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Touring Europe, Envisioning Homeland: Istanbul in Two Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Travelogues

Semra Horuz

Abstract

European travel accounts of Ottoman lands as well as the commonly succinct reports of Ottoman diplomatic retinues on their visits to European cities have received sustained attention in urban and architectural histories. Similarly, much has been written about the diligent figures who wrote about their westward journeys such as Evliya Çelebi, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi, Rifa'a al-Tahtawi, Naser al-Din Shah Qajar, to name but a few. Yet, the Ottoman travel accounts written in the second half of the nineteenth century still provide untapped and valuable insight into the transformative Ottoman efforts, conditions, and ideas in the wake of the Tanzimat. This article concerns two Ottoman travelogues, *Yolculuk Kitabı* (*The Book of Journey*) by Hayrullah Efendi (1817–1866) and *Seyahat Hatıraları* (*Travel Memories*) by Dr. Şerafeddin Mağmumi (1860–1931), placing emphasis on travelers' reflections of Istanbul during their travels across Europe. I argue that the Ottoman capital had a substantial impact on how travelers toured Europe and wrote about European cities alongside a broader framework encompassing how late Ottoman intellectuals discursively and materially conceptualized modernization. In particular, this article focuses on public parks and architectural heritage, which occupy a significant place in the travelogues, serving as two fundamental aspects of modern urban culture.

Keywords: Ottoman travelogues, Hayrullah Efendi, Şerafeddin Mağmumi, Tanzimat, modernization

Avrupa'yı Gezmek, Memleketi Tahayyül Etmek: İki On Dokuzuncu Yüzyıl Osmanlı Seyahatnamesinde İstanbul

Özet

Avrupalıların Osmanlı toprakları üzerine yazmış olduğu seyahat anlatıları ve Osmanlı diplomatik heyetlerinin Avrupa şehirlerine yaptıkları ziyaretlere özgü kısa raporları, kent ve mimarlık tarihi çalışmalarında her daim ilgi görmüştür. Benzer şekilde, Evliya Çelebi, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi, Rifa'a al-Tahtawi, Naser al-Din Shah Qajar gibi önemli şahsiyetlerin batıya seyahatleri üzerine de pek çok çalışma yapılmıştır. Bununla beraber, on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısında yazılmış Osmanlı seyahatnameleri, Tanzimat'la ortaya çıkan dönüşüm çabalarına, koşullarına ve fikirlerine hâlâ ışık tutan, henüz yeterince araştırılmamış pek çok değerli malzeme sunmaktadır. Bu makale, bu örneklerden ikisi olan, Hayrullah Efendi'nin (1817–1866) *Yolculuk Kitabı* ve Dr. Şerafeddin Mağmumi'nin (1860–1931) *Seyahat Hatıraları* seyahatnameleri çerçevesinde, seyahatlerin Avrupa ziyaretlerinin İstanbul tahayyüllerine nasıl yansıdığına odaklanmaktadır. Böylece daha geniş bir açıdan geç Osmanlı entelektüellerinin söylemsel ve maddi veçheleriyle modernleşmeyi nasıl kavramsallaştırdığını incelemenin yanısıra, Osmanlı başkentinin, seyahatlerin Avrupa'da nasıl gezip Avrupa şehirlerini nasıl yazdıkları üzerinde önemli bir etkisi olduğunu tartışmaktadır. Özellikle, seyahatnamelerde modern kent kültürünün iki temel unsuru olarak önemli bir yer kaplayan kamusal parklar ve mimari miras makalenin ana odak noktasını oluşturmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Osmanlı seyahatnameleri, Hayrullah Efendi, Şerafeddin Mağmumi, Tanzimat, modernleşme

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Hayrullah Efendi opens his *Yolculuk Kitabı*,¹ the earliest example of a modern Ottoman travel

I would like to express my gratitude to Ümit Fırat Açıkgöz, Özüm İtez, and two anonymous reviewers for their contributions to this article. I am particularly thankful to K. Mehmet Kentel for his insightful suggestions during the publication process.

¹ Hayrullah Efendi's *Yolculuk Kitabı* is an undated manuscript that was prepared for publication and is now in Ankara

Ultimately, when the steamboat takes off from the port of Istanbul and wanders around Sarayburnu, if Istanbul is the homeland, the grief of leaving homeland, kith and kinds, is mingled with its view with perseverance [...]. [When Istanbul is out of sight] the desire to see things begins comfortably and peacefully.²

As such, the first urban scenery described in Hayrullah Efendi's book is not a European city but the Ottoman capital itself. "The panoramic view of Istanbul is so ornate," he writes, "Mani and Behzad from Asia and the master Raphael from Europe could not represent it rightfully."³ In fact, Istanbul would appear in different parts throughout his book, not unlike in many subsequent Ottoman travelogues on western Europe. The Ottoman capital was not only a point of departure but also a benchmark to constantly reflect upon, just as western European capitals were not only points of arrival but travelers' main impetus for setting off as an exemplary of modern urban environment. This article provides an in-depth look at this self-reflective view of Ottoman travelers who toured across and wrote about western Europe throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. My analysis focuses on two understudied accounts: *Yolculuk Kitabı* by Hayrullah Efendi, and *Seyahat Hatıraları* by Dr. Şerafeddin Mağmumi.⁴ The former was penned during Hayrullah Efendi's journeys in Europe in 1863 and the latter consisted of Mağmumi's notes taken between 1897 and 1914, during his intermittent sojourns in Europe. Despite being conceived more than three decades apart, I believe these travelogues provide insightful details regarding late Ottoman intellectuals' conceptions of modernization, and illustrate the shared discursive framework of late Ottoman travel literature, Ottoman intellectuals' perception of European urban culture and visions of their modernized homeland. My main goal is to underscore Hayrullah Efendi and Mağmumi's self-reflective look at Istanbul in their own voice as Tanzimat intellectuals across two generations and to add them into the historiography of late Ottoman modernization.

In Arab and Levantine cities, the emergence of an urban middle-class, personal connections and networks with Europe that triggered artistic and architectural interactions, have been previously studied.⁵ Recent studies on Istanbul shed light on the nineteenth-century

University Manuscript Collection. Hayrullah Efendi asked for and obtained permission for the publication in 1864, two years before his death. See BOA., İ.D. 529/36638 (5 Cemâziyelevvel 1281 [October 6, 1864]) and BOA. A.MKT.MHM. 314/49. The manuscript was translated into modern Turkish and published as late as in 2002 with the title *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*. See Hayrullah Efendi, *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*, trans. Belkıs Altunış-Gürsoy (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2002). There are other abridged versions and French translations of Mağmumi's manuscript, but most are far from being complete. For a recent French translation and dissertation see Hayrullah Efendi, *Voyages dans la modernité: Deux Ottomans à Paris et à Londres au XIXe Siècle*, trans. Gül Mete-Yuva (Paris: ACTES SUD, 2015); Can Veyselgil, "Historical Writing in the Late Ottoman Empire: Global Encounters and Historical Experiments of Hayrullah Efendi" (PhD diss., Boğaziçi University, 2018). Here I have relied on Gürsoy's translation.

