with such elegance and fortitude. All the windows of this church were painted in various colors and each glass was decorated with artful pictures. There were fourteen benches around the church, each for an important person.⁴⁵⁸

The traveler uses the word 'old architectural style' to address gothic architecture and, in fact, gothic formulae particularly of the interior space are the main reason for his astonishment. He was clearly in favor of gothic buildings as opposed to neo-classical edifices, on which he writes very plainly. Regarding St Paul Cathedral, for instance, he just mentions the high tower as a good spot to see the panoramic view of London. He climbs the tower twice to get a clear bird's-eye-view to compare it to the image of Istanbul from Beyazıt Tower yet did not add information about the cathedral itself.⁴⁵⁹

Hayrullah Efendi's narrative about palaces and churches is full of generic statements and quantitative information copied from guidebooks. He principally adds the number of the royal edifices to the introductory paragraphs of cities along with the basic demographic information and statistics of civic buildings. In doing so, he somewhat reduces all statistics into signifiers of the greatness of the city and capability of the state.⁴⁶⁰ Further, Hayrullah Efendi consistently includes descriptions of the massive orthogonal appearance of the churches and palaces as quadrilateral/square/rectangular or trapezoidal (*murabba-i şekil/müstatil* or *münharif*) and notes interior ornamentation (*ziynet-i dahiliye*) features such as stained glass windows, but he does not include experiential observations.⁴⁶¹ On the other hand, a number of these general expressions -such as the statement that the palaces in Vienna, Dresden and Budapest are the best artistic products in the world and much better than British, French and Belgian examples- expresses personal attention paid to the buildings. Hayrullah Efendi attentively describes Charlottenburg Palace in Berlin as a "product of progress" (*mahsulat-ı terakkiyat*) and the Japanese Palace in Dresden as "one of the best palaces in Europe with quite weird and uniform design" (*gayet tuhaf ve muntazam*).⁴⁶² These two baroque structures appeal to his taste and meet with his expectations in terms of austerity and environmental design. Interestingly, in Italy, Hayrullah Efendi feels disappointed, as the palaces fell short of his anticipations regarding colossal appearance and flamboyant articulations of the facades. About Italy, Hayrullah Efendi adds two letters dated 1862 and were written by his son Abdülhalik Nasuhi recounting his own

458 *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 91.

459 *Ibid.*, 111.

460 Hayrullah Efendi, 179. Passing by Prag, Arras or Bucharest, Hayrullah writes monotonous sentences in which he characterizes churches as 'neat', 'straight' buildings in Spanish or Flemish style.

461 *Ibid.*, 228. His guidebook is replete with plain descriptions of churches consisting of information on material and style. His portrayal of Marseilles Cathedral is a typical example: "The cathedral church was newly built according to Arabic and Byzantine styling out 'brownish' stone. Both inside and outside, there are scarce number of sculptures and paintings. The interior of the dome is mosaic. The walls and dome are ornated and gilded as well as enlightened with gas lamps."

462 *Ibid.*, 37.

trips to his father. It is interesting that Hayrullah Efendi included his son's voice amongst his structured guidebook narrative when it comes to depicting the architecture of Italy. The letters are highly different than guidebook tone yet both Hayrullah Efendi and his son's presupposition about Italian palaces and churches is the same: full of weird ostentatious qualities. In Rome, in a cursory fashion, Nasuhi highlights the admirable marble facades, monuments and numerous fountains around the churches forming a typical public space: "The strange artworks in numerous old buildings amazes the man. ... and a few hundred small and large churches all of which have decorated interiors and exteriors and designed by famous architects, as well as paintings... ." ⁴⁶³ He then writes about his encounter with the stone and marble façade of the Apostolic Palace Vatican: "Although the building of this palace is an ordinary architecture, it is one of the most magnificent buildings of the world, as it was approved by the popes. However, there are several types of architectural style, with each piece being built according to the fashion of the century." ⁴⁶⁴ The choice of the words 'ordinary architecture' and 'a couple of architectural styles' evince his disfavor of the plain Renaissance façade and the different styles of each edifice in the complex. His depiction evokes the comments of author *Seyahatname-i Londra* on Saint Paul's Cathedral. In fact, Nasuhi gives more place to the renovation of the Vatican and the expense of maintenance than to the spatial characteristics of the complex. Still, he suggests that travelers should visit the complex and spend a long time inside to appreciate the royal atmosphere enhanced by the books in the library and exhibits in the museum. ⁴⁶⁵ Nasuhi also compares it to Hagia Sophia, which will be repeated in several subsequent accounts:

The four main pillars holding the aforementioned dome are very astonishing. [...] And although even today architects do not leave the church, the expenses never came to an end. Although our Istanbul's Hagia Sophia is more skillful than this [Saint Peter's], the color and ornamentation of the mosaics is not known due to the dust and spider nests. It is also famous in terms of its shape and size, as well as its interior decoration, which is one of the first buildings in the world with its architectural design intervention. Far from being able to declare the details of the ancient city of Rome, even writing the explanation of this church properly attains writing a book, so here the most important information has been expressed. ⁴⁶⁶

As the excerpt above points out, he compares Saint Peter's Basilica to Hagia Sophia, but he is not particularly interested in describing the history of the church or details such as the dome's dimensions, which would be the main comparative framework of the latter Ottoman accounts. His remark involves a certain pride in Hagia Sophia but also his criticism due to the neglected state of the interior and the mosaics of the church. He rather writes about the maintenance of the building with historicist consciousness and awareness about the heritage. Nasuhi's complaint about the lack of information about the color and decoration of the stones is intriguing as the restoration of Hagia Sophia was held between 1847-1849 by Fossati brothers yet apparently the mosaics and finishing materials of the interior surface were not in good shape according to his account. ⁴⁶⁷ He does not elaborate on the issue at length, but even that short paragraph demonstrates that he was sensitive to the current conditions of historic

463 Hayrullah Efendi, 72.

464 Ibid., 77.

465 Ibid., 77-78.

466 Ibid., 76.

467 Teteriatnikov, Natalia B. (Ed.), *Mosaics of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul: The Fossati restoration and the work of the Byzantine Institute*, Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection, 1998.

buildings and artefacts in Istanbul and the necessity of research for the restoration of the Ottoman architectural heritage.

The rest of the second group travelers do not give a considerable place to the description of any single edifice; they rather intend to fathom out the impact of royal buildings in the social life and national identity of the countries. Sadullah Paşa's article "*Şarlottenburg Sarayı*" [Charlottenburg Palace] is a typical example in which the architectural character is actually the weakest aspect of discussion next to the landscape features and symbolic readings. In his short article, Sadullah Paşa covers his visit to Charlottenburg as a leisure time activity which, he underlines, is common among the residents of Berlin a fact which the traveler might have found it necessary to add as, in Istanbul, palace visits are not a part of public leisure time activities. Sadullah Paşa glances at the front facade of the palace and describes it as "a worn-out colored building with a magnificent central tower and a pair of corner pieces."⁴⁶⁸ After such descriptive sentences he adds a poetic simile (*şairane teşbih*), in his words, like it is "the sculpture of golden eagle ready to fly" (*ukab-ı azımü'l-heykel pervaza müheyya*).⁴⁶⁹ Sadullah Paşa's inclination to lexicphanicism is much more evident in his description of the garden, planters and flowers. He refers to Yusuf Kamil Paşa's analogy of Calypso in Greek mythology as a piece of heaven in the translation of the book *Les Aventures de Telemaque*⁴⁷⁰ and likens Charlottenburg Palace to the heavens depicted in the book. The long shadow of rustling trees forming a lane around the main path towards the church, in Sadullah Paşa's words, creates a heavenly atmosphere. Similarly, in his article "*1878 Paris Ekspoziyonu*" (1878 Paris World Fair) Sadullah Paşa defines the exhibition hall as the synecdoche of well-being and the culmination of the artistic ethos of the European culture. Among the exposition buildings, according to him, Trocadero could be seen as a smaller-scaled version of Europe, which is "a wide palace cherished by construction" with curved forms, high columns, tower and indoor elevator as well as a museum and theatre.⁴⁷¹

Not very different from second group, third group travelers' keen interest in urbanism curtails observations on the architectural features of any specific building. Starting from Midhat's account, churches and palaces were brought to the titles of long narratives yet the experiential information, architectural idioms and discussions on aesthetics of the buildings were still limited. Even so, following Baedeker guidebooks, the majority of the travelers indicated that royal landmark buildings should be perused with great attention considering the location and façade qualities noting the surrounding squares and parks. Additionally, travelers consistently add the pertinent names about the edifices such as the commissioner, architect or the ruling king during the construction. The lengthy descriptions and Baedeker excerpts also include exhaustive data on historical stories about kings, queens and rumors about the royal families.

The first depiction of a building by Midhat was the neoclassical Christiana Royal Palace in Oslo, which he disfavors and explains in a sketchy manner as "lacking the ornamentation and excellence in terms of architecture."⁴⁷² Then, on Uppsala Cathedral, he just underlines that it is one of the tallest buildings in Nordic cities and writes that the cathedral "a 300-meter-long, 41-

468 Sadullah Paşa, *Berlin Mektupları*, 287.

469 Ibid.

470 François Fenelon's book is among the first novels translated into Ottoman. See: Yusuf Kâmil, *Tercüme-i Telemak (1862)*, Paşa G. Gökâlç Alparşlan (Ed.), Ankara: Öncü Kita, 2007.

471 Sadullah Paşa, *1878 Paris Ekspozisyonu-Londra*, 291-293.

472 Midhat, 246.

meter-wide and 33-meter-high fairly good building in terms of architecture” in gothic style.⁴⁷³ Concerning Paris, Midhat structured a rather long portrayal of the city (more than 250 pages) with headlines of royal buildings -along with the boulevards and avenues- including Madeleine, Tuileries and Louvre, Elysée, Invalides, Notre-Dame De Paris, Saint Chapelle, Saint Germain Des Pres, Palais Royal, Pantheon and Versailles. In a quasi-encyclopedic fashion, the descriptions of churches start with the planimetric configuration, continue with the footprint area and geometric description of the main hall and end with the tower and dome dimensions. Midhat often adds façade properties like the numbers of the columns, pillars, corner towers, balconies, frontal pediments as well as the material, pattern and color of these elements.⁴⁷⁴ His description of Madeline, for example, is around two pages and based on cursory phrases like ‘a great exemplar of the technique of architecture’ (*fenn-i mimarinin bir nüsha-i nefisesi*), lists of the sculptural qualities of the building seen from outside, and of the sculptures of the noble commissioners. In accordance with his focus on the aforementioned aspects, Midhat often circumambulates royal edifices aiming to observe all the facades and outdoor statues, while being selective about entering inside. He did not enter even Trocadero Palace, although it strikes his attention with its ‘remarkable Oriental appearance’, in his words.

According to Midhat, Cologne Cathedral, Notre-Dame and Hagia Sophia are the ultimate examples of church architecture in their grandeur. Notre-Dame is an exception in his narrative as he writes more than three pages about his experience inside and around the edifice along with the catalogue information. He put emphasis on the integrity and harmony of the interior and exterior façade features, as well as the door and surface decorations of leaded glass and wood carvings. After descriptive sentences, Midhat comments that the splendor of Notre-Dame is reduced by the high surrounding buildings yet its dark appearance, due to its age, enhances the solemnity and impressive character of the edifice.⁴⁷⁵ This is a rare instance where Midhat refers to the value of a building due to its archaic, restrained and dimmed character. Later in Sainte-Chapelle and Saint Germain des Pres he again refers to the value of the churches due to their age and the long history of the buildings that goes back to sixth century. He writes: “Sainte-Chapelle is the most expressive edifice with belfry, turrets and circular windows even though it is not the largest structure. ... It is one of premier examples not only due to its magnitude but also its length of service.”⁴⁷⁶ In fact, throughout his journey, Midhat praises Gothic style buildings more and more and highlights their value as historicist heritage along with their impressive spatial characteristics such as verticality, decorated dados, stained glass and colored vaults.⁴⁷⁷ In excitement, he specifies the style of Cologne Cathedral, Hotel Dieu (hospital complex), Paris Court House, Notre Dame, Sainte-Chapelle as gothic and gives details like there are triangular marble pieces above the windows (window pediments) according to gothic styling in Sainte-Chapelle. Gothic stylistic formulae were deemed as the authentic feature of European material culture by Midhat, and this budding consciousness about historical artefacts

473 Midhat, 201-202.

474 He finds Madeline Church, for instance, superb with its “high pedestal, giant eaves, perfect triangular-shaped pediment supported by eight columns in short side and eighteen columns in the long 5-meter-wide side”, in his words. The 10,5-meter-high marble door and the sturdy material palette with stone, lime, iron and brass without any wooden element also strikes Midhat’s attention. Midhat, 519.

475 Ibid., 602.

476 Ibid., 636-637.

477 Ibid., 607. Obviously, the concept of ‘age-value’, referring to Alois Riegl’s conception which he would write around a decade later, had not yet gained a clear place in the public agenda or intellectuals’ world of thought in Ottoman society.

steered him to add notes regarding the specific time period of construction, as well as maintenance, alterations and current revitalization methods -albeit in a rather dispersed manner. Certainly, Baedeker narrative, which puts gothic as the authentic architectural style of Europe, was effective in his evaluation, but the innovative spatial qualities also effected in his perception.

In terms of his approach, the wording and use of architectural idioms on colossal edifices, İhsan's account is almost a reiteration of Midhat's. On Paris, under the titles "*Kiliseler*" [Churches] and "*Ebniye-i Meşhure*" [Well-known Buildings] İhsan covers his comments in less than five pages. Laying eyes on the city with a bird's-eye-view from the top of Eiffel Tower, İhsan lists Les Invalides, Pantheon, La Madeleine, Saint Chapel and Notre-Dame Churches and adds postcard images of these structures with almost no literary descriptions. (fig. 4.3) As with Midhat's comments, Trocadero Palace appears remarkable to İhsan with its oriental styling and salient high towers that come to the fore amidst the crowded cityscape.⁴⁷⁸ Although he advises his readers to enter all the buildings in an academic manner, he does not enter most edifices including Versailles. He enjoyed meandering in the garden of Versailles and watching water sprinklers so much so that he did not enter the palace itself. İhsan thinks that officials were very successful in glamorizing the plain façades of the palace with the garden so that it draws people inside the museum -which apparently was still not enough for him to pay a visit inside.⁴⁷⁹

478 İhsan, 97.

479 Ibid., 127.

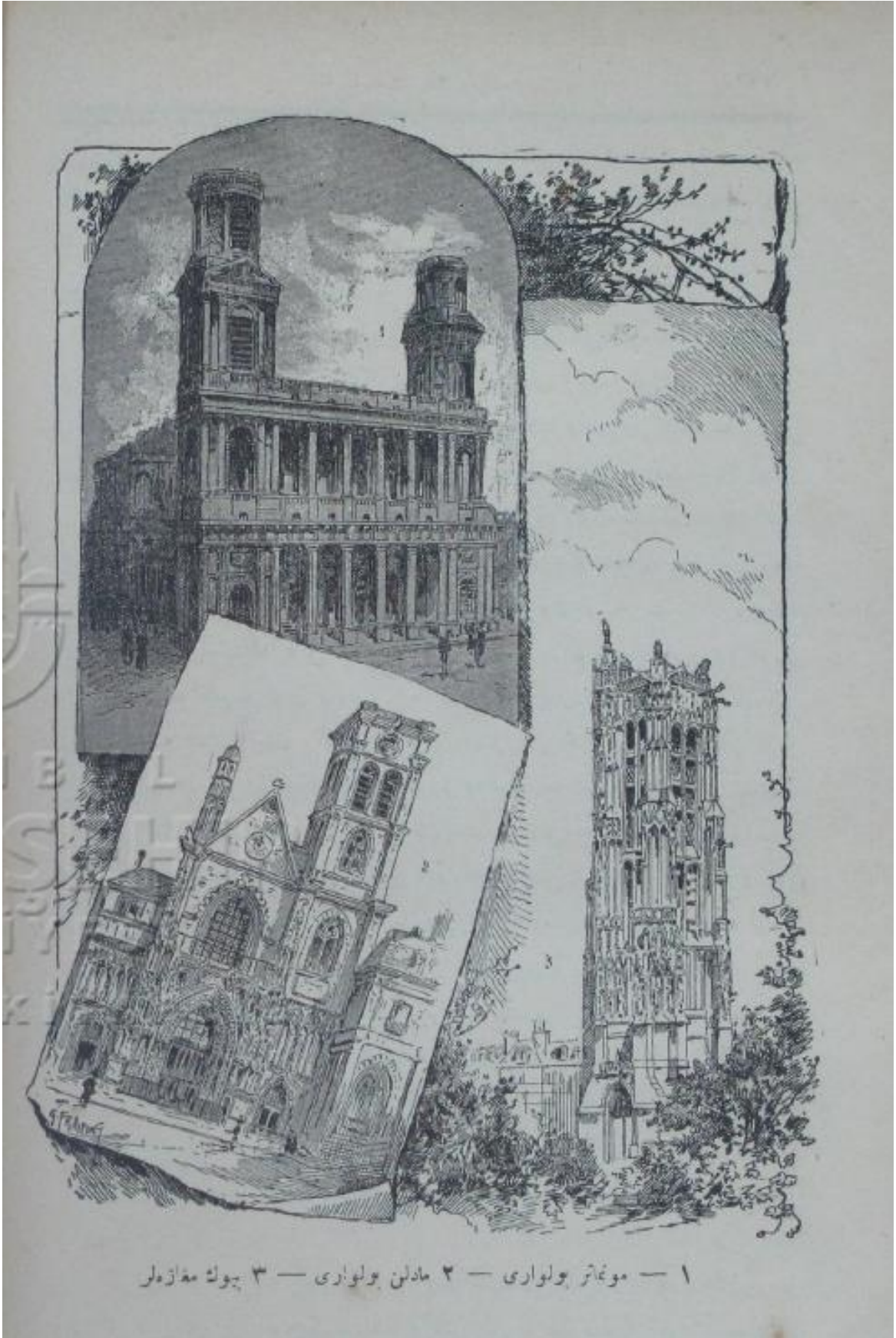


Fig. 4.3 I. *San Sulpis* II. *Sen meri* III. *Sen Jak Kulesi* [I: Church of Saint-Sulpice II: Notre-Dame de Paris III: Saint-Jacques Tower], in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 72.

Later in London, İhsan's oblivious attitude scales up to the point that the section on automat machines is longer and more excited than his description of Buckingham Palace.⁴⁸⁰ In the last leg of his travels, as he explores Italian cities, he becomes amazed at the solidity and harmonious appearance of the colorful marble churches and palaces contrasting to the sober nature of edifices in France and England.⁴⁸¹ For instance, he felt astounded and truly incapable of expressing the beauty of architecture, oriental objects, paintings and mosaics scattered in San Marco Basilica, yet he did not even specify the Byzantine style.⁴⁸²

İhsan's depiction of colossal edifices were visual more than literary as more than half of the illustrations in the account were depictions of the palaces and churches, which sums up to around forty images.⁴⁸³ I believe this is related to the fact that these two architectural typologies are the main constitutive element of the imagery of 'inscribed cities', which I discuss in Chapter 2. Since İhsan could find numerous images of these buildings on postcards, descriptive brochures and the catalogues of the museums or similar publications, he tended to replicate this established imagery and did not add personal explanations. It is curious that the exact same images of the Louvre, Luxembourg Palace and Palais Royale in İhsan's travelogue would be reproduced as water-color by Mustafa Said ten years later. Both travelers relied on existing literary depictions in Baedeker guidebooks and visual compositions of circulating postcards of the time. (fig. 4.4)

Soon after Midhat and İhsan, Mağmumi writes lengthy observations on European churches and palaces including more information on stylistic and experiential features. At the outset, he writes that these two typologies represent the summit of aesthetic values and the authentic royal characteristics of European countries. His depiction of Saint Maria Church in Brussels well indicates his general approach: "Saint Marie Church is one of the grand buildings and artworks that adorn Brussels and built in Byzantine style in 1835. The biggest part of is covered with high dome with six parts. With hundreds of stars and embossed on the dark blue surface, the dome looks like the sky."⁴⁸⁴ As seen in these sentences, Mağmumi thinks of buildings as the embellishments of the city; the buildings' contribution to the image of the city is a major theme for him. With this approach, in London, Mağmumi likens Westminster Palace to Dolmabahçe in terms of their majestic look from a distance and impressiveness at a close glance. He also thinks that Çırağan is the equivalent of Buckingham Palace both of which were more than just royal residences but also symbolic edifices. Highlighting the representative role of palaces, Mağmumi complains that while Buckingham is a national museum open to everyone Çırağan is inaccessible to the Ottoman public. The accessibility of the royal edifices to the Ottoman public and people's awareness of them as a part of Ottoman heritage is an important discussion point in Mağmumi's narrative. He advocates raising the attention and personal interest of the Ottoman public in the royal buildings as cultural artefacts and historical testimonies so that they become a part of their daily life. Thus, in Mağmumi's perspective, the 19th century coastal

480 Further, in the case of Westminster Palace, for instance, İhsan thinks that despite the high amount of money spent for the palace it is not a magnificent edifice. *Ibid.*, 193.

481 On his outbound trip, İhsan was not particularly interested in royal edifices and Italian examples, yet that altered during his tours. He writes "Now that I am in Italy it is necessary to get ready for the abundance of church and to see marble buildings. Whereas in Geneva, when the churches and palaces are excluded to visit, there remains nothings to see in its streets." *Ibid.*, 411.

482 *Ibid.*, 460.

483 It must also be noted that nearly ten years later Mustafa Said would apply a similar method to portray the colossal edifices, also dominantly relying on visuals.

484 Mağmumi, 33-34.

palaces, Hagia Sophia, Fatih and Süleymaniye complexes are in a way similar, closed dynastic buildings, irrespective of their distinctive historical or aesthetic properties.



Fig. 4.4 Typical water-colors depictions of prominent edifices by Mustafa Sait Bey (Palais Royal, Pantheon, Luxemburg Palace, and Louvre) in *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*.

In Italy, after cliché descriptions of Saint Pierre, such as “a great example of contemporary artworks”, Mağmumi adds intriguing comments about his experience in the Vatican complex.⁴⁸⁵ First, he compares Hagia Sophia’s uniform volumetric design, colossal appearance and expansion of the dome to Saint Pierre in favor of Hagia Sophia which is worth translating at length:

I must admit that the grandeur and magnificence in the dome of the Hagia Sophia Mosque does not exist in any of them. Since the Byzantine architects arranged the Hagia Sophia plan in the form of a Greek cross, the dome falls in the middle of the building and occupies the center. They built the dome as open and flat as possible. Externally, that huge building is thought to be completely covered with a dome. And the central dome is seen as soon as you enter inside.⁴⁸⁶

As the excerpt indicates, he describes the central layout simply, as a Greek-cross church

⁴⁸⁵ His description of Vatican is about ten pages. Mağmumi, 256-66.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., 260.

typology and highlights how the central plan is enhanced by the grandiose dome. He also readily expresses his emotional attachment to Hagia Sophia but also does not hesitate to add criticism about additional foundational walls built during the retrofitting of the edifice over multiple time periods. Mağmumi thinks that the additional buttresses, (some of which were added by Mimar Sinan while others were from Late Byzantine period), in fact the entirety of the major additions, cloud the original austerity of the site and the solemnity of the structure, crowding its surroundings.⁴⁸⁷ Finally, he writes favorably about the semi-open character of the narthexes of both Saint Pierre and Hagia Sophia even though he did not use the term narthex and prefers to describe it as open entrance hall passing the colonnades. Such commentary and wording give the impression that Mağmumi did not directly copy guidebook information but transferred his experiences and perception. Even at the end of his tour, in front of Saint Pierre, Mağmumi enthuses over the urban magnificence that the church imposes and thinks that such an experience cannot be conceived/envisaged through an architectural drawing (*levha-i mimariye*).

In addition to these comments, Mağmumi unprecedentedly highlights the image of the different buildings of the Vatican in the campus-like complex and also the variety of spatial qualities like openings, material color and façade ornamentation of each structure. He thinks that the non-uniform design of the units, the intensity and the grand scale of the buildings attached to each other -particularly the buildings adjacent to St Peter's Basilica- impair the allure of the complex as a whole and weaken the elegance and gracefulness of each unique edifice. On the other hand, Mağmumi also criticizes the interior design of the buildings in Vatican as involuted and not welcoming. He writes that one cannot get any clue about the plan, function and interior divisions when entering the units and even walking inside. The linear plan articulation gives no clue about the further destination points or organization of overall plan, which creates an unpleasant experience for him.⁴⁸⁸ Mağmumi also looks for clues from the exterior façades that communicate the changing function of the interior, and yet again he writes in a tone of dissatisfaction. Mağmumi finds the facades of the Vatican buildings weirdly simple -in contrast to Louvre and Westminster- and not conforming to the interior functions and elegance. In fact, similar considerations, especially the harmony of interior and exterior, were also raised by Evliya Çelebi concerning the Süleymaniye Mosque almost four centuries ago.⁴⁸⁹ In line with Evliya Çelebi, Mağmumi thinks that the harmony of interior and exterior surfaces and their coexistence communicating the function of the building is a necessary feature for the success and beauty of an edifice.

Another aspect of Mağmumi's account is that he gives rather lengthy and specific advice as to the appropriate European methods of maintenance, historicizing and revitalization of imperial edifices. As I mentioned above, his motivation was to create an authentic urban image and to grab public attention with Ottoman architecture. The firmness and elegance of the historical buildings, according to him, are influential on the material and moral progress of the public - not only the experts. As an example, he writes that in Brussels, Paris and Pisa the gilded and engraved domes and eaves create an impressive and well-groomed urban image.⁴⁹⁰ Particularly

487 "There is no old appearance of Hagia Sophia as its main façade was covered and lost due to the additional load bearing walls that were constructed out of necessity." Ibid., 262.

488 Mağmumi, 274-278.

489 Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi vol. I, 73. Discussed also in Kafescioğlu, Çiğdem. in N. Tezcan (Ed.), *Evliyâ Çelebi. Studies and essays commemorating the 400th Anniversary of his birth*, Ankara, Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2012 and Sezer, "Architecture of Bibliophilia", 190.

490 Ibid., 77.

in Brussels, Mağmumi is almost smitten with the gilded eaves and domes that give, according to him, an idiosyncratic character to such a small city. He suggests that the dominant architectural language in Istanbul is suitable for gilding. According to him, Fatih, Beyazıt, Sultanahmet, Ayasofya, Yeni Cihangir, Hamidiye, Üsküdar and Selimiye Mosques could benefit from this method if it is applied properly in a partial or dotted configuration on the eaves and domes. Further, he indicates that the spires, balcony balustrades and other metal components of Beyazıt and Galata towers could also be gilded to create a bright and flamboyant image of the landmark edifices in Istanbul. Mağmumi specifically mentions that his selection of mosques and towers depends on their strategic locations in the city and dimensions of their domes, -not their commissioner or popularity (...*muhtelif semtlerinden bütün azamet ve letafetleriyle görülen* ...).⁴⁹¹ All the mentioned mosques are visible from various districts and mark the urban silhouette, as highlighted by Mağmumi. Considering the possible criticism from his readers, Mağmumi then writes that there is no place for resistance to such foreign elements -and in fact the source of this idea is the Orient, referring to the gilded domes as a part of Islamic architectural culture (*Hatta Avrupalılar onları taklit etmişler. Bu sebeple bir bid'at-i seyiyie suretinde telakkiye de imkan yoktur*).⁴⁹² With an obvious pride in Islamic architectural repertoire and criticism of the current limited sensitivities regarding urban image and beautification of buildings, Mağmumi notes that European decoration rationale is full of adaptations from Arabian and Andalusian architectural styles that were sadly turned away from by current the Ottoman experts. It is not productive to speculate on Mağmumi's taste or the possible results of his suggestion; however it is important that he, as an amateur and unprofessional enthusiast, was sensitive to the maintenance and upgrading of the existing building stock to raise public awareness of historic buildings. And more intriguingly, I believe, he urged Ottoman officials and public to approach architecture as a category of intellectual and aesthetic sensibility.

Mağmumi's concluding remarks about European royal edifices were again related to their power in urban scale and urban planning with critical comparison of Ottoman *külliyes* and European palatial complexes. Unlike his peers, he does not merely bring out Hagia Sophia to make pairwise comparisons but stresses the significant role of imperial architecture in the morphological evolution of Ottoman cities as a principle. According to Mağmumi, Saint Paul's in London, the Pantheon in Paris, Saint Pierre in Rome and Hagia Sophia in Istanbul are 'best designs'. He then claims that these unblemished edifices exude authenticity via their position and orientation in the urban setting, thus becoming a well-known and successful buildings. He finds, for instance, the square where Saint Paul's is located not wide enough to bring out the grand scale of the building. The Ottoman *külliyeye* organization, Mağmumi adds, is executed according to a strategy that skillfully solves visibility problem: "However, in our country, such imperial buildings and royal edifices were taken in rectangular or square courtyards that we call orthogonal *avlu*, that are several times larger than the width of the land the buildings occupy, in order not to block their magnificence and elegance and to protect them from disaster such as fire."⁴⁹³ Mağmumi enumerates Fatih, Süleymaniye, Sultanahmet and Yenıcamı complexes as quintessential pieces of Ottoman architecture with wide orthogonal courtyards, visible edifices erected on deliberate locations that were drawn together into a majestic urban quality unique to Istanbul.

491 Mağmumi, 77.

492 Ibid.

493 Ibid., 135.

The rest of the third group accounts do not include comments like Mağmumi's attentive suggestions and evaluations. In Fağfurizade Nesimi's account there are short descriptions about the artworks in the palaces and churches which must be noted since the majority of the travelers omit mention of the exhibits in colossal edifices. Another detail is Nesimi's recounting of an anecdote about the baroque design of Karls Kirche in Vienna. His travel guide explains to him that Karls Kirche is erected on the location where Ottoman troops settled during the second Vienna siege and built a mosque to pray. The guide then claims that Viennese people kept the existing walls of the Ottoman mosque and repurposed the minarets as bell towers.⁴⁹⁴ The anecdote is emblematic of the guidebook narrative that invokes embellishments and parables that could be far from the truth yet are spread for long period of time. The power of architectural and urban legends transferred within and between cultures via guides and travel literature is still effective as new versions of this story of an Ottoman mosque on the location of the Karls Kirche circulate even today.

A final note on two of Ottoman travelers' non-visual recollections of Pantheon and other buildings should be added here. İhsan almost disregards the religious function of Pantheon and defines it as a sanctuary (*makber*) with layers of cemeteries under the ground. Yet what was most striking to him was the sound echoing from the coffered concrete dome of the rotunda. He writes: "Inside the cave of Pantheon, due to the talent of the architect, the sound echoes from every corner to every corner. After listening to these echoes due to deranged visitor"⁴⁹⁵ The dimension of the dome and its image (which reminds İhsan of the strong image of the Eiffel Tower) became secondary when he entered the building and heard the sound of it. In addition, under the glass roof of the Crystal Palace İhsan again writes about the acoustics of the building as it was raining during his visit: "While we were strolling in the glass palace, it rained very hard and there was a storm. It was strange to hastily go and stand right under this building and listen to the sound of the pouring rain slamming against the windows that surrounded our horizons."⁴⁹⁶ He thinks that his experience under a transparent roof with the reflective sounds of metal and glass surfaces is unique. Moreover, Nesimi also prefers to add the sound quality of Pantheon to his account. He writes: "Among those with graves in the Pantheon church is Jacques-Germain Soufflot. On the graves of each one is a statute carved from marble showing the figure and solemnity of the deceased, his college and clothing. This floor was made with an architectural skill that makes the sound reflect to the ear three times."⁴⁹⁷ Nevertheless, none of the travelers listened to the church ceremonies or added their impressions about the sound quality in the churches.

As a concluding remark, it is deducible that the architectural information of palaces and churches was deemed as part of the geographical and ethnographical data by the second group of travelers, and that in the third group they were situated as a part of the authentic urban image and historical awareness. In a more detailed manner than second group, third group travelers also stressed the construction and restoration processes as an exemplar of imperial incentives for modernization and the utilization of technical power to display artistic feats. The notion of revitalization of old palatial edifices, opening royal residences to the public and approaching them as tools to represent national and religious deeds, direct travelers' attention to the current situation of the edifices rather than toward historical and quantitative information. It also seems

494 Nesimi, 126-127.

495 İhsan, 100-101

496 Ibid., 216.

497 Nesimi, 117.

to curtail travelers' curiosity about the original purpose of royal edifices, aesthetic, and stylistic features. The structure, wording and scope of the church descriptions was marked by Baedeker methodology, yet particularly third group travelers also added rather idiosyncratic commentaries to their accounts next to more officious highlighting of grandiosity and catalogue information.⁴⁹⁸

4.2 Domestic Space: A Place of True Modernization I

“Most European states are a disciplined, decent home. The Ottoman Empire is also a mansion with large buildings and many additions but in need of repair. Its location is beautiful as well as the power of its owner. He has enough income to incur the necessary expenses and his workers are as skilled as necessary for repairs. These are good reasons called spiritual forces. However, it is not necessary to explain that the expected public development and progress cannot be realized unless all the inconveniences that prevent to comprehend the value of such interests are ceased, unless a proper style is defined and unless a well-defined procedure is set forth.”⁴⁹⁹

Ottoman travelers' interest in European domestic architecture is twofold. Typically, the volumetric and façade qualities, uniformity, sturdy appearance and durability of the European houses are associated with the ordered image of the modern city; and the interior architecture is related to sacred family life, domestic practices and true modernization. In the first group of accounts, regulations and statistical standards in London such as rental expenses, fire protection specifications, house taxes, building heights, openings and facade materials are listed as municipal organizational concerns. The semi-official narrative and official point of view is effective without comprehensive comments on socio-cultural aspects and aesthetics of residential architecture. In this period, the Egyptian traveler Tahtawi also highlights durability and endurance of Parisian apartments, describing them as a specific category of 'European house'. Careful about the construction and material quality, he writes: "... it is sometimes also said that the materials are good, even though there are flaws because of a deficiency of marble and the fact that they lack certain other things. Yet, overall quality of construction should not surprise anyone since the foundations of their walls as well as the exterior walls are made out of freestone."⁵⁰⁰ Tahtawi then introduces the categorization of houses according to their spatial relation to the streets and the districts in which they are located. He writes that doorkeepers and gates of the houses are the fundamental signifiers of community characteristics and the economic status of the neighborhood. "In Paris, there are three types of house according to this categorization", he writes, "houses with gatekeeper and a large gate, houses with courtyard

498 In the second half of the nineteenth century, Hagia Sophia, for instance, was acknowledged as a Byzantine structure, and was considered to be an element of imperial pride and part of Ottoman urban/architectural heritage. Future reservations about the centrality of the building as a reference for Ottoman architecture was not a part of Ottoman perception.

499 Noted as words of an Ottoman bureaucrat said in 1838 by Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi. Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi, *Tarih Munasebetleri*, S. E. Koray (Ed.), Ankara, 1985, 258.