2 Hayrullah Efendi, *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*, 39.

3 *Ibid.*, 6.

4 Mağmumi's *Seyahat Hatıraları* is a compilation of his travel notes consisting of three volumes: vol. 1: *Anadolu ve Suriye'de*, vol. 2: *Bürüksel ve Londra'da*, vol. 3: *Fransa ve İtalya ve İsviçre'de*. His journeys in Europe are recounted in the second and third volume. All three volumes were first serialized simultaneously with Mağmumi's trips in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, *Musavver Malumat* and *İkdam* respectively. The volumes on Europe were then published in Cairo as monographs: *Seyahat Hatıraları: Bürüksel ve Londra'da* (Cairo: Matbaatü'l Fütuh, 1326 [1908]); *Seyahat Hatıraları: Fransa ve İtalya ve İsviçre'de* (Cairo: Matbaatü'l Mikdad, 1332 [1914]). These volumes were translated into modern Turkish in 2008; see Dr. Şerafeddin Mağmumi, *Avrupa'da Seyahat Hatıraları*, trans. Nazım Hikmet Polat and Harid Fedai (Istanbul: Boyut Kitapları, 2008). His account on Anatolia and Syria caught more attention and was translated into Turkish multiple times. See Dr. Şerafeddin Mağmumi, *Bir Osmanlı Doktorunun Anıları: Yüzyıl Önce Anadolu ve Suriye*, trans. Cahit Kayra (Istanbul: Bükre Yayınları, 2001); Doktor Şerafeddin Mağmumi, *Anadolu ve Suriye'de Seyahat Hatıraları*, trans. Nâzım Hikmet Polat (Ankara: Cedit Neşriyat, 2010). There are also few urban studies based on his accounts. See, for instance, Neriman Şahin Güçhan, "Tracing the Memoir of Dr. Şerafeddin Mağmumi for the Urban Memory of Ayvalık," *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 25, no. 1 (2008): 53–80.

5 The concept of the "effendiyya" as part of the discussion on Nahda, the Arab cultural awakening, has been introduced and analyzed in several studies. See, for instance, Lucie Ryzova, *The Age of the Efendiyya: Passages to Modernity in National-Colonial Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Tarek El-Ariss, *Trials of Arab Modernity: Literary Affects and the New Political* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013). El-Ariss's approach to modernization as trial and error, performativity, a process of acquiring and retrieving specific sensitivities is parallel to the theoretical basis of my argument. I believe that the articles on the newspaper and journals from the 1870s onwards differentiating elegant and civilized (*şık* and *sivilize*) Ottomans and Ahmet Midhat's discussion of *kibar zümre* in his book *Sayyadane Cevlan* indicate similar cultural transformations that merit further study. For more, see Ahmed Midhat, *Sayyadane Bir Cevlan - İzmit Körfezi'nde Bir Mesire-i Saydiye-yi Hakikdir*, trans. İsmail Alper Kumsar (Istanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2017). I want to thank Ahmet Ersoy for drawing my attention to this book and the concept of *kibar zümre* during my dissertation research.

transformation of urban and architectural culture by positing it in a broader cultural arena, encompassing infrastructural, environmental, and intellectual aspects as well as distinct appropriations of European elements.⁶ Still, there is a need for more analysis on Istanbulites' personal reflections on, perception and experience of the built environment. I aim to do so by consulting travelogues that have often regarded as secondary sources or fallen out of the purview of analyses driven by grand stories of individuals, official objectives, or technical specifications. I suggest that the travel experiences and newly emerging cultural sensitivities of Hayrullah Efendi and Mağmumi further expand our understanding of Ottoman modernization beyond the transfer of knowledge and technical information.⁷

The reason for selecting *Yolculuk Kitabı* and *Seyahat Hatıraları* for this research is twofold. First, among the group of more than twenty late Ottoman travelogues I consulted, I believe these two include the most articulate conceptions of urban modernization within a comparative framework between Istanbul and European capitals. At the same time, they are certainly not isolated cases; both travelogues are emblematic of the burgeoning and entangled intellectual circles of the Tanzimat era.⁸ As products of this milieu, their accounts reveal the aesthetic sensibilities of late Ottoman intellectuals, their cultural aspirations and novel values attuned to global currents. I argue that both manifest a shared self-awareness and modern historical consciousness of past and present that was forged by the urban public sphere in the Ottoman capital.⁹

Secondly, these accounts indicate the impact of experiencing and observing sites of modernization personally—through the authors' first-hand knowledge of modern cities. Departing from an evolving urban environment as well as cultural and intellectual public spheres in Istanbul, Hayrullah Efendi and Mağmumi's journeys engender palpable self-reflective discussions on ways to materialize, spatialize, and publicize urban modernization. During their tours of museums, historical landmarks, and public parks, they discuss current ideals and concepts like the technique of civilization (*usul-i medeniyet*), patrimony (*vatan*), progress (*terakkiyat*) and education, placing emphasis on quotidian, aesthetic, and spatial conditions. In this way, their discussions testify that heritage, architecture and modern recreation culture became topics of concern by wider—albeit still limited—circles of Ottoman society beyond statesmen, bureaucrats and professionals of these fields.¹⁰ In my opinion, their accounts constitute the early phase of Ottoman public interest in urbanism and architecture that would soon bring forward dilettante texts in popular journals and newspapers. Further by-products of this interest found its way into to the twentieth century and propelled both modernist and nationalist discourses.

6 For a detailed reading of the transformation of Pera in the nineteenth century see Koca Mehmet Kentel, "Assembling 'Cosmopolitan' Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman Istanbul" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2018). Another study that tackles the nineteenth-century modernization of the streets of Istanbul, beyond the matter of urban aesthetics is Eda Güçlü, "Urban Tanzimât: Morality and Property in the Nineteenth-century Istanbul" (PhD diss., Central European University, 2018). For detailed analyses attentive to these aspects of Ottoman provincial cities, see Sibel Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port 1840/1880* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); and Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005).

7 Rejecting essentializing oppositional constructions (such as the East and West), as well as counter arguments that lose sight of the obvious asymmetrical relations, failures and constraints, I aim to contribute to the above-mentioned literature. Yet, I must reiterate that Europe was an overt and ultimate exemplar for the Ottoman travelers to appropriate urban modernization methods which, I believe, was also the case for the official reformations. The process of appropriation is in itself entangled, contested, and localized.

8 See Şerif Mardin, *Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962); Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century," in *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives*, ed. Peter Benedict, Erol Tümertekin, and Fatma Mansur (London: Brill, London, 1974), 403–449.

9 Such awareness is parallel to late Ottoman official efforts. For more on the appropriation and creation of historical values throughout the nineteenth century see Selim Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 1 (1993): 3–29; Ahmet Ersoy's detailed analyses reveal rising consciousness particularly on the architectural culture: Ahmet Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire* (London: Routledge, 2016); Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 79–102. Another curious case from the period is an expedition ordered by Abdülhamid II to the "roots of the empire": Bahattin Öztuncay and Özge Ertem, eds., *Ottoman Arcadia: The Hamidian Expedition to the Land of Tribal Roots (1886)* (Istanbul: ANAMED, 2018).

10 Ebüzziya Tevfik's several commentaries on a diverse range of topics including the demolishing of Galata Walls, *kufi* inscriptions or the design of the zoological garden in Istanbul exemplify such public interest. For a comprehensive analysis of Ebüzziya's publications see Özgür Ö. Türesay, "Être intellectuel à la fin de l'Empire Ottoman: Ebüzziya Tevfik (1849–1913) et son temps" (PhD diss., Inalco, 2008).

1851 marks the publication of the first Ottoman travelogues that were not products of an official visit to Europe. An anonymous reporter of *Ceride-i Havadis* and Mehmed Rauf Bey recounted their tour of the London Great Exhibition.¹² Later, civilian travelogues became an effective channel to disseminate knowledge on Europe inasmuch that between 1850–1910 more than twenty accounts were serialized in various newspapers, thematic periodicals and weekly journals; soon after several were re-published in book format.¹³ Multiple accounts were written by journalists, officials from diverse ranks, and entrepreneurs who were mostly in the printing business, along with a limited number of professionals in other fields. The crowded and diverse group of late Ottoman travelers necessitates a textured description of their profiles which exceeds this paper's scope, yet it must be noted that among them were two females, a naval officer, two medical doctors, a painter, several publishers, and journalists who mostly served in bureaucratic positions in the Ottoman state intermittently.¹⁴ The trait shared by all was their overt curiosity towards European cities, particularly the western European capitals which spearheaded industrial modernization. Their political positions as statesmen, businessmen, travelers, and journalists, as well as political advocates were woven around their interest in European urban modernity as a public appeal.¹⁵

One of these figures is Hayrullah Efendi, the author of *Yolculuk Kitabı*, a guidebook for future Ottoman travelers, written during his wellness tour in several health resorts in European cities. One of the prominent figures of the Tanzimat reforms, Hayrullah Efendi was a member of the prestigious *ulema* family Hekimbaşlar.¹⁶ He studied medicine and graduated from the

11 Due to the decisive “westwardness” of the late Ottoman travel boom, I name the period *tour d'Europe* as an allusion to the much-studied *tour d'East*, more commonly “voyage to Orient” regime by European travelers starting from the eighteenth century. For a recent comprehensive analysis see Geoffrey P. Nash, ed., *Orientalism and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

12 Mehmed Rauf Bey was a member of the official exhibition team. Not to be confused with the member of Committee of Union and Progress Leskovikli Mehmed Rauf, the author of the well-known novel *Eylül* and his peer with the same name who wrote *İtalyan Tarih-i Edebiyatı*. Mehmed Rauf Bey, also known as Amedi Hülefasından Mehmed, was a high-ranking official in Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There is no translation as of now. Mehmed Rauf Bey, *Seyahatname-i Avrupa*, 1267 (1851). Atatürk University Library – The Seyfettin Özege Rare Works Collection.

13 I use “civilian” to refer to the accounts that were written during solo leisure trips—not official, diplomatic or military-related visits—to be published and read by the Ottoman literati. Throughout my dissertation research, I was able to locate twenty-three civilian accounts written in this period. The exact number depends on the definition of travelogue, whether to include articles, diaries, and biographical pieces with travel notes. Beginning with the incorporation of personal commentary to the diplomatic reports during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, a subjective tone arose as a new form of late Ottoman travel literature. Later, the 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, 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 Ottoman representations of European cities, which have often been missing in late Ottoman historiography. Indeed, the codependent variables shaping 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. See Semra Horuz, “Distant from Homeland: Urban and Architectural Imagery in Late Ottoman Travelogues on Western Europe” (PhD diss., TU Wien, 2021).

14 As such, late Ottoman travelers defy any generalization except the fact that they were members of the burgeoning intellectuals orbiting Tanzimat reforms. Coming from different family backgrounds (such as Ahmet Midhat's lower-class background) but with similar paths of modernized education, they carved out new roles for themselves in and out of the Ottoman state in the trajectory of modernization.

15 For an early example of the scrutiny of the Ottoman travel literature see: *Türk Dili Gezi Özel Sayısı 258* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1973): 457–717. 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. The works of Baki Asiltürk, Hasan Korkut and İbrahim Şirin's are three main comprehensive studies on Ottoman accounts on Europe: Baki Asiltürk, *Osmanlı Seyyahlarının Gözüyle Avrupa* (İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınevi, 2000); Hasan Korkut, “Osmanlı Elçileri Gözüyle Avrupa 1719–1807” (PhD diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2003); İbrahim Şirin, *Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa* (İstanbul: Lotus Yayınevi, 2009). Further, 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 to. 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 <http://www.europava.uni-bonn.de>) funded by the German Federal Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF). See Caspar Hillebrand, “A Researchers' List and Bibliography of Ottoman Travel Accounts to Europe” (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität Bonn, BMBF, 2014). For another outcome of the same project, see Bekim Agai, Olcay Akyıldız, and Caspar Hillebrand, eds., *Venturing beyond Borders: Reflections on Genre, Function and Boundaries in Middle Eastern Travel Writing* (Würzburg: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2013).

16 Hayrullah Efendi is generally known as the father of the prominent Tanzimat figure Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan or the son of Abdülhak Molla. A rare biographical work on him was written by another physician intellectual of the following decades: Süheyl Ünver, *Tabip Hayrullah Efendi ve Mekalâtı Tıbbiye 1820–1869* (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1931).