500 Tahtawi, 216.

and a doorman, and houses with a courtyard without a doorman.”⁵⁰¹ Tahtawi’s sojourn in Paris seems to have had an effect on his methodology, descriptions and choice of architectural idioms. He also self-assuredly remarks that there are local examples of European residential architecture in the central districts of Cairo:

Their [Parisians’] houses, like those in Cairo, contain a number of independent apartments. There are several of these in each floor of the house and each has connecting rooms. The French have the habit of classifying houses into three categories. The first is that of ordinary houses; the second, houses belonging to people worthy of note; and third, houses belonging to the kin, members of the royal family, the consultative assemblies, etc. These are respectively called ‘house’, ‘residence’, and ‘chateau (qasr)’ or ‘palace’.⁵⁰²

Parallel to Rifa’a al-Tahtawi, the Persian traveler Abolhasan Ilchi puts an emphasis on the location and orientation of houses in his account dated 1809. He admires the way “all houses [in Galata] looked upon the sea”, the balcony of houses in Gibraltar “faced towards the ocean”, and the way house galleries in London overlooked the river.⁵⁰³ The Persian traveler notes that the basic design criterion of the modern houses in these distinct cities is that the view of the exterior is a part of the interior via large openings like bay windows. Another Persian traveler Mirza Saleh also thinks that European and Ottoman dwellings have significant similarities regarding their relationship with sea views. He describes Izmit (the city on the East of Istanbul) as a modernized Eastern city based on the high houses facing Sea of Marmara.⁵⁰⁴ Nevertheless, beyond these nuanced points all Persian and Ottoman travelers concentrated on the use of masonry, height and number of levels in apartment blocks, associating these factors with the level of modernization.

The second group of Ottoman travelers have a plainly descriptive tone concerning residential architecture, which is seldom complemented by experiential information. Being an outsider, travelers could merely observe the dimensions, roof features and materials of the facades. The endurance of masonry blocks, as contrasted with Ottoman wooden -and almost temporal-houses, is the main framework of their narrative. In the first European city encountered, in Malta, Mehmed Rauf and the anonymous author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* were taken aback by the architecture of houses, delineated by the flavescent Malta stone. The travelers characterized the image of the island as highly strange (*gayet tuhaf*) with high stone houses built with similar artistic and elegant details to a church building. The author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* further highlights “[e]ven the houses of farmers and shepherds are masonry here and so elegant that the viewers from afar surmise that they are the palaces of viziers.”⁵⁰⁵ After such details visible to the naked eye, the anonymous traveler conveys information about the insurance of houses against fire by the municipality and an estimation of property taxes according to the number of windows (known at this time as ‘window tax’).⁵⁰⁶ In fact, after almost half a century later, İhsan and Mağmumi would write exactly the same descriptive sentences regarding the window tax in Paris.

501 Ibid., 219.

502 Tahtawi, 60.

503 Vahdat, 90.

504 Ibid., 80.

505 *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 6.

506 Ibid., 63.

The author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* lived with a local family for a limited time period during his sojourn and thus could add his observations about the domestic culture, family habits and interior design of ‘London houses’, to his categorizations. He first specifies the basement kitchen and adjacent fireplace as a distinguishing feature: “The kitchens of London houses are like cellars. In other words, it is a place like a hole that is entered through the bars in front of the houses, so that it is not visible without descending and entering it. Since the coalers are next to the kitchen, they throw coal into the kitchen from the holes when necessary.”⁵⁰⁷ The author then describes the use of different levels for specific functions.⁵⁰⁸ Obviously, he depicts a typical middle-class English family, living in a Victorian house with multiple bedrooms in the upper floors and a store, service areas and servant’s quarters in the basement. He does not write further about the volumetric qualities but touches upon the articulation of the wet areas that were not common in Ottoman dwellings: “[r]ich and somewhat rich people of middle class go to the places reserved for bathing with open hot and cold water taps in a small pool and wash themselves.”⁵⁰⁹

Around ten years later, Hayrullah Efendi initiates his description of European residential architecture with a pairwise comparison of the houses in Islamic cities (*İslam şehri* in the account). It is important to underline that Hayrullah Efendi uses the phrases ‘houses in Western style’ (*garb usulü*) and ‘houses of Islamic cities’,⁵¹⁰ thereby defining Eastern and Western domestic architecture as two distinct categories. In fact, he rarely uses the term West or Western; the portrayal of specific Western European countries, not the generic and abstract notion of West, is the constitutive part of his guidebook narrative. Nevertheless, for him, domestic culture is one of the features that distinguishes between the East and the West in a broad framework. He characterizes Islamic cities with wooden houses, uneven roads and minarets and then informs his readers that masonry houses, orthogonal order of the roads and bell towers are Western equivalents of these three features. Despite this generic binary description, Hayrullah Efendi did not deploy a strong essentialist or dichotomizing tone. He did not posit these aspects as unwavering features for either part of the equation. On the contrary, in favor of change of Ottoman houses, for instance, he growlingly asks: “When will the construction of stone houses that show our civilized and settled state like the Europeans?” towards the end of his description.⁵¹¹

Hayrullah Efendi portrays a typical Viennese house as a masonry block between three to seven levels (*tabaka*) with shops on the ground floor. In all likelihood, he wandered around the newly

507 *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 68.

508 *Ibid.*, 69.

509 *Ibid.*, 31. His tone is very similar to the Japanese officials who travelled to USA in 1860, describing the bathrooms in a mesmerized manner, and with 2D and 3D illustrations including sketches, diagrammatic plan and sections in *As We Saw Them: The First Japanese Embassy to the United States* by Miyoshi. For both Japanese travelers and the anonymous Ottoman traveler, bathrooms are one of the ‘odds and wonders’ of Europe that they had never seen nor read about. Further, not the design but the hygiene of toilets and bathroom would also be a part of Ebüzziya’s portrayal of the Hotel Metropoli in London. More than three decades later, his attention was drawn towards functionality and elegance, yet the object quality of bathtub, for instance, still grabbed his attention.

510 Hayrullah Efendi, 24. On problematization of the term Islamic city and Ottoman urban planning see: Cerasi, Maurice. “The Urban and Architectural Evolution of the Istanbul Divanyolu: Urban Aesthetics and Ideology in Ottoman Town Building”, *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, XXII, (2005), 189-232.

511 Hayrullah Efendi, 188.

built high-rise edifices along Ringstrasse (the circular grand boulevard of Vienna), a neighborhood that is marked by grandiose neo-classical residences with accentuated piano-nobile on the grand frontal facades. The mixed use, solidity and elegance of the facades attracted his attention as a representation of technical progress in construction, public wealth and aesthetic pleasures of the Viennese public. Similarly, in Paris the semblance of the houses to the civic institutional buildings like hospitals (in terms of scale, style and endurance) amazed Hayrullah Efendi; he is surprised by the fact that buildings with different functions could look similar and function properly.⁵¹² He then briefly adds that multi-dwelling apartment blocks are occupied by different families and disconnected individuals and notes that it is a distinctive feature of French domestic culture –not a general fashion in Europe. Hayrullah Efendi does not link this issue to morality, family life and paternalistic problems as would become a common theme for third group of travelers.

The third group accounts were written concurrent to the proliferation of high-rise apartment blocks in districts like Pera, Kurtuluş, Galata and also in historical peninsula in Istanbul.⁵¹³ The new residential typology was corollary to alterations in property ownership, family and community relations. As a repercussion of substantial changes in domestic practice, in the final decade of the 19th century there was a growing interest in the decorum of the domestic life of urban middle class among Ottoman intellectuals. In fact, domestic culture in different districts of Istanbul was one of the main themes in the literature of the period, which was used as spatial framework of modern versus traditional. The meta-narrative of the etiquette books, novels and articles were built on the comparison of the fops -who mimic European style in high-rise apartments- to the genuine and gentle Ottomans who do not turn their backs to authentic domestic values, still live in Ottoman family houses and pursue a modern urban life.⁵¹⁴ In accordance with their concerns of civility, third group Ottoman travelers, too, express their patriotic position and communitarianism, confirming the Hamidian regime's ultimate desire to reinvigorate the rapidly declining traditional, religious and imperial deeds. As such, Ottoman domestic culture is deemed the source of Ottoman and Muslim moral superiority and thus true modernization, and it marked travelers' narratives on European domestic practices. Starting from Midhat, their approach to domesticity was shaped by dual concerns: the house as the source of authentic morality for cultures and the house as a place to engender modern codes of social order. For Ottoman travelers, the house is a space that is supposed to fulfill modern functional needs such as the study area, but also has a strong representative quality for urban middle-class civility and historical awareness about material culture and heritage.

With this very approach, Midhat builds a correlation between having a household and being a modern citizen. In fact, he describes being modern as 'to be a man of his own property': "[t]he happiness, which is derived from authentic austerity, authentic residence that means to be the authentically 'being spaced', gets completed in one's own home. I do find the perfect manner

512 In Paris Hayrullah Efendi cannot formulize a typical form of house unlike Vienna; he provides generic characterizations like "gigantic Parisian buildings" (*cesimi Paris binaları*). Hayrullah Efendi, 35 and 94.

513 For an analysis on transformation of domestic architecture in Istanbul during the Tanzimat era see: Enlil, Zeynep M. "19. Yüzyıl İstanbulu'nda Konut Yapı Gelenekleri ve Kent Kültürü", Nur Akın et al. (eds.) *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı: Uluslararası Bir Miras*, YEM, Istanbul, 1999, 286-295; A. Derin Öncel, *Apartman Galata'da Yeni Bir Konut Tipi*, Kitap Yayın Evi, Istanbul, 2014.

514 Most well-known examples of this genre are Ahmet Midhat's *Felâatun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* (1875) and *Araba Sevdası* as mentioned before.

of the happiness in the home that is possessed by its dweller.”⁵¹⁵ Particularly while wandering around Paris, he repeatedly expounds that whether one is the owner of a house or renting it, living alone in an apartment flat or with your family in a mansion inherited from your father, makes all the difference in your role in the modern society. Further, for Midhat, house is the primary resource for progress, civilization and, as the basis of both: tradition. His approach is in parallel to Tahtawi’s definition of the house as an incubator of modernized lifestyle based on tradition. Thus, as opposed to previous travelers who concentrated merely on the exterior facades and the ordered image of the houses with equal heights and uniform roofscape, Midhat was interested in finding out the spatial allocation of European houses and their use by the father -as a model for himself and his family. His approach is not without criticism of European systems; in a critical tone, he discusses property ownership, speculative market and rent options in a multi-story apartment of Paris. he also raises sharp criticism, particularly on Paris, that all modern societal problems in the city correspond to the problems of families and houses. According to him, partaking in the modern residential architecture, essentially the apartment blocks, has caused a great decline in French morality and the degeneration of the family life that was supposed to be engraved by paternal guidance, yet was delineated only by industrial urban affairs.⁵¹⁶ He then swiftly avoids elaborating on the negative impacts of apartment life, in accordance with his normative approach as described in Chapter 2.

Midhat was with his fellow traveler, the Russian translator, Madam Gülnar⁵¹⁷ while exploring Parisian streets and museums and they discussed the domestic architecture with attention. Gülnar recalls that she saw several masonry buildings in Istanbul during her visit some time ago, and then Midhat summarizes the building regulations enforced by Ottoman government during the 19th century. He underlines that, even though Ottoman society is late for certain applications, with economic and administrative supervision all citizens would own a house unlike Paris, Vienna and Berlin where only one family out of 160 has property and the rest are just tenants of the city - without specifying the source of the statistics.⁵¹⁸ Midhat then adds that London could be the model for the Ottomans in residential architecture, rather than Paris, Vienna and Berlin. His comment is a reminder of Mustafa Reşid Paşa’s suggestion that English terraced houses would be an appropriate model for Istanbul after he worked as an envoy in London between 1836-1837.⁵¹⁹ Yet, it must be added here that Mustafa Reşid Paşa’s disposition was triggered by the criticism to the point of ridicule in European publications of Ottoman wooden residences, while in Midhat’s account there is no such reactionary tone at all.⁵²⁰ In fact, to his fellow travelers and also readers, Midhat proudly explains that Ottoman cities have been characterized by traditional houses next to masonry ‘mosques, madrasas, khans and bathhouses’

515 Midhat, 766-767. His discussion about the renting and owing a house recalls Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu’s novel *Kiralık Konak* [Rental Mansion] that is based on the controversies of modernization among the generations of late Ottoman Empire.

516 Jale Parla’s critical study of Tanzimat novels discusses this shared belief by Ottoman communitarian intellectuals, among which Midhat is an influential figure.

517 On the identity and role of Madam Gülnar in Midhat’s account see: Türkan, Olcay. “Olga Lebedeva (Madame Gülnar): A Russian Orientalist and Translator”, *SLOVO*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (2017), 40-71; Karaca, İsmail. “Ahmet Midhat Efendi ve Madam Gülnar”, *İÜ Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* Cilt XYVI, (2016), 55-72.

518 Midhat, 665.

519 Baysun, 124-126.

520 For a general outlook on Tanzimat ideology about architectural transformations see: Çelik, Gözde. “Tanzimat Döneminde Tarihi Yarımada: Tercihler”, *Yaklaşımlar, Görünümler, Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, Cilt 8, Sayı 16, (2010), 227-258.

-all commissioned by the palace. Hence, he thinks that Ottomans should use caution to avoid inappropriate changes to Ottoman domestic culture such as the total abandonment of extended family living, and the omission of bay windows and semi-open gardens. He raises his concern regarding a potential rupture in the long tradition of Ottoman residential culture and architecture. Unmistakably, what Midhat was concerned about is traditional family life -not the architectural qualities per se- and since he could not have the access to observe European houses his comments were concise. Yet, Midhat realized the power of the house as a representative as well as spatial tool to create a modern individual. Further, he espoused the idea that Ottoman intellectuals should comprehend the material aspects and spatial qualities that are unique to the Ottomans, so that they can distinguish which should be preserved and which enhanced.⁵²¹

His growing curiosity would turn into a thorough portrayal of a European house not in his travelogue but in his etiquette book *Adab-i Muaşeret yahut Alafranga* (1894). His awareness of the role of house in the edification of the middle-class, in learning and internalizing civility marked his description of the 'European house' as a specific category with a particular decorative rationale of European elites. Midhat writes meticulous descriptions of each room, including plan articulation, function and use of the rooms by different members of the family and guests, dining manners, furniture placement and style, hygiene, materials, and lighting as well as the volumetric relations with the street on the ground and upper levels.⁵²² Emblematically, he puts a particular emphasis on the study as the room of intellect in which to read, and on hosting the guest with or without a dinner setting. These themes would occupy considerable space in subsequent etiquette books and also popular journals regarding modern domestic culture after the turn of the century in the Early Republican Period.

Following Midhat, İhsan includes detailed information on property ownership as the first topic of concern about European houses -it was also a point mentioned in Baedeker. During his first day in Paris İhsan writes in a puzzled tone: "It is known that in Paris, no one is a house owner; everyone lives inside these big buildings with numerous rooms or flats. That's to say, people of Paris, in fact, lives in hotels."⁵²³ He writes in a negative tone that, within these apartments with eight levels, more than two hundred tenants live in an exclusively Parisian way.⁵²⁴ In fact, prior to İhsan's travel in 1891, apartment blocks were widespread in Beyoğlu and some other districts like Kurtuluş. As a frequent visitor to these districts of the city, İhsan might have been accustomed to apartment blocks and rental flats. His astounded tone might be to dramatize the change in domestic culture and attract readers' attention. İhsan then comments that even though he finds apartments as a threat to Ottoman family life to a certain degree, for him the order and

521 His analysis of European houses is dominantly related to interior design and decoration; thus I discuss it under the title "Itinerant Glance at Decoration, Ornament and Furnishing" later in this chapter.

522 It is discussed in Çekiç, Can Eyüp. "Savoir Vivre Cosmopolite: Ahmed Midhat's Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşeret-i Yahut Alafranga as a Source for Modernization of the Codes of Social Behavior in the Late Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire," Master's Thesis, METU, 2009, 70-98. I believe it would be fruitful to compare Midhat's approach to European houses in his travelogue and *Adab-ı Muaşeret-i Alafranga* in detail.

523 İhsan, 30.

524 "Then, in the low-ceiling buildings rarely with four but mostly five, six or even seven and floors, there are no less than two hundred tenants. The low ceilings were in order to save space. So, don't assume that the eight floor buildings reach out to the sky. In the main street of Beyoğlu there are buildings similar to shorter examples of those. ... Further, the roofs were covered mostly with dark slates." Ibid., 31.

harmony of Parisian blocks has more to offer than gloomy English houses. He admires the numerous attached apartment blocks, with even heights and compatible appearance of blue slate mansard rooftops, that create an overall image of a superstructure. According to his evaluation, the irregular patterns of town houses even in the newly-built districts of London are a degrade the overall appearance.⁵²⁵ He strongly disfavors dark British houses lacking harmony, in marked contrast to Reşid Paşa and Midhat:

There was no order of the building fabric amongst the surrounding houses. Some are big, some small, some low and some high! After all, all the buildings are like this in England. Everyone owns a house, like İstanbul. Big buildings are commerce houses, governmental offices, hotels and ‘beds for courtesous’. Nevertheless, due to thousands of factories all invading London and their constant fog, they [buildings] have a dark color.⁵²⁶

A note about İhsan’s choice of wording while writing about domestic architecture should be added here, which is telling in a broader framework. In his account İhsan did not frequently use Oriental and Occidental as adjectives; he uses the term *Şark usul-i mimarisi* (Oriental style architecture) for mansions in French Riviera region, Trocadero Palace in Paris and for residential architecture in rural parts of London. It is not possible to determine whether or not he copied it from Baedeker, but what is obvious is that İhsan was selective when using Oriental as a category, just like Hayrullah Efendi who wrote his account three decades before İhsan.⁵²⁷ He defined houses as the reification of the broad categories ‘Oriental’ and ‘European’ and it was actually a controversial issue on which he at times expressed conflicting ideas. Like Midhat, he sharply criticized the impact of apartments on family life but also, within a normative approach, pored over the order of the European apartments and municipal regulations.

As opposed to his peers, Mağmumi notably focuses on the stylistic formulae and aesthetics of residential architecture in different cultures with less stress on legislative aspects and family relations. He reflects on technical details such as window tax or renting system, yet unprecedentedly relates them to the aesthetic taste of the urbanites inside and outside of their houses and also to the issue to the urban image. He highlights the affinity of British and Eastern dwelling culture delineated by two-three story town houses, but then adds details such as the general tendency for London town houses to be covered with plaster or have white-washed façades with simple forms.⁵²⁸ Information on materials and color schemes give the impression that Mağmumi does not transfer his data from guidebooks, but rather curiously observed the built environment reflecting on the houses in Ottoman cities. On the other hand, with an implicit pride in Islamic cities but not calling upon chauvinistic language, Mağmumi held in esteem multiple European chateaus and waterside mansions with Eastern references and ‘Oriental facades’, in his words. He tackles the issue of the translation of Oriental architectural elements in European residential architecture in a broader framework: “I read in a work, whose name I can't remember right now, this gilding of the buildings originally existed even in Arabic and

⁵²⁵ İhsan, 157.

⁵²⁶ Ibid., 164.

⁵²⁷ The other places where he preferred to utilize ‘oriental’ as an adjective of style were Oriental bathhouse (*Şark hamamı*) and Oriental view (*Şark manzarası*). With ‘Oriental view’ he addresses both the urban view and more so the garden styling with Oriental kiosks or natural greenery, as opposed to the Baroque French gardens.

⁵²⁸ Mağmumi, 96.

Andalusian architectural styles. Even Europeans imitated them. For this reason, it is not possible to interpret it as an novelty.”⁵²⁹ Upon this disclaimer, Mağmumi propounds that he does not associate any architectural transfer in-between cultures with deterioration; on the contrary he suggests revitalizing historic Ottoman buildings with European methods, just as Europeans fearlessly apply Eastern styles in their residential architecture. His discussion of the appropriation of architectural styles from one culture to another is unique, since majority of the travelers either ignored or wrote with merely implicit pride about Ottoman -more so Islamic-architecture without discussing it. The painter and bureaucrat Mustafa Said’s narrative on residential architecture well represents this approach. Said has a strong romantic approach to European residential architecture -especially the French mansions on the Mediterranean coast. He writes wordy descriptions with literary puns and references to 18th century Ottoman poems. In Tulon, for instance, ‘Eastern style mansions’, ubiquity of colorful materials and Oriental ornamentation catered his eyes.⁵³⁰ From the French coast to Italy, Said writes in a rapturous manner, moved by the built environment delineated by gilded marble mansions on every piece of land -around the foot of a mountain or on the greenery of a hilltop, in his words. He expresses his feelings as:

It is not a soul intensifier but a small beauty of residence

If exists, the top world of the earth

As the luscious pages worthy of describing their qualities are seen, a natural desire for wealth arises in man. ⁵³¹

The two verses are from different parts of Nedim’s eulogy written for Kaptan Mustafa Paşa Yalısı during the first quarter of the 18th century.⁵³² Mustafa Said’s reiteration of these lines in 1898 evinces the currency of Ottoman literary traditions on residential architecture among 19th century intellectuals as well as how personal inclinations, background and profession differentially influence the perception of travelers. Said also includes two picturesque paintings around Swiss Alpine region and one street view in Geneva depicting a typical postcard view towards the house where Jean Jacques Rousseau was born. (fig. 4.5)

529 Mağmumi, 77.

530 Mustafa Said, 70.

531 “*Kasr-ı rûh-efzâ değil hüsn ü beh â me’vâsıdır*

Vâr ise bû rûy-i arzın âlem-i bâlâsıdır

Vasfî ile tarîfe seza ruhniuvaz sayfiyeler görüldükçe insanda tabii bir arzu-yi yesar hasıl oluyordu.”

Ibid., 27.

532 The second line is written as ‘Kar ise ...’ in the translation of Mustafa Said’s travelogue but I relied on the common transliterations of Nedim’s eulogies on which it was written as ‘var’. Nedim, “Ta’rîf-i Nüzhet-fezâ Der-Sitâyîş-i Tevkî’-i Mustafâ Pâşâ” in *Nedim Divanı*, Dr. Muhsin Macit (Ed.), Ankara, 2017.



Fig. 4.5 *Jean Jacques Rousseau'nun heykeli; Cenevre'de Jean Jacques Rousseau'nun doğduğu ev.* [The statue of Jean Jacques Rousseau; The house Jean Jacques Rousseau was born.], in *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*.

Nesimi visited European cities in exactly the same years as Mağmumi and Said, yet his emphasis was different than both. Marked by his humanistic ideology and professional occupation as a governor, Nesimi was conscious of the interdependence of economic welfare, physical conditions and aesthetic culture. He describes 'home' as a household with a good quality of lighting and ventilation deploying Christian and Islamic domestic culture as a religious framework similar to the Eastern versus Western framework of his peers:

In addition, even those who are inhabited in fixed households should build their dwellings in locations known for their clean air and avoid dwelling in damp places. Because those who do not pay attention to this point, neither themselves nor their children's health and lives are protected from diseases. Regrettably, in the current Islamic countries, while the inhabited non-Muslim people pay attention to these points, Muslims cannot notice these places completely, and they lie in the ugliest, most damp places and rundown inns and roofs; getting along like sluggishly; they take no lesson from their neighbors of other nations.⁵³³

Nesimi notes final remarks and suggestions to enhance the quality of domestic architecture in Ottoman society that are possible, in his opinion, by changing the basic relationship of Muslim people to their houses. He believes that houses should be regarded as family heritage and also the heritage of the community, and thus should not be treated as transient property with low attention.⁵³⁴

Finally, Selim Sırrı's account on Sweden does not include much discussion of domestic

⁵³³ Nesimi, 135.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

architecture as a heritage issue. Yet the traveler learns from one of his friends that Swedish houses are designed and constructed with particular attention to the harsh weather conditions of the winter. Thick-walled buildings, double-paned windows and tile stoves that climb up to the ceiling in each room are listed as the architectural strategies of Swedish people in house design.⁵³⁵ The attention to technical details and the approach to architecture as a field of practice shaped Selim Sırrı's notes on European houses within his limited knowledge.

Ottoman travelers' perceptions of domestic practice are a challenging subject as the debate on the modernization of Turkish architecture has orbited around residential architecture.⁵³⁶ The three groups of travelers' perceptions provide a perspective on the transformation of the notion of the house within the Ottoman public. Till the last decade of the 19th century, Ottoman travelers stressed merely the orthogonal geometry and masonry structure without historical or cultural connotations. In fact, simultaneous to the proliferation of Tanzimat boxes in Pera and surrounding districts, middle class residential architecture started to be varied with bold neo-classical façade articulations owned by Tanzimat figures (hence known as *paşa konakları*).⁵³⁷ (see fig. 4.1) The neoclassical decorative patterns -with pediments, plaster articulations and historicist language in molding- increased and were also the features of civic institutional buildings like schools and town houses. In this period, second group travelers like Hayrullah Efendi and Ebüzziya pointedly assessed these mansions and European houses in terms of the aesthetic value of the houses, the intellectual profundity of the house owners, hygiene standards and the functional capacity of lighting and modern furnishing -which are obviously middle-class concerns.⁵³⁸ Later, from 1880 onwards, rising nationalist tendencies started to redefine travelers' approaches to the Ottoman house as an apotropaic effect against moral decay. The traditional quality of house was emphasized as essential to preserve in order to engender a true modern individual from within. As such, third group travelers' interest was exclusively ideological with limited aesthetic concerns. In these accounts, Ottoman houses are depicted as if they are endemic urban qualities arising from the physical and moral grounds of Ottoman society.⁵³⁹

Only after 1910, was art and architectural history regarded as a necessary aspect of modernization and historical heritage, in which Ottoman households were discussed as a cultural artefact. Ottoman intellectuals like Celal Esad Arseven and Mimar Kemaleddin evaluated houses as a source of decorative patterns and authentic spatial elements like bay

535 Selim Sırrı, "İsveç Hatıraları-12: Stokholm'de Kış", *Şehbâl*, No: 12, 1, 1325 [1908], 80-381.

536 An interest in domestic architecture arises much later than the interest in monumental buildings. The appreciation of domestic architecture was pertinent to the rise of nationalist ideology based on the notion of the folk. See: Sezer, Yavuz. "The Perception of Traditional Ottoman Domestic Architecture as a Category of Historic Heritage and a Source of Inspiration for Architectural Practice", Master's Thesis, BU Press Istanbul, 2005; and Acciai, Serena. "The Ottoman-Turkish House According to Architect Sedat Hakkı Eldem A Refined Domestic Culture Suspended Between Europe and Asia", *Architecture Beyond Europe* 11: Paradoxical Southeast Asia, Open Edition Journals, 2017.

537 Among which well-known early examples are Zeyneb-Kamil Konağı (1864), Keçeçizade Fuad Paşa Konağı (1865) Âli Paşa Konağı (built by Sarkis Baylan in 1870) Çelik, Gözde. "*İstanbul'un Tarihi Yarım Adası Tanzimat Dönemi Kagir Konakları*", *İstanbul Araştırmaları Yıllığı/Annual of İstanbul Studies*, Sayı:2, İstanbul Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, (2013), 141-155.

538 See his discussions on Konya Hükümet Konağı as a townhouse and resident of Said Paşa. *Mecmuma-i Ebüzziya*, vol. 112-113 and 124-125, 1327, [1900].

539 In fact, in *Servet-i Fünun* articles, parallel to travelers' approach, the descriptive phrases of houses in Ottoman cities were formalized as 'houses of Uşak' (*Uşak evleri*) or high European houses (*yüksek Avrupa evleri*).

windows and linked them to other elements of folkloric and material culture of the Turkish nation such as garments. Both figures explicitly underline that Ottoman houses should be analyzed and documented as a cultural value and heritage before losing them all.⁵⁴⁰ In addition, one of the earliest articles that assesses a specific residential structure as a historical artefact was written on Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı in 1915 in a booklet published by *Istanbul Muhipleri Cemiyeti*.⁵⁴¹ In all publications, the emphasis was on the value of Ottoman houses for the present architectural culture and thus possible methods of appropriating that culture for the future. After 1930 would the antiquarian nationalist mode be much more strongly influential, with the prime example of Sedat Hakkı Eldem's studies and also Sühely Ünver's nostalgic paintings -this time hinging on Turkish nationalism. It is important to see that the same elements are deployed, first within imperialist and modernist sensitivities and later with nationalist ideology. Despite these shifts, the emergence of the sensitivity of intellectuals and the urban middle class regarding domestic culture resulted in the inclusion of domestic as a category of heritage and testimony to authentic cultural deeds.

4.3 People's Palace or Sovereign Authority: Civic Institutional Buildings

Within the overall transformations of 19th century Ottoman architectural culture, the large number of neo-classical governmental buildings is the foremost signal of participation in modernization and the appropriation of its aesthetic values. The palace or bureaucrats' houses used to be the space for official works while educational, religious and health services were realized in *külliyes*. Tanzimat administration transferred health and education services to the central state's responsibility, which used to be held by waqf institutions (mosques or madrasas). Hence, the role of architecture in the performance of the new administrative identity became critical almost as a stage set which required modern actors in modern settings. Particularly during the reign of Abdülhamid II, the visual paraphrasing of new construction methods was the testimony for the modernization of the empire, and the centralization and civilianization of novel social forces such as education.⁵⁴² The neo-classical facades of town halls and high school buildings (*idadis*) in Anatolian towns -with limited impact from local architectural production and styling- became the manifesto of sovereign authority and its public service.

For the Ottoman travelers, too, the very notion of institution is the 'fundamental element' (*unsur-i asli*) of European modernization. The driving force of first group travelers is actually to comprehend European institutions and their protocols. They wrote with great appreciation for regulatory enactments and systematic order but did not mention the buildings in which these processes take place, nor the appearance and style of them. The dispersed comments, especially remarks on custom houses, address the scale of the structures, which featured ample entrances and sizeable interiors functioning like a factory. Vahid Vahdat writes that Persian travelers from the second quarter of the 19th century also evaluated European civic institutional buildings, yet they did not relate them to institutions.⁵⁴³ In the case of Ottoman travelers, however, the trust in the institutions is beyond doubt; they in fact approached civic buildings as an exemplar of

540 Mimar Kemaleddin, *Bir Türk Akropolü*, in *Türk Yurdu* 11, 1328 [1912], reprinted in *Türk Yurdu* vol. 1, Murat Sefkatli (Ed.), Ankara, 1998, 180-181.

541 Cephaneçigil, 59-67.

542 Çelik, Gözde. "İstanbul Tarihi Yarımadası'nda Tanzimat Dönemi İdari Yapıları", PhD. Diss, ITU, 2007.

543 Vahdat, 97.

the regulatory orders and control mechanisms of the sovereign authority.

For second group travelers, the institutional structures were not target destinations or touristic attraction points that were recommended in the guidebooks. As journalists and high-ranking officials, they visited multiple civic buildings but for merely practical reasons, like visiting a friend in the Ottoman embassy or receiving a letter from the post office. Thus, their mode of engagement is distinct from visiting the museums described in the Baedeker guidebooks in their hands. The author of *Seyahatname-i Londra*'s approach is an illustrative instance as he wrote about Joan Soane's Bank of England with surprise at his discovery of the building but with no particular didactic attitude. When he encounters the majestic structure of Bank of England, which is actually an isolated island composed of a series of district blocks, he sets his eyes on the entrance with fascination due to the scale and the movement of the crowd in and out of the building. With excitement he enters the building and observes the articulation of different rooms in the interior including its archive and storage.⁵⁴⁴ The majestic vaulted volumes enlightened by sun light from above, the solid wood counters contrasting with the grand, almost inhuman, scale of the neo-classical domes, the triumphal arc passages, plasters, columns, niches, rotunda and clerestory windows baffled the traveler and he could not describe the architectural features -he could just write that the order in between the interior rooms seems particular.

From the second group, Ebüzziya Tefvik draws his readers' attention to the fact that the physical quality of public buildings reflects the mentality of the administration and the sovereign authority of the officialdom. Similar to his approach to the dwelling as a place to engender a quality life, Ebüzziya thinks that the architectural qualities of civic institutions are testimonies to modern municipal governance, education and health system. He did not write on European institutions but provides a curious description of Konya's town hall in his exile notes, comparing it to that of European's:

The government house overlooks a 40 to 50 meters width and length; a square in total. Externally, it is a very neat and magnificent building. The British Said Pasha had it done in the late governor's office, he drew his plan and drawings personally. He himself even worked as architect and construction manager. However, he was dismissed near the end of the construction. The deficiencies were neglected by his successor. For this reason, the ceilings and walls of the first floor remain unpainted.⁵⁴⁵

What is particular about Konya townhall is that, in Ottoman architectural historiography, the building is known as one of the early examples of first national architectural style. It was built according to a quadrangle plan, with symmetrical façade divisions and stone window frames – among which some were known to be spolia from the Konya city walls. For Ebüzziya, the neo-classical elements elevate the townhall to a magnificent edifice; he in fact aptly categorizes the building as a European house. He then curiously touches upon the impact of the space allocations, windows and environmental design of the Ottoman houses in a mostly critical tone. An excerpt on the contrast between common wooden houses and townhall in Konya reads as:

544 With the tone typical 18th century embassy reports, he writes that 'it is impossible to describe the building'. *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 71.

545 Ebüzziya, "Ruzname-i Hayatımdan Ba'zı SahaiF", *Mecmua-i Ebüzziya*, 1317, [1900], 176-177. The building was constructed in 1887. At that time, Said Pasha, the father of the famous art historian Celal Esat Bey, was serving as the governor in Konya. The Governor decided to build a baroque mansion after much architectural research and the construction started immediately. The completion of the mansion was during the time of his sons.

“The roofs of the houses are a uniform surface covered with earth. Pale yellow mud comes out of the wooden grooves that are extended sporadically. The house I hosted can be considered a magnificent place, compared to the despicable lodges that can be seen. The German-style garden landscape was decorated splendidly.”⁵⁴⁶ According to Ebüzziya, the townhall is more than the mayor’s mansion and work-place; the quality of material and façade composition is critical to set an exemplar for the residents. All in all, his observations are intriguing and without a hegemonic tone of imperialism or nationalism; his sensitive approach to the built environment urges him to approach civic institutional buildings in European and Ottoman capitals as well as Anatolian cities with acute curiosity.

In the third group of accounts, the coverage of institutional buildings was greater, in parallel to Abdülhamid II’s intense construction of townhalls, schools and train stations. In Midhat’s account, particularly Germany stands out as the country of military strength and discipline, with grand administrative and civic institutional buildings. On Berlin, under the title “*Bazı Cesim Binalar*” [Some Grandiose Buildings] he writes about Bauakademi, Townhall, Ministry of Education, Arsenal and Berlin Stock Market at length. The covering material of the facades, number of levels and sculptures in the entrance plazas of the edifices grabbed his attention. In the courtyard of the Berlin Townhall, Midhat thinks that Germans have a particular affinity for big (what he addresses is generally high) structures. Midhat linked this red clinker brick townhall with neo-renaissance styling and a powerful central tower to all the gothic buildings he saw in Germany. His comments on the architectural taste of Germans are mostly related to the verticality of church architecture and to gothic revivalism in institutions– also referred as Germanicism. He then adds that giant governmental structures, like Ministry of Law or stables, enhance the appearance of the German boulevards at the greatest level and give a rooted character to the newly erected districts of the city. Subsequently, in each European city, Midhat reiterates the information he reads from advertisement brochures on these institutions including the technical superiorities, commissioners and expenses. He was surprised to see how new buildings and institutions with short histories represent themselves and historicize their past with publications, display units in the buildings, models and museumification of their archives and repositories. He suggests that, for researchers, the illustrated booklets of these institutions are great sources from which to learn practical information.⁵⁴⁷

Like the other travelers, İhsan did not have a ‘touristic gaze’ when viewing institutional buildings yet he visited post offices, embassies and banks in all European cities due to practical reasons about his printing business. Particularly in London, the vital urban life in and around the stock markets, banks and ministry buildings struck his attention. In Mansion House Square, where the English Bank, London Stock Exchange, Court House and Mansion House were located, he was captivated by the crowd and writes that he would put an image of this area but would not even dare to explain the scene with words. (fig. 4.6) He does not favor the buildings per se, but, according to him, the congestion of people and their rush around the steadfast architecture of the institutions is worth of note.⁵⁴⁸ Later, in Germany, like Midhat İhsan highlights the impact of the colossal governmental edifices on the urban image. Particularly in Berlin, he was shocked by the elegant and historical urban image which was built in a very short period of time, in his words.