Figure 1: Hayrullah Efendi (Ülgen, "Abdülhak Hamid'in Hayatı Boyunca Oturduğu Evler," 1972).

Military Medical School (Mekteb-i Tibbiye-i Adliye-i Şahane) in 1844. After retiring from the military service, Hayrullah Efendi served in critical official posts, as a member of the Committee of Agriculture (Ziraat Meclisi), General Board of Education (Meclis-i Maarif-i Umumiye), vice president of the Council for Education and Sciences (Encümen-i Dâniş), dean of the Medical School and head of the Pera Municipality (the Sixth District). He also wrote plays, poetry, and his voluminous and reputed history book *Hayrullah Efendi Tarihi* (1853–1865) (fig. 1).

Hayrullah Efendi's account is the first book-length travelogue that includes more than one European city and additional information about the routes beyond the arrival points. It is structured around four main itineraries from Istanbul to western European cities based on the formulaic narratives of Baedeker guidebooks.¹⁷ The manuscript includes his tours in Greek, Italian, French, Belgium, German, Austrian, and British cities as well as conspicuous parts like letters from his son Abdülhâlik Nasuhi (1836–1912), the translation of a play he saw during his travels and an addendum on Bursa, stressing the touristic potentials of the city (fig. 2).

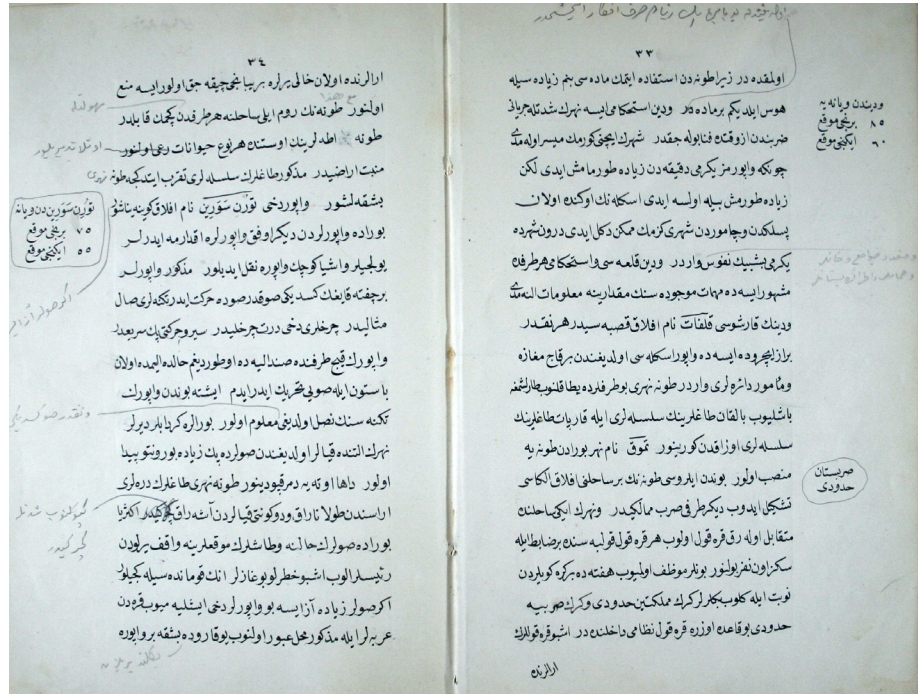


Figure 2: Two pages from *Yolculuk Kitabı* with several notes paginated by Hayrullah Efendi as 33–34. Ankara University Manuscript Collection.

Dr. Şerafeddin Mağmumi was an intellectual of the next Tanzimat generation and medical doctor. After graduating from Gülhane Military School of Medicine (Gülhane Mekteb-i Tibbiye-i Askeriyesi) in 1894, he worked as a physician during the authoritarian regime of Abdülhamid II (1876–1908). A fervent political activist, Mağmumi was one of the founders of the Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti) which was led by many medical students and doctors like himself. Mağmumi also worked as an official inspector in various provinces and Anatolian towns in relation to public health issues. In 1896, he self-exiled himself to Paris where he continued to publish journal articles on his studies. After several short visits to Istanbul, he settled in Cairo in 1901. Mağmumi became an ardent believer in science and positivism, paralleling the Young Turks movement of the preceding decades (fig. 3).¹⁸

17 The German publisher Karl Baedeker, along with British publisher John Murray, pioneered the genre of travel guidebooks starting from the early nineteenth century. Still active today, Baedeker publishing company has mastered the guidebook narrative focused on routes and a star-system evaluation within a *handbuch/büchlein* (booklet/manual) format. Curiously, there are not many comprehensive analyses of the Baedeker editions on the perception of art, architecture, and history. See Edward Mendelson, "Baedeker's Universe," *Yale Review* 74 (1985): 386–403.

18 Nazım H. Polat, *Bir Jöntürk'ün Serüveni: Dr. Şerafeddin Mağmumi: Hayatı ve Eserleri* (Istanbul: Bük Yayınları, 2002).