546 Ebüzziya, 176-177.

547 Midhat, 580 and 602-603.

548 İhsan 173.



Fig. 4.6 *Londra Bankası* [The Bank of London], in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 177.

Again, different from other travelers in terms of his attention to the value of buildings as historical artefacts, Mağmumi has a very particular appraisal of civic buildings which, according to him, have the power to link past and present. He evaluates the embassy buildings, courthouses and military structures as new ways of representing history and national taste. For Mağmumi these structures “are hovering ... between evocations of the past and veneration of the new”,⁵⁴⁹ borrowing Ahmet Ersoy’s description. Mağmumi frequently specifies the ‘new’ or ‘old style’ (*tarzı-cedid üslub-i cedit* or *tarzı- atik*) of the buildings; he denotes new as basically industrial materials and old style as the neo-classical and/or gothic styling of the facades. In Brussels, for instance, Mağmumi describes the Palais de Justice (the court-house) and Hotel de Ville (the townhall) at length and mentions that he could not help but feast his eyes on the façades of these buildings for some time. The townhall of Brussels is actually one of the rare remaining gothic buildings from the early 15th century in the city. Mağmumi notices that it is identical to the Paris Townhall (which is similar in style yet distinct in scale and façade articulation) and writes “the masonry (in Brussels) did not even need to consult the plan. As if he did it by looking at that building (Hotel de Ville Paris). Its facade is very nice and pleasant. ... Its interior layout, floors and domes are similar to Hotel de Ville Paris.”⁵⁵⁰ He then enters the building to stroll in the corridors and lists six different offices, building guilds and chambers with details on interior spatial divisions, furniture, dome and vault types. During his tour, Mağmumi comments that Haussmann is not only the creator of the Parisian aesthetic but also sets the standards of architecture for European cities particularly in terms of the scale of the civic buildings. To this respect, for Mağmumi, Jules Victor Anspach, the

⁵⁴⁹ Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*, 13.

⁵⁵⁰ Mağmumi, 63-64.

mayor of Brussels between 1869-73, is the Haussmann of Brussels. On the other hand, the Palais de Justice is a colossal neo-baroque edifice on a hill overlooking the historical district of Brussels by which Mağmumi was bewitched. He writes: “The majesty and grandiosity of this building, which is large and splendid enough to join the peculiar architectural group, marvels at its width and length. The might and dexterity of its architectural artsy make one incapable of saying anything but appreciating it.”⁵⁵¹ In fact, Mağmumi choses the adjective ‘wonders’ (*acaib*) mostly for eclectic edifices, as in this case with classical, ancient Near Eastern, Renaissance and Baroque architectural elements embellished with numerous statues. In general, unlike the majority of the travelers who were inclined to find gothic architecture more enticing to eye, Mağmumi writes laudatory comments on neo-classical edifices as enticing and solemn face of the modern institutions.

The rest of the travelers write short, catalogue-style information on official and civic institutional buildings. Mustafa Said’s account, for instance, is replete with sentences like “Bourbon Palace (the equivalent of Ottoman Chamber of Deputies), is a building in Corinthian style, like Madeleine and Stock Exchange buildings, with the capacity of 500 deputies.”⁵⁵² Nesimi unprecedentedly addresses the link between European economic power gained by colonial strategy and its influence on architectural and artistic production in his writings about civic buildings. He did not elaborate on the issue at length, yet clearly points out that architectural opulence and display is dependent on financial power.⁵⁵³ His perspective is rather unique, as most travelers believed in the compartmentalization of technique and artistic proclivity, which prevented them from reading architecture as a part of culture as well as an economic product. All in all, except for Nesimi’s short notice and Mağmumi’s enthusiasm about the intricate façade and interior quality of the eclectic historicist styling, Ottoman travelers were mainly interested in the inclusion of civic buildings into urban life and their imposing role in shaping the squares. According to these travelers, the newly built German cities presented a flawless model for construction of Ottoman civic buildings as compared to the pre-inscribed image of France and England where the institutions were equally as prominent as the boulevards and attached residential apartment blocks.

4.4 Buildings of Education and Exhibition: Reification of the Authentic Past⁵⁵⁴

Despite the brevity of most accounts, Ottoman travelers’ experiences in the museums, as well as observations in schools and libraries reflect their changing perspective of history and art, as well as new fields like tourism and archeology. Mindful about these ever-evolving notions, travelers evaluated European buildings of education and exhibition by interlacing them within a pedantic approach. All the main three architectural typologies (public school, museum and library) were, first and foremost, an educational tool and, less so, a house of curiosities.

Parallel to the official agenda of the late 19th century Ottoman palace, travelers believed in the

551 Mağmumi, 49.

552 Mustafa Said, 135.

553 Nesimi, 132.

554 Travelers’ perceptions of the museums that were erected for the world expositions and the monuments are included within this framework. The city gates, cenotaphs, triumphal arches, sculptures, shrines and clock towers were mentioned and described principally in relation to their exhibition, heritage and artistic value even though at certain cases they are physically far away from any school, library or museum building. In order to reflect the travelers’ own framing I formulate the title as such.

affinity of education and civilization (*maarif* and *medeniyet*) that led them to write most about laboratories, observatory rooms, arboretums, botanical gardens, archives, lecture halls (*amphi/amfi*) and dissecting rooms (*teşrihhane*) with the addition of library and museums into this framework. The present-day conditions of the historical buildings as museums, sumptuous rooms of royal residences full of resplendent surfaces and objet d'art, systematic classification and categorization of historical information, representation of mundane realities from the past and natural pieces grabbed a great place in the accounts. The paintings, sculptures and archeological findings were written swiftly after concluding that they were informative pieces of history. The custodian nature of the cultural artifacts and the objects of heritage were the focal point of discussion. Patriotism and raising historical awareness were the main concern of Ottoman travelers hinging on technological progress.

The constellation of terms used about buildings of education and exhibition are: antique (*asar-i atika*), imperial buildings and artworks (*mebani-i âsâr-ı alîye*), new and old town/city (*şehir-i cedit*, *şehir-i atik*), objects of curiosity (*âsâr-ı nadire*), historic/ancient buildings (*mebani-i kadime*), historic weapons (*esliha-ı kadime*), sculpture (*heyakil*), model/mock-up (*resm-i mücessem*), museum (*tasvirhane*, *müzehane*, *numûnehane*). Travelers give the dictionary meaning of most of these concepts and provide Ottoman equivalents or related notions. In majority of the accounts, the main reference building for understanding European preservation and heritage is Hagia Sophia. As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, popular and scholarly publications present a model for “cultural self-definition” for Ottoman intellectuals. The Egyptian Obelisk (also known as Obelisk of Theodosius) in the historical peninsula, and the janissary mannequins in *Dar-ül Esliha* (House of Weapons) were mentioned very briefly, without much discussion on the way in which they were displayed.

Although absent from the first group of the accounts, two concurrent Ottoman diplomatic reports from this period underpin the foundational ideas about antiquity, the habit of collecting and heritage in Europe. Sadık Rıfat Paşa's *Avrupa Ahvali'ne Dair Risale* (1837) and Mustafa Sami's *Avrupa Risalesi* (1840) are the earliest examples that introduces these practices (as I detailed in Chapter 1). Mustafa Sami's quite notable definition of the antique as a referential point for improvement, a source of innovation and inspiration is important to add here. He also gives examples of Ottoman's sensitivity about historic buildings:

... and even the images of two angels with wings in the Grand Ayasoyfa Mosque and the frescos found in some other parts of the mosque in question and the obelisks and similar things seen in various places in Istanbul, remained from ancient times. The fact that those were left unchanged as they were by Fatih Sultan Mehmed, it is understood that even in our ancestors and the Islamic nations, such subtleties were taken care of and antiques were respected.⁵⁵⁵

Mustafa Sami's selection of Hagia Sophia, which was converted into a mosque, and the preservation of its mosaics and the obelisks is intended to manifest that Ottomans have been effective custodians of antiquity and cultural artefacts from different lands and time periods, as well as from both the non-Muslim and Ottoman history of Istanbul. He claims that such sensitives are not essentially Western or European; since Mehmed II there has been a certain level of esteem to different religions, cultures and time periods.

As opposed to his intriguing discussion of antiques, Mustafa Sami applies a brief and formulaic

555 Mustafa Sami, 24-25.

approach to define mosaics and museums, similar to his description of hotel and theatre.⁵⁵⁶ In Rome, Sami writes noncommittally that “the city has been abandoned for some time and currently it only has the value of its image for the painters. And it is famous that the transcriptions they produce with small colored stones, which they call mosaic, are not something that was made in another land.”⁵⁵⁷ Later, as he observes more European cities, Sami started to make sense of the keeping old objects, even though the derelict image of the antique edifices and the sizeable amount of urban space surprised him. He plainly writes that he personally looks for certain amount of upkeep and is in favor of a sleek appearance in cities. According to Sami, Alois Riegl’s concept of ‘age value’ has a limited aura in urban and architectural scale.

The Egyptian traveler Tahtawi also recounts his surprise at the state of Italian cities regarding historic sites and artefacts. He describes Italy as “remote foreign lands with ancient buildings” (*ebniye-i kadimeden uzak Frengistan*); the distance Tahtawi addresses is geographical but also chronological as Italian cities were full of old edifices unlike many other European cities that were shaped by new buildings and infrastructure. What Tahtawi was most impressed with was not the history or oldness of the artefacts but the accessibility of those prestigious materials to the public via the European system of exhibiting collections in multiple venues owned by royals or prerogative parties of the society. He is amazed each time he sees people entering a palace, castle or a king’s house to visit an exhibition or to see the building itself.⁵⁵⁸ The education and direct contact of the public with the historical artefacts would also be raised by the third group of Ottoman travelers decades later.

The focus of the accounts written after 1860 shifted towards the institutional and systematic means of collecting, classifying, exhibiting and educating the public via antiques and books. The types and numbers of educational and exhibition buildings were portrayed as the constitutive factor of national image in each European city. Not surprisingly, there is a limited stress on structural characteristics, interior articulations and sensory experiences in the buildings. Still, as travelers had personal experiences, the central location of the museums in the urban setting, and the ways in which those museums framed and displayed objects as precious pieces from the past, providing visual and literary description of even mundane domestic tools for locals and tourists alike, arose as significant in their discussions.

Although the anonymous author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* and Mehmed Rauf went specifically for the Great Exhibition in London, they did not to elaborate much on the pavilions, exhibits and the exhibition building at the fair. This is, in all likelihood, related to the fact that Ottoman newspapers were already intensely covering the products and other details about the Ottoman pavilion and catalogue information about the fairground before the exhibition date. Still, the comparison of the royal British museums and the Crystal Palace by the anonymous author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* is worth noting here. According to him, the main halls of the Crystal Palace (which are in fact counterparts of the nave and narthex of a typical basilica plan) created the chaotic atmosphere of a bazaar due to its continuous plan and numerous items on a single platform.⁵⁵⁹ He was not pleased by the crowded and seemingly unorganized clutter of pavilions.

556 In Ottoman Turkish *tasvir* has more than one meaning, including: image, depiction, describing something with words or visuals, portrayal, the ability of imagery and portraiture. Yet, he uses ‘*tasvir* with colorful stone’ for mosaics which means that he addressed illustrations.

557 Mustafa Sami, 24-25.

558 Tahtawi, 220.

559 *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 128-131.

In between his dispersed notes the traveler writes his thoughts on the reasoning behind the design of sculptures, monuments and in general Europeans' interest in antiques with unrealistic comments like "However, due to their curiosity of antiques and maintaining their name everywhere they break down these stones and at times they inscribe some texts on those stones."⁵⁶⁰

Conversely, the anonymous traveler writes on libraries and educational facilities in a detailed and personal tone. He visited King's Library in the British Museum more than once and spent some time there, probably to write his daily notes to send to the newspaper. About the library, he first gives the catalogue and practical information such as the opening hours, number of the shelves and daily visitors. He then adds his observations about the use of the library, behaviors of English librarians and readers. He thinks that Londoners only look at the binding of the books, glance at the content in a cursory fashion and do not study the books thoroughly. He even mocks Londoners by looking at Turkish, Arabic and Persian books -not reading them- to celebrate the object quality of them. The traveler also noticed that some visitors come to the library just to see the building, which seemed very odd to him.⁵⁶¹ He did not write a single word on the architectural characteristics of either the museum or the library, which have innovative interior designs. His comments illustrate the fact that he was not familiar with the open shelf system and the habit of scanning the books on the shelves. He repeatedly underlines the public interest in books and reading as leisure time activity contrasting this behavior with the frequenters of a *kahvehane* in Istanbul who, in his perspective, mostly waste their time without any learning activity, unlike the crowd in the British libraries and bookstore.⁵⁶²

Ten years later, Hayrullah Efendi filled his guidebook with quantitative data about the schools, museums and libraries of each city he visited, with limited experiential and spatial information. He describes small cities like Trieste, Bruno or Arras through their number of schools, museums, libraries and theatres along with demographic information, in a similar way to Giana.⁵⁶³ He specifically expresses his belief in the prominence of these institutions as constitutive elements of a modern city -almost the *sine qua non*- next to the historic center shaped around the church. Other than such ideologically driven expressions, Hayrullah Efendi was almost oblivious to the museums, ancient history or archeological sites except for the most prominent examples in the capitals. His description of Piraeus is emblematic of his limited interest: "There is nothing special in Piraeus, but Athens, as a result of being one of the old cities, is very proud of its ruins."⁵⁶⁴ In another instance, he devotes only three lines to Pompei, one of which is a cursory closure sentence addressing the similarity of Egyptian landscape to the Italian geography.

Hayrullah Efendi lists popular museums in Paris, London and Vienna, which he describes as the 'house to preserve and memorize'. In these museums, the only exhibits he found worthy of mention were the pieces related to Ottoman society like the gifts of the sultans. The royal museums of Vienna, especially the Belvedere Museum, dazzled Hayrullah Efendi with its ornate staircases, elegant furniture and sizeable sculptures.⁵⁶⁵ The main reason for his adoration

⁵⁶⁰ *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 97.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 72-73.

⁵⁶² The traveler also highlights that there are unions or club-like places for different communities in London which is totally unknown in Ottoman society.

⁵⁶³ Hayrullah Efendi, 179.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 33.

was, however, not about the style, artistic merits of the building or the exhibits but rather the technical capacity of Austrian artists and the institutional discipline to design, build and run such an extensive institution flawlessly. Within this focus on practical and organizational aspects, he also relates the success and glory of European schools, libraries and museums to institutional discipline -French being the best of all. He visits the French Academy and explains the departments in the industrial (applied) and fine arts as painting, sculpture, architecture, vignette and mosaics -which is actually the model of Imperial School of Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise*) in Istanbul.⁵⁶⁶ Further, under the title “*Paris’te olan asar-ı atika ve tabiiyyat müzeleri*” [The Art and Natural History Museums in Paris] Hayrullah Efendi covers his five hours visit to Louvre Museum. The objet d’art and Egyptian antiques grabbed his utmost attention, and he rightfully assumes that France has probably more Egyptian artwork than Egypt, yet he did not relate this to colonial strategies or political power. Hayrullah Efendi also writes about several Parisian museums very briefly with such sentences as “I am impressed by the Gothic architecture of Cluny Museum that create lofty atmosphere inside and striking facade articulations outside”; or “in Muse d’Artillerie (later Musée de l’Armée) the sequential longitudinal exhibition halls are interesting”.⁵⁶⁷

Instead of expressing his own impressions, Hayrullah Efendi applied to his son’s -Abdülhalik Nasuhi- letters with broader comments on museum buildings and exhibits -particularly sculptures of human and animal figures in different materials including various stones, metal and wood.⁵⁶⁸ What is significant in Abdülhalik Nasuhi’s letter is his emphasis on the art works in the urban environment and innovations in the materials and techniques of casting or carving.⁵⁶⁹ In a rather impressed tone, he describes the urban setting as full of monumental buildings, fountains and sculptures, almost as an enchanted epic environment evoking Piranesi’s depiction of the ruins of ancient Rome.⁵⁷⁰ Another issue is that, similar to the author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* and his father, Nasuhi underlines that the private clubs and unions are the key institutions for education in Italian culture.⁵⁷¹

566 He also writes a section entitled as “*Cemiyet-i ilmiye ve mektabi-i umumiye*” (Union of Science and Public Schools) and touches upon the topics of public and private education, the French university system and its impact on production in various fields. For him, an amalgam of public and private institutions such as unions, primary schools, universities and applied art faculties is a necessity to meet industrial improvements. Hayrullah Efendi, 116. On the establishment of see Ürekli, Fatma. “Sanayi-I Nefise Mektebi'nin Kuruluşu Ve Türk Eğitim Tarihindeki Yeri”, PhD. Diss., İstanbul Uni, 1997.

567 Hayrullah Efendi, 123- 124.

568 He curiously did not mention the 1862 London International Exhibition although the main building was one of the main attractions in the city due to its enormous, light steel structure. Besides, the exhibition coincided with the opening of a store named “Turkish and Oriental Museum” in London which was established by the Armenian entrepreneurs Christopher (Hatchi) Oscanyan and Serovpe Aznavour from Istanbul.

569 Ibid., 78.

570 For an example of such description see Sadullah Paşa, *Berlinden Mektuplar*, 72-73.

571 It is significant to also note Hüseyin Hulki who was a medical doctor and educator who traveled to Berlin in 1889 to conduct a research. He is the only traveler who observed German medical institutions, university and operation houses. Most importantly, as a member of *Cemiyet-i Tibbi Osmani* -an active private union specialized in medicine- Hulki indicates that holistic attention is required to the significance of dilettantism and formal utilitarianism for innovation and accumulation of scientific knowledge. While almost all second group travelers were surprised by the unions as educational facilities, he was clear about the critical role these groups played both in German and Ottoman culture.

From the second group travelers, Sadullah Paşa's ideas on education and exhibition are critical as his model was followed by most third group travelers. Yet Sadullah Paşa's most intriguing comment was not from his own travel notes. In his travelogue Midhat refers to his conversation with Sadullah Paşa when they met in Vienna about what to deduce from their observations of European built environment. He personifies Sadullah Paşa saying:

When it comes to the European material progress, not only the buildings of the city, the regular streets and the civilized lifestyles should be considered. Every nation has captured and fortified its own institutional and industrial history and historical artworks with such beautiful and perfect collections in libraries, museums and public sculpture. So much so that science and literature and history are reified three-dimensionally, giving existence to the matter. The progress of in those materials are almost non-existent in our lands. We have to do everything again.⁵⁷²

His stress on libraries and museums as the repository and reification of history is an indication of the changing understanding and modalities of modernization as well as an understanding of heritage. He clearly asserts that technical progress is based not only on grand buildings, but also on the detailed catalogues of libraries and rich collections. Following him, Midhat warns future travelers to be awake to the unique expressions of history and heritage in European museums, libraries and schools. He was impressed how history was brought back to the urban life by the diverse physical embodiments of past. In fact, when analyzed closely, Sadullah Paşa's travel notes also suggest paying attention to the artistic expressions and authentic and historical deeds of different European countries in addition to the 'new architecture' in the European cities. For instance, in his notes on the 1878 Paris Exposition, Sadullah Paşa highlights how outdoor and indoor sculptures attract -even compel- public attention to prominent political figures and complains about the scarcity of Ottoman sculptors.⁵⁷³ Also, in his earlier account of Charlottenburg Palace in Berlin, he puts an emphasis on the dexterity of the sculptor (*sengtraş*) who, according to him, gives the beauty to the garden and building.⁵⁷⁴

The third group of accounts witness several changes in descriptive style. Firstly, new terminology was used to describe architectural features such as: antique Greek style architecture (*Yunan tarz-ı kadim mimarisi*), eclectic style (*tarz-ı mahlut*), eclectic style named as Rococo in terms of architectural style (*fenn-i mimarice Rokoko denilen tarz-ı mahlut*), statue (*statü*), the old and new city (*şehir-i kadim, şehir-i cedid*), attached buildings (*mülasık/muttasıl*), cascaded, attached buildings (*müteselsil*). Further, the geometric descriptions were detailed, with stress on orthogonal shapes: triangle (*müselles*), rectangular (*müstatil*), square (*murabba*), semicircle (*nim daire*), circular (*müdevver*). Finally, in addition to guidebook information and dimensions of buildings, libraries and museums were described as the strongest visual and scientific faculties of the European nations, of which the Ottoman Empire was in immediate need. The representation and definition of each object as a religious or an ancient monument on the walls of the museums first surprised Ottoman travelers, parallel to Mustafa Sami's surprise about 'antiques', yet they started to appreciate the systematization.

The process of heritage definition, excavation and the display of archeological remnants became highly contested in Istanbul after Osman Hamdi's unprecedented efforts displaying the historiography of Ottoman architectural traditions in 1873 Vienna Exhibition and his

572 Midhat, 1000-1001.

573 Sadullah Paşa, "1878 Paris Ekspozisyonu-Londra", 292.

574 Ibid., 290.

efforts to establish the Imperial Museum after 1881.⁵⁷⁵ Not surprisingly, the magnitude of imperial patronage arose as a theme in the third group of travelogues, yet travelers did not comment on Topkapı Palace or other 19th century palaces on the shores of Istanbul as a repository of Ottoman cultural artefacts or as royal hosts of art collections. Concurrently, from the very first issue of *Servet-i Fünün* published in 1891, *Asar-ı Atika* was both a theme and an article series that Ahmet İhsan and other authors contributed to regularly, along with descriptive texts on museums as an architectural typology with examples like the Louvre museum.⁵⁷⁶ In fact, starting from the 1870s in journals like *Hamiyet* and *Malumat*, and after the turn of the century in new journals like *Şehbal*, *Yeni Mecmua*, the issue of Ottoman antiquities with an emphasis on the power of historical artefacts in identity formation and education of public, was raised. There were certainly reciprocal relations between travelogues and Ottoman journal publications on this issue. In either group of publications, the architectural features and spatial qualities of the museums and schools, and the stylistic and aesthetic characteristics of the exhibits were not the prime concerns. As Svetlana Boym suggests ‘the past became heritage’ and museums made it tangible.⁵⁷⁷ With their limited time and even more limited curiosity about European history, travelers constantly encountered the reminders of the European past and its institutional representations in museums, around relics or in monuments in the street.

In Paris, Midhat provides short notes about the appearance and interior design of Institut de France Pharmaceutics School (*Fenn-i İspençiyeri Mektebi* in the account) and Lycée Saint-Louis that he saw by chance.⁵⁷⁸ He also notes multiple buildings of the University of Medicine as grand architectural works (*asar-ı cesime-i mimari*). Later, he started to plan to enter faculties of the University of Vienna and Geneva. He was amazed by the furnishing of the classrooms and the organization of the amphitheater seats in all the lecture halls. In Berlin, Midhat describes the Bauakademi noting, “[t]he building called The School of Architecture, on the other hand, is a four-story brick building with quadrangular sides on the corner of bridge, and its construction was completed in 1834. Currently, this place is used as an imperial school.”⁵⁷⁹ Further, in his first encounter with a library building, Midhat introduces the meaning of the word ‘library’ as ‘the scientific dissection museum’ (*ilm-i teşrih müzesi*). In this description, ‘dissection’ attains a broader meaning than medical examination including scientific analysis, probing and scrutinizing whereas with the word ‘museum’ Midhat addresses the books as a display of knowledge and the intellectual accumulation of the nations. Library building, in that sense, means not only a study room for academicians, scientists and

575 On the establishment of the Ottoman Imperial Museum there are numerous, yet mostly repetitive, studies. In addition to Nilay Özlü’s dissertation, I benefited from: Ar, Bilge. “Osmanlı Döneminde Aya İrini ve Yakın Çevresi”, PhD. Diss., ITU, 2013; Eldem, Edhem. in M. Farhad and S. Rettig, (Eds.), *The Art of the Qur’an: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts*, Washington, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2016, 118-139; Şahin, Mehmet. *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Müzecilik 1846-1938*, Hacettepe Uni., 2019; Öngören, Pelin G. “Displaying Culture Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic”, PhD. Diss., METU, 2012.; Shaw, Wadny. *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*, University of California Press, 2003. The transformation of Topkapı Palace from an imperial household into a museum is telling about official Ottoman and also public interest (and lack thereof) in imperial artefacts and exhibitions.

576 For the index of articles specifically on archeological sites: M. Nuhoglu, 655-657.

577 Boym, 14.

578 Midhat, 678.

579 Ibid., 445.

researchers but the combination of showcase and laboratory, both of which are significant tools for progress and communitarianism. Except for these general points, Midhat recounts endless cycles of commentary and praise for the techniques of classifying all the historic information to establish a library.

Midhat generally recaps his observation in and around the museums with critiques about the lack of monuments in Istanbul and the potential of Ottoman heritage if its physical manifestations are defined, classified and displayed systematically. He also collected small objects as keepsakes including cigarette packages and bills with the plan of designing “a mini museum in the shape of a glass cabinet in Istanbul.”⁵⁸⁰ In fact, Midhat was most impressed by the authenticity of the museums in smaller towns within local architectural buildings and featuring ethnographic items rather than the national museums in royal edifices in Paris or Vienna. In Berlin and Stockholm, for instance, he admired the fact that several mundane-looking historical buildings were regained and refashioned as beneficial instruments for forging local identity which stand as constant reminders of the past. Moreover, after visiting the Nordic Museum (*Şimal müzesi*), the folkloric representations with household appliances conjure up a picture of an Ottoman ethnographic museum in Midhat’s mind. He thought that it would be perfect to display ethno-religious diversity under Ottoman rule via exhibits featuring all communities and nations (*milel ve akvam*) in their domestic environments.⁵⁸¹ With vivid enthusiasm he wrote at length about the potentials of establishing an ethnography and folklore museum which would encapsulate and celebrate the sartorial, religious and daily life of the different ethno-religious Ottoman communities in the setting of their houses. The idea of an Ottoman Ethnography Museum turned into a critical focus for Midhat, where authentic Ottoman residential culture could be represented and also could help to teach the public and governors about the material culture of an array of communities in Ottoman lands. The connection between civic pride and the education of the public was the focal point of his notes -albeit in a dispersed fashion. Next to his ideological motivations, Midhat meticulously elaborates on the image of the museum in his mind, including more than two pages listing the house furniture, dining settings and other details that could be included. As discussed earlier, Midhat had high regard for the preservation of Ottoman wooden houses in disfavor of apartments; thus, if changes were indispensable, he thinks, museums should keep traditional lifestyle and domestic practices alive.

Following such a moving moment, Midhat paid more attention to architectural culture in Stockholm and Oslo although he was not well-informed about northern European cities. In fact, the National Museum in Stockholm and the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo are the subject of Midhat’s most lavish descriptions. He finds the buildings elegant and finds the exhibits deserving of praise. His comments turned to be exceptionally positive, so much so that he started to think that Stockholm could be ‘the’ model for Ottoman cities. Midhat was most amazed by the fact that, in the city, traditional and modern elements had equal share in the streets, museums and libraries; the folkloric musical pieces or spatial compositions of traditional Nordic houses were admirably represented as refined elements of Scandinavian culture next to the innovative factories.⁵⁸² As a result, Midhat could relate himself to the Scandinavian people and cities more than to the anonymous crowd in Paris and London, even though he took the road from the Ottoman capital with a similar crowd of Western European

580 Midhat, 116.

581 Ibid., 225-256.

582 Ibid.

capitals. He felt that in major urban centers the historical values were not easily identifiable, which he felt was crucial to make sense of all the new inputs. Nevertheless, in Paris, Midhat was again baffled when he learned of the tedious archiving process at *Bibliothèque Nationale*. He was truly astounded by the idea and techniques for recording, documenting, systematizing, and classifying all the materials from the French imperial past. For him, the library meant a showcase of national pride with less stress on its function as a space of knowledge production.⁵⁸³ He did not dwell on the architecture; the metal columns and impressive vaults of the building went unnoticed, while he almost obsessively writes about the capacity of the library as the largest repository of the books in the world.

In most countries İhsan typically gives touristic and practical information about visiting the schools, libraries and museums. In Marseilles, he visited *Palais Longchamp* which he finds the most perfect edifice in the city. Inside the museum, however, the fine arts and natural sciences exhibits did not impress İhsan as much. The curious visitors, people making copies of the paintings grabbed his attention; in general, the engagement of the public with the artworks, artefacts and scientific exhibits was more noteworthy. Later, in Paris, İhsan adds universities into his itinerary since he had friends who knew the Parisian institutions, with first-hand experiences including a tour with friends in *The School of Law and Engineering (Ecole Centrale)*. İhsan was not particularly moved by the university buildings except for the ‘circular seating’ of spacious classrooms, like Mehmet Rauf and Midhat. The amphitheater-style seating arrangement seems efficient to İhsan acoustically and visually, which he probably had not experienced before.

Whether in Paris or Trieste, İhsan’s attention was mainly bestowed upon printing technologies thus he selected the exhibitions to visit accordingly. In order to visit the French National Press, the Crypt of Pantheon and the Bourbon Palace, he even bothered to obtain a special permission in advance. Nevertheless, İhsan writes, even though he enjoyed *Bibliothèque Nationale*, in Paris he enjoyed most the Grévin Museum (the wax museum) and Pere Lachaise Cemetery with the tombs of eminent figures. The touristic allure of Grévin Museum and his possible acquaintance with wax museums due to the display of janissary (member of the elite infantry units working as Ottoman Sultan's household troops) garments on mannequins as a part of the *Magazine of Historic Weapons (Mecma-i Esliha-i Atika)* in *Elbise Ambarı* in Sultanahmet may have been factors in his enjoyment.⁵⁸⁴ Still, İhsan almost mechanically adds short notes on the lavish interior articulation, especially the staircase design, floor material and objet d'art in each Parisian museum.⁵⁸⁵ The catalogue guidebook information is determinative in those depictions as his repertoire and vocabulary is limited, which he repeatedly reminds his readers.

İhsan’s description of Louvre Museum is a typical instance of his noncommittal look at the ‘scripted sites’.⁵⁸⁶ Since he could gather both visual and literary information, he refers to descriptive texts in the museum brochure and Baedeker guidebooks as well as the large number of illustrations he added to his travelogue. In fact, İhsan used the same illustrations and descriptive sentences in *Servet-i Fünun* about Louvre and many other prominent museums and with exactly the same methodology; he did not add his personal impressions.

583 Mithad, 638-643.

584 İhsan, 117. Shaw, 45-83.

585 The description of Madam Tuson Museum is a typical example of his approach: “[i]t was a pretty big building. After entering the door and buying the ticket we climbed to the remarkably adorned and double stairs.” İhsan, 204.

586 See Chapter 2, 96-110.

In the British Museum, however, İhsan spent more time and devoted around two pages to incorporating his observations.⁵⁸⁷ He first gives the basic historiography of the museum collection seeded from Hans Slone's personal collections. Exemplifying Slone's initiative, he underlines the role of personal leadership in the refinement of communities and intellectual progress. Beyond this, İhsan did not prefer to add historical information or the chronology of museum building itself, which has several phases. Rather, like an arid sketch plan, he names the floors, different halls and related catalogue information of the exhibits in each hall -actually in line with his paragraph on Louvre. İhsan basically lists the sections as Rome, Ancient Greece, Assyrian or Ancient Egypt and gives brief descriptions of the collections with phrases like 'numerous sculptures', 'great antiques', 'unique paintings and objects of curiosities'. There are several tedious paragraphs with names, lists of objects or places, which in total do not inform the travelogue reader in an efficient way.

Curiously, İhsan did not pay particular attention to Middle Eastern section in British Museum -he did not relate the exhibits to Islamic heritage or even mention that the Elgin Marbles are pieces of Ottoman archeological heritage. Indeed, İhsan overtly writes that he felt lost among the antiques; unless the visitor is well informed about archeology and mythology, İhsan thinks, reading and listening about each exhibit could just cause exhaustion. The explanatory texts and systematic classification of the artworks did not help him to navigate among the pieces, follow the geographical and chronological order or to make overall meaning out of the exhibits. Evidencing such challenges, İhsan writes in a rather aloof tone about French history, art and architectural heritage and quickly moves to the ship models in the National Navy section, the Ethnography (*alem-i ensab*) Gallery and the British Library. The technical equipment of the navy appealed to his personal curiosity and ethnography is an accessible field for him, from which he could learn more than the archeological remnants, by his own account. İhsan was unfamiliar with such a sizeable library, as much as he was familiar with ethnographic exhibitions of the Ottoman army and janissaries. Thus, he was truly astounded when he entered the British Library with no expectations or personal experiences from a counterpart building in Istanbul. The domed library with a great number of books, open shelves and several researchers attentively studying in the circular hall, impressed İhsan greatly.⁵⁸⁸ His impressions must be read against the background of the founding of an Ottoman museum and museum library by Osman Hamdi concurrent to his journey.

After his visit to such grandiose places in Paris and London, İhsan wrote even shorter and more distant texts about the rest of the museums he visited. If possible, he spends more time in the garden, green house or aquarium than observing different ancient artefacts. In Vienna, Brussels, Netherland and Swiss cities he merely notes the monuments of prominent figures around the museum buildings and refers to the images he included in the following pages. In Amsterdam, the dialog between his friend Neşet Efendi - his fellow traveler- on whether to enter the Rijk Museum well indicates İhsan's perspective: "Oh we have seen all the good museums! In that case, there is no more place worthy of visiting. Since the museums here will also consist of old artifacts and painting, they must be no different from what we've seen everywhere."⁵⁸⁹

587 İhsan, 212-213.

588 For a brief discussion on İhsan's perception of antiques in European museums in his travelogues see: Çelik, *About Antiquities: Politics of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire*, 115-118.

589 İhsan, 264. In the same tone regarding The Ariana and Rath Museum in Geneva he plainly writes "I watched the Rath and Aryana Museum across the gardens; I do not want to give you details on those." İhsan, 400.

The archeological pieces brought from Ottoman lands in the Berlin Altes Museum did not grab İhsan's attention as much as Rome. Rome holds a different place in İhsan's account as a city that is essentially an open archeology museum. On the Altes Museum he notes rather indifferently, "in one of the rooms there are several antiquities that were discovered and exported from Pergamon and Izmir."⁵⁹⁰ İhsan did not comment further, but rather immediately begins to give practical guidance for his readers about planning a visit to the museums in the crowded museum island of Berlin. To Rome, on the other hand, İhsan devotes five pages portraying the city center as an open-air museum.⁵⁹¹ Later, writing on Sistine Chapel, he openly notes that he is not an art expert so will recount Baedeker information about the history of the building and all the paintings. In general, İhsan was decidedly hesitant to write about museum buildings, paintings on the walls and archeological pieces; he also did not give contextual background of the excavations of archeological sites, history of ancient cities or stylistic features of the relevant pieces and relics. The capacity to collect a vast array of materials, to classify and plan displays with several sections in transparent boxes and with protective strategies grabbed his attention more. Nevertheless, it must be added that İhsan's articles in *Servet-i Fünun* concerning the Ottoman Imperial Museum and antiques (which I mentioned before) discusses the notion of a 'science of antiquities', in his words. The journal, and hence Ahmet İhsan, has a critical place, I believe, in the dissemination of the concept of museums, awareness of curatorial decisions and the general concept of cultural artifacts and heritage in the popular press.