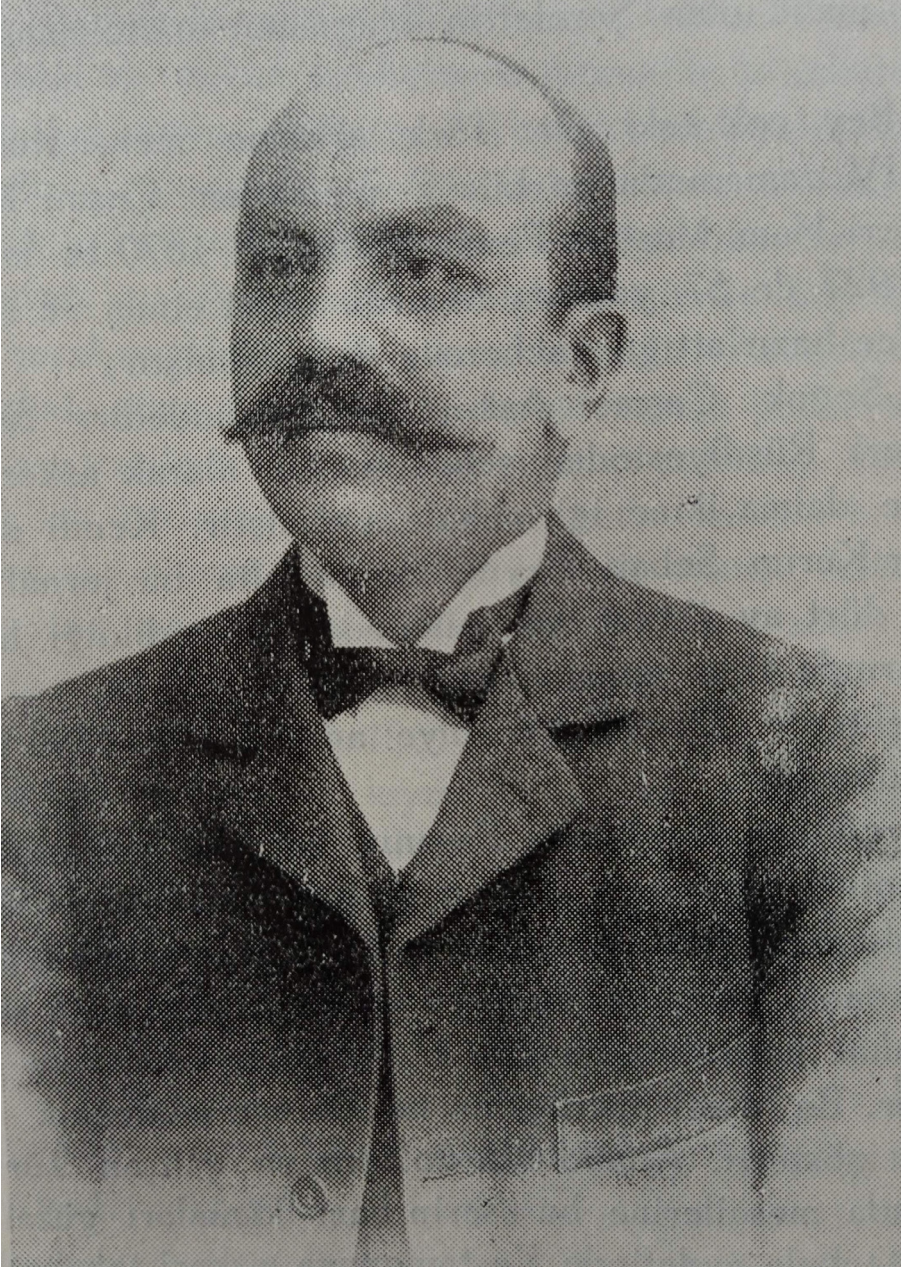


Figure 3: Portrait of Şerafeddin Mağmumi. (Süheyl, "Dr. Şerafeddin Mağmumi," 1934).

His travel narrative is constituted of lengthy letters in line with lengthy travelogues as epistolary notes and quasi-memoirs by the contemporaneous Ottoman travelers such as Ahmed Midhat Efendi (1844–1912) and Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz] (1868–1942). His travelogue reflects his detailed observations during guided tours, leisure trips with friends, and solo excursions to various cities. As he was living in Europe, he had more time and experience with the locals compared to Hayrullah Efendi.

Both Hayrullah Efendi and Mağmumi were politically active medical doctors and epitomes of Tanzimat intellectuals who were educated in modern schools that constituted the seedbed of modern state mechanisms as well as public opinion in the late Ottoman society. Hayrullah Efendi could be situated in between the Ottoman governing elites and the newly emerging cultural circles while Mağmumi was a successor of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie class Hayrullah Efendi belonged to. Neither were independent from the official networks yet both bore distinct profiles and shared the same self-acclaimed role and progressive ideal: to experience and implement European methods in order to create a modern Muslim Ottoman society.

James L. Gelvin and Nile Green aptly describe 1850–1930 as the age of steam and press, underscoring the impact of mobility, print media, and concomitant intellectual developments in various Muslim communities that encompassed global connections in previously unseen ways.¹⁹ In the same vein, Keith D. Watenpaugh reveals that at the turn of the twentieth 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.”²⁰ He explains that leisure time activities, entertainment culture, artistic curiosity and tenacity became critical aspects describing modernization—all of which were directly related to the performativity of modern social life. Hayrullah Efendi and Mağmumi’s travels were forged by this very moment wherein artifacts, ideas, and individuals freely circulated.²¹ In tune with their European middle-class dispositions, they lived in waterside mansions, enjoyed European-style mansion gardens, spent their leisure time on the Bosphorus shoreline or parks, read French journals, watched theatre plays, and were active in private unions.²² In fact, this marks the period when Ottoman intellectuals began to publicly express their concerns and ideas about architectural patronage, gardening activities, and curiosity about art. Indeed, Hayrullah Efendi’s garden in the backyard of his house in Bebek is a salient manifestation of the formation of a new profile of Ottoman elites which emerged in the mid-nineteenth century (fig. 4). Concurrently, architecture, heritage, and the urban image were frequently debated by the Ottoman public via the printed media. The journal articles, and, in particular, illustrated commentaries, sought to be a source of progressive outlook for the future of Ottoman society and served to instill a consciousness to the public’s literacy of architectural and urban history.²³

As proactive figures in this cultural public sphere, Hayrullah Efendi and Mağmumi constantly discussed standards of civility, scientific precision, and historic awareness and came to understand the powerful agency of parks and museums in this regard. These two fundamental typologies of modern European urban culture triggered them to reflect on their homeland and to discuss the need of modern parks in the city center, and the lack of tangible references from the past to emphasize their desire to integrate authentic Ottoman values within modern Istanbul’s burgeoning social scene.²⁴

19 Not surprisingly, Gelvin and Green’s contextualization of global Muslims in the age of steam and print between 1850 and the 1930s is contemporaneous with the pinnacle of civilian travel boom in Ottoman society. See James L. Gelvin and Nile Green, *The Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014). See also see Green, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840–1915* (Los Angeles: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Green, “Spacetime and the Muslim Journey West: Industrial Communications in the Making of the “Muslim World,” *The American Historical Review* 118, no. 2 (2013): 401–429.

20 Keith David Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 3.

21 For another reference on global connection with the focus on domestic culture see Toufoul Abou-Hodeiba, *A Taste for Home: The Modern Middle Class in Ottoman Beirut* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017).

22 It must be added that Hayrullah Efendi was one of the first Muslim members of Société Impériale de Médecine—later Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane—which, established in 1856, was one of the first nineteenth-century unions that accepted two Muslims as members in Istanbul. See Zuhâl Özyayın, “Tanzimat Devri Hekimi Hayrullah Efendi’nin Hayatı ve Eserleri” (PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1990).

23 There are few studies on this issue that mainly list periodical articles on architecture, heritage and urban issues: Gündegül Parlar, “Servet-i Fünun’da Sanat Yazıları,” *Uluslararası Dördüncü Türk Kültürü Kongresi Bildirileri*, v. 3 (Ankara: AKM Yayınları, 1997), 325–328; Gürbey Hiz, “Servet-i Fünun’da Toplumsal Mekanın Anlatılar ile Üretimi: Tahayyüller, İnşalar ve Deneyimler Atlası (1891–1910)” (PhD diss., İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2020); İbrahim Tosun, “İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi Osmanlı Dergilerinde Mimarlık” (PhD diss., Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2019); Mehmet Nuhoglu, “Servet-i Fünun Dergisi’nde Türk Sanatı: Şehir ve Mimari” (PhD diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2008); V. Gül Cephaneçigil, “Geç Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemlerinde Mimarlık Tarihi İlgisi ve Türk Eksenli Milliyetçilik (1873–1930)” (PhD diss., İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2009); Zeynep Çelik, *About Antiquities: Politics of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 2016). For an analysis that remarkably explores the early twentieth-century intellectuals’ approach to domestic architecture as heritage see Yavuz Sezer, “The Perception of Traditional Ottoman Domestic Architecture as a Category of Historic Heritage and a Source of Inspiration for Architectural Practice” (master’s thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2005). For more on the illustrated journals as a site and tool for gaining historical knowledge see Ahmet Ersoy, “Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy: Archiving Everyday Life and Historical Space in Ottoman Illustrated Journals,” *History of Photography* 40, no. 3 (2016): 330–357; Ersoy, “History As You Go: Mobility, Photography, and the Visibility of the Past in Late Ottoman Print Space,” in *Representing the Past in the Art of the Long Nineteenth Century: Historicism, Postmodernism, and Internationalism*, ed. Matthew C. Potter (London: Routledge, 2021), 240–262.

24 I must add that Ottoman houses are another point of concern for the travelers addressing them as an authentic aspect of Ottoman morality, domestic and social life. The discussions on the spatial and architectural aspects are not as textured as urban issues yet it is important to read them in consideration with the visions of Celal Esad Arseven, for instance, and also with the “Turkish house” concept introduced a few decades later.



Figure 4: The garden of Hayrullah Efendi's mansion (Hekimbaşı Yalısı) in Bebek during the late 1860s. ("The childhood of Hamid Bey: On the poolside of Aşiyân..." *Servet-i Fünun* 57, no. 1487 [February 12, 1924]).

Tenezzühgâh and Teferrücgâh in Istanbul vis-à-vis Europe

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, while the Ottoman travel narratives extended beyond being official documents, the urban form of Istanbul started to be a primary concern of official transformative efforts. The 1848 Building Regulation (Ebniye Nizamnamesi), 1853 Regulation on Streets (Sokaklara Dair Nizamname), 1863 Roads and Building Code (Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi), and 1875 Regulation on Construction Methods in Istanbul (İstanbul ve Bilad-ı Selasede Yapılacak Ebniyenin Suver-i İnşaiyesine Dair Nizamname) were all primarily devised to regulate the architecture and inner-city roads in the capital.²⁵ The aim of the regulations was to create an orderly image of Istanbul like Western European capitals, and to transform the volatile urban fabric into sturdy and fire-proof structures. Certainly,

²⁵ There are other codes including those for the docks in Istanbul and important developments such as the establishment of the Commission of Road Reform (Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu) in 1866, and the 1882 Building Act (Ebniye Kanunu). See Murat Gül, *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernization of a City* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014); and Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986).

the realization of this transformation is not as straightforward as the authorities' reasoning void of any distinctive reactions or undercurrents. Indeed, as Yerasimos puts forward, urbanism has been one of the fundamental bases of comparison between the Ottoman court and Europe since the seventeenth century.²⁶ 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 in accordance with the "European city" as an ultimate category. Thus, not only the technological know-how but also aesthetic preferences regarding the urban environment were influenced by European urban standards. In this period, new spaces for recreation, entertainment, and leisure emerged in Istanbul in addition to traditional spaces of "freely rambling grounds."²⁷ Starting with the residents of Pera and the ruling elites, new leisure facilities soon became a part of the broader circles of the public in the Ottoman capital. Civilian Ottoman travelogues, starting with Hayrullah Efendi's account, mirror these cultural dispositions. Throughout the *Yolculuk Kitabı*, he utilizes many terms for a variety of modern public landscapes: promenade (*tenezzühgâh*), recreation park (*teferrücgâh*), national garden (*millet bağçesi*), people's garden (*halk bağçesi*), municipality garden (*belediye bağçesi*), and public garden (*umumi bağçe*). It is important to note that he discusses zoological and botanical gardens as a different category, framing them as scholarly and scientific endeavors undertaken by universities and museums.²⁸

In his evaluation of European parks, Hayrullah Efendi applies the same criteria he used for the major urban centers; his assessments mainly predicate the city's geometric order and municipal services. Continuity and order in planning, hygiene, and the technical capacity to create orthogonal spatial features are the main focal point of his curiosity. He is mindful about the materials, dimensions and number of planters, parterre, irrigation system and lighting, along with the physical features of benches, hardscapes, pavements, and curbs. The softscapes, landscaping, or the plants themselves are not discussed much, except for brief and dispersed notes recalling Istanbul's natural landscape. Alongside these concerns, Hayrullah Efendi describes the Jardin des Plantes in Paris as a place where civilization meets with nature (*medeniyât ve tabiiyâtın buluştuğu yer*).²⁹ He also bluntly indicates that all types of European gardens including plant and animal gardens (*nebatat ve hayvanat bahçesi*) are foreign to the Ottomans despite being the best excursion sites in major European cities.³⁰ Thereafter, Hayrullah Efendi draws attention to the fact that parks in most European cities are open to all citizens without any payment or membership, which was not the case in Istanbul at that time. He asserts that the few and meagre gardens in Istanbul are insufficient and that establishing a park is a fundamental necessity for a government with an intention of modernizing the urban environment and creating a civilized body of society.³¹

26 A curious manifestation of the Ottoman authorities' perception of European city as a category is evident in the transformation of the 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. Continuous efforts on modern planning, attention to and praise for the European image of even a rather remote Greek city indicates that Ottoman official concerns regarding urban transformation were not merely a practical, economic concern but also a representative issue. In the same manner, Istanbul's transformation during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries 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 Ottoman and foreign residents as well as travelers. See Aleksandra Yeralimpos, "Tanzimat Döneminde Kuzey Yunanistan'da Şehircilik ve Modernleşme (1839'dan 19. Yüzyıl Sonuna)," and Stefan Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine" in *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, ed. Paul Dumont and François Georgeon, trans. Ali Berktaş (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 31–59 and 1–19.