With a less pedantic tone than Midhat and İhsan, Enisi writes rather generic impressions of the museums he visits. A typical sentence of his description of a museum reads as: "Oh, what a splendor! The ceiling of the hall, the walls, the stage and the specifics of the stage, the frame of the stage, carved, gilded, indescribable and indescribable work has emerged in accordance with the progress of the industry."⁵⁹² Enisi self-consciously claims that he won't duplicate the previous travelogues yet, I think, he was trapped by the same problem of having no background information or vocabulary to draw upon to move beyond the standard descriptions.⁵⁹³ He elucidates the ruins as 'skeletons of the previous nations', stresses the old and new artefacts as the natural and cultural products of the humanity and evaluates the castle, cascades, botanical and zoological gardens together. This is telling about his awareness and consciousness about the historical narrative and technological progresses.

Mağmumi's account proves to be notable in part due to his lengthy and unprecedented criticisms. In the first city he visits, Brussels, Mağmumi describes all the sections of the world fair and the Royal Museums of Fine Arts by comparing it to the Ottoman Imperial Museum in Istanbul.⁵⁹⁴ He also writes about four pages on the Palais du Cinquantenaire (*limonluk*), describing the outdoor exhibits and greenhouse of the grandiose site of the fair, comparing them to the Crystal Palace in London. Like his peers, Mağmumi was invested in the issue of the planning of the world fairs, the dimension of the buildings, the capacity of the museums and libraries and other organizational aspects. Statistical data were the main yardstick of Mağmumi's judgements, but he also evaluates the spatial qualities of the exhibition buildings. With these concerns, Mağmumi finds the Palais du Cinquantenaire better than the Crystal Palace as there are specifically allocated spaces for plant exhibitions, books and workshop areas as opposed to a

590 İhsan, 305.

591 Ibid., 409-414.

592 Enisi, 142.

593 Ibid., 26.

594 Mağmumi, 55.

giant holistic volume in Crystal Palace.⁵⁹⁵ On the other hand, while reading about the fair what impressed Mağmumi most was the role of The Union of Science in commissioning the construction of the greenhouse and the turning over their property for public use.⁵⁹⁶ He criticizes equivalent organizations in Ottoman Empire such as *Mekteb-i Tibbiye* for its use of the garden at Topkapı Palace without opening it to the public. Mağmumi thinks that Istanbulites were in need of exhibition spaces like botanical gardens and museums:

The only way to make the people taste scientific and technical taste is to offer this kind of institution to the public to visit. All over Europe, botanical and zoological gardens, fine art and archeological museums can be visited by all, free of charge in summer and winter. We have this need too, I think. Because our people do not even think about seeing, knowing and learning such things. It would be felicitous that the industrial establishment such as the Botanical Garden, and The Imperial Museum, the House of Weapons, the Imperial Mint and Feshane (the factory of fez production) are opened at least once a week, during the weekends, on Fridays and Sundays, and the public are allowed to visit for free.⁵⁹⁷

Mağmumi's comment explicitly manifests that visiting an exhibition is not a part of Ottoman social life even in late 1890s, despite the existence of the Ottoman Archeology and Military Museums. He constantly advocates elevating the curiosity of citizens to see and learn by opening gardens, museums and industrial establishments to the public. According to him, the museum, library and university buildings are precious not only through their functions but also by harboring exemplary environments to experience and trigger the desire to know more, to learn history in an enjoyable way. In fact, he approached to the artworks and edifices visited in his travels in exactly the same manner. Visiting the Sistine Chapel, where he saw many painters training and painting -copying certain frames, taking photos- Mağmumi thought that the synergy created by bookstores, churches and museums was a key to vulgarize the expertise and knowledge of art, history and science for the public.⁵⁹⁸ In a rather modern perspective, for him, the main criteria for the success of both education and exhibition building was their role in seeding the curiosity of the public.

In Mağmumi's perceptions of London, the significance of museums as a topic could be gauged by the number of letters he focused on specific exhibitions and museums. One of third of his narrative (five letters out of sixteen) were pertinent to exhibitions, libraries and museums. He initiates his description of British Museum by describing the edifice itself, its extensive ancient relics, and the exhibition strategies of different sections in a palpable manner. He also recounts the history of the founding of the institution, which was initiated from the private collection of a group of medical doctors almost two centuries before. Mağmumi was amazed that it was transformed into the repository of the nation from a personal archive. Upon wandering around the Exhibition Road, which included multiple thematic museums such as the School of Music -some of which were temporary and some were permanent, he commends the British state for incorporating a variety of materials, from sculptures to machines to giant locomotives, into the display in a handful of galleries such as the Machinery Models Room (*Makine Modelhanesi*),

595 On public life and world fairs: Mağmumi, 24-26.

596 Ibid., 31. It is important to note that in Istanbul the Union of Science (*Cemiyet-i İlmiye*) was established in 1861, yet travelers continued to give European unions as an example of rare and alternative education systems that were not efficient enough in Turkey.

597 Mağmumi, 33. I briefly refer to this paragraph in relation to park therein in page 193.

598 Ibid., 273.

Gallery of Pisciculture (*Pisikültür Galleri*) and Natural History Museum (*Tarih-i Tabii Numunehanesi*). Still, the description of the architectural features of museums is laconic in Mağmumi's narrative. The portrayal of Imperial Institute in Exhibition Road, South Kensington reads: "Its facade is 180 meters and covers a ten thousand meters long rectangular plot. It was built entirely of white stone and in accordance with the Indian architectural style. The building was decorated with the 85-meter-long four-cornered towers in the middle and the other two shorter towers added to the two corners that increase its magnificence."⁵⁹⁹ More than his impressions about the buildings and artefacts, Mağmumi advises Ottomans to follow the cultural refinement of British society in the reading rooms where science and art have similarly prestigious shares, noting that there are sculptures of prominent figures among the shelves and ancient manuscripts including a Quran. He also underlines the loan system, the classification of the books and the codification system in British Library, which creates a giant working environment. On the spatial qualities of the Reading Room, Mağmumi writes that the efficiency of the space allocation, the functional seating attached to the tables and their curvilinear arrangement which prevents shadow also deserve praise. He interestingly did not glamorize the iconic dome roof which is not less impressive than Pantheon.⁶⁰⁰

Further, Mağmumi touches upon the Elgin Marbles during his tour in British Museum, unlike Ahmet İhsan. He covers the story of their transfer from Athens to London with no particular comment or criticism to Lord Elgin. Later, in the Asian section, Mağmumi writes in a bitter tone about the tile collection from Bursa:

During my trip to ancient Bursa, the Green Tomb of Çelebi Sultan Mehmet Han - which was decorated externally and internally with exquisite tile plates- I saw that one of the walls was dismantled, partially exposed and covered with ordinary tiles. Those tiles have now become the most valuable capital of British and French museums.⁶⁰¹

He then abruptly passed on to the ethnographic exhibitions, collections of plaster models of native people with local garments and weapons and wares from different parts of the world from different time periods. Regarding "The Section of Colonies" and "Indian Museum" he gives almost two pages-long information about India without any critique of colonialism or any other political comments.

After visiting the technological wonders of Brussels's botanical garden and several neo-classical museums in London, Rome was not honored by Mağmumi; he rather describes the ruins in a dismissive tone: "It looks like a gray tent set in the middle of a cemetery", as with the descriptions of the second group travelers.⁶⁰² Yet Mağmumi adds intriguing observations while touring Colosseum. He describes in detail the typical characteristics of the Egyptian and Roman monuments which, according to him, Italian architects inherited and combined in a creative manner.⁶⁰³ Mağmumi attentively compares the giant scale of the Egyptian pyramids and the sphinx, which have no figurative decorations and surface treatments, to the smaller scale Roman chapels, palaces and monuments decorated with mosaics and reliefs of living

599 Mağmumi, 137. This formula is, in fact, what was used by most of the third group travelers.

600 Ibid., 115.

601 Ibid. In fact, around a decade after his travels in Europe in 1909, Mağmumi wrote an account on Bursa during his investigative visit to the city about its health facilities entitled *Seyahat Hatıraları - Bursa ve Mülhakati*.

602 Ibid., 339.

603 Ibid., 305-306.

creatures. He figures that only in the Colosseum Roman and Egyptian architectural cultures are converged, with the grand scale of Egyptian buildings intertwined with the decorated surfaces and stylistic appearances of Roman palaces. Even though Mağmumi might have read this information in a Baedeker guidebook or other textual material, the inclusion of this information by Ottoman travelers was rare.

Another isolated account is Nesimi's discussion of education and exhibition buildings. He castigates the Ottoman madrasah system since, in his opinion, the cells in the courtyards of the mosques did not constitute enough space for modern education and there was a growing need for bigger edifices to function as universities and primary schools.⁶⁰⁴ Nesimi defines the cells in *külliyes* as a remaining Byzantine tradition and suggests necessary alterations like to omit the cells from the külliyes since accommodation is not needed in külliye context anymore. These comments manifest Nesimi's knowledge about the Byzantine heritage in the Ottoman architectural culture. He was neither ignorant about non-Muslim heritage nor blindly positive about everything historical and imperial. He openly criticizes the sciences (*ulum*) and engineering/technique (*fen*) that are taught in those Ottoman schools and suggests that industry, trade and production should be the focus of the new schools, which brought architecture as a profession into his agenda along with crafts and agricultural productions.⁶⁰⁵ His concerns were twofold: the architecture of the school buildings and education about architecture as an expertise. Nesimi elaborates on his criticism including concerns about the quality of building materials and construction techniques. He also praises artistic approaches that celebrate Ottoman traditional craftsmanship. I believe his approach is unique in terms of the discussion of the architectural aspects of educational reforms, along with Halil Halid's biography that was published in 1903.⁶⁰⁶ In a similar tone to Nesimi, Halid criticizes the dimensions of the madrasah cells as an inadequate -even unhealthy- spaces for the students. He notes the dark, humid, airless and comfortless arrangement of the madrasahs and the need for educational reforms. Halid complains about the scarcity of modern institutional buildings with proper air conditioning, furniture and spatial arrangements. Such comments on the spatial qualities of schools are similar to Nesimi's critique of Ottoman houses which they both saw as without the comfort. As intellectuals, both considered the house as a critical site that supports (or detracts from) the creation of intellectual output. For both travelers, the Ottoman house was an active impediment to intellectual work.⁶⁰⁷

Towards the end of his account, under the title "*Sanat ve Maarif*" [Art and Education], Nesimi provides further bullet points for the needed reforms for education in art and architecture. He notably writes:

604 Nesimi, 137.

605 Nesimi addresses the unhealthy employment system in Ottoman society. He criticizes that there are several Ottoman citizens without even silk farming education or any other kind of training who have been given to work in construction of railways or in building sector. He thinks that successful and efficient production is not possible with such disqualified workers in the absence of general education and specialization.

606 Halid vividly depicts the spatial qualities of the cells in *külliyes* and the operational system of medrese in a negative tone: "In conclusion, the administrative was helpless in collecting the necessary money for repairs. There is a courtyard in the middle of the madrasah buildings, which are mostly square. They are usually single story, rarely double story. They do not have very sanitary conditions and are not properly ventilated." Halid, 54.

607 Nesimi, 135.

Due to these difficulties, until forty and fifty years ago, science and technology in the Ottoman society were within a boundary of technique and fiqh, poetry and epitaph - the people who did this were the jurists, officials and theologians, and a number of poets and literary groups – not the physicians, engineers. The scientists as an architect, a sculptor, a painter was found very rarely. The profits and superiority gained by these techniques, remained in the collections of non-Muslims who studied science and art and who immigrated to foreign lands.⁶⁰⁸

Nesimi then puts forward that establishing an Ottoman library as a public amenity is a necessity. He underlines that this Ottoman public library would bring together all the books written in different languages spoken in Ottoman lands. For him it is very critical for the language reform and intellectual production of Ottoman intellectuals. Nesimi thinks the Muslim and non-Muslim communities could be closer to each other in spaces like libraries and universities and, as a result, progressive non-Muslims would not have to leave their country to encounter current European developments in their field of expertise or research.⁶⁰⁹

As a final note, Nesimi's observations in the Louvre Museum must be added here, which are evocative of the postcolonial critiques of the English and French governments in bringing artefacts from the 'Orient' into their museums. Unlike other travelers, Nesimi was not happy to see objects from Egypt or Africa in a French museum, which he exposes as:

This is a royal palace filled with ancient artifacts brought from Arab and Iran, Turkistan and Greece, and pictures and paintings of Asuri and Babylonians, Old Persians, and Egyptian mummies and tomb inscriptions. In addition, I was saddened to see the cannons, banners and golden garments that Bonaparte bought from Africa and Egyptians and even from the Islamic lands of Andalusia, were being displayed in the glass boxes in this section.⁶¹⁰

The contradictions of ownership, transfer and display techniques, including 2D and 3D representations (*mücessem*, *müressem*), glass boxes and systematic textual descriptions grabbed Nesimi's attention, on which he writes briefly but poignantly. After his observations in European schools and museums, Nesimi uses the concepts of 'workmanship and artisanship' as the main forces that could pull the Ottoman Empire from its bad situation. In this sense, his account is much more measured than the rest of the third group accounts in both criticizing and applauding the Ottoman Empire and also Europe.⁶¹¹

Selim Sırrı's account focuses specifically on the Swedish education system and schools. From the outset, Sırrı was impressed by the quantity and order of objects both in the streets, schools and museums in the capital of Sweden. The books in the 'General Library', the number of researchers (particularly female researchers), the National Museum filled with 900 statues,

608 Nesimi, 136.

609 Ibid., 148.

610 Ibid., 109-111.

611 Certainly, there are multiple, arid portrayal of museums in Nesimi's account. For instance, he describes the Paris Royal Observatory as: "Built of nothing but stone, without the use of iron or wood. It is built in the shape of hexagon with parallel roofs, positioned at right angles to each other, and its four sides face the four cardinal points, vis. East, west, north and south. At the south end, there are two octagonal towers; at the north end, there is a third one, which is square-shaped and serves as the entrance gate to the Observatory." Ibid., 265.

487 plaster products, 1545 paintings, 1664 different antique objet d'art (vases and tiles) convinced Selim Sırrı that Stockholm is as advanced and civilized as Paris and London.⁶¹² Still, he admits that he cannot find the glory of Parisian museums in Stockholm. Yet Selim Sırrı writes that the power of museums in northern countries is unique in enhancing the curiosity about crafts, local arts and productions, in line with Nesimi and Mağmumi's discussion of the topic.⁶¹³ In all the museums and schools, local industry was an integral part of the exhibitions; from his perspective libraries and museums were actually more revered than the churches and statues.

Selim Sırrı attended the opening ceremony of a furniture and decorative elements exhibition, about which he recounts the information he learned from his friends.⁶¹⁴ In the first version of the exhibition, he writes, French, German and Italian products were displayed upon the establishment of schools that educate artists in local Swedish artistic culture and national style the second exhibition focused on local products designed by local artists. Selim Sırrı learns that the official and public interest in art were reciprocally enhanced and as a result each student learned to produce in one of the artistic branches.

Upon observing the authentic Swedish products in national styles, Selim Sırrı realized that Ottoman art could thrive only if Ottoman artists invest in producing authentic Ottoman artworks. The national style of art became a theme in his account as he criticizes the imitation of European styles by the Ottomans. In line with Nesimi, Selim Sırrı observes that after the difficult period of transformation, where it was challenging to keep up with industrialization and resist the importation of goods, the education in Swedish vocational schools resulted in the reviving Swedish national products.⁶¹⁵ He certainly thinks that Ottomans should find links between the past and the present and that they should look for ways to reinvigorate their authentic cultural products, both for economic and cultural ends. (fig. 4.7)



612 Selim Sırrı, 37.

613 Selim Sırrı, *İsveç Hatıraları-4: Kütüphane-i Umumi-Milli Müze-Telefon*, Şehbâl, No: 9, 1 Ağustos 1325 [1908], 178-179.

614 Selim Sırrı, *İsveç Hatıraları-2*, Şehbâl, No: 7, 1325 [1908], 126.

615 Selim Sırrı, *İsveç Hatıraları-13: İsveçte Sanayi-i Milliye Nasıl Terakki Etmiş?*, Şehbâl, No: 21, 1326 [1909], 320-321.



Fig. 4.7 The detailed images about the Wallinska School of Girls in Stockholm, first published in *Şehbal 18*, and later in *Bizce Meçhul Hayatlar*. 79 (top right), 80 (top left), 72 (bottom).

4.5 Architecture of Travel: Infrastructures, Stations and Hotels

Similar to civic buildings, museums and educational structures, the architecture of travel, most importantly train stations and hotels, became a visible form of the modern life in the 19th century. According to Barry Bergdoll, “unprecedented as building types, train stations challenged architects aiming to design buildings that could communicate function and fulfil monumental expectations.”⁶¹⁶ This two-poled aim is achieved by a shared formula of pioneer engineering methods: wide spans and monospaces with uninterrupted visibility that is generally covered with an eclectic or neo-classical façade. Located in strategic positions in the cities and with neo-classical references, stations work as the city gates to modern cities -symbolically and physically. Early examples like St Pancras (1868) in London well reflects the dramatic contrast of modern metal structure and historicist styling in decoration and façade details; the neo-gothic front façade out of stone and a giant arc out of wrought iron framework of lattice. On the other side, the very clear-cut and practical requirements result in rational spatial layouts for the flow vehicles, freights and passengers. Likewise, the other architectural typology of travel - hotels- has a mediating role for both travelers and the locale. The hotel buildings sought to appeal to touristic rapture, which stirs an exotic and authentic feeling. It generally results in exoticized, historicist or eclectic styling in the facades and interior decoration to live up to touristic excitement. They also set high standards for lucrative enterprises, a quality service sector and modernized urban interiors and thus sought to capture attention of ‘itinerant gaze’ of middle-class travelers. Principally, commercial activities and storage were attached to the areas for social activities on entrance and basement floors of the hotels, with rooms on the upper floors that is similar to European hotels.

Directly related to these functional qualities, for the Ottoman travelers, transportation infrastructure (bridges, railways, tunnels, canals), stations and hotels are early on the list to visit. From the outset they were deemed as innovative and technical European wonders that should be appropriated by the Ottomans. Before the 1870s, for the Ottoman traveler, stations were

616 Bergdoll, Barry. *European Architecture 1750-1890*, Oxford Uni. Press, 2000, 208.

simply alien structures both as a building typology and an architectural form.⁶¹⁷ Only after 1876 did intense architectural and engineering activities convey new modern infrastructure and railway stations to Istanbul. The earliest project Abdülhamid II commissioned in the capital was the new Haliç Bridge built in 1878. Conversely, hotels were already being built in Istanbul even during the period of first group travelers. From the second quarter of the 19th century onwards, along with trade and cultural activities, touristic and hostelry establishments were incorporated in the urban and architectural culture of Pera. The earliest purpose-designed hotel, Hôtel d'Angleterre (later Hotel Logotheti and Hotel Royal) was built by Levant James Missirie⁶¹⁸ Another sign of the vitality of the sector in the first part of the century was the review of the Hotel Ambassadeur as a quality establishment in 1855 in *Journal de Constantinople*. Accordingly, second and third group travelers were knowledgeable about corvée, formal welcoming services as well as the modern hospitality architecture; they often referred to their past experiences in hotels of Istanbul. Yet, since travelers assumed that it was not common for their readers, they principally gave the dictionary meaning of 'hotel'. Samipaşazade and Nesimi use the word *misafirhane* (lit. guesthouse) and Hayrullah Efendi prefers the term *menzilhane* (lit. inn). Travelers also use *khan* for buildings like the Grand Hotel Paris (*Büyük Han*), likening it to a conventional *khan* or a *caravanserai* typology with numerous rooms as was common in Anatolian cities. Parallel to these denominations, travelers' descriptions of the architectural qualities is inconsistent and highly sporadic; most include merely straightforward observations that are cut short by the excitement about boulevards on which the hotels are located.

In the first group of accounts, canopy structures in the harbors, the infrastructure of tunnels and bridges, as well as train cars are among the focal points that were described with minute detail. (fig. 4.8) In *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine* there are drawings of front views of three different bridge structures -one of which is on the water- and one section of an underground system passing through water. (fig. 4.9) The account also includes perspective drawings of the subway tunnels. (fig. 4.10)

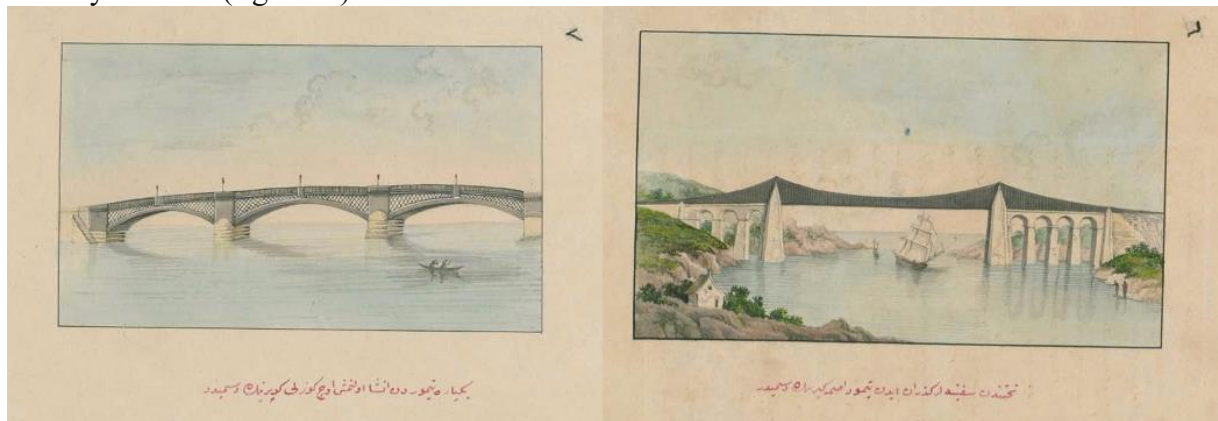


Fig. 4.8 *Yekpâre timurdan inşa olunmuş üç gözlü köprüünün resmidir.* [A cast iron bridge.]; *Tahtından sefineler güzerân iden timur asma köprüünün resmidir.* [A bridge under which steamboats pass by.], in *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*, 6-7.

617 The Alsancak Station designed in British gothic revivalist style in 1858 and Mudanya Station that was built as a customs house in 1849 in French neoclassical style might have been known by second group travelers, but none of them mentioned those structures or highlighted those European stations were novel architectural typologies.

618 Akın, Nur, Gülersoy, Çelik, Göksel, Alie and Kuneralp, Sinan. *Establishment and Development of Hotels in 19th Century in İstanbul*, I. Uluslararası Türk-İslam Bilim ve Teknoloji Tarihi Kongresi Bildirileri, İTÜ, İstanbul, c. III, 1981.

The dimensions, capacities and construction details of these underground systems are listed as if they were prepared to start the construction process. Further, the colorful and extensive visual illustrations include two horse carriages in two distinct contexts: one is drawn to represent a hotel building and the other depicts a barn-like area in a rural context with the pastoral additions of dog-drawn hand plough implements. (fig. 4.11) There are also two views of steam locomotives and a flying balloon, which are identical to the black-and-white drawings in the *İngiltere ve Fransa Sefaret veya Seyahatnamesi*. (see fig. 2.8 and 2.10) These two sets of frontal view locomotives and flying balloons are purely technical as opposed to the spontaneous illustrations of carriages in a specific context. In each account the technology and architecture of the modern transportation system was explained in the format of a technical manual.

Before passing to the second group accounts, the treatise written by Mustafa Sami in 1840, which I referred in Chapter 2 as the precedent of civilian Ottoman travelogues, must be added. In *Avrupa Risalesi*, Mustafa Sami describes hotels:

... Those who travel can go down to the houses called "hotels" in any city, town and village they wish according to their money and find peace and comfort in their own home. One can eat on silver plates with golden spoons; can sleep and rest with atlas quilts woven without glaze in rooms with small carpets, worth fifteen pouches, velvet chairs and sofas, chandelier and mirrors. So, one can find anything he wants in the places, we call them inn.⁶¹⁹

His definition emphasizes the interior quality of the hotels which is, as he notes, oftentimes better than an Ottoman bureaucrat's household's. Mustafa Sami did not add any description of train stations even though a station was built in London as early as in 1836, the same time as his passage through on his way to Paris.

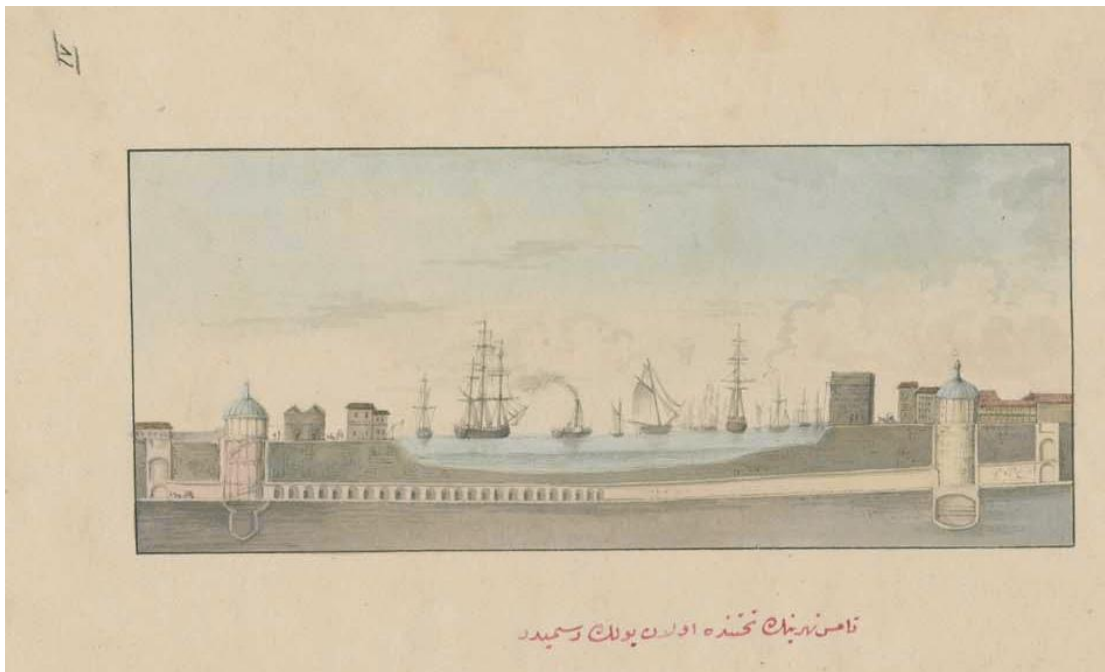


Fig. 4.9 *Tames Nehri'nin tahtında olan yolun resmidir.* [The tube under Thames], in *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*.

⁶¹⁹ Mustafa Sami, 51.

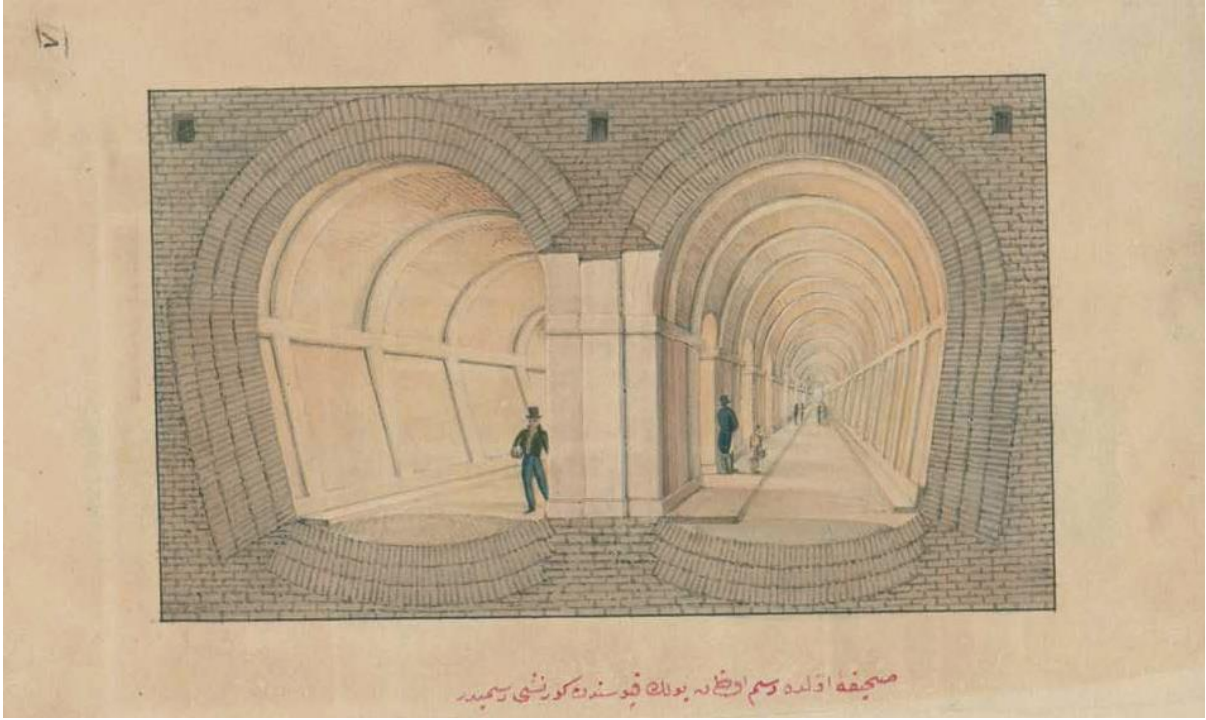


Fig. 4.10 *Sahife-i evvelde resmolunan yolun kapusundan görünüşü resmidir.* [The entrance of tube depicted in previous image], in *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*.



Fig. 4.11 *Esnâ-yı râhda kâin otel tabîr eyledikleri hanelerin ve delkans (dilkans?) arabalarının resmidir.* [The building on roads named as hotel and mail coaches] in *İngiltere Memalikiyle Londra Şehrine Seyahat*.

Ten years later, the second group of travelers embarked on their journeys and railway stations became the focal points of their accounts, characterized by a striking experiential quality rather than the technical details of previous accounts. Cognizant of the role of these stations and strictly following Baedeker guidebook, travelers briefly mention King's Cross (1852), Victoria (1860) and Canon Street Stations (1866) in London and Gare de Lyon (1849) and Gar du Nord (1864, later Gare de Amiens) in Paris. Marked by grand structures out of iron lattice that create long spans, railway stations were depicted almost like modern cathedrals where technological and cultural progress converge. They also write on hotels, yet in a practical manner, giving suggestions for future Ottoman travelers.

In the section “*Bir Yabancı'nın Paris'e Vusûlünde Edeceği Hareket*” [The Act of a Foreigner When He Arrives at Paris], Hayrullah Efendi lists several hotels that are of good quality including Pont-Sur, Hotel Brighton, Hotel de la Terrasse. He also gives lengthy information about prices, proper manners and etiquette while eating in the breakfast saloon, as well as how to interact with the callboys. More than the interior qualities, Hayrullah Efendi was amazed by the signage and façade qualities of hotels, which featured sumptuous ornamentation and lighting and exhibition window design similar to palaces and department stores, to his surprise.⁶²⁰ Throughout the epilogue of his account, Hayrullah Efendi adds sharp critiques about the situation of Ottoman touristic establishments, which are, according to him, rudimentary, even in Istanbul. In his addendum on Bursa, he writes that modern hotels could be built in Bursa to serve for spa and cultural tourism since the former Ottoman capital has great potential for both.⁶²¹

Around two decades later, Ebüzziya devotes an article series to a single hotel building in London entitled as: “*Paris'ten Londra'ya ve Otel Metropol*” [From Paris to London and Hotel Metropole]. The eight articles of the series range from four to eleven pages. From the onset, Ebüzziya evaluates hotels as urban spectacles more than transitional, lodging and service buildings. He initiates the series with the departure scene from the Gar de Amiens (also Gar du Nord) in Paris heading to Calais. Arriving at Victoria Station in London he takes a snapshot of the building at a busy day:

There is no hour of the day or night in it, whether a train has arrived, or a train has departed. A glass arch built with iron bars, sixty yards wide and two hundred and fifty yards long, constitutes this station. The interior is dark, covered with intense smoke coming out of the chimneys of the beautiful motifs even in the brightest time of the day, even at noon.⁶²²

His literary depictions evoke the illustrative portrayals of stations in *Servet-i Fünun*.⁶²³ Subsequently, Ebüzziya gives information about the Metropol Hotel building at a glance from the vehicle. He thinks that each hotel in London is ‘a building of splendor’ and suggests best and worst options according to his set of criteria: ‘popularity, excellence and perfection’.⁶²⁴ Ebüzziya highlights that the concept of hotel as an urban establishment is highly different than

620 Hayrullah Efendi, 136.

621 Ibid., 192-197.

622 Ebüzziya, 39.

623 Only Mağmumi writes a relatively negative comment on Gare du Nord. He praises the modern industrial technology of the structure yet could not resist to add that “the building is grand but deprived of ornamentation. Mağmumi, 29.

624 Ibid.

the services of ‘country hospitality’ (*taşra misafirperverliği*) depending on unprofessional and voluntary work which is common in Anatolian towns.⁶²⁵

Third group of travelers were astounded by the flow of people, freights and vehicles that are all supported by efficient mechanization in stations and hotels. Travelers’ belief in European progress and technological capability grew apace with first-hand experiences in stations working full force and in the elevators of the hotels climbing flawlessly up. In Paris, the Louvre Hotel, the Splendid Hotel, the Hotel de Crillon, the Grand Hotel, the Chevalier de Industrie, the Majestic Hotel and the Hotel Invalides are popular choices. The Hotel Central and the Hotel Bristol in Berlin, the Hotel Ambassador and the Hotel Imperial in Vienna, the Hotel Brighton in Brighton, the Hotel Nevail in Marseilles, the Hotel de la Gare in Genova, the Hotel Hermitage and the Hotel de Paris the Monte-Carlo in Monte Carlo, the Hotel Anglais in Nice and the Hotel Continental in Lyon were repeatedly mentioned by third group travelers. The conspicuous façade composition of eclectic hotel buildings in French coastal towns, casinos and sizable hotel restaurants with enticing appearances, and even cupolas with rounded corners were mentioned in great esteem. Within this mentality, the width of the elevators, the power of electrical lighting, the comfortable steps of the wide staircases were described with experiential and statistical data. As a fervent storyteller, Midhat conveys the feeling of comfort and joy of being in a fully-operating modern building. İhsan, on the other hand, was sensitive to issues of dwelling and domestic culture, thus his comments were more on the impacts of hotels on European family life. He thinks of hotels and apartment blocks as the same; for İhsan both are a typology of transitional space and ‘spaces of bachelors’ (*mesken-i bakir*). He uses rather dramatic language such as that in Parisian hotels “the garrets starting from the sky are so narrow that only a bedstead fits in them but they are cost sixty franks.”⁶²⁶ Still, he expresses constant surprise about the technical superiority of hotels with shops and crowded bookstores on the entrance floor. He admires the systematic order of the operations in the hotels even though he was skeptical about the potential impact of this architectural typology on domestic practices and architecture.

In fact, contemporaneous to third group travelers, Ottoman popular journals and newspapers were replete with photographs of bridges, railway lines and stations. The short articles with rich photographs were mostly on the Ottoman railways that connect Istanbul with Baghdad, passing through İzmit, Eskişehir, Ankara and Konya. (see fig. 1.10) The journals worked almost like a public outreach tool to explain the construction practices of the state. At the same time, American and European station buildings were praised, almost advertised, in journals like *Servet-i Fünun* with numerous dramatic illustrations. (fig. 4.12) In the travelogues, due to the lack of such patriotic sensitivity, the descriptions were much more practical, in line with the Baedeker editions.

625 Ebüzziya then provides descriptions of the different rooms in the hotel. Since his portrayal is based on interior with almost no attention to the urban, exterior or structural qualities, I will detail this issue later in this chapter under the title: “Itinerant Glance at Decoration, Furnishing and Ornaments”.

626 İhsan, 31.

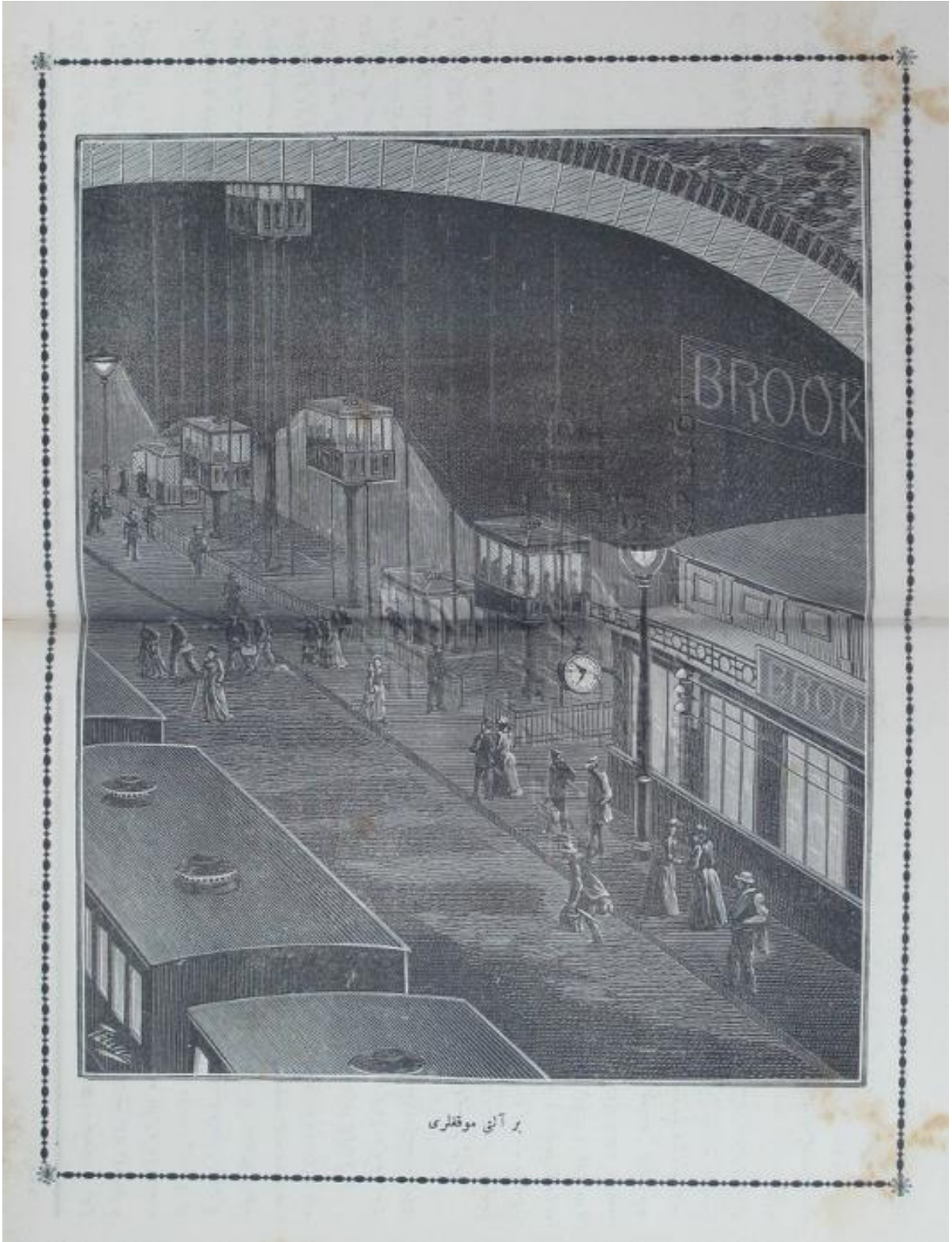


Fig. 4.12 *Yer altı Mevkileri* [The Underground Levels] in *Avrupa'da ne Gördüm* (1891), 224-225 and later in *Servet-i Fünun* 90, 215, (R.evvel, 1308 [November 1890]), 68.

4.6 Performative Arts Venues: Theatres and Opera Houses

Ottoman travelers were frequenters of theatre venues or other types of performances held in theatre venues like balls in Istanbul where they observed and performed the rules of etiquette required for playing, watching and discussing. In fact, the tradition of social gatherings and performative acts in public settings dates back to meetings in *kahvehanes*, barbers or streets of Istanbul in the 17th century. Shadow shows (especially *karagöz-hacivat*), improvisations and other, often mobile, performances created a constant spectacle in districts like Şehzadebaşı Direklerarası. Kafadar claims that this fashion had been increasing ever since the late 17th century and by the early 19th century European traditions had infused into the existing one.⁶²⁷ Starting from the reign of Selim III (r.1789-1807) European theatre literature and drama performances were recognized as a common cultural activity among the diplomatic officials in Istanbul. Soon after, the first ball was organized by the English Embassy and Mahmud II accepted to attend it officially. The Dolmabahçe (built in 1859) and Yıldız Theatres (built forty years later in 1889) are manifestations of the official recognition of theatre, which might have had an impact on the Ottoman public's approach to theatre as a form of leisure time activity.⁶²⁸

The first group travelers handle performative art venues as a part of educational institutions, with specific spatial and organizational requirements. The aesthetic, artistic and edification aspects were not detailed. Nevertheless, in the concurrent diplomatic report of Sadık Rıfat Paşa theatre buildings are highlighted as the culmination of cultural exchanges and sumptuous architectural productions. Towards the end of his short report, he describes the entertainment activities as a means to create delight and prevent the depravity of the public.⁶²⁹ In a similar tone, Tahtawi gives the basic definition of theatre: “among the entertainments we find gathering places they call theatre and spectacles.”⁶³⁰ He underlines that the gist of the most theatre plays in Parisian venues include a moral lesson, which would be the main focus of the third group travelogues.

After the 1860s, the new modes of artistic, performative and entertainment activities brought recognition to the theatre as a literary genre and as a building typology. For the travelers, theatre presents a great platform for visual and literary production through which ideas on urbanization, modernization or any kind of political ambition could be addressed. Besides, for majority of the travelers, theatre was a substantial part of their daily life, as either an author or part of the audience. Several of them, including Ebüzziya Tevfik, Sadullah Paşa, Midhat, Namık Kemal wrote, translated and published theatre plays (also ballets in the case of Midhat) and commentaries on plays. Thus, the second and third group travelers wrote their observations of European theatre venues within the motto ‘civilization via theatre’. Their comments on buildings were orchestrated to propagate modernization; theatres were imagined as enlightened places, symbolically and literarily, in which to study, perform and learn civility. According to

627 Kafadar, Cemal. “Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature”, *Studio Islamic* 69, Brill, (1989), 121-150.

628 In the first royal theatre in Dolmabahçe Palace, Naum Teatre company performed the first play. The following sultan, Abdüllaziz, did not pay attention to that venue and left it delapidated, which is generally related to his keen interest in music and disregard of theatre. Even so, Metin And indicates that during his reign many operas and operettas were performed in Istanbul and the support of the sultan was known by the public. And, Metin. *Tanzimat ve İstibdat Döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu*, Ankara, Mars Basımevi, 1972.

629 Sadık Rıfat Paşa, 467.

630 Tahtawi, 228.

the travelers, this sophisticated, elegant and refined form of artistic meeting could be an incubator of education when the content of the plays, the architecture of the venue and the etiquette of the occasion are properly formed.⁶³¹ Theatre receptions were already a topic in diplomatic reports of 18th century. Yirmisekiz Çelebi's depiction of Opéra National de Paris in 1721 was one of the determinants of the idioms on theatres in Ottoman travelogues. Çelebi used the term *lu'b-baz* (lit. playful) which was repeated by first and second group travelers. Later, terms like *tiyatrohane*, *ameliyyat-ı musikiye/musiki* (lit. operation room of music), *lûbiyathane* (lit. house of plays), *hayalhane* (lit. house of dreams) are formulated. 'Theatre' and 'opera house' are used interchangeably and what travelers generally meant was the opera performances. Not surprisingly, Palais Garnier in Paris, Royal National Theatre in London and Deutsches Theater in Berlin hold the greatest place in all groups of travelogues. Travelers also mentioned Theatre Chatelet, Variete, Odeon and Vaudeville in Paris and La Scala in Milan and several other 'boulevard theatres'. Rather than being seen as a touristic attraction, the majority of the travelers spent their evenings watching a performance at the theatre as a habitual leisure time activity; even though they could not watch a performance they visited the venues and wrote of their efficacious atmosphere.

Among the second group, the anonymous author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* writes that he devotes his single night in Malta to watching a play in the city. Later in London, in a more personalized tone, he compares the Royal National Theatre to his experiences in Beyazıt. For him, the striking characteristics of the venue are the level of lighting, its capacity and the changing décor that moves fast according to the scenes.⁶³² The luminous (*ruşen abad*) and ornamented/decorated (*müzeyyen abad*) European venues and foyer are emphatic, according to the traveler, and different than the theatres of Istanbul. Further, he associates the performative arts venues with places of leisure use like zoological gardens, and interestingly also the department stores in London. He defines all as the urban spectacle of the city; noting that one can spend two years without boredom even if he cannot watch theatre play.⁶³³

Similar to a typical guidebook, Hayrullah Efendi adds the location of the important venues, how to get there, the dress code and the popular plays in the European capitals. He also briefly mentions his experiences watching a theatre play in Rome and Vienna but does not dwell on the buildings as, for him, Paris is the place to write about theatres venues. On Paris, under the title "*Tiyatroların Beyanıdır*" [The Description of the Theatres] he gives encyclopedic information, grouping theatre buildings into three: grand opera-houses, mid-size halls for concerts and thirdly the boulevard theatres like the Concordia in Istanbul. In fact, during Hayrullah Efendi's journey, Palais Garnier was being built and with great expectations he visited the construction site and observed the model of the building. Later in Chatelet, Hayrullah Efendi watches a play and injects almost the whole story into his account -abruptly interrupting the guidebook narrative with a sixteen-page plot summary.⁶³⁴ He finishes by didactically describing the moral of the story and concludes that theatre plays are useful for everyone to

631 In his article "Terakki" [Progress] Namık Kemal overtly associates theatre as a fast and effective way to educate the public and spread an ideological message. There are six plays in his oeuvre and several articles that highlight the power of theatre saloons to reflect social realities and shape changes. His play "*Vatan yahut Silistre*" is an example of the anticipated impact on the society which thence he exiled. Yet, Namık Kemal does not include his perception of European theatres in his travel notes; his approach to the issue was exclusively ideological.

632 *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 19.

633 Ibid., 84-85.

634 Hayrullah Efendi, 141-160.

take a lesson, to become educated and edified.⁶³⁵

With multiple iterations, the third group travelers recounted their experiences in European theatre venues, detailing how the players and viewers enter the theatre saloon, behave in the queue, dress themselves and wander in the building as well as the stage design, loggia and foyer decorations. According to third group travelers, European theatres were an architectural and interior design feat as they are located on the best parcels in the cities, with magnitude, ornamentation and reputation (*mevkien, cesameten, ziyeten, şöhreten*). The first traveler of the group, Midhat, has the firm opinion that theatre is a significant ‘fine arts’ (*sanayi-i nefise*) and a place of authentic European culture – a place of true civility. ‘The real Europe’, for him, is found in theatre venues where the most favorable behaviors, manners and artistic culture are performed by the ‘distinguished people of the city’. Most importantly, he finds the opera audience to be the most exemplary crowd of European society and the apex of cultural refinement. Thus, starting from his detour to northern Europe, Midhat plans to watch a play in all European cities in order to encounter his European peers. In Copenhagen he watches *Aida* in the Grand Opera and compares it to the performance he saw in Istanbul, which he finds poor. Later, after visiting the Stockholm Opera Theatre and a small comedy hall similar to ‘café chantants in Beyoğlu’ in his words, Midhat is already convinced that most Ottoman theatre is inferior to the European examples and that the venues are unpalatable in Istanbul.⁶³⁶

In Paris, Midhat’s evaluations altered dramatically since he already had great knowledge of and sensitivity to Parisian theatres, so much so that he knows the plan, façade articulations, and seating capacity of the eminent venues like the Palais Garnier by heart. Yet, as in the case with the boulevards, Midhat is disappointed by his encounter with the Palais Garnier; the buildings do not meet with his expectations. Still, he circumambulates it to observe all facades from different positions and different angles to truly appreciate the building. Interestingly, though, Midhat did not enter and watch a play in Palais Garnier; he is content with guidebook information, which provides exhaustive data even on the management model of the theatre business. Later, in Germany, Midhat watches plays in the National Theatre in Munich and Berlin which increased his admiration of the interior design rationale used by the Germans to the highest level. The lofty interiors and colorful stage design in the Staatsoper in Berlin catered Midhat’s eye and mind. According to him, the most intriguing feature of European theatre buildings is the contrast between the allure of the interior designs and the unpretentious exterior articulations, by which he alludes to the neo-classical facades made out of light-colored stone. Additionally, Midhat writes critically that European banks and museums seem to be located at better spots than theatres in urban centers, and thus do not get the representation they deserve.⁶³⁷

Midhat also continually alerts his readers to the degenerative effects of cultural arenas including theatre venues. In his etiquette book he would, in fact, extend his criticisms to include the degeneration of French theatre culture, thus shattering the homogenized ideology of the edified

635 Ömer Faiz, the author of the civilian account of Abdüllaziz and his retinue’s journey in 1867 to Paris World Exposition, did not include any observations on architecture except for very brief ideological comments. On European theatre culture, he merely mentions that Abdüllaziz attended cultural activities during his journey including opera performances in Palais Garnier and Covent Garden and a ball in Royal National Theatre. Faiz recalls Dolmabahçe Theatre while watching the Parisian performance and specifically indicates that all the travelers must see “the night of Paris”; what he implies is not the bars and cafes but the theatres and opera houses.

636 Midhat, 230.

637 Ibid., 424-428.

European -which he created in his mind.⁶³⁸ After personal experiences during his journey, he starts to differentiate European urbanites with a certain level of class sensitivity and writes: “[T]hose who know Europe only through hotels, balls, public rabbit halls, or some inane theatres cannot see (these) distinguished people of the city.”⁶³⁹ In fact, even in his travelogue Midhat downgraded the rotundas, cinema theatres and other kinds of performance venues in Europe as he did not deem those to be tailor-made spaces in which to experience the proper way of urbanity and civility. Except for such ideological comments, Midhat did not write about the architectural features of the venues at length.

In line with Midhat, İhsan visits the main theatre buildings in all European cities. He visits the Palais de Crystal in Marseilles despite his limited time and underlines that the building is four times bigger than the Concorida in Istanbul even though they present similar plays.⁶⁴⁰ He also compared buildings between cities such as the Casino-Kursaal Oostende in Belgium with the Gewandhaus in Leipzig.⁶⁴¹ The eclectic and exotic appearance of the Casino-Kursaal with its ‘artsy decoration’ seems familiar and joyful to İhsan as opposed to the neo-classical frontal façade with a sizable pediment and rustic stone coverings of the smaller scale Gewandhaus. He defines Gewandhaus with deprecatory characterizations like “the interior of theatre is sackless and the building is bad.”⁶⁴²

On Paris İhsan formulates one of the subtitles as “*Eğlencelerden Tiyatro, Sirk ve Kahveler*” [Theatre, circus and cafes as the entertainments], even though he regards theatres as different from the other facilities. He defines the Palais Garnier, as ‘the place for literary activity’ (*ictimagah-ı edebi*), noting that it is not just a place for entertaining like circuses and cafes.⁶⁴³ İhsan groups Parisian theatre venues into three: first degree theatres for literary meetings, second degree theatres for only entertainment and third-degree theatres like the Concordia in Istanbul -which is actually the carbon copy of Hayrullah Efendi’s grouping, both of which are based on Baedeker guidebooks. Unlike Midhat, İhsan watches a play in the Palais Garnier and observes every detail of the interior decor, costumes and actors. With great esteem he writes “There are stairs that are counted as fine arts, balconies on each side, elegant columns and even this staircase itself can be considered a large theater hall.”⁶⁴⁴ As such, he watches how people act in the foyer, reception halls and even while climbing the stairs as if those are part of the play following a script written for urbanites.

Enisi has a surprisingly bold tone, defining theatre as: “the school human wisdom” and “nourishment of the soul and idea” (*beşeriyetin mekteb-i irfan, gıda-yı fikr ü ruhu*).⁶⁴⁵ Yet the Opera de Monte Carlo, which was designed by the architect of Paris Opera House Charles

638 Eldem, Edhem. “Batılılaşma, Modernleşme ve Kozmopolitizm:19. Yüzyıl Sonu ve 20. Yüzyıl Başında İstanbul”, 12-26.

639 Midhat, *Adabı Muaşeret*, 86.

640 İhsan 19.

641 Ibid., 318.

642 Ibid., 319.

643 Ibid., 43.

644 Ibid., 44.

645 Enisi, 107.

Garnier, did not appeal him, for which he did not share his reasoning.⁶⁴⁶ Not surprisingly, Nesimi profoundly admires the Grand Opera building in terms of space allocation, furniture arrangements, decorations (*taksimati, tertibati, tezyinati*) and finds the exquisiteness of its staircases miraculous in terms of architecture (*merdivenlerinin fenn-i mimarî nazarından nefaseti hayret-efzâ*). According to him, the items displayed within the building and the materials on the surfaces powerfully embodied the aesthetic and moral significance of theatres.⁶⁴⁷

Even Mağmumi and Selim Sırrı, who often used generic descriptions, included some architectural descriptions of theatre buildings touching upon their volumetric and façade characteristics. Mağmumi mentions even the smaller examples such as the Royal Dutch Theatre in Ghent, the Royal Flemish Theatre in Brussels and the Theatre Alhambra in London. He adored the Royal Flemish Theatre (also known as The Brussels City Theatre) in Brussels and describes it, with an exhaustive catalogue of information, as a charming and exquisite architectural piece.⁶⁴⁸ In the French Riviera, Mağmumi walks almost in bliss among the theatre and other civic buildings; he suggests that everyone shall see the entrance of Opera de Nice.⁶⁴⁹ The theatre is designed with the consultation of Charles Garnier and refurbished with later additional pieces such as the alluring iron awning that caters Mağmumi's eyes. The façade articulations with stone and with ironworks, busts and statues, monolithic stone columns topped by bronze capitals, and two circular corner pediments topped with cartouches impressed Mağmumi at the highest level. As mentioned before about other architectural typologies, the sculptural quality of the buildings, with eclectic and neo-baroque façade styling pleases Mağmumi. On the other hand, Selim Sırrı approached theatres not as urban landmarks or artistic edifices but as an amenity that people from all walks of life can access. He writes at length about the interest of Swedish people in 'spectacle' (*halkın temaşaya merakı*) and how it is increased by the cheap ticket fees.⁶⁵⁰ Still, he mentions that he was entranced by the elegant costumes, the set design techniques, technological advancements like ample lighting and most nobly furnished halls -which were apparently highly different from the theatre of Istanbul in 1910. In general, what is intriguing is that most second and third group travelers perceived European theatre based on their class-based sensitivities, while Selim Sırrı approached it as a facility for public entertainment. Particularly for Midhat and İhsan, the flamboyance of the theatre venues and their audiences is the reification and performative representation of European civilization and modernization.

646 Ibid., 139. Esiemi referenced Voltaire, Edmund Spencer, Emil Zola and Jules Simon indicating that he was acquainted to French philosophy, music, literature and history and he believed that French intellectuals, theatre play writer and actors were leaders in cultural production. Contrary to his vigorous approach, Nesimi writes arid and repetitive catalogue information on theatre buildings.

647 Nesimi, 106. Typical descriptions about other theatre buildings are: "[T]he building was erected spending nine million francs. The divisions, furnishing, decorations, and the architecture of stairs are astonishingly wonderful." "The architecture of La Scala Theatre is quite artsy and thus attracts attention of the travelers in this city. Even the gallery, from the mornings till midnight, is the meeting point of men and women so is a shiny spectacle."

648 Mağmumi, 34 – 35.

649 Ibid., 239.

650 Selim Sırrı, *İsveç Hâtıraları-12: Stokholm'de Kış*, Şehbâl, No.19, 1 Şubat 1325 [1909], 381. Also discussed in Ahmetoğlu, Selim. "An Evaluation on Selim Sırrı (Tarcan)'s "İsveç Hatıraları" (Memoirs from Sweden) In Şehbâl Magazine", *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, C 21 (1), (2011) 84.

4.7 Manufacturing Facilities and Buildings of Commerce: Factories, Ateliers and Stores

In Ottoman society the transformation of manufacturing and consumption practices, and thus the transformation of the related architectural typologies, was more gradual than in Western European cities.⁶⁵¹ The traditional guild systems (*lonca*) were the main organizers and executors of the production projects along with royal facilities, some of which were designed and built by foreign experts starting from the beginning of the 1800s. As in any other scope of reforms, the stated-led and military factories were the earliest attempts at modernized production facilities.⁶⁵² New factory buildings and the incorporation of prefabricated materials and modernized machinery in construction sector were first initiated by the palace. Only after 1880 were new civic agents like engineers, high clergyman, merchants or entrepreneurial figures such as Ahmet İhsan invested in production facilities with modern technology. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, Ahırkapı Lumberyard was founded in 1893 on the shores of historical peninsula close to Topkapı Palace. It was one of the earliest privately-owned storage and workshop facilities that had steam-powered machinery; İhsan was the head of this yard between 1900-1901, which provided the wooden material for the fad, as it were, of timber-framed houses in Istanbul at the turn of the 20th century.⁶⁵³ The case manifests the power of an individual's agency in the modernization of construction techniques, the currency of a material and architectural taste.

On the other hand, the marketing and consumption culture of Istanbul also changed after the Anglo Ottoman Treaty (1838) opened Ottoman cities to the European market; from then on, the Ottoman middle class could start their appetite for European goods and new ways of shopping. The development of energy supplies like gas and electricity and infrastructure like drainage

651 Great amount of ink has been spent on the phenomena of the economic transformations, new factories and workshops in Ottoman Empire. Şevket Pamuk, Donald Quataert and Kemal Karpat's prominent studies are the main references for the modernization of the economy. Regarding the architectural research on state or private factories in 19th century see: Batur, Afife and Batur, Selçuk. *İstanbul'da 19. Yüzyıl Sanayi Yapılarından Fabrika-i Hümayûnlar*, I. Uluslararası Türk-İslam Bilim ve Teknoloji Tarihi Kongresi, ITU, 1981, 331-341; Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang. in E. İhsanoğlu (Ed.), *Osmanlılar ve Batı Teknolojisi*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1992 and Boyacıoğlu, Didem. "Osmanlı Fabrika Yapılarının Kentsel ve Mimari Analizi", PhD. Diss., ITU, 2013.

652 The palace bricks and tiles were produced in Paşabahçe Çukurçayır Tuğla ve Kiremit Fabrikası (Paşabahçe Brick and Tile factory) which has been functioning since 1846 as well as in the Büyükdere Kiremit Fabrikası. The lumbermills in Eskişehir, Hendek and Biga were one of the earliest wooden material manufacturing and depot spaces in the empire yet the production was not industrialized in those establishments. Steam-powered sawmills were used only in the imperial dockyards and in the dockyards of the company of Şirket-i Hayriye till the turn of the 20th century.

653 The yard had an impact on urban and architectural design in the turn of the 20th century as Damla Acar and Deniz Mazlum put forward in their detailed research on timber-framed houses for court members built after the 1894 Istanbul Earthquake. The standardization of timber pieces and the efficient use of them as a structural element in residential architecture was apparently a short-lived wave that was superseded by reinforced concrete. The authors suggest that Ahırkapı Lumberyard might also be the source of certain prefabricated materials in Yıldız palace as the dimensions of timber studs, braces, beams and wall coverings match with the ones from the yard. Acar, Damla and Mazlum, Deniz. "Timber Framed Houses Built for the Court Members after the 1894 Earthquake in Istanbul: Rationalization of Construction Techniques", *International Journal of Architectural Heritage*, (2015), 604-619.

networks, hastened the emergence of new retail building in urban centers. In Europe, shopping arcades constituted the principal ground for conspicuous consumption, which evolved from 1860 onwards. These complexes cannot be defined as merely providers of certain types of products. Procuring an idiosyncratic name in different cities, *Kaufhaus* in Berlin, *Bonmarche*, *Galeries du Commerce et de l'industrie* and passage in Paris, department store and arcade in London, gallery in Milan, they also create a special atmosphere for socializing and display.⁶⁵⁴ In terms of architectural design, there is an important difference between most department stores in European cities and those in Istanbul. With few exceptions, Ottoman examples were constructed as multistorey buildings with commercial spaces on the ground level (sometimes two levels) and residential blocks on the upper levels.⁶⁵⁵ Avrupa Pasajı (built in 1874) is one of the rare examples that is completely devoted to commercial activities; Hazzapulo, Oriental, Cite de Pera, Halep, Fresco, Tunnel and D'andria were built as mixed-used structures with aforementioned formula.⁶⁵⁶ Similarly, the notion of commercial display in the European fashion was first realized by the branches of European stores opened in Pera like Orozdibak (Au Rose de Bec), Tiring, Luvr (Louvre), Karlman, Stein, Brod, Mayer.⁶⁵⁷ Local and new brands emerged almost simultaneously and became popular as in the cases of Bon Marche, Maison Baker and Mir et Cotterau. Travelers were reserved about their experiences and perceptions of all buildings of commerce, yet they constantly refer to the stores of these new brands to paint a picture in their readers' mind. (see fig. 2.4)

Second group travelers were acutely alert to the fiscal aspects of almost all issues, yet they seldom incorporated their observations about goods, stores and arcades as well as industrial structures in Europe. In most of the accounts, the issue of shopping is latent but unmistakable in between the lines as travelers wrote anecdotal notes about buying souvenirs or looking for certain products to answer orders from Istanbul.⁶⁵⁸ I believe that this is not due to the old, but perpetual claim that Ottomans were not interested in European goods but rather due to their aim of writing a travelogue.⁶⁵⁹ This generalization is at minimum deficient, as almost all travelers in the second and third groups overtly manifest strong admiration for European goods.⁶⁶⁰ As discussed earlier in Chapter 3, travelers tended to express an idealized picture of Europe with a strong normative perspective, and to create accounts that focus on veracity and empirical data;

654 "Magazzino", is originally from the Arabic *mahazin*, the plural of *mahzen*, and adapted in Italian to mean warehouse or store in which raw materials or manufactured goods are stored before taken to the shops. *Mağaza* is the Turkish word used to address department stores, adapting this Italian word and at the same time the French word "magasin". In Turkish 'magazin' is used for the periodical publications just like the English word 'magazine'.

655 Seza Durudoğan reveals that, towards the end of the century, between Tünel and Galatasaray 96 percent of the buildings in the main street had commercial facilities in their basement floors including all the residential apartments. Durudoğan, Seza. *XIX. Yüzyılda Pera/Beyoğlu'nun Ekonomik Kültürel ve Politik Yapısının Mimariye Etkileri*, ITU, 1998, 172.

656 Ibid., 170.

657 Akın, Nur. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul, Literatür Yayıncılık, 2002.

658 Halil Halid's passage about the goods and products he brought to Istanbul is the most detailed text about the issue. Halid, 43.

659 Niyazi Berkes's writes that "Ottomans did not admire the consumer products of the Western civilization in the nineteenth century; rather what they admired was the Western living-style and principles on the one hand, and technological achievements and colossal buildings on the other." Berkes, Niyazi. *Baticılık, Ulusçuluk ve Toplumsal Devrimler*, İstanbul, Yön Yayınları, 1965, 31-32.

660 In fact, Namık Kemal mentions his excitement at having a watch, paper or hand fan produced in Europe in his letters. He also writes that Ottoman ministers frequently ordered items like papers or wine from Europe. Namık Kemal, *Namık Kemal'in Hususi Mektupları*, 205.

thus personal needs, business concerns or shopping details are categorically out of the scope of their accounts. Additionally, Midhat, İhsan and Nesimi shortly mentioned about their excursions to machinery, brick, tile and china factories but did not include any details. Despite these limitations, dispersed comments on arcades, the window design of department stores and the visual impact of the open market structure were occasionally found worth to mention by the second and third group of travelers.

The author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* was surprised by several bookstores in London that are embellished with elegant window displays like “dress shops”.⁶⁶¹ The window display in textile stores is standard, for him, but applying the same methods to the sale of books seems rather strange. Ten years later, in 1861, Hayrullah Efendi puts arcades and stores at the center of his description of the urban atmosphere in both London and Paris. He uses the phrase ‘covered bazaar of the city’ to describe arcades and open food markets like Les Halles. Hayrullah Efendi briefly notes the orientalist design of the stores: “The two-domed Arabian-style buildings and shops constituted a bazaar.”⁶⁶² Similarly, in Vienna, throughout two wordy pages he describes what he considers to be the elegant materials of the stores. The sizable dimensions of glass surfaces in Viennese stores increased his envy of the city to the greatest level. Not surprisingly, Hayrullah Efendi prioritizes the technical capacity of using glass as a façade element and aims to specify the greatest dimension of a single glass piece by walking. He writes: “Most of the stores are large and suddenly it is assumed that there is no glass, since the front of the shops is covered with a single piece of glass. I was curious about the width of the mentioned glasses. While I was driving one evening, I walked along the shop window and counted my steps; it was six steps.”⁶⁶³

Yet the aesthetic and economic aspects of the window display did not escape Hayrullah Efendi’s notice, particularly in Paris. He was baffled by the glory of Parisian stores and the charm of the shopping districts with innovative use of glass doors, wide windows, sleek metal frames, sumptuous entrances, canopy design and perfect ‘window dressing’, as he names it, similar to the anonymous author of *Seyahatname-i Londra*. The telescoping image of the shop windows with multiple reflections mesmerized him so much that his tongue falls short to praise it highly enough. He writes “if there are ten flashes of gas lamps in shops, their illumination [inside] triples with the reflection from mirrors. While passing by with a car, reflections of gas lamps on shop windows and from both sides of the street, as well as the movement of headlights on these windows seems very peculiar and bizarre; it is impossible to describe this scene.”⁶⁶⁴ There are several similar though sporadic comments in Hayrullah Efendi’s guidebook, which are actually the most personal and experiential parts of his travelogue. Curiously, Bon Marche is missing from his account, which was at the peak of its popularity and regarded as a rare ‘grand magasin de nouveautés’ just before the erection of multiple new shopping complexes.

The admiration the of quality goods is more pronounced in the third group travelogues specifically regarding the products of printing, furniture and domestic utensils. The depictions of stores and arcades are still limited, yet the transformation of shopping culture in Pera seems to have both acquainted the travelers with these structures and set a reference point as they constantly compared stores in Pera and European cities. Under the title “*Paris Dükkanlarında Ahz u İta and Büyük Mağaza ve Pazarlar* (bo marche, menager, galerie orientale)” [Shopping

661 *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 72-73.

662 Hayrullah Efendi, 45.

663 Ibid., 136.

664 Ibid., 90.

in the Parisian Stores and Open Markets (Bon Marche, Menager, Galeria Orientale)] Midhat writes that grand scale department stores transform urban space just like the royal edifices, as in the case of Palais Royal Square. In line with the second group travelers, some of which highlight the same issue 40 years earlier, Midhat is surprised to see how elegant, durable and innovative the window displays are and how they convert commercial buildings into a spectacle – or at least into more than just utilitarian spaces. What impressed Midhat most was not the buildings but the machines that shaped the modern buildings, building materials and the engineering of transportation infrastructure. He claims, “Europe’s prosperity could be achievable, but machines are true sources of envy”.⁶⁶⁵ Such comments display that he did not connect the issues of engineering and machinery to the creation of prosperity.

İhsan gives the dictionary meaning of store as the working surface, shelves, counters and benches in full operation to enhance the capacity of the space to sell.⁶⁶⁶ His personal interests led him to write on printing houses and libraries as stores and to evaluate them as the constitutive elements of delightful boulevards.⁶⁶⁷ Except for the urban aspects, İhsan generally takes the architecture of buildings in stride and makes swift comparisons such as: the galleries in Louvre are colonnaded structures like The Ministry of Economy (*Maliye Nezareti*) in Beyazıt.⁶⁶⁸ He describes Les Halles as “notable in architectural technique” and an unknown type of structure to the Ottomans. He writes: “Since the building is mainly made of iron and it is covered, there are no buildings and places more suitable than here naming as a market place”, without mentioning the passages/arcades or gallery.⁶⁶⁹ In fact, in the third group, Mağmumi is the only traveler who uses the word ‘arcades’ (*pasaj* in the account) but he did not write further after a vague description of it: “And now, there are new glass-covered bazaars called “passages” in every city of Italy, which is unprecedented.”⁶⁷⁰ Even though he spent considerable time in at least six European capitals with vital shopping districts, stores and factories, they were under Mağmumi’s radar. His only comments were related to the urban planning of factories. When he learned that in Europe factories are located in the periphery of cities while the urban center is the center of the commerce, Mağmumi criticizes the ill effects of (mostly royal) factories in the central districts of Istanbul such as odor and pollution.

Finally, Nesimi had highest esteem for European factories, specifically the buildings in Swiss cities and rural towns that had precise appearance and overcame geographical difficulties. He also describes ‘gallery’ as a building typology: “bazaar covered by glass domes” without personal commentary.⁶⁷¹ His way of addressing the factories and stores is indeed similar to Rifa’a al-Tahtawi although there is almost 60 years interval between their journeys. Tahtawi writes in more open and vocal manner about the interdependence of the quality of objects, techniques and commerce. He was equally excited about the ‘superb shops’ with quality products.⁶⁷² For him, and indeed for all the Ottoman travelers, the functionality of seller stands,

665 Midhat, 555.

666 İhsan, 208.

667 Especially in Berlin and Lausanne, İhsan applauds the large stores, arcades with miscellaneous goods, as well as the conglomeration of small stores on certain streets. *Ibid.*, 306.

668 *Ibid.*, 136. In exactly the same manner, Mustafa Said uses direct observations of similarity and then moves quickly to generalizations; for instance, likening the shops in the ground floor of the European palaces to *Direklerarası* in Istanbul due to the colonnades. Said, 117.