27 I use the phrase in reference to Gönül Eyyapan, *Old Turkish Gardens: Old Istanbul Gardens in Particular* (Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2000). There is a growing literature on the late Ottoman recreation and leisure culture. See Berin Gölönu, "From Graveyards to the 'People's Gardens': The Making of Public Leisure Space In Istanbul," in *Commoning the City: Empirical Perspectives on Urban Ecology, Economics and Ethics*, ed., Derya Özkan and Gülsem Baykal Büyüksaraç (London: Routledge, 2020), 104–122; Nilay Özlü and Seda Kula Say, eds., *Spectacle, Entertainment, and Recreation in the Modernizing Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey* (Intellect, forthcoming).

28 Hayrullah Efendi, *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*, 123–135; 163–173.

29 *Ibid.*, 126.

30 *Ibid.*, 129.

31 See fig. 3 that shows Hayrullah Efendi's "European-style" garden with its pools, flower and fruit orchards, which had been a well-known edifice on the Bosphorus due to its garden and "European-style" interior design since the early nineteenth century. Hayrullah Efendi is known to have had these photos taken by a photographer in the 1860s—possibly after his visits to Europe. Public parks, in line with his mansion garden, were certainly spaces of civility for Hayrullah Efendi. He did not include detailed information—neither experiential nor encyclopedic—in the design of the parks but approached them as municipal amenities and as a symbol of "civilized urbanity." See Ünver, *Tabip Hayrullah Efendi*, 1–8.

From the 1880s onwards, Ottoman travelers, including eminent figures like Ahmet Midhat, Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], and Zeynep Hanım (d. 1883), mention their regular presence in the promenades and gardens in the city center as well as in the peripheral orchards and natural sites including the Kağıthane meadow and Bosphorus villages.³² In line with this tendency to refer to personal experiences, Mağmumi places more emphasis on his experiences in the parks of Istanbul. He incorporates his comments about entertainment, spectacle, and cultural aspects alongside technical details of planning. Following the example of his peers, yet in a more critical tone, he analyzes European parks considering the new architectural and urban facilities within the greenery and the issue of public accessibility. Accordingly, in Brussels, botanical and zoological gardens garnered Mağmumi's attention more than any other leisure and recreation place due to the fact that these typologies hinged on science and education.³³ In the Palais du Cinquantenaire (*limonluk* in the account), he recalls the botanical garden of the Imperial Medical School in Sarayıçı in Istanbul and criticizes the school's botanical garden for not being open to public. Mağmumi compares leisure time at a park to visiting a museum, both of which, for him, are similar, as places that primarily serve to educate the public, while also provide entertainment.

During his tours in London, Mağmumi continues his criticism and specifically addresses the Sixth District Municipality (Altıncı Daire-i Belediye), founded in 1857. Even in 1897, he writes, 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 laments the deficiency of public parks in almost all districts of the Ottoman capital aside from the extra-mural lands and areas around the graveyards. He pinpoints suitable locations for planning parks in different scales and calls for municipal officials to act. His sentences are worth quoting at length in order to display how invested he was:

Many of the permissible points [in Istanbul] 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 Yenibağçe Meadow be established as a garden and the Güreba Hospital constitute an island in Gülistan? Why not that lofty place called Topkapı Palace transformed into a Bologna Forest or a Hyde Park? Like the derelict area in front of the Mekteb-i Nüvvab (The School of Islamic Judges), there are lots of open spaces, prairie and many favorable lands that could be turned into parks via expropriation of the buildings, without any need for land supply. This way the people who are flooding to Eyüpsultan and Edirnekapı cemeteries on Fridays and Sundays and sitting on the stones would avoid that activity which is not appropriate for both health and religious reasons.³⁴

His suggested locations, viewed on the map of the Historic Peninsula from the 1870s, the decade between Hayrullah Efendi and Mağmumi's travels, reveal the patchy nature of the urban greenery, visibly exemplifying both travelers' complaints (fig. 5).

Like Hayrullah Efendi, Mağmumi continues to write on the issue, asserting that although Taksim and Tepebaşı are named as "public" and "municipal" (*umumi* and *beledi*), each is in actuality a private park accessible to limited publics.³⁵ He thinks if the parks were made freely accessible, Istanbulites could experience first-hand the enjoyment of visiting a park as opposed to impressions derived by secondhand comparisons of European parks to taverns.³⁶

32 Zeynep Hanım's visual and literary portrayal of Ottoman women in parks and social gatherings in the greenery is worth looking at to grasp the gendered perspective on the transformation of social life in late Ottoman society. See Zeynep Hanım, *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions*, with Grace Ellision (London: Seeley Service Co. Ltd., 1913), esp. unpaginated photos.

33 In Mağmumi's account, there are several plain descriptions of the parks. In the English-styled Jardin Botanies, for instance, he gives encyclopedic data, lists sculptures noting the material of each, street furniture, water, and lighting fixtures. Mağmumi, *Avrupa Seyahat Hatıraları*, 30.

34 Mağmumi, *Avrupa Seyahat Hatıraları*, 83–84.

35 For more on the nineteenth-century parks in Istanbul, in addition to Gölönü's article and Kentel's dissertation, see the latter's "Ölümlerin ve Yaşayanların Tarlalarının Üzerinde: Küçük Kabristan'dan Tepebaşı Bahçesi'ne On Dokuzuncu Yüzyılda Pera Doğasının İnşası," in *Şehrin Doğası: Tarihsel ve Güncel Tartışmalar Işığında İstanbul'da Toprak, Yeşil ve Su*, ed., Cemal Kafadar, Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, Ayfer Bartu Candan, and Suna Kafadar, forthcoming; and Mustafa Emir Küçük, "Urban Parks of Istanbul in the late Ottoman Empire: Constructed Nature for Recreation Aims" (master's thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2019).