669 İhsan, 103.

670 Mağmumi, 340.

671 “*camlı kubbeleriyle mahfuz bedestan*”. Nesimi, 94.

672 Tahtawi, 156.

stores and covered bazaars with limited means for beautification and visual enhancements in Ottoman cities contrasted with the arcades and galleries erected with the latest industrial materials and designed as display objects, just like the products sold in them.

4.8 Itinerant Glimpse at Decoration, Furnishing and Ornaments

The visual and literary portrayal of interior qualities before the 19th century is scarce and mostly about palatial ceremonial halls and reception spaces. An intriguing comment on palatial interior was written in *Usul-i Mimari* on Çırağan Palace which reads:

If the Ottomans have the good taste and the patriotism to prefer their own country's artistic and industrial products, one will witness a rapid revival and progress that is even greater than that obtained in the past. If one needs proof of this proposition, we would need only to refer the reader to the imperial palace of Çırağan, all the paintings of which, equal to the specimens of the finest period of Ottoman art, were carried out by artists of this country in the style of this country.⁶⁷³

The authors ascertain that the palace as the exemplar of modern interpretation of historicist decorative and artistic patterns. Besides, in *Âdât ve Merasim-i Kadime, Tabirât ve Muamelât-ı Kavmiye-i Osmaniye* (n.d.), Abdüllaziz Bey (1850-1918), a member of the late Ottoman bureaucratic intelligentsia, summarizes the distinct aspects of Ottoman and European traditions of reception and their spatial qualities: “[t]he typical characteristics of welcoming ceremony halls in Europe is that they are wide enough for crowded audience. In these halls, different from Ottoman palaces with long corridors, high columns and wide windows, the most salient position reserved for the throne of the king. In contrast, Ottoman welcoming halls are smaller and restrained spaces with a smaller number of audiences.”⁶⁷⁴ Similar to the *kabul odası* (lit. welcoming room) in the palace, the *kasr* and *köşk* of the elites attained the meaning of a gesture, the symbol of modernization and prosperity. In general, the reference points for the Ottoman travelers while evaluating the interiors in Europe were derived from the interior design of the elite houses and new institutional buildings in Ottoman Empire.

Concurrent to the third group accounts –though not the first and second groups-, the juxtaposition of traditional and modern pieces in the middle-class households was common in Istanbul. Şibli Nu'mani, an Indian traveler who visited Istanbul in 1892, observes that in the capital “drawing rooms, which generally are Western in style, usually have a part or adjacent room furnished with divans and cushions in the Eastern manner”, while in 1857 Oscanyan deemed drawing room as a totally unknown to the Ottomans.⁶⁷⁵ The mobile cabinet, bookshelf, study, frames on the wall and piano on the corner of the sitting room became an indispensable part of the paraphernalia of modern life at the turn of the century. These pieces require allocated spaces; thus the overall mentality of domestic interiors was redefined as a separate set of functions for each room, unlike the traditional Ottoman articulation that divides the volumes of

673 Quoted in Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*, 58.

674 Abdüllaziz Bey, *Âdât ve Merasim-i Kadime, Tabirât ve Muamelât-ı Kavmiye-i Osmaniye*, D. A. Günay (Ed.), Istanbul, Türk Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012, 64.

675 Wasti, Syed Tanvir. “Two Muslim Travelogues: To and from Istanbul”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3, (1991), 472.

the house according to concerns of accessibility.⁶⁷⁶ Several Ottoman intellectuals' portraits, published as cover images of *Servet-i Fünun*, presented them in their studies or at tables with typical Renaissance *mise-en-scène* surrounded by maps, binoculars, newspapers and pens. On the other hand, parallel to the evolving relationship between the individual and the city, the perception and symbolic meaning of the interior quality of public and private buildings was also altered. Hygiene, functional order and efficiency arose as criteria in addition to social order, decorum and opulence, even in royal interiors. Material progress gained currency not just as an intellectual venture but also as a problem of practically and a representative tool.

Against this background, travelers' portrayals of buildings formulized as 'exterior view, interior components, appliances and decorations' (*harici eşkali ve dahili aksam ve tertibatı ve tezyinatı*). Unlike their meticulous attention to urban matters, they were selective about what they wrote on the interiors –if they wrote anything at all. In their descriptions, the use of stone, marble and solid wood in public interiors are described as implying sophistication, durability and monumentality with various iterations even in a single account. The surface decorations and objects contained within buildings are abstracted from each other and the building itself; the decorative details of churches, theatres and museums were listed, but not evaluated in terms of aesthetics or experiential value. A constellation of adjectives was used as praise, relating interior decoration and ornamentation intensity to national and personal wealth and civility. Ornate (*süslü*), furnished (*mefruş*), ornamented (*tezyinatlı*), artsy (*musanna*) and splendid (*müşaşa*), *ziynet* (embellishment/adornment), exalted (*ali*), stupendous (*mehib*) are among the most common words used to describe interiors. Another shared aspect of the accounts were the repeated references to Istanbul and the quality of the interior design seen there: Pera Palas Hotel and Restaurant, Tokatlıyan Hotel and Restaurant, Summer Palas Hotel, Splendid Cafe ve Restaurant, Tepebaşı Park, Concordia Gazinosu, Maksim, Sportin, Lebon Patisserie came to the minds of travelers when they visualized an ornated modern interior.

The author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* describes the meaning of the fairs and the sizeable exhibition hall, the Crystal Palace, referring to a book he was reading. He recounts that “an engineer proposes to build an elegant building out of only iron and glass” as it was expected in the period.⁶⁷⁷ The overall effect of the sizeable but almost transparent and daylight filled interior, along with the intricacy of numerous products with tasteful designs, enhanced the visual appreciation of the traveler. Inside the building, he was attracted most by the refined wooden furniture designs in the Austrian exhibit: “Among the things I saw, a library, a chair and a sofa were such an indescribable beautiful carving product that I think have never been preceded.”⁶⁷⁸ Later, in the city, the traveler fixes deliberate attention on the interior decoration of British palaces and sumptuously decorated dining rooms, with their elegant and specific equipment and fixtures. Along with envious comments, he questions the usability of certain pieces like the giant dining tables in the palaces and excessively decorated pieces but also acknowledges the symbolic function of all the pieces.⁶⁷⁹ He writes about the courtly manners of dinning in British culture and how French and English nobles utilize dinners as a meeting, which is not a common activity for the Ottomans. The decorum of these occasions, like the

676 Donald Quataert asserts that: “[the] multi-purpose rooms of the past became single purpose. Separate bedrooms, living rooms, and dining rooms emerged, each filled with specialized furniture that could not be moved about or stored in order to use the room for other purpose.” Quataert, Donald. *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, Cambridge University Press, 2005; 155.

677 *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 14.

678 *Ibid.*, 21.

679 *Ibid.*, 64.

standards of chatting, greeting, and use of cutlery, as well as the proper positions of chairs, surprised the traveler with their theatrical but also strictly ordered as codes of cultural value.

Hayrullah Efendi evaluates ‘European interiors’ as a specific category which he finds odd (*acaib*). Giving the catalog information in detail, he evaluates the residential decorative approach of each European country as an authentic historical product. For example, he underlines that, as the Austrian dwellings are masonry and not temporal, the decoration and location of the furniture are arranged according to the users’ will who could afford quality materials like “velvet cushions, solid wood chairs, mirrors, marble tables, quality textile for awnings, adorned ceilings.”⁶⁸⁰ The selection of pieces in Hayrullah Efendi’s descriptions are indicative of the rare use of these materials and furniture in the almost-ephemeral Ottoman wooden houses. He then explains renting regulations and different rental options like *maison meuble*, *appartement meuble* and *maison garni* (?) all of which are awkward French customs, according to him, and a signal of new domestic lifestyle in the city.⁶⁸¹

Subsequently, Hayrullah Efendi describes the plan and interior façades of what he deems as a typical bedroom in an Austrian house. He writes that the first set of principles is to have a stove, mirror, table, cabinet, few chairs, a couch and a small cupboard in the taste of the owner. He then annotates that in Austria, bed does not mean the mattress that is laid on the floor every night and tied up every morning like in Ottoman society. Hayrullah Efendi finds the fixed and purpose-built furniture, linear or telescopic allocation of the rooms one after another (unlike the typical centralized sofa plan of the Turkish House) and the use of each room for a certain function as the most distinguished aspects of the interior design of European houses.⁶⁸² He aims to ascertain the logic of the room allocations in elites’ houses, which is exactly the same reason for Midhat’s meticulous explanation of an elite house in his etiquette book thirty years later.⁶⁸³

The Egyptian traveler Tahtawi expresses a similar kind of surprise about the room allocation and the decorations for specific use, in particular the design of the study that belongs to the ‘intellectual’ of the house, in his words. Tahtawi observes: “in all rich people’s houses there is a secluded room, which contains the library, scientific instruments, as well as strange artefacts related to the arts, such as stone used in the study of minerals etc.”⁶⁸⁴ This mentality of spatial formulation according to personal interest, using house as representation of personal curiosity of science and art grabbed Tahtawi’s attention. He also provides two more pages of description of the other rooms in a typical French house, structuring his description in a professional manner giving all the materials of the three surfaces of the rooms (floor, ceiling and walls), the furniture forms and the materials. A typical description reads:

As mentioned before, the walls and the floors of rooms are made out of wood, which they cover with paint. On the walls they put nicely embossed paper, which is better than the custom of whitewashing the walls with lime since, unlike lime, the paper does not give anything off when you touch the wall. Moreover, it is cheaper, nicer to look at and easier to apply, especially in their rooms which are decorated with all

680 Hayrullah Efendi, 96.

681 Ibid., 93.

682 Ibid., 29-30.

683 For an elaborate discussion on etiquette in domestic environment see: Çekiç, 83-90.

684 Tahtawi, 263.

kinds of furnishing that defy description.⁶⁸⁵

After these meticulous descriptions, Tahtawi feels that his tongue falls short to describe the atmosphere of the rooms with such distinct furnishing for the Egyptians. He writes that “the only thing that can be said is that the French try to dim the light in rooms by fitting colored curtains, especially green ones. The floors are covered with wood or type of red tiles. Each day the room floors are polished with a yellow wax they call ‘polishing wax’.”⁶⁸⁶ Like Hayrullah Efendi, Tahtawi chooses pieces like immobile beds with sackcloth, carpets, chimneys, pendulum clocks, vases, flowers, or a piano to highlight the elements that are not common Egyptian households. On the study, he writes that the table, with multiple instruments, picture frames, chandelier and newspapers, is for reading. After such detailed descriptions, Tahtawi asserts that “Art denotes skills, knowledge of the techniques for certain things in accordance with specified rules.” relating it to discipline and profoundness of the client and craftsman.⁶⁸⁷

On public interiors, in both Hayrullah Efendi’s and Tahtawi’s guidebooks café decorations came to the fore -which were as elegant as elite homes, according to both travelers. Hayrullah Efendi’s sporadic comments center upon the exhibition quality and use of new materials in elegant decorations like velvet cushioned armchairs, mirrors, marble tables and durable awnings in entrances.⁶⁸⁸ In Marseilles he writes, “[i]ndeed, these places are decorated with such beautiful and precious things that they are suited only for the very rich.”⁶⁸⁹ For three pages he describes chairs upholstered with flower print fabrics, the tables made out of superior mahogany wood, which are covered with a black or colored marble slab.⁶⁹⁰ Hayrullah Efendi describes the gallery, in all likelihood for the first time in Ottoman language, as such: “One thus got the impression that this coffee house is a street, and I realized that it was an enclosed coffee house, only because I saw our multiple images [reflected] in the mirrors.”⁶⁹¹ He could not make sense of the interior arrangements of the different stores, which he then relates to French superiority in arts and science, manners and culture. In Paris, his surprise was enhanced by the bookstores and restaurants alongside the cafes. He writes “[a]mong the things intended for the comfort of the people of the city of Paris, there are eating places, called *restaurants*, which are like *locandas*.”⁶⁹² Since he was accustomed to *locanda* as a building typology for eating outside of the house, Hayrullah Efendi gives it as a reference for his readers. In fact, the author of *Seyahatname-i Londra* also used the term ‘locanda’ as a place to eat and sleep.⁶⁹³ To such public

685 Tahtawi, 216-217. Another typical portrayal reads as: “The interior walls are made out of high-quality wood. The majority of the columns are made out of copper, though occasionally there are some in marble. For the ground covering which are made out of stone and black marble. The roads are always paved with square flagstones, as are the courtyards, while the vestibules are covered with baked bricks, wood or black marble with finely worked tiles. The quality of the stone or wood varies according to the prosperity of the residents.”

686 Ibid., 217.

687 Ibid., 334.

688 Hayrullah Efendi, 96.

689 Ibid., 155. One page later he also mentions the ‘seedy coffee houses, taverns and hashish dens for poor’ but in a much more cursory manner.

690 Ibid., 155-157.

691 Ibid., 157.

692 Ibid., 223.

693 *Seyahatname-i Londra*, 42. In *Seyahatname-i Londra* the word *lokanta* is used for the translation of ‘bed and breakfast’ which actually means ‘small hotels or motels.’ The Italian root of *lokanta* is ‘locanda’, meaning a shop of the cooks with accommodation options. In modern Turkish *lokanta* means restaurant but in Egyptian Arabic it still means a second-class hotel.

buildings Hayrullah Efendi devotes long paragraphs, enumerating all interior elements in the restaurants and bookstores including class cases, silk sofa covers, wooden chairs or decorative objects like pendulum clocks.⁶⁹⁴

From the second group, Ebüzziya Tefvik is a critical name, as he was both a prolific practitioner and a governor in fields related to industrial and artistic productions. He was the head the School of Industry of Istanbul in 1894, and during this period he worked to revitalize the existing system of industry schools which had fallen into stagnation since shortly after the opening of first school in 1868. He aimed to formalize the practical training in the decorative arts, ornamentation and manufacturing, and thus invited foreign experts to guide Ottoman governors and teachers.⁶⁹⁵ As previously mentioned he was also skilled in artistic productions including *kufic* ornamentation which could be read in parallel to the quotation above from the *Usul-i Mimari*. With these sensitivities, Ebüzziya's description of Hotel Metropol in London had a strongly pedantic manner, covering almost all information on the interior qualities including color, surface qualities, light, furniture, material selections and user comfort. In the course of more than forty pages, the only urban information he gives is about the Cook & Son office, a popular firm for touristic services. Marked by his professional capability and engagement with artistic production, the description is a subjective portraiture of the Hotel Metropole structured almost like an architectural story-board of his survey. He also extends his comments including notes on accommodation habits in different cultures, consumerism, luxury, aristocratic etiquette, hygiene and healthy lifestyle.

Typically, in all public areas of the hotel -breakfast saloon, corridors, basement floor and courtyard- Ebüzziya is most surprised by the mirrors, hard cover floors, guide signs and pictograms. The blend of technical capability and artistic taste seen in detail such as the page layout of the menus, accessible location of the switches on the walls, table design and layout of the saloon furniture enchanted him as a user and designer. Ebüzziya separates the ground floor of the hotel as a public space, with restaurants, casinos, billiard saloons that are open to everyone, from the upper floors which he considered private setting.⁶⁹⁶ The detailed description of his own room evinces his precision and niggling observation and is thus worth quoting at length:

“We entered our room through many corridors illuminated with high electricity. When you enter the door, two beds, one on the right and one on the left, made of oak in the gothic Anglican style, three layers of curtains with the heaviest silk fabrics, a make-up table next to each other, a table covered with green velvet in the middle and a very large maroquin on both sides, two armchairs with bearing legs on its back, a forty-fifty pear-shaped chandelier placed on top the table from the ceiling, two mirrored stoves on both sides of the walls, two windows overlooking

694 One of his descriptions reads as “... attractive items of furniture for the sake of visitors. These include chairs upholstered with embroidered silk or other similar materials, sofas covered in similar fabrics, ordinary chairs, as well as impressive-looking things like large clocks which they call pendula, magnificent flower vases, gilt coffee pots, chandeliers with candles or purified wax or bookcase with a glass door so that you can see which finely bound books can be found within. Everyone -both rich and poor- has a bookcase since the entire population is able to write and read.” Hayrullah Efendi, 220.

695 Türesay, 319.

696 Ebüzziya, 40-41.

Parliament Street with one-centimeter-thick monolithic glass uncovered from top to bottom, without a curtain, in accordance with the fashion of the time, are seen. There are two stools and two leather-covered slippers in front of the windows and a wardrobe at the ends of the beds. On the floor, a precious English calico is laid out in imitation of our Uşak rugs, but with its colorful embroidery, it is much more successful than ours. The walls are yellow from floor till two meters up. The floor is covered with a thick silk embroidered with dark blue branches and leaves. There is coffee table in dull gold gilding. The ceiling was embroidered in the English style with its dark and silver gilding on an open pitched floor. How much this room would cost with the furniture and adornment cannot be described in our currency.”⁶⁹⁷

His nitpicky manner continues, turning to the decorum of dining in the restaurant which he compares to receptions in theatres and adds the sartorial etiquette from top to toe.

Ebüzziya’s stay in Hotel Metropole turned into a quasi-field excursion; when he had spare time, he strolled from corner to corner in order to search for the places “worth to spectacle” (*şayan-ı temaşa*), climbed all the levels up and down, to discover the artistic provision and technical cause-and-effect relation of certain design decisions such as the relation of lighting and color of the covering materials. On the first day, he starts with the glass entrance door and describe the vestibule, reflective mosaic tiles, fireplace, wall clock, velvet couches, armchairs, chairs, electric bulbs as if a camera panning the rooms to show all interior details. As he continues towards the lobby, the style of the columns and hotel desk (*maksure* in the account, which denotes furniture pieces similar to cabinet) attracts his attention. He gives all the physical information about the welcoming section such as the counter dimensions and complements it with his observations about registration procedures, business management, accounting, room types and other hotel amenities.⁶⁹⁸ He is not content just mention that there is an elevator as he passes by it, but rather explains the hydraulic system details, comfortable stools covered with textile and the proper decorum for man and women in climbing up and down. He also gives details about each relating to the interior façade quality, as well as details about the coffee tables in the restaurant and breakfast saloon. After such minute observations he estimates the dimensions of lobby as twenty by five and adds that four Doric porphyry columns (*Dorik üslubunda dört kıta somaki sütun*) dominate the main atmosphere.

In one of the corridors of Hotel Metropole Ebüzziya saw a depiction of an Eastern style pavilion on the wall and describes it in a neutral manner: “It was furnished from the oriental style and its walls and dome were equipped with a set of shiny oriental fabric.”⁶⁹⁹ With more enthusiasm, he continues towards the reading room decorated with antique style objects and solemn atmosphere, in his words. Ebüzziya enjoys the silence and reflects his feelings to his readers in a wordy paragraph.⁷⁰⁰ The telegraph office, the periodicals and books all around the space, and the silent ambiance of people reading and writing letters impressed him to such an extent that he then joins to write a letter. He then likens the reading rooms to the ‘caves of the nymphs’ resurrected in the world, without further attention to the Eastern style decorative details but stressing the solemn ambiance. Ebüzziya’s wide ranging spatial knowledge, along with his industrious curiosity work together to provide a unique description of the sumptuous

697 Ebüzziya, 41.

698 Ibid., 45.

699 Ibid., 49.

700 Ibid., 50.

atmosphere of 19th century European hotels. He attempts to recreate the visual, spatial and corporeal dimensions of the architectural space through verbal representation. Ebüzziya enters all the rooms, looks through all the doors and windows.

After a laudatory account of lounge, the last room of his description which he finds eclectic (*mütenevvi tarzda*), Ebüzziya summarizes the general mode of the interior of the hotel and his excitement to scrutinize it: He writes, “I was wandering around the hall looking at things like furniture and walls, like an exploring architect or a quiltmaker -in our idiom.”⁷⁰¹ In every part of the hotel his mood changes, Ebüzziya expresses, according to the design and light as, for instance, the courtyard and dining saloon look like a winter garden with flower patterns in each decorative piece including lighting fixtures. He is mesmerized by the level of illumination in the interior, which does not create any shadow from any person or object. His description continues at length with observations about the menu prices, alcoholic drinks, smoking rituals in dining saloon, as well as the basement facilities like laundry, which are part of the baffling features of hotels.

Ebüzziya expounds on the comfort of the European hotel as an architectural typology. He notably writes that “the consciousness of the community is dependent on such a ‘house of peace’. The recreation is originated from the recreation of the body. Is it necessary to explain the impact of the materiality on the morality? All the things we see in this room are necessary for a civilized person, aren’t they? First, weather and light. Here are the windows, here are the artistic struts for the refreshed air.”⁷⁰² In the same vein, he adds his amazement at the design of the toilets in the hotels and correlates it with the hygiene and refinement of civilizations. In the toilets of Hotel Metropole, he is almost dumfounded by the distinct qualities of the materials, sanitary ware and decoration: “Describing it (the English toilet) is serious. Because to describe it, it implies to know the touch of that thing and then to literally explain. However, to those who have not seen London, but only London, it would not be possible to rhyme the English toilets. I can say so much that this cage perfectly brought together all the desired features and great characteristics of civilization such as hygiene, grace, elegance, and adornment.”⁷⁰³ He notes that the issue deserves a specific article, and he would publish it soon covering other details about London -which was not realized. Yet he could not refrain from briefly mentioning the tile as a covering material, and the placement and forms of the doors. The modern toilet, with new sanitary fixtures, was certainly something that Ottoman travelers were not acquainted with yet, though majority of them did not write about the material qualities or further relate it to the issue of progress and civilization like Ebüzziya.

Third group travelers’ observations are shaped by personal motivations on one side and by normative approaches for the benefit of the empire on the other. Midhat aims to construe the ruling of the house and its design according to the father figure. For him, the microcosm of a respectable family leader and his regime in the house is represented in the space allocation, decoration, and definitive and proper use of each room. He transfers his observations of an elite European house to a section in his etiquette book entitled “*Hane Tanzimi*” [Household Layout]. Except for his ideological calls to pay attention to elite house interiors, Midhat did not elaborate on craftsmanship, eastern decorative patterns or ornamentation. He merely writes cursory

701 Ebüzziya, 51.

702 Ibid., 76.

703 Ibid., 67. As mentioned before, the issue of toilet is handled also by Japanese travelers on United States. However, they approached the toilet habits and design of Americans as ‘odds and wonders’ with detailed literary and visual depictions.

observations such as Swiss churches have quality wooden furniture and carved interior decoration; or in Cologne Dome that the gothic atmosphere with dark stone structure and stained glassed windows are worth to mention. İhsan, on the other hand, is truly surprised that economic status indisputably determines the district, building and even the floor on which a person lives and the way the inside of all kinds of building typologies are decorated. Despite his negative evaluations of the dark interiors of London, cares to mention the basements floors of the houses most of which are used as stores. He also touches on the comfortable stairs and corridors to his room, which featured proper risers and lighting, in the townhouse he resided in for a short period. He describes: “When it comes to the other floors, the altitude of the ceilings is almost equal, the decoration is worn even in the basic floors. The difference is small, and I have often seen a man sitting upstairs decorating his apartment rather than the one below.”⁷⁰⁴ Parallel to his curiosity on urbanism and his emphasis on engineering and precision from the biggest to the smallest scale production, İhsan perceives these interiors as a production of fine-tuned craftsmanship and technical capability with almost no cultural nuances.⁷⁰⁵

Along with experiential information, Mağmumi explicitly writes that in Paris he feasts his eyes on the facades of the buildings, which he does not inclined to do with the interiors.⁷⁰⁶ The issue of the harmony and complementary character of interior and exterior arose in his account more than once. He finds the interior and exterior qualities of English houses in contrast to each other; the exteriors are simple and plain but inside the walls are gilded, the floors are covered with marble and embroideries.⁷⁰⁷ In Italy he was more pleased by the harmony of brick and cut stone exterior façade elements with marble columns in the interiors.⁷⁰⁸ Mağmumi approaches the buildings, facades and interior elements -including furniture- as sculpturesque objects and thus the functionality or statistical success (like being the largest dome in the country) does not grab his attention as much as that of rest of the travelers. He narrates the interiors describing picturesque frames glittering differently under different natural light, with variety of colors, shades and forms. His perspective recalls the discussion of ‘visual enjoyment’ and ‘being beautiful as a function’ in one of the rare Ottoman architectural monographs that was devoted to the beauty of the Selimiye Cami in 18th century by Dâyezâde Mustafa Efendi.⁷⁰⁹

As a painter, Mustafa Said is somewhat sensitive to the decoration (*ziynet-i mimari*) of the rooms in which he sleeps and writes of distinct qualities of interiors in different countries. Similar to Hayrullah Efendi, he adores the colorful wall and ceiling paintings as well as the comfortable soft and hard furnishings like bedsteads and mirrors, while finding masonry flooring strange in the rooms. Another short note worthy of mention is Nesimi’s self-explanatory comments on European artworks that are not very common in Ottoman and Islamic lands:

704 İhsan, 35.

705 He writes, for instance, on Venetian kiosk with praise: “The interior of the palace is more magnificent than its exterior. ... The interior is filled with mirage of gilds; the fabrics and decorations are austere.” Ibid., 194.

706 Mağmumi, 64.

707 Ibid., 196.

708 Ibid., 246-248.

709 For an interpretation of the treatise relating it to the architectural awareness of the Ottomans in the 18th century see Sezer, “The Architecture of Bibliophilia”, 191-193. For the translation of the treatise of Dayazade on Selimiye and the discussion of beauty see: Morkoç, Selen. *A Study on Ottoman Narratives on Architecture: Text, Context and Hermeneutics*, Bethesda, 2010.

Among these, the most striking works of art are sculptures, oil paintings; the palaces I have visited and the furnishings of these palaces; columns with relief depictions of religious and political figures; human and animal figures placed on church walls; cemeteries with paths decorated with colorful flowers and rulers' tombs decorated with human figures made of marble; Thrones, crowns and jewels of the rulers are exhibited in the palaces and museums he visited.

Most of the above-mentioned works of art are foreign elements that the Ottoman-Islamic society did not tolerate. In particular, human and animal depictions in the form of sculptures, oil paints or reliefs are outside the artistic and aesthetic understanding of this society. Although tomb decorations are an important element of Turkish-Islamic art, human or animal depictions were never used in grave decorations.⁷¹⁰

The issue of ornamentation is related to, but also distinct from, decoration and furnishing thus I believe it must be assessed as a specific topic. Westward traveling Persian and Egyptian travelers' attention and perception of ornamentation is worth quoting to compare with the Ottoman travelers. Tahtawi observes the attire of Europeans during the late 1820s and thinks that “[t]he dominant feature of their dress is not the ornamentation but the extreme cleanliness.”⁷¹¹ He curiously defines a line between ornamentation as visual enjoyment -versus vanity and highlights the capacity of workmanship. The related paragraph reads:

All the objects in royal apartments are attractive, not because of the value of the materials but because of the overall excellent workmanship with which they have been made. For instance, all the furniture, such as the beds, chairs and even the king's throne, are magnificently covered with brocade and overlaid with gold. However, there are not many of precious stones that you find in great supply in the houses of our princes and notables. The basic principle with the French is that everything is done for the sake of beauty and elegance, rather than for [excessive] ornamentation, the outward show of wealth or vainglory.⁷¹²

Vahid Vahdat, on the other hand, indicates that the Persian traveler Farrokh-Khan, who took to the road in 1856, “formulates ornamentation as a sign of wastefulness, indolence, and an affront to the purity of measured utilitarian rationality while in the dominant high cultures of nineteenth-century Iran and Europe ornamentation generally represented beauty, wealth, and taste.”⁷¹³ Vahdat then attests that Farrokh-Khan's comment is compatible with the modernist writings of almost half a century later in which the same argument shaped the discourse against architectural ornament. This is obviously not a shared attitude, but as the latest traveler in his study Vahdat relates Farrokh-Khan's sensitivity on ornamentation to the economy of the materials, speed of the production and rationalism -all of which became topics of discussion at different levels in most of the subsequent Persian travelogues on Europe. Ornamentation has been accused of ‘being a crime’ while interestingly its absence has been derided as puritanical. I believe that Tahtawi's elaborations about decorative rationale, functionality and product quality as well as Farrokh-Khan's comments should not be defined as merely disdain of ornamentation; they merit further explanation. In his account Tahtawi introduces the term ‘public good’ and focuses on the issue of wealth. As with the Ottoman travelogues, the labor,

710 Nesimi, 68-69.

711 Tahtawi, 225.

712 Ibid., 221.

713 Vahdat, 114.

rural regions or agriculture do not hold a considerable place in terms of economics, cultural and aesthetic value. Yet, he devotes a chapter to “Science and Art” in which he evaluates both Eastern, Parisian and British proficiency in ‘desirable skills and crafts’. Late Ottoman travelers have a similar emphasis on the ‘proficiency’ on the productions; however, unlike Tahtawi or Farrokh-Khan, they do not evince a negative reaction to ornamentation but rather concentrate on know-how and technique. Ottoman travelers repeatedly reflect their belief in the praiseworthiness of Ottoman taste and technique in ornamentation, which is derived from local tradition; thus, it is not an acute topic for modernization and civilization that should be learned from Europe. Even so, in Midhat’s enthusiasm for ethnography museums, Mağmumi’s explanation of the decoration of religious edifices, or Nesimi’s comments on the maintenance of the hand-crafted statues around Italian museums there is an implication highlighting that ornamentation is a link between the past and the future of Ottoman culture; it is a precious local value that should be promoted in the time of modernization.

4.9 Melek and Zeynep Hanım’s Approaches to Architecture

The drastic architectural changes underwent throughout the half century did not impact Melek Hanım’s perception of architecture even though there is an interval of around half a century (1873-1913). Before travelling to Europe, Melek Hanım describes her life at home and its courtyard highlighting certain spatial feature of her elite mansion in Istanbul: “All windows had wooden cages; some have small balconies surrounded by lattices called bay windows. ... There were also four wickets in the garden opening to some neighboring houses.”⁷¹⁴ Then, during her sojourn, she mostly writes about what is lacking in Istanbul in terms of interior design, most of which were pertinent to quality materials, durability and hygiene - just like her narrative on the problems in urban scale. Melek Hanım is most surprised by windows without latticework, doors opening directly to the street and the ways in which prosperous buildings and courtyards matched the ordered image of modern cities. In every European and Balkan city, the opening qualities on the house facades, their size, position and material, are under Melek Hanım’s inspection since she correlates these elements with the freedom of women. In addition, the antiques, marbles, tapestries and paintings, mostly in Florence and other Italian cities, impressed her yet she did not comment on any of the materials in a critical manner.

Of the travelogues written at the turn of the 20th century, Zeynep Hanım’s was not an exception, with passages about church architecture that do not exceed short anecdotes. She includes her judgement of a chapel in London without specifying the building. She writes:

[W]e went to a non-conformist chapel the other evening, but I could not bring myself to realize that I was in a chapel at all. There was nothing divine or sacred either in the building or the service. It was more like a lecture by an eloquent professor. Nor did the congregation worship as we worship in the East. It seemed to me, as if it was not to worship God that they were there, but to appease the anger of some Northern Deity,

714 Melek Hanım, 25. Before this section on her mansions Melek Hanım describes a typical kitchen and stove system used in Istanbul, which is one of the most detailed spatial descriptions in the travelogues: “The heating process with this tandoori should be explained specifically. Think an iron tandoori put under the circular wooden table with the height of 1,5 leg covered with metal plate. There are quite big holes on the table to let the people stretch down their legs. The top of the table is covered with few or many fabrics according to the wealth of the family. In the middle lies a cashmere cloth or a circular carpet. In front of everyone there is a part to put fruit, sweets, folding fans and such stuff.” Ibid., 10-11.

cold, intolerant, and wrathful —an idea of the Almighty which I shall never understand.⁷¹⁵

Unlike male travelers, Zeynep Hanım did not approach churches merely as an urban image but as a space for worship. Even though Baedeker guidebooks typically give information about the rituals and liturgy of the churches and suggests for travelers to experience a Sunday morning service, none of male travelers wrote about attending a worship. As the excerpt manifests, the chapel seems, to Zeynep Hanım, like a profane space lacking holy spirit. She looks for sacred, sublime and austere space for seclusion which, according to her, most of the European colossal edifices stir, but not this chapel.

Zeynep Hanım's discussion of domestic practices is much more detailed than her portrayal of colossal edifices -indeed more so than any other building typology. Being a bureaucrat's daughter, she personally experienced the drastic social changes in the houses of Ottoman elites towards the end of the 19th century. She writes more systematically and critically than Melek Hanım, comparing middle-class houses in the Ottoman capital and European cities. Recalling Oscanyan's chapters entitled "Harem" (secluded parts of the houses for women and children in Islamic cities) and "Domestic Arrangements", Zeynep Hanım gives a considerable place for the harem and other interior quality of the houses along with courtyards. Both authors claim that "to attain a just and correct idea of the present state of Turkey and its probable future", domestic culture should be understood.⁷¹⁶ Zeynep Hanım begins with descriptions of the house she lived in during her childhood. "The country house where we lived was large, with big rooms, long corridors, and dark halls", Zeynep Hanım writes, and complements her portrayal with several personal photographs.⁷¹⁷ She adds photos of her drawing room with the enlightening notes about the stereotypical belief of Europeans regarding the lives of women in Turkish houses and *harem*. She writes that she aims to reveal how European journalists were wary to write about the transformations of domestic settings so as not to shake presuppositions about the 'East'. (fig. 4.13) She then explains in detail that in the *harem*, windows are typically located on the top floors above the doors towards the right side of the building. Due to this formulation, entrances and large windows facing the street without grills are eye-catching elements in Ottoman cities. It is important to add here that both Melek and Zeynep Hanım almost obsessively write about lattice windows. For example, in Nice Melek Hanım was surprised and genuinely moved by the windows without lattice or iron bars, which meant a free and happy life for her, whereas Zeynep Hanım was always skeptical about the quality of life inside despite large windows without any restriction.⁷¹⁸ Zeynep Hanım compares French balconies and bay windows to the latticed windows of harems with a less dramatic voice. Still, she evaluates the scale of the openings in affinity with the social life of Ottoman families, and the freedom and visibility of women in public realm. (fig. 4.14)

715 Zeynep Hanım, 206.

716 Oscanyan, Christopher. *The Sultan and His People*, NY, Derby & Jackson, New York, 1857, 19.

717 Zeynep Hanım, 91.

718 Melek Hanım, 54-55.

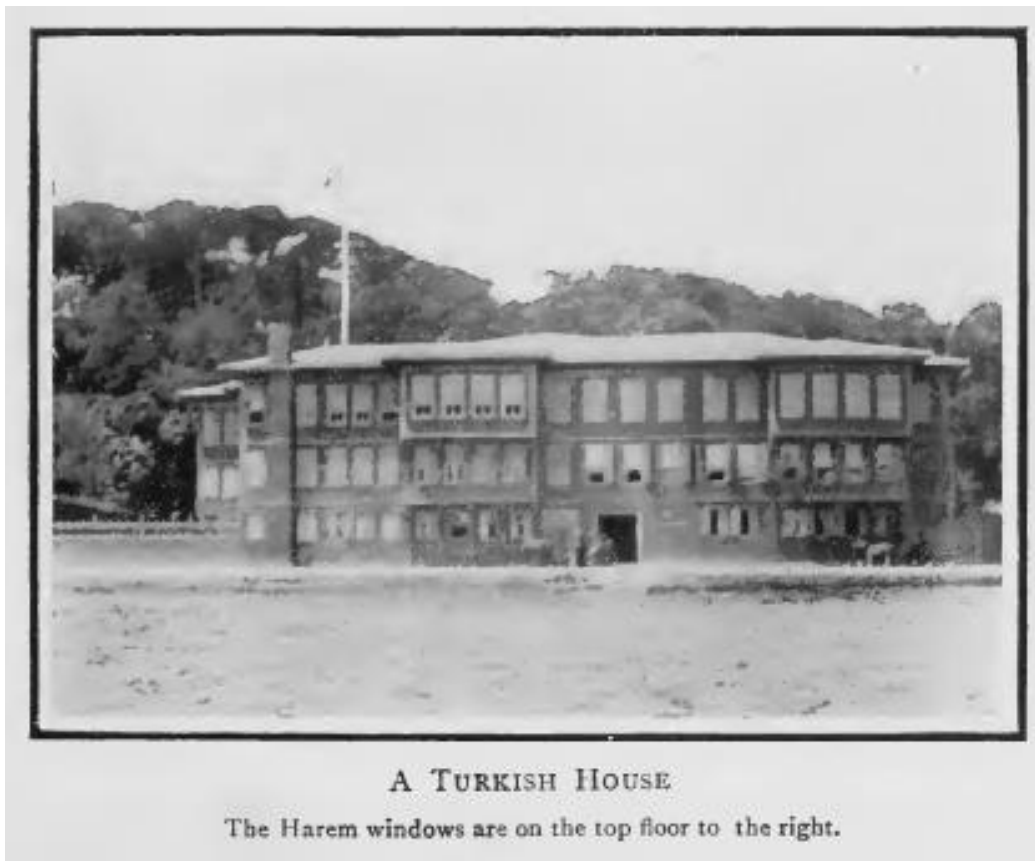


Fig. 4.13 The depiction of typical Turkish house by Zeynep Hanım with the highlight of rooms for female members of the family, in *A Turkish Woman's Impressions*.

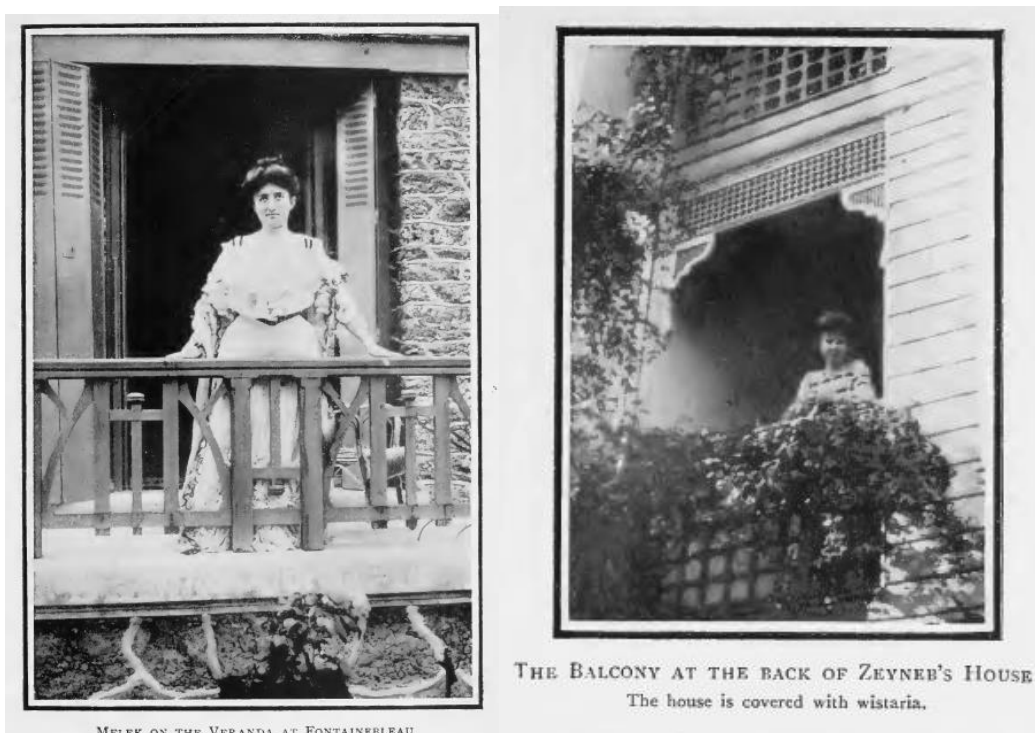


Fig. 4.14 Zeynep Hanım's visual depiction of balconies, openings and semi-open spaces for females, in *A Turkish Woman's Impressions*.

According to Zeynep Hanım, due to the impacts of modernization on daily life, house constitutes the unique spatial setting where Ottoman women experience freedom and imprisonment at the same time. She thinks that this social mode creates a collective aspiration about the interior design of the houses among the elites. Thus, she emblematically describes her experience of modernization as “liberty in an isolated room at home”.⁷¹⁹ In her story-like narrative, memories of watching the Bosphorus through the bedrooms, going to a picnic as a way of opening to the outside world and strolling in the courtyard take a considerable place. She is particularly critical of the iterative representations of Eastern women that frame them as ‘one of the wives in the harem’ since as a middle-class woman she spent much time in her modern drawing room reading and playing piano and enjoying the Bosphorus coast. Nevertheless, contradictingly, Zeynep Hanım defines herself as the victim of high modernization in the streets and despotic regime at home. Under the title of ‘A Misfit Education’ she explains that children of bureaucrats, Europeans and Christian minorities were plunged into the French novels, opera and piano lessons given by French tutors at home but could not perform it in the widening streets. Further, Zeynep Hanım highlights the substantial impact of Empress Eugenie’s, wife of the Emperor Napoleon III, visit to Istanbul in 1869 regarding the education of ‘palace and middle-class ladies’.⁷²⁰ Curiously, she ends this descriptive letter with a bold comment about vanity: “Every time I used to look at the useless luxury of our Turkish households, the Imam's little modest dwelling and his kindly face rose up to reproach me.”⁷²¹ She explicitly writes that the house is a setting for a decent life, a private realm of one’s own, both for the rich and the poor. In contrast to male travelers, Zeynep Hanım correlates the issues of home and modernity to freedom and self-expression both in Eastern cultures and Europe, where those same issues related to the dominant role of family life, economic status, and middle-class sensitivities for male travelers.

Next to such distinct approaches, Zeynep Hanım also has ideas that parallel the rest of the travelers, such as that French and English domestic practices directly reflect the intellect. She writes: “It seems to me as if English characteristic is expressed even in the houses of the people. You can tell at a glance what kind of people dwell in the house you are entering. How different is Paris! What a delight to have no concierge, those petty potentates who, as it were, keep the key of your daily life, and remedy there is none.”⁷²² In line with Tahtawi’s warning and Nesimi’s criticism, Zeynep Hanım finds Paris as degrading city, which she related it the sumptuous conditions of the houses. She thinks that there is an inverse relation between excessive decoration and happiness. Zeynep Hanım then links this issue to the rising numbers of the hotels, in line with İhsan, which she claims is a sign of unhappy individuals and dissolution of family. She poses the question:

I wonder if you know what life is like in a big caravanserai on the shores of Lake Lemana in December. This hotel is filled from the ground to the sixth floor, and from east to west with people of all ages, who have a horror of being where they ought

719 Zeynep Hanım, 98-99 116-117, and 122-123.

720 She explicitly writes that there was disproportionate home education and social restriction, and female education was overdone. As she writes further, what was meant by ‘a misfit education’ in the title of her letter became clear: the intensity of the lessons broadened minds of Ottoman women, but it could not break the physical restrictions on their movement and actions. For woman like Zeynep Hanım the more that emancipation was gained by education, the more painful it was to be stuck at home. Ibid., 98 and 101-12.

721 Ibid., 129.

722 Ibid., 213.

to be—that is to say, in their own homes—and who have come to the Swiss mountains with but one idea—that of enjoying themselves. What can be the matter with their homes, that they are all so anxious to get away? ⁷²³

On the other hand, in an opposite manner to most second group travelers, and particularly Ebüzziya, she touches upon the meaning of hospitality for Turkish families and its architectural reflections with great respect. She writes about Turkish hospitality with great esteem, much in the same way as Ebüzziya praises the professionalism of the hospitality in hotels. ⁷²⁴

Concerning the architecture of civic institutions, Zeynep Hanım thinks exclusively positively about British buildings -most importantly the parliament. She defines the buildings as the metonym of western European civilization and is almost rhapsodic about it with sentences like “England with its aristocratic buildings and kingly architecture – England with its proud and self-respecting democracy ...” ⁷²⁵ After an excursion to the parliament she writes: “I have been to see your House of Parliament, both the Lords and the Commons. Like all the architecture in London, these buildings create such an atmosphere of kingly greatness in which I, the democrat of my own country, am reveling. The democracy of East is so much different from that of the West, of which I had so pitiful example at the street corner.” ⁷²⁶ Just like her perception of urban qualities, her symbolic reading about the parliament is very similar to Namık Kemal’s depiction of the building as an image of the stiffness and strong order of the British society. ⁷²⁷ Instead of banks and townscape, Zeynep Hanım writes about schools and classrooms in a precise manner as if these elements reflect the material form of qualified and educated societies: “The schoolroom where we worked the greater part of the day looked on to a garden thick with trees and perfumed with the early roses. Its furniture consisted of a big oak table and chairs, shelves full of books, a globe, and three busts in plaster of Paris, of Napoleon, Dante, and Mozart.” ⁷²⁸ Certainly, she did not have a ‘touristic gaze’ for any architectural typology; she punctuated his narrative with her experiences as she spent more time than a typical tourist, attended courses in different institutions and church ceremonies, and slept over in hotels and multiple European houses.

Another architectural note in Zeynep Hanım’s account is about her expectations from European theatre buildings, which was rooted in her experiences in Istanbul as well as her readings. She recounts her experience in French theatres, probably La Comédie de Nice, which is not as pedantic as the male travelers’ description. Zeynep Hanım compares the building and the atmosphere around the venue to the plays she watched in Chalcedonia (today Kadıköy):

What a difference to the theatre I had known in Turkey! Sometimes our mothers organized excursions, and we were taken in long springless carts, dragged by oxen, to the field of Conche-Dili in the valley of Chalcedonia, where there was a kind of theatre, or caricature of a theatre built of unpainted wood, which held about four

⁷²³ Zeynep Hanım, 65.

⁷²⁴ She writes, “the most modest household has its rooms for the *mussafirs* or guests. In wealthy establishments, the guest is given the choicest furniture, the daintiest golden goblets and bon-bon dishes, the best and finest linen and embroideries, a little trousseau for her own use, and slaves in constant attendance.” Ibid., 159.

⁷²⁵ Ibid., 67.

⁷²⁶ Ibid., 49.

⁷²⁷ Namık Kemal, “Ufacık bir İbret (Londra ve Şehircilik)”, 2.

⁷²⁸ Ibid., 86.

hundred people. The troop was composed of Armenian men and women who had never been at the Paris Conservatoire, but who gave a fine interpretation of the works of Dumas, Ohnet, Octave, Feuillet, and Courteline. The stage was small, and the scenery was far from perfect, but Moslem women were delighted with this open air theatre, although they had to sit in latticed boxes and the men occupied the best seats in the stalls.⁷²⁹

As the excerpt indicates, Zeynep Hanım approaches theatre as leisure time activity -not education or political tool- and a topic of gender equality. Another important aspect of her account is that she informs the readers about 'hateful'- in her words- European customs like bullfighting as entertainment. She explicitly asserts that European culture is not above reproach; there are certain cultural habits that should be torn down -which is a bold claim when compared to the normative approaches of male travelers.

Zeynep Hanım even indicates that "I had no particular desire to see the monuments of Paris, and now I have visited them my affection for them is only lukewarm. The Philistine I am! I wish I dared tell the Parisians what I really thought of them and their beautiful Paris! I had come above all things to educate myself in music, and now I find that they, with their unbounded opportunities, have shamefully failed to avail themselves of what to me, as a Turkish woman, is the great chance of a lifetime."⁷³⁰ She is surprised and disappointed by Parisians' pride in themselves for having historical artifacts, artworks and objet d'art, unique to French culture. Disturbed by such an arrogant attitude, Zeynep Hanım draws attention to the fact most Parisians do not realize their potential and chances to be creative; she was critical that they have a historicist approach about every artistic creation.

Concluding Remarks

Any strict and generalizing inference will be ineffectual regarding to Ottoman travelers' perception of architecture in European cities. There seems to be a pattern in multiplicity; there are both shared paths and distinctive approaches due to the changing aspirations of a rising middle class. Travelers were very attentive to European urbanity but still utilized preconditioned and limited imagery. Notwithstanding strong ideological motives, technological innovations, progress in transportation and communication systems were the foremost determinants of travelers' experiences with and perception of buildings. Also, parallel to the transformation of architectural culture in Istanbul, the practice, education and understanding of architectural imagery by travelers altered significantly from 1830 to 1910. First of all, as none of the travelers had an education in architecture, they approached buildings mainly as tools for modernization and for the construction of the narratives of their experiences. Travelers' evaluations of buildings as artistic products, aesthetical objects or visual compositions were secondary and mostly based on Baedeker guidebooks. The visual and volumetric features of buildings, façade articulations, color, material selection and other visual qualities were mentioned as a part of the catalogue of information recounted from guidebooks. There are exhaustive paragraphs mentioning the style of the buildings, yet such information often triggers excitement and personal commentary only when travelers do not have preconceived expectations or knowledge. Typically, the neo-classical edifices are found worthy of admiration for the size and the perfection of their contemporary (*asri*) style, yet they were deemed inferior in magnificence to gothic churches and civic buildings.

729 Namık Kemal, 162-163.

730 Ibid., 158.

All the accounts punctuated the role and representative value of buildings in showing technical progress. Travelers' instrumentalizing perspective was multiplied by personal encounters with the new structures of the industrial era such as train stations, university buildings, museums or greenhouses in zoological gardens. Also, it is undeniable that travelers were deeply invested in the power of the positivist representation of photographic images. As repeatedly mentioned earlier in this chapter, whenever travelers could gather photographic representations in the media -from postcards, guidebook illustrations and museum catalogues- they tended to use or recreate these visuals as primary informants alongside their usual laconic literary descriptions. Even the most visually driven travelers, like Mustafa Said, were not concerned with other kinds of visuals such as architectural/technical drawings, charts, maps or paintings; these were mentioned only when related to Ottoman Empire, war-related imagery or Kaaba depiction. Within these perspectives, the narratives on architecture orbited two bodies: statistical information (including dimensions, dates and the capacity of the structures according to the functions) and innovative architectural features (including materials, lighting, geometry, scale), both of which stemmed from the travelers' investment in positivist evaluations of architecture. In line with these concerns, travelers attributed an instrumental role to architecture to reify modernity and thus their expression of personal experiences, sensual interactions and aesthetic evaluations remained limited. Similarly, construction techniques and design details hold a rare share, even though travelers added innovative features if they could recognize them.

The beauty or success of the architecture is valued and measured in a quantitative manner, specifying the dates, dimensions, construction costs and particularly the notable features, such as the highest point of a towers, width of a dome or length of a stone facade. In principle, travelers generally spoke of a notion of success derived from upholding industrialization, machinery, increase in quantity and quality. The magnitude, grandiosity, abundance of light, symmetry, height of the buildings and the durability of materials were appraised as evidence of technical capacity and noted as the forefront of European technological progress, just like straight boulevards and orthogonal planning, all of which created, in their minds, an ordered image of European cities. In result, there are pages of definitive paragraphs, quotations from guidebooks on exhaustive statistics, façade dimensions, number of steps in the stairs or windows in a single apartment block. Starting from Hayrullah Efendi, particularly third group travelers also started to add local benchmarks. Most of the travelers, almost obsessively, walked and counted their steps in order to measure the dimensions of a building and to create an accessible image in their readers' minds -the same method that Evliya Çelebi used. This tripartite system of guidebook data, accessible units (measurement by step) and the use of Ottoman benchmark buildings as a yardstick characterized building descriptions in the narrative of Ottoman travelogues. The comparisons to Ottoman buildings were based on function, dimension and the visual similarities of the buildings with less attention to style, volumetric qualities or decorative patterns.

According to my inference, travelers' tendency to write scientifically stemmed from two factors: First, they aimed to provide manuals with standard data, realistic tone and useful information on latest results of industrial progress that could be emulated and appropriated to build modern Ottoman cities. Second, by defining architecture as a product of science, travelers believed they could define a global ground in which the Ottoman Empire could initiate architectural transformations and posit itself alongside modern European countries. Without exception, all underline that via technological progress, science and innovation, all cultures can create ordered cities and erect modern edifices. In line with these concerns, scale, quantitative information and innovative features hold considerable importance in travelers' discussions of the role of architecture. The analytical and positivist approach was believed by the travelers to

equip them in order to efficiently orient themselves in the foreign urban space, but more importantly to convey the data of European architecture to their readers almost like a formula and standard data.

The penchant for including numbers and recounting Baedeker information was particularly effective in the portrayal of European museums and libraries. These two particular architectural typologies were upheld as both a testimony to the level of civilization and indexes of past. Travelers referred to the prescribed information on these institutions without adding much of their personal observations and experiential knowledge. The focus was on the systematic methods to accumulating information in books, exhibition catalogues and around display boxes; classification and representation of all in an accessible way. From musing to curating an exhibition, to the orchestration of the display of the “self”, all travelers were inspired to imagine Ottoman museums and a modern Ottoman public, which left less space to discuss the architectural quality of the European examples in front of their eyes. The operation of “making history” and the role of ‘architecture’ in it became an important theme as a response to travelers’ experiences. It is deducible that travelers gained awareness of the methods of historization as they visited more museums and cities with vast arrays of artefacts – different from the war spolia, relics, weapons and armors they were accustomed to see. This topic is, in fact, where the descriptive impulse competed with the imaginative energy of the travelers.

The employment of historical buildings to create strong bonds with the past and with religion was another topic of discussion for the travelers, especially regarding museums. Ottoman travelers were excited by the idea of the retention and critical assimilation of cultural heritage that would merge this heritage with utilitarian strategies according to the needs of modern life. Thus, even in their writings on the most historic buildings, travelers have an undeniable emphasis on the present. For them, modern methods to reuse existing structures for contemporary purposes, such as opening the royal edifices to the public were examples of good practice in contemporary city building.⁷³¹ Regarding the appropriation of historical buildings, Ottoman travelers do not specify a historical period or style in line with Renaissance ideology. That is related to the lack of established public and academic discourse on architecture in the modern sense – thus, the historic aspects of individual period styles are not a fundamental part of travelers’ narratives on architecture. The scientific explanations, historicist ideas and references to Ottoman artistic and architectural culture are dispersed and not systematically focused on a specific period of the Ottoman Empire. Mağmumi comes to forefront in these discussions as one who constantly refers to Byzantine heritage in Istanbul, along with Mustafa Sami’s unprecedented explanation on antiques, collection and European understanding of the age value in buildings. On rare occasions, travelers mention the Arab and Persian architectural culture as precedents and sources of Ottoman architecture. Particularly in the coastal French cities, travelers proudly refer to ‘Eastern architecture’ which is possibly triggered by Baedeker references to these geographies as inspired by ‘Oriental’ cultures. Hence, the Ottoman travelers’ approach to Ottoman and ‘Eastern’ architectural culture, I argue, exudes both an ‘Orientalized’ and also a modern perspective; they learned to look at their own heritage via experiencing European buildings and reading about how Europeans defined, evaluated and classified their culture as well as Eastern artefacts.

The final, and I believe the most intriguing, point of the Ottoman travelers’ perception of

⁷³¹ It must be added here that not only travelers but also positivist and pragmatic Ottoman bureaucratic intellectuals altered their ideas regarding the merits of historical information and artefacts.

European architecture is their rising sensitivity towards cultural heritage and their interest in the idea of domestic architecture as an ethnographic category and cultural artefact with historical value. All travelers mention the distinct features of residential architecture in European cities. They categorize and define European domestic architecture as multi-story and spatially extroverted buildings with mostly integrated public and private spaces; yet what they prioritize is the fact that ‘house’ is a primary source of architectural culture for every community. At the turn of the century, the architectural ingenuity of the Ottoman house became a shared appeal by the travelers as it encompassed Ottoman and Islamic hallmarks which were quintessentially a common local value for everyone. As the connotations of residential architecture ultimately led to the image of the family and its role in the society, these structures were regarded as a fundamental part of the modernization efforts in the largest extent. Thus, the ethnographic collections and folkloric displays in various European cities, most importantly the ones in the Nordic region, impressed travelers and inspired them to look at Ottoman domestic culture as an historical value. The architectural qualities of Ottoman houses and their interior material qualities were deemed as an authentic testimony and a legacy of the Ottoman past that should be preserved. More than the legacy of ancient civilizations, archeological remnants or monumental edifices from the past, the ongoing use and practice of building Ottoman wooden houses for the families, with their idiosyncratic furniture, interior articulation and decorative patterns were defined as an inspirational link between past and future. Travelers observed and felt the need to define authentic material qualities to represent the Ottoman Empire to the Europeans, and more importantly to the Ottomans themselves. ‘House’ was, on the other hand, ascribed as a place to learn, teach and practice modern urban life along with theatre venues, botanical gardens and schools. Curiously, what 19th century travelers foresaw about the role of domestic culture would be the main topic of modernization in architecture after the foundation of the Turkish Republic shaped by the dominant ideological disposition of Turkish nationalism, and the intellectuals henceforth. (fig. 4.15)

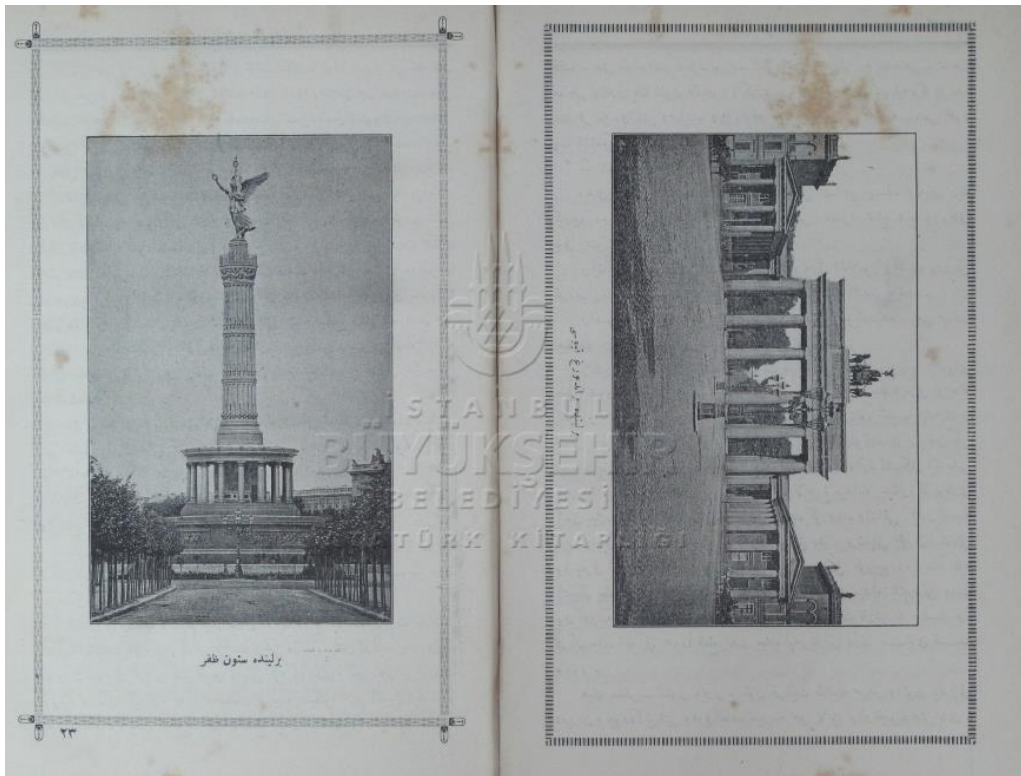


Fig. 4.15 Berlin'de sütun-i zafer; Berlin'de Bradenburg Kapısı [Berlin Victory Column; Bradenburg Gate in Berlin], in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 344-345.

Conclusion⁷³²

*“Air and electricity and light and steam and magnetism
Seized for the use of humankind are all means of movement*

*Electricity transports news to the four corners of the earth
Steam is a miracle - working Hızır of transportation on land and sea*

*Should not this age take rightful pride among all the ages
[Its] innovations have narrowed the distances of time and space”⁷³³*

The travel boom in late Ottoman society emerged during the peak of state-driven institutional transformations as well as the global mobilities of the 19th century as highlighted by Sadullah Paşa’s verse above. The shift from official visits into civilian *tour d’Europe* is crucial for two reasons: traveling and travel narratives were among the most influential channels to extend the interest in urban and material culture outside of official circle in Ottoman society; and civilian personal experiences of Ottoman intellectuals underlaid the physical embodiment and performativity of modernization. Ottoman travelers encountered to and engaged with European cities as the materialized form of the modern science, industrialization and the new mode of urban daily life. The role of urban setting and architecture in the performance of modern imperial identity was observed attentively and conveyed meticulously. In parallel, civilian travel narratives became a part and parcel of the question of Ottoman Empire’s political, cultural and intellectual relationship with Europe beyond the fields of politics, economy and warfare. From the outset, the travelers confirmed the hegemony of modern European culture, yet what is more important is that they were studious in demystifying Europe and in understanding the material embodiment of industrial modernization within their capacities.

There is a danger of superimposing a homogeneous outlook on Ottoman travelogues produced over a long-time span and by the various authors which fall into scope of this dissertation.

732 I frame the conclusion in the form of an epilogue to the discussions of the body chapters. In each chapter, I aimed to provide concluding remarks thus here the main focus is the implications of Ottoman *tour d’Europe* about the genre of travel literature, Ottoman historiography, architectural history, 19th century and also the potential connections that could be drawn between late Ottoman and early Republican intellectuals through travel literature.

733 Havâ vü berk u ziyâ vü buhâr u mıkânâtıs
Yed-i tasarruf-ı insanda unsur-ı harekât

...

Cihât-ı erbaaya berk nâkil-i ahbâr
Buhâr, bahr ü ber üstünde Hızır-ı nakliyyât

Tef.hür eylemesin mi bu asr a’sâra
Kısalttı bu’d-i mekân ü zamânı muhtereât.

Sadullah Paşa, translation by Mehmet Kalpaklı, 225-226.

Instead, I aim to illuminate different stances and reflect on the cultural meanings of these different views as crystallizations of the remarkably dynamic intellectual atmosphere of the period. It is a rather challenging problem in reference to a selected group of original narrative sources of personal nature, some of which defy being classified either as official, personal, public or popular.⁷³⁴ Compounding this challenge, none of the accounts were devoted specifically to urban and architectural analysis. Yet it is without doubt that the power of the performativity of traveling and the first-hand experiences in the sites of modernization put Ottoman travel boom into a critical position for the Ottoman historiography. Travelers' experiences in European cities "enhanced and promoted certain sorts of sociability and social discourse that were intrinsic to the emergence of what Habermas famously identified as the public sphere, a development crucial to the articulation of modernity itself."⁷³⁵

Travelling and travel narratives were already a part of Ottoman early modernization but from the second quarter of the 19th century onwards they were based on personal performativity that evolved through the appropriation of European middle-class practices. Among Ottoman intellectuals, traveling as a cultural venture and leisure time activity arose as a parallel currency to the state-sponsored and institutionalized cultural investments. Even though he does not specifically address the built environment, Stephen Bann's stress on the power of the visual and material sheds light on Ottoman travel boom: "[t]he visual source invites the beholders. ... A visual example provides a support for the exegesis that the reader (spectator) can follow in a directly participatory way. It's very self-contained nature (as opposed to an extract from a text) enables it to generate cross-references as well as to provide a field for practical analysis."⁷³⁶ Ottoman travel narratives include such self-contained experiences; continually evolving responses to the spaces of industrial modernization. The copious accounts define a ground for the formation of an Ottoman conception of European material culture and offer a way to analyze the 19th century transformations in a transnational paradigm, stressing civilian exchanges, encounters and curiosities. The meaning of travel and the power of performativity within this civilian ground is represented best by the travelers themselves: Namik Kemal writes, which is still an oft-repeated saying, 'the news/datum do not substitute for what is seen by eye (*Leyse'l-haberü ke'l-ıyan*);⁷³⁷ Nesimi defines his motivation to set off as: "I learned the theories (*nazariyyat*) but I want to learn the operations (*ameliyyat*)."⁷³⁸ As discussed, particularly in the Chapter 2, the objective of Ottoman travelers was to demystify Europe, and as they wandered around the streets and buildings, they started to put European industrial transformation in a historical framework.⁷³⁹ Further, they came to understand the necessity and urgency of evaluating Ottoman urban and material culture within the same framework, although this was never portrayed as the ultimate aspiration. One may not discern a direct link or reflection of travelogues in the subsequent architectural commissions of travelers, yet it is obvious that westward journeys forged intellectuals' approach to the spatial aspects of modernization in Ottoman Empire. (Fig. C.1)

734 Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish".

735 Habermas, Jürgen. *Further Reflections on the Public Sphere*, in: C. Calhoun. (Ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, T. Burger (Trans.), MIT Press, 1992.

736 Bann, Stephen. *Romanticism and the Rise of History*, NY, Twayne Pub, 1995.

737 Namık Kemal, *Mektuplar*, 649.

738 Nesimi, 2. This is exactly the same formula which Mağmumi named as applied/practical lesson (*dersi ameli*) in his travel letters.

739 As Hayrullah Efendi and Nesimi perceived the current conditions of Europe as "the fruits of 250 years long efforts".



Fig. C.1 *Truvil vapurunda gördüğüm seyyah kadın* [The female traveler whom I saw in Truville steamboat], in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 152-153.

The civilian character of the Ottoman travel boom signals the emergence of, to borrow from John Urry, a modern subjectivity and experience. The novel grand concepts, such as civilization, patrimony, progress, and nationhood, were introduced and negotiated by the Ottoman travelers in a personal tone with quotidian aesthetic and spatial connotations. As Urry puts forward, “[t]he tourist gaze is differentiated from ‘seeing’ as people gaze upon the world through a particular filter of ideas, skills, desires and expectations, framed by social class, gender, nationality, age and education. Gazing is a performance that orders, shapes and classifies, rather than reflects the world.”⁷⁴⁰ Exactly within this framework, Ottoman travelers describe the relationship between an individual perspective, which is determined by a range of social factors such as class and gender, and the collective understanding of the modern European city by late Ottoman intellectuals. Travelers went to Europe as the beholders of

⁷⁴⁰ Urry, John and Larsen, Jonass., *The Touristic Gaze 3.0*, NY, SAGE Publications Ltd., 2011, 2.

modernization and came back as the performers of it in Istanbul.

I argue that the growing production and popularity of journals, with miscellaneous content on urban life and the city from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, had a paradigmatic relationship to the Ottoman travel boom. Ottoman travelers and travelogues were effectively integrated into the flourishing print and press culture of Istanbul in the 19th century. By defining travelogues' imagery as a product of this popular milieu, I aim to point at the capacity of popular currents to influence the state-sponsored, institutionalized cultural investments in late Ottoman period.

Much has been written about the state-led 19th century transformations in the Ottoman Empire as well as its pioneering officials. This dissertation, on the other hand, highlights the role played by Ottoman intellectuals, who were not independent from the official networks yet bore distinct profiles as analyzed in the first and second chapter. Although the late Ottoman intelligentsia is generally addressed merely as a supporting force for the official transformations,⁷⁴¹ the modern Ottoman traveler, *seyyah*, was also a cultural figure who was part and parcel of global professional and social networks. It is without a doubt that Ottoman travelers came across as cosmopolitan figures inclined to embrace the official formulation of "Ottomanness" which became the kernel of dynastic proto-nationalism; but at the same time, they were also followers of new urban bourgeoisie values steered by European elites. The cultural and aesthetic spheres of influence of Ottoman travelers motivated them to reflect on the grand narrative of Ottoman imperial culture but also to articulate modernization via the novel language of Tanzimat consciousness. In this respect, in the majority of the accounts, the traveler's position as a custodian of Ottoman nationalism was crystallized and became more pronounced next to their admiration of European cities. In the minds of the travelers, there is a nostalgic perspective for a Muslim morality uncontaminated by modernity, a noble past and preserved purity of traditional social values in comparison to the lost innocence and authenticity of the west. Thus, one should not leap into retrospective readings and facile understandings of westernized versus Ottomanist figures, but rather approach their personal sensitivities about Ottoman Empire, modernization and aspirations all at once. Both common discursive frameworks and nuances among cultures and individuals seem to anchor the complexity of non-European experiences as well as the need for thorough analysis of indigenous texts.

In this respect, there is room to see similarities and also differences between late Ottoman travelers and the 'men of curiosity' who had undertaken the Grand Tour. European inquiries into first the European continent and then the East were shaped against the background of the belief in empirical knowledge which was lacking sufficient experiential and first-hand references. In parallel, the Ottoman travel boom to Europe was also motivated by a similar literary accumulation and a lack of personal knowledge. Both sides had posited the idea of the 'other' as an almost mystical and this mystification affected their perception both during the tours and while writing about it. The dependence on previous accounts -the mode of 'to see what is read'- is evidenced in both western European and Ottomans accounts. As discussed before, in the voluminous texts of the Grand Tour travelers there are numerous repetitions and quotations from similar sources, evoking Said's conceptualization of the 'citationary nature of Orientalism', which is indeed similarly prevailing in Ottoman travelogues. The positivist mode on and the belief in the authority of the textual references created a ground of inter-textuality

741 Deringil, Selim. in: *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Dönemi*, Z. Rona (Ed.), Istanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1992, 3–11.

and basis for synthetic implications for each group of travelers. At some instances, historicity, nationalist pursuits, and the dominant pragmatic approaches hampered travelers' scientific perspectives despite their obsessive curiosity about the positivist data. Thus, the empirical versus sensual representations of the European cities created the dual underlay of the accounts and particularly their content on urbanism and architecture.

On the other side, Ottoman travelers were highly different from the Grand Tour figures most of whom were or became scholars of the European Enlightenment. Although the 'man of curiosity' paid the greatest attention to their personal areas of interest, their accounts rely on systematization: searching, collecting, and categorizing the information on objects/places in a precise manner. The 'fanciful' or 'romantic' records of the early period of the Grand Tour transformed into more 'factual' or 'scholarly' accounts towards the 19th century with the rise of professionalism.⁷⁴² It is important to remember that European travelers had the urge to find what was not discovered before and to get a foothold in the Oriental studies field. This is valid particularly for 19th century European travelers, who cultivated themselves in order to uncover something and to add it to the growing literature on East with their names attached -be it a new plant species, a dialect, a previously unknown island or a particular decorative mosaic pattern. The end result of their journeys was a discovery -sometimes the fabrication of a discovery- about 'the other' which consolidates the authority of the traveler in Oriental studies.⁷⁴³ On the other side, Ottoman travelers were driven by the desire to discover the authentic reasons for the Occidental success and the 'essentials' and 'standards' of industrial modernization. I believe their emphasis on the collective patriotic duty of accumulating necessary information for the progress of the Ottoman Empire was as important as their personal aspirations. Unlike their European peers, some of whom were scientific researchers in specific subjects or dilettantes with specific agendas, all Ottoman travelers had one main motive: the empirical representation of European modernization with firsthand experiences from the site. Additionally, this methodology was seized upon because it was believed to provide ways to gather positivist data that could be used for self-evaluation in the search for local strategies to create a modern Ottoman urban culture. Nevertheless, I believe it is not productive to announce Eastern travelers' impotency compared to the 'European skills' of inspection, manipulation, organization and domination. Particularly towards the end of the 19th century, personal voice and originality in the depiction of Europe became a part of personal appeal and created a new discourse. Ottoman travelers became conscious that representation of the self and the other is tied to power and scientific methods, which should be deployed to both ends.

In broad strokes, if the Grand Tour regime constituted travel back in time, the Ottoman *tour d'Europe* evolved into the journey of the urban middle-class toward the future with budding historical consciousness. Travelers' discursive entanglements with Europe and their narrative tools were shaped by their presumptions about the limits of Europe. The grand concepts in Ottoman travelers' mindsets were technical progress, civilization and materiality vis-à-vis Ottoman Muslim morality; and all were broken into historical consciousness and technical feats of Europe. Istanbul set the obvious benchmark for comparisons through which travelers predominantly highlighted the deficiencies at the homeland. Within that mindset, Ottoman travelogues went back and forth between narratives of collective admiration and personal didacticism. To harness all the stimuli, thoughts and emotions to the Ottoman transformation, they oscillated between the dual urge to give empirical data on modernization and to depict

742 Harlan, 435.

743 Pratt, Mary Louise. "Introduction" in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*.

personal experiences within modern spaces via local references. These factors produced an unexpected yield that found its way into the narrative of the travelogue, in which, the encyclopedic and empirical (following and borrowing from the guidebook) as well as the personal and emotional were narrated side-by-side.⁷⁴⁴

Despite the differences, travelers' emotional reaction to and dissemination methods (or lack thereof) reveals a shared urban and architectural imagery. The shared progressive ideal to create a modern Muslim Ottoman society was the undergirding motivation of all the journeys. Also, the feeling of personal reconnaissance was operative hand in hand with strong normative presumptions about the European modernization. Particularly after the 1850s, Ottoman travelers' excitement was garnered on the materiality of contemporary architectural technologies, technique and engineering of European urbanism. The empirical data on urban design, buildings and interior decorations are constructed through names, dates, specifications of materials, dimensions, comparisons of statistical data with Ottoman landmark buildings. The information like the height of the buildings, the length and width of boulevards, dimensions of glass façades or metal canopies are specified, at times exhaustively, along with construction costs, key dates and figures. The encyclopedic narrative does not only indicate an increase in quantity and quality but, and more importantly so, provide the standardized data of modernization. Travelers attempted to materialize, measure, and sense the European urban and architectural culture, in the viscera and in the mind. Their educated -or at least mediated-scientific descriptive impulses were in constant competition with the feeling of awe by the very know-how to create an ordered yet vibrant modernity.

On the other hand, a reciprocal relationship seems to characterize the relationship between architecture and travel narrative in the Ottoman Empire. While travel practices are embedded in the constant transformation of transportation infrastructures and communication networks, architectural culture in turn was influenced by the narratives of the guidebooks and travelogues that grew from these evolving travel practices. The public discussions about the modernizing reforms concerning the architectural and social life were first held through the print media; they were the earliest venues of literature on art and architecture with high accessibility. Further, even though travel literature is a specialized genre, in terms of urban and architectural imagery, it is not unique or isolated from other types of publications. In the mid-nineteenth century the significance attached to geography was clear in the printed Ottoman books; among the 242 scientific books published between 1840 and 1876, geography was the third field, after mathematics and medicine.⁷⁴⁵ These books and popular journals of the subsequent decades created a clear pattern of didactic, informative, guiding and advising narrative concerning the late Ottoman discourse on modernism. In both travel narratives and popular journals alike, the mixture of modern material progress and Ottoman imperialism triggered public engagement with the details, imagery, artistic and mundane realities of modern urban culture. Complementing each other, they worked in tandem as manuals for new urban episteme of the 19th century. (see fig. 4.11)

744 I believe further examination of Ottoman intellectuals' conceptions of modern urban and material culture in copious popular journals such as *Yeni Mecmua*, *Şehbal*, *Servet-i Fünun* will deepen our comprehension of the role of architecture in both late Ottoman imperialism and Republican nationalism. The journal articles as sources of architectural history will also prove useful in understanding the perception of architecture by non-professionals and its use in the ideological discourses.

745 Vatin, Nicolas. "Bir Osmanlı Türkü Yaptığı Seyahati Niçin Anlatırdı?", I. Ergüder (trans.), *Cogito*, No. 19, Osmanlı Özel Sayısı (1999), 161.

In essence, the route of 19th century Ottoman urban transformations could be followed through the routes of the 18th century *sefaretnames* and early 19th century travelogues on Europe. The problems that municipal and governmental officials addressed in new legislations were in tune with what Ottoman travelers paid attention to in Europe. To trace the formative impact of travel literature is challenging, yet there is no doubt that new urban life, image and culture was related to the collective order and level of civilization of both the travelers and the Ottoman governors. The almost identical definitions of new urban spaces in the official documents and travelogues are indicative of parallel approaches. By both groups, each transformative act was initiated by the description and quality of the new physical environment in which a new form of modern urban life would give birth and flourish. (fig. C.2)

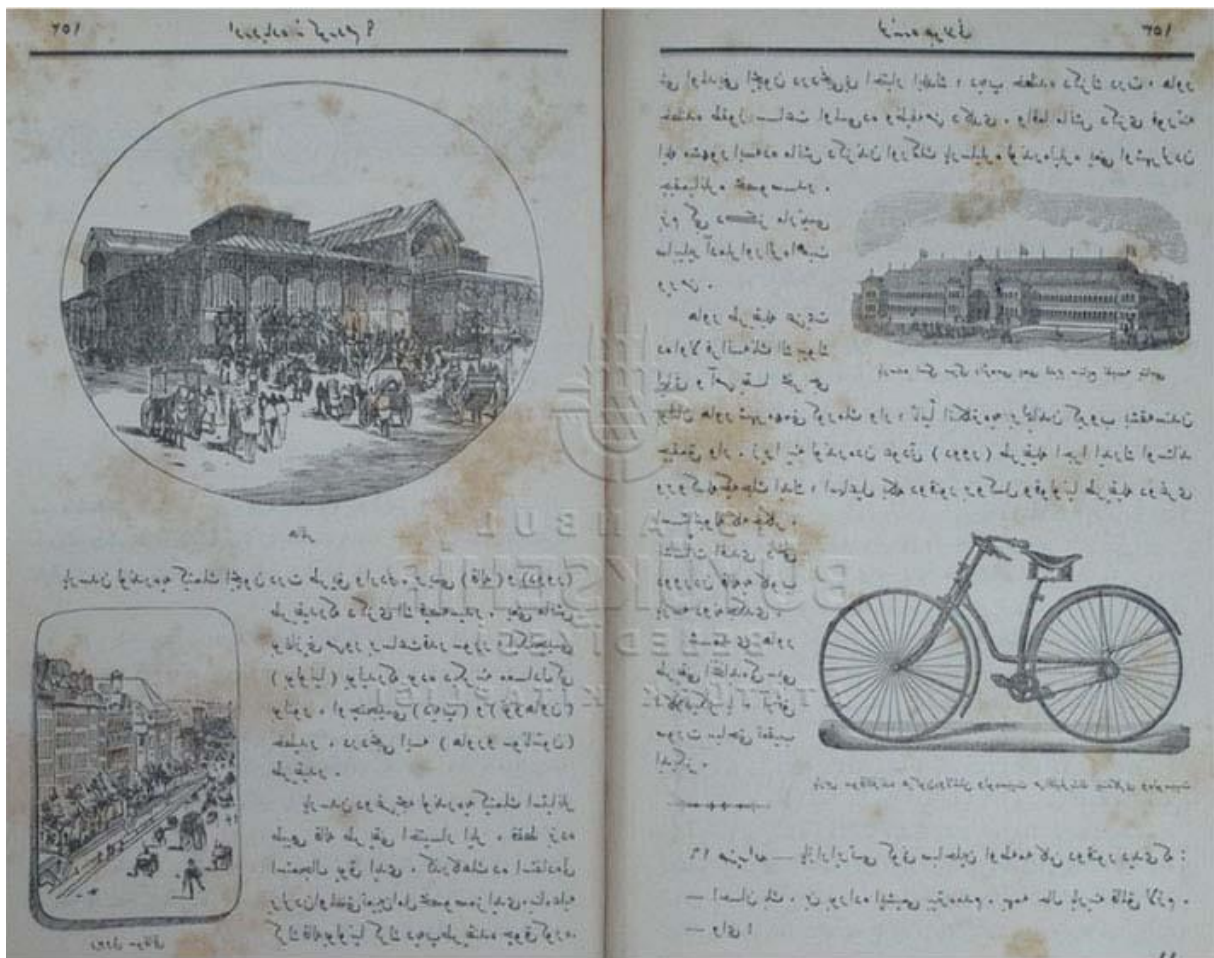


Fig. C.2 A page composition on Paris with images of prominent buildings (Ecole de Beaux and marketplace), a bike (named as velocipede) and the view of Rivoli Street, in *Avrupa' da Ne Gördüm*, 152-153.

To stress the importance of travel for architectural culture, Avcioglu and Flood give the example of Sir John Sardin who was praised as ‘the eminent traveler and expert on Islamic matter’ and who became the first French traveler to be knighted and being made a member of Royal Society in 1682. They indicate that “[t]he invocation of his expertise illustrated how travel and travel literature played an increasingly prominent role in facilitating the vicarious (if selective)

consumption of far distant regions.”⁷⁴⁶ In Egypt and the Persian Empire too, early 19th century travelers to Europe became active agents of reformation in their nations as evidenced by the cases of the Egyptian travelers Rifa’a al-Tahtawi and Persian travelers from the first half of the 19th century. In the Ottoman Empire, however, this trend evolves throughout the second half of the 19th century, with traveling to Europe and writing an account becoming a truly civilian and experiential activity. Ottoman travelers were consciously cultivating the art of travelling as a part of modern and civilized life, without official motivations. It was considered as a tool of self-improvement. In fact, figures like Ahmet Midhat continued his tours also in Ottoman lands and writes about traveling as the performative aspect of modernization in, for instance, *Sayyadane Bir Cevelan*. Particularly travelers who toured Europe in the final decade of the 19th century were indeed a product of this perspective and belief in the commensurability of European and Ottoman urban middle-class.

The contribution of architecture to the image of a city and to social life is undeniable in any period of the history. Yet its role in 19th century Western Europe was even greater, since architectural transformation was conceived as an index of cultural modernization. By all means, the 19th century was a unique moment in the architectural, urban and intellectual culture of the ‘city’. It is particularly intriguing in Ottoman Empire, as the 19th century has been deemed as the end of multinational Ottoman society, but it was also when Ottoman public sphere emerged. In this milieu, on the one side, architecture was regarded as a civilizing agent and buildings were evidentiary examples of the progress. On the other, it was deemed as the reification of contentious concepts including civilization, progress, historical heritage, patrimony and later nationhood. The contemporary debate on architecture in terms of academic, scientific and aesthetic frameworks was often reactionary and piecemeal, yet travelers’ subsequent publications, and more importantly the journal articles on Ottoman art and architectural culture evince that those travelers stirred a public interest in these fields.⁷⁴⁷ Ebüzziya Tevfik and Halil Halid, for instance, wrote short but intriguing passages about Ottoman towns and dilapidated rural areas after their travels. In 1900, Ebüzziya depicts Konya as an important Anatolian town and draws almost a literary sketch of the city as he approached the city center:

The scattered tent-shaped memorial tombs are visible on the right and left. I understood from their style of architecture that most of these are from Seljukian times. In the middle of Konya, which is like a large desert, the night views of these tombs resemble Egyptian pyramids. Everywhere there is filled with adobe, collapsed walls and piles of soil. It was as if there was a great war, the city was hit by a gun, and the houses and buildings were destroyed.⁷⁴⁸

He also notices the inequality between Anatolian towns and major Ottoman cities and criticizes Abdülhamid II for slowing the construction of the railways by foreign investors in rural areas to hide their conditions. In fact, at the same time Halil Halid notes in his biography (which was also included in his travel notes): “since the nice roads and other vehicles that expedite travel would enable tourist and travelers make journeys to the inners of Anatolia, the work was

746 Avcıoğlu and Flood, 20.

747 From the very early years of the 19th century architectural publications started to be circulated and translated in the schools. A copy of Palladio’s *The Four Books on Architecture* in English was sent from the Palace Treasury Library to the library of the School of Engineering in Istanbul in 1804: Beydilli, Kemal. *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne: Mühendishâne Matbaası ve Kütüphânesi (1776-1826)* Istanbul, Eren Yayıncılık, 1995, 280.

748 Akgün, 173.

unpleasant in the eyes of the sultan. Besides, British and American delegations would be able to reach the undeveloped, uncultivated towns of Anatolia ...”⁷⁴⁹ These two seemingly ordinary comments, I believe, manifest a shift in Ottoman intellectuals’ ways of looking at architectural culture, which was driven by the image of the modern major urban centers in Europe. The fact that Ottoman travelers started to pay attention to preservation and the transformation of architecture in Anatolian towns remarkably reflects the changing disposition towards urban and material culture.

Around the same years, foreign buildings arose as a topic of interest among Ottoman readers; Hüseyin Galib, the author of *Efel Kulesi* (1892) and also *Feth-i Kostantiniye ve tarif-i Ayasofya* (1857), justifies writing a monography on a building in foreign lands by the growing interest of Ottoman readers to learn about the Eiffel Tower and to see an image of it. He explains that there are even rumors that the Eiffel Tower is 15 times higher than Beyazıt Tower and that a train car was traveling on top of it; thus, he aimed to provide his readers with actual data and personal experiences.⁷⁵⁰ Hüseyin Galib exhaustively gives mechanical details of the tower, its technically innovative aspects and experiential qualities. He also writes about other innovative bridge designs in the world and reveals how British, French and American architects and engineers compete with one another in the field of architecture. I specifically underline this account since I believe it is an interesting case as one of the earliest Ottoman monographs on a foreign building -even though it is difficult to examine how it was received and the level of public interest (that might be limited as there is no second edition). Further, this short booklet is concurrent to another lesser-known Ottoman publication on architecture: Ahmet Ziya Akbulut’s *Tarih-i Mimari-i Osmani ve Edirne Sultan Cami-i Şerifi* [The History of Ottoman Architecture and Edirne Sultan Mosque].⁷⁵¹ Certainly, the establishment of a market for architectural books and curiosity about architectural culture at the turn of the century merits further studies that would enhance our understanding of the perception of architecture by the late Ottoman public.⁷⁵² The civilian travelogues could be, I assert, read as the early phases of civilian engagements to and literary production on architecture as a specific field.

The final remark about Ottoman *tour d’Europe* should address the issue of heritage and historic approach to material culture. For the late Ottoman intellectuals, traveling was one of the fundamental inscriptive mechanisms to learn from the Europeans how to build the narrative of Ottoman cultural artefacts, monumentalize the Ottoman past and construct Ottoman heritage. These civilian accounts fully reflect the changing disposition towards history and tradition and most importantly the role of the material aspects of both. In European museums, guidebooks, photo albums or in front of memorial sculptures travelers unexpectedly encountered the representation of history with concrete objects. With much more attention, they read about the cities in the guidebooks and wandered around the museums in which European history was continually represented and reproduced through various visual and

749 Halid, 46.

750 Hüseyin Galib, 4 and 11.

751 For a brief analysis of the booklet see: Er, Hamit. in: E.N. İşli, M. S. Koz (eds.), *Serhattaki Payitaht: EDİRNE*, Istanbul, YKY, 1999, 353–361.

752 Fifteen years later than these two booklets, in 1907, an article on the Washington Monument was published in *Şehbal* by Mehmed İhsan. The content and format of the article has similarities with *Efel Kulesi* by Hüseyin Galib. The majority of the lines were devoted to the material, dimensions, expense and practical information like the entrance fee. The material aspects of monuments were first defined through quantitative data and then experiential knowledge was added for future visitors or the imagination of arm-chair travelers.

three-dimensional mediums. In these institutionalized narratives, European urban setting and architecture was embraced as a tool for amalgamating history and progress, and in a broader sense science and aesthetics. Clearly, the French editions of Baedeker guidebooks were influential on late Ottoman travelers' excursions and also their narratives. Among the multiple discursive frameworks of the Baedeker editions was the portrayal of modernization on top of synthesized monumental European history. The guidebooks were replete with historicization of the built environment; the institutional representation of technical progress and glorious history created the formulaic but sensational Baedekers. Ottoman travelers were keen to follow Baedeker's guidance and ascribed Paris and London as the face of European history and modernity. What they did not expect and get from the travel guidebooks was, however, the real-life experiences they enjoyed while touring around the streets full of vehicles, traffic and speed, the conviviality of the public parks, crowded squares during nighttime, lights reflecting from translucent storefronts. Furthermore, the demand for historical consciousness, the representation of past and reification of the authentic cultural values in museums are the encounters that surprises the travelers the most. These varying sensations were inscribed in defining architecture and urban design as the main apparatus to reify modern culture and create its links with the past and local. The constitution of ordered physical urban space and secondly, the display of local culture within traditional settings and more intriguingly, the celebration of the historic values amazed Ottoman travelers the most. The construction of the narratives of art history and architectural heritage became the main concern of the accounts towards the turn of the twentieth century. The European examples both in central, western and Northern Europe such as the Nordic Museum in Oslo considerably enriched travelers' attention to the historicist and exhibitory environments, which were imagined as the potential spheres of the imperial and religious essence.⁷⁵³ (fig. C.3) All in all, after the 1880s the Ottoman westward traveler boom turned into a journey to Europe and the future, as well as into Ottoman history and the past.

⁷⁵³ It must be also added that not only the Ottoman Empire, but also Balkan nations, Persia, Arab nations, Japans, Russians and Greeks produced travel narratives presided over by reflexive and protectionist attitudes in the process of encountering Europe urban and material culture. All developed similarly nuanced attitudes delineated by the need of the authentic position -which I refer throughout this study.



Fig. C.3 *Napoleon'un mezarı* [The gavestone of Napoleon], in *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*.

In this respect, the Ottoman travel boom could be read as parallel to the historicist search for the roots of European identity that thrived in the travel regime in Western European cultures throughout the 18th century.⁷⁵⁴ The European gentlemen travelers who wandered around the European continent and later around the globe prompted the appropriation of Roman and Greek material culture as the ultimate reference points. European travelers believed that understanding the Roman roots of their culture would help them to appropriate and improve it. For late Ottoman travelers, the search was not for their own cultural roots, but they were triggered to, obliquely, look at themselves against their representations in European history. An interesting focal point of this framework was domestic space since it was perceived as a representation of authentic culture, personal improvement and level of civility. At the same time, travelers' approach to domestic culture evinced an awareness of the need to preserve traditional values. Even though the Ottoman pavilions and the publications on Ottoman architecture at the contemporary world fairs focused on monumental architecture including mosques, mausoleums, and monumental fountains -interestingly keeping palatial and residential architecture out of scope- Ottoman travelers came to understand the agency of domestic culture. Their attention to the issue was twofold: the house was deemed as the space to engender a modern Ottoman family with modern, hygienic, enlightened, comfortable and equipped spaces for work and relaxation. Secondly, Ottoman wooden houses with their idiosyncratic spatial

754 The literature I utilize on the developments of travel technologies is mainly in the American context and on the colonial routes of European countries. There is a growing analysis on the history of tourism focusing on the early 19th century as the birth of modern touristic travels. Along with Buzard's *The Beaten Track* mentioned before, see: Mackintosh, Will. " 'Ticketed Through' The Commodification of 19th century Travel", *Journal of the Early Republic*, 32 (2002), 61-89.

allocations in both exterior and interior compositions were deemed as authentic historical heritage that should link the future with the past and symbolize Ottoman culture. Travelers wrote very briefly and in a cursory fashion on spatial aspects, yet it is evident that their interest in domestic culture was sharp regarding them as the physical testimonies of history. (fig. C.4) The journal articles and artistic visual representation of the Ottoman wooden houses and the well-known definition of the ‘Turkish house’, which was proposed few decades later, are in line with the late Ottoman travelogues’ approach to the issue.⁷⁵⁵



Fig. C.4 Forum; Roma'da Tak-i Zafer ve Kolize'nin uzaktan kısmen görünüşü [The triumphal arch and partial view of Colosseum in Rome], in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 504-505.

Lastly, it is important to underline that late Ottoman travelogues proposes potential links between the understanding of urban and architectural culture by late Ottoman intellectuals and by the Republican nationalist figures -even though they are regarded as two separate groups. In 1923, referring to events fifteen years earlier, meaning the final years of the Ottoman travel boom, Ahmet Haşim indicates how architecture became an interest among the intellectuals and how it was deployed for Turkish nationalist zeal in a similar fashion to imperialist ideology. He writes:

At that time [referring first decade of the 20th century], an architectural nationalism prevailed among the literate youth of Istanbul. Everyone is proud of discovering a name of an architect from Ottoman history that has not been heard before. The articles talk about the meaning and nobility of old marbles; poems spoke about the

⁷⁵⁵ Sezer, “The Perception of Traditional Ottoman Domestic Architecture as a Category of Historic Heritage and a Source of Inspiration for Architectural Practice”.

beauty of arches and columns. ... The yardstick of Turkish civilization had been exclusively architecture. From time to time, friendships were established through architectural debates, and hostilities came to life. ...⁷⁵⁶

Later, Haşim recounts meeting with Mösyö Greguvar Bay, an Orientalist residing in Bursa, who enthusiastically explains to him his admiration of Turkish decorative arts:

Meanwhile, it was obvious what I would do in Bursa, too: seeing the monuments, examining the embroideries and tiles, asking, thinking, taking notes, and finally returning to Istanbul armed with powerful documents gathered on site against rich new arguments based on, somewhat fabricated, new discovery about the (history) and (eternal) characteristics of architecture. And so I did that. ...⁷⁵⁷

Haşim was very critical of his orientalizing of Turkish and Eastern arts, which was, according to his perspective, just like that of Pier Loti's. He asks Greguvar Bay reactively why anyone would be mesmerized by the decorative patterns on a copper plate in this time of technological innovations? Haşim's sensitive approach to architectural heritage in Bursa and also his strong praise for technological progress is parallel to those of Ottoman travelers who grappled with history and technology, the European and the Ottoman. The Ottoman travel boom is the first leg of the civilian physical journeys in between Europe and Ottoman lands as well as the intellectual journeys in between imperial and national, material and ideological spheres in which urbanism and architecture would arise as fundamental concerns.

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Prior to the Surname Law, that passed in 1934, Turkish names constituted a person's name, often followed by father's name and a given name as well as by 'bey' and 'efendi' to the end. The inconsistencies in the travelers' name derive from such multiplicity of names before the Surname Law. I follow the original Ottoman name format used during the 19th century (such as Midhat) and follow the books when I quote or utilize a translation or transliteration in book format (such as Mithat).

I give the dates of publications in Herigian calendar first as original and give Gregorian conversions within square brackets.

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Fig. 4.12: *Yer altı Mevkileri* [The Underground Levels] in *Avrupa'da ne Gördüm (1891)*, 224-225 and later in *Servet-i Fünun 90*, 215, (R.evvel, 1308 [November 1890]), 68.

Fig. 4.13: The depiction of typical Turkish house by Zeynep Hanım with the highlight of rooms for female members of the family, in *A Turkish Woman's Impressions*.

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Fig. C.2: A page composition on Paris with images of prominent buildings (Ecole de Beaux and marketplace), a bike (named as velocipede) and the view of Rivoli Street, in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 152-153.

Fig. C.3: *Napoleon'un mezarı* [The gavelstone of Napoleon], in *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*.

Fig. C.4: *Forum; Roma'da Tak-i Zafer ve Kolize'nin uzaktan kısmen görünüşü* [The triumphal arch and partial view of Colosseum in Rome], in *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, 504-505.

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Curriculum Vitae**SEMRAHORUZ**

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EDUCATION/DEGREES

2018–2019 Michaelmas Term: Visiting PhD Student in Oxford University, Wolfson College, Oxford.

Fall 2013–2021: PhD in Graduate Program in the Department of History of Art/Architecture, Building Archaeology and Restoration, Technische Universität Wien (TU Wien), Vienna. Supervised by Prof. Caroline Jager Klein in TU Wien and co-supervised by Assoc. Prof. Ahmet Ersoy in Bosphorus University.
 Dissertation Title: “Distant From Homeland: Urban and Architectural Imagery in Late Ottoman Travelogues on Western Europe”.

September 1–14 2013: ERASMUS Intensive Programs (IP) Project Erythrai/Ildırı Summer School, Archaeological Landscapes – Preservation, Design, Use (PreDU) in Coordinating Institute Izmir Institute of Technology, İzmir.

Spring 2012: Erasmus Exchange Program in History of Architecture, Technische Universität Wien (TU Wien), Vienna.

September 2010: M.A. in Architectural History, Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara. Supervised by: Assist. Prof. Sevil Enginsoy Ekinci.
 Thesis Title: “The Book, The Body and Architectural History in Peter Greenaway’s Cinematography”.

2003-2008: B.A. in Interior Architecture and Environmental Design, Bilkent University, Ankara.

WORKING EXPERIENCE

September 2020–Current: Lecturer in Bahçeşehir University, Faculty of Architecture and Design

ARCH 2027: History and Theory of Architecture II <https://padlet.com/semralina/arch4021>

ARCH 4021: Contemporary Turkish Architecture <https://padlet.com/semralina/arch2027>

INT 3022: Theory of Design https://padlet.com/semralina/int3022_1

ARCH/INT/ID 1001: Basic Design

INT 2001 Interior Design Studio I

INT 2002 Interior Design Studio II

September 2014–August 2020: Research Assistant in Istanbul Bilgi University, Faculty of Architecture

IND 462: Detail Studio

IND 312: Furniture and Modular Systems

IND 202, 301, 302, 401, 402 (Interior Design Studio II, III, IV, V and Graduation Project)

Design & Coordination of Website of the Graduation Project (IND 402)

<https://www.ind2020.bilgi.org.tr/>

ARCH 411: Principles of Restoration and Conservation

ARCH 232-3: History of Architecture I-II

IND Erasmus and Naba Coordination (2014-2016)

2013–2016: Deputy project Manager of *HEY Imaginable Guidelines, Istanbul* – a participatory urban design guideline on Istanbul as a part of SANALArc.

2013-2015: Chief Editor in Communication and Publications of SANALArc.

August 2012–2013: Freelance Translator in portal on architecture Arkitera (English to Turkish)

Sep. 2010–Feb. 2012: Student Assistant in Faculty of Architecture, Archive and Documentation Center, METU, Ankara

SCHOLARSHIPS AND DEGREES

Fall 2018–2019: Bilgi Uni. Fund for Academic Studies in Foreign Countries by the Rectorate; KUWI (Kurzfristige wissenschaftliche Arbeiten im Ausland) by the Dean and Advisory Board of the Faculty of Architecture on Mobility Programs in TU Wien for Visiting PhD. Student position in Oxford Uni. Wolfson College.

2018 Fall: Bilgi Uni. Travel Fund for Academic Purposes for AHRA (Architectural Humanities Research Association) Graduate Students Conference *Using History* in Aalto Uni.

2016 Spring Bilgi Uni. Travel Fund for Academic Purposes for *Dust and Data Colloquium* in Bauhaus University Weimar.

2017 Fall: London Arts & Humanities Partnership (LAHP British Support Office to attend LAHP Student-led Conference *(Im)mobility: Dialectics of Movement, Power and Resistance*, London.

2017 Spring: Tu Wien Graduate Students Academic Travel Grant to Attend *JSAH 70th Annual Conference* in Glasgow.

2016 Spring Bilgi Uni. Travel Fund for Academic Purposes for *Writing About Buildings Symposium* in Kent University, Canterbury.

2009–2010: Private Scholarship from KOKSAL EGITIM VAKFI (Köksal Education

Foundation), Ankara.

May 2007: Second Prize in TAI, Turkish Aerospace Industry Headquarters Renewal Project Competition.

Fall 2006–Spring 2008: High Honor Student Degrees in Bilkent University.

Fall 2004 –Spring 2005: Honor Student Degrees in Bilkent University.

2004 -2008: Full Scholarship in Bilkent University, Yükseköğretim Kurumu, Öğrenci Seçme ve Yerleştirme Merkezi, (Higher Education Board, Student Selection and Placement Center).

PUBLICATIONS

International Peer-Reviewed Journals and Edited Books

In Print: “Traveling Europe, Envisioning Homeland: Istanbul in Two Nineteenth Century Ottoman Travelogues” in *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies* 3.

In Print: “ ‘So, I've Become The Chief Birdman!': Envisions Of Public Zoological Garden in Istanbul and Ebüzziya's Field Trip” in *International Journal of Islamic Architecture - A Special Edition: Spectacle, Entertainment, and Recreation in the Modernizing Ottoman Empire*, (eds.) Seda Kula Say and Nilay Özlü.

Conference Publication

Forthcoming: “In Praise of Homeland: Two Late Ottoman Travelers in Europe” in METU *The Graduate Researches Symposium on Spaces / Times /Peoples: Nostalgia and Architectural History*, Ankara: METU.

Research Publications

November 2018: Sanal A, Horuz S., 2018, *HEYigi Imaginable Guidelines, Istanbul* (Urban Design Guidelines Vol. I: Istanbul) Deputy Project Manager, and Editor in Chief and Research of the card deck:

<http://hey.imaginableguidelines.org/> <http://sanalarc.prosite.com/96524/4443360/praxis/hey-igi>

December 2015: Introductory Essay, in ed. booklet and research project granted by Graham Foundation *The Pazar: The Urban and Tectonics Structures of Istanbul's Open- air Markets*, Istanbul: Studio-X Istanbul Printing. <http://pazarmaking.org/>

Articles

June 2009: “Şehir Labirentinde Bir Çocuk ve Dinle(n)me” (A Kid in City Labyrinth and the Activities of Listening/Resting), *Bulten*, Vol. 71, Ankara: Chamber of Architects Publications.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS / TALKS

International Conference Organization

Postponed to 2022: Co-coordination of a Main Session with Prof. Belgin Turan Özkaya in 15th International Conference of European Association of Urban History (EAUH) 2020, “Cities in Motion”, 2-5 September 2020.

Session Title: *Ottoman Cultural Mobilities: 19th Century Modes of Travel, Collecting and Display*

<https://www.uantwerpen.be/en/conferences/eauh2020/sessions/sessions-overview/session-type/main-sessions/>

Conference Presentation & Invited Talks

Postponed to 2022: “Ottoman Travelers’ Perception of the 19th Century World Fairs” in 15th International Congress of Ottoman Social and Economic History (ICOSEH), 13-17 July 2020 Zagreb, Croatia.

June 2021: “Ottoman Travel Boom in the 19th Century: Ottoman Travelogues”, in *Koç Üniversitesi Kütüphanelerinde Seyyahların İzinden Podcast Series*.

<https://open.spotify.com/show/2k3PYzrjPVfEqwbErKGSUj>

April 2021: “Empirical vs. Sensational: Urban Imagery in Late Ottoman Travelogues on Western Europe”, in *SAH 2021 Annual International Conference*, April 14–18, Montréal, Québec, Canada (converted to virtual conference).

4-5 May 2019: “Ottoman Travelers’ Search for Europe With the Guidance of Baedeker Editions”, in Middle East History and Theory (MEHAT) Annual Conference at University of Chicago.

October 2018: “Avrupa Ortasında Osmanlı Pavyonunda: Avrupa Seyyahlarının Dünya Fuarı İzlenimleri”, in *Teşhir Serisi*, SALT, İstanbul.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JNCoMWNI0V4>

June 2018: “Learning Architectural History from Travelers”, presented in AHRA Student Conference *Using History* in Aalto Uni. as a parallel event of EAHN (European Architectural History Network) 5th International Meeting in Tallinn.

November 2017: “Flee to Exile: Melek and Zeyneb Hanım’s Impressions On Foreign Lands” presented in The London Arts and Humanities Partnership (LAHP) Conference *(Im)mobility: Dialectics of Movement, Power and Resistance*, London.

June 2017: “Distant from Homeland: Architecture in Late Ottoman Travelogues”, in *Graduate Lightings Talks in SAH 70th Annual International Conference*, Glasgow.

October 2016: “Stills of movement and destruction: Transformation of the Railway between Haydarpaşa-Pendik”, co-authored and presented with Başak Özden, in *Dust and Data Colloquium*. Weimar: Weimar University.

June 2016: “More than one travelled for: Mobile Experiences within Istanbul”, co- authored with Gözde Sarlak, in *Writing About Buildings Symposium*, Canterbury: Kent University.

December 2015: “Distant from Homeland: Two Travelers from Late Ottoman Era in Europe”, presented in *METU Architectural History Graduate Researches Symposium Spaces / Times / Peoples: Nostalgia and Architectural History*, December 24-25, 2015, Ankara: METU.

December 2011: “İlbank Blocks” Presentation in DOCOMOMO2012, Mersin: Mersin University.

December 2011: “17th Century Üsküdar through Traveller’s Accounts” in Symposium *METU Architectural History Graduate Researches Symposium Spaces / Times / Peoples: City and Architectural History*.

EXHIBITIONS / WORKSHOPS

January 8–10, 2020: Radical Heritages: Workshop by Prof. Graeme Brooker (Head of Interior Design in London Royal College of Art) in Bilgi University, Istanbul, (Organization&Participation)

October 8–9, 2016: *Wedgetopia: Lets Collectively Create Livable, Loveable, Walkable Istanbul* in CUP (Critical Urban Practice), Bilgi University, Istanbul, Co-coordination with Alexis Şanal <http://cupworkshops.tumblr.com/>

December 2015–May 2016: *'HEY! Imaginable Guidelines Istanbul(igi)'*, MAXXI, Rome, 'Istanbul: Passion, Joy, Fury'

July 2015: INNES Vienna International Visiting Summer Programs 2015 *Austrian Architectural Culture and Building İstanbul, Then and Now*, Vienna, Coordination for INNES. <https://www.bilgi.edu.tr/en/news/741/innes-vienna-international-visiting-summer-program-2015/>

Sept.- Dec. 2014: CEVHER: Research and Exhibition project for 2. Istanbul Design Biannual Research, Coordination of the tours; <http://cevherkamusalsahanelik.info/>

December 2014: Research in CEVHER Discussion Panel: “Library: Past, Present and Future” as a side event in 2014 Istanbul Design Biannual.

September 2014: Coordination of the Open Call Exhibition of HEYigi, Studio-X, Istanbul May 2014.

Summer 2014: *'HEY! Imaginable Guidelines Istanbul(igi)'*, International Architecture Biennial of Antalya (IABA).

July 2014: *'HEY! Imaginable Guidelines Istanbul(igi)'*, Studio-X Istanbul.

LANGUAGE SKILLS

Turkish (Native Language)
English (Fluent)
German (Conversant)
Ottoman Turkish (Reading Skills)

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Architecture and Travel Narratives (Travelogues, Guidebooks, Journalism)
19th century Ottoman Architectural and Urban History
19th century Architectural Historiography
Representation, Documentation and Visualization of Architecture in Late Ottoman & Early
Republican Era Architectural Journals in Turkey