36 Mağmumi, *Avrupa Seyahat Hatıraları*, 84.

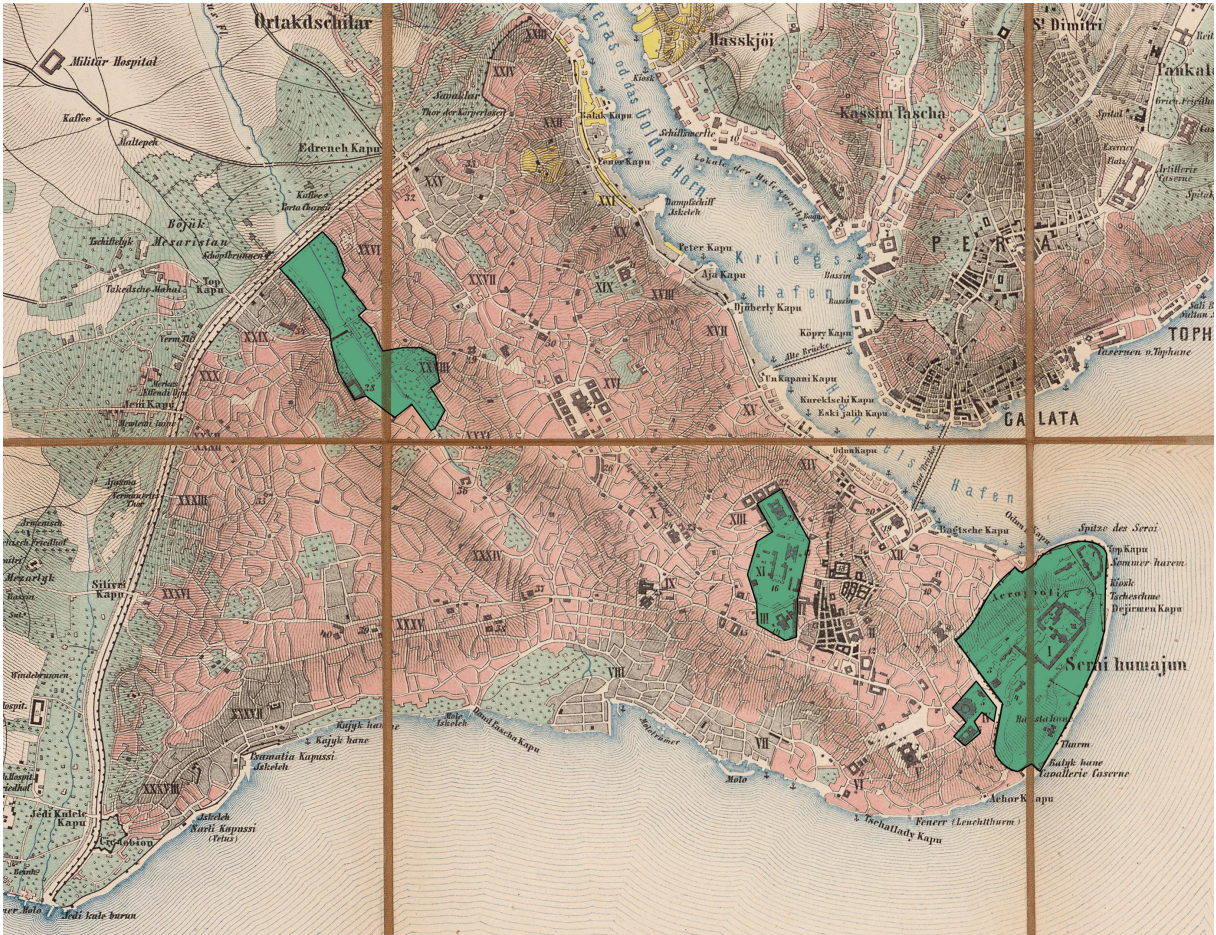


Figure 5: The greenery and built environment of the Historic Peninsula with the highlighted public park lands suggested by Şerafeddin Mağmumi (Based on: von Scheda, *Konstantinopel*, 1869).

Upon his visit to Regents Park in London, Mağmumi devoted many pages to zoological gardens, praising them as scientific research institutions, as he observed in Brussels. He explains that both the medical students and public could make first-hand observations in zoological gardens, observing the fish in aquariums and other animals in the flesh to become acquainted with the field of natural science.³⁷ In a rather modern manner, Mağmumi highlights that these establishments and the display of natural and cultural history in official buildings combine recreational and educational aspects which cultivate people from all walks of life. According to Mağmumi, the Imperial School of Medicine, Ministry of Education, and Ministry of War should be proactive in building such institutions in Istanbul. To Mağmumi, the garden of the Imperial School of Medicine is a proper site for that purpose. He also includes a detailed explanation of the wide vegetable garden between the Ottoman School of Fine Arts and the Imperial Museum (“Müzebane-i Amire ve Sanayi Nefise Mektebi’nin kâin olduğu seddin payesinde gayet vasi’ arazi bostan”) claiming that in this site animals could be kept and scientific research could be pursued.³⁸ On the subsequent leg of his travels, Mağmumi adds short romantic passages describing the ornate kiosks and small greenhouses in the verdant regions alongside the French Riviera. Even in these passages, the technology of the greenhouse, new building materials, climatization, the taxonomy of plants, and animals arise as critical issues, much more so than the aesthetics of the landscape. Mağmumi was not impressed by the greenery which celebrated the natural topography and scenery; he was, rather, fond of the modern recreational spaces with novelties like orangeries as an amalgam of technology, science, and leisure.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 105–107.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 107. Curiously, not exactly in that spot but in Gülhane Park a zoological garden was established in an ad-hoc manner in the late 1950s.

80 In my opinion, Mağmumi's admiration of public parks as an educational and recreational establishment mirror official efforts, especially during the reign of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909). The unrealized public zoo project around the İhlamur Valley in Beşiktaş and Abdülhamid II's assignment of experts for expeditions to establish botanical garden exemplify the growing interest in modernizing the city's recreational culture.³⁹ During the 1860s, Hayrullah Efendi was amazed by the technical capacity to create ordered greenery and to make it accessible to the public. Three decades later, Mağmumi's writings are much more proactive in their emphasis on the civilized image of the parks and their power to integrate botany, zoology, and general natural sciences, into the fabric of Istanbulites' social life. He indicated sizeable vacant lands as well as rather small interstitial parcels between significant edifices in the Historic Peninsula, with an excitement to recognize them as potential spaces for public parks for students and curious Ottomans.⁴⁰

On the other hand, iterations about the technical details side by side with the civility of European parks evince the Ottoman westward travelers' long-standing didactic approach. Their perception relates distinct aspects of parks to the European "techniques of civilization," elegance, and urbanity. In fact, except for the few examples that had Mağmumi's attention, portrayals of parks in late Ottoman travelogues are not substantially different than Yirmisekiz Çelebi's depiction of royal French gardens in Paris in 1721. In his travel report, Çelebi recounts his visit to a light festival in Château de Chantilly in the vicinity of Paris and his astonishment at the ostentatious luminous atmosphere created by the different lighting fixtures (gas lighting and chandeliers). He focuses on the lighting of the parks in conjunction with patrimonial power and royal leisure culture, but most importantly as a symbol of European technical capacity. He provides extensive statistical information, including the power of water fountains, size of the pools, number of trees, and dimensions of the walking lanes.⁴¹ More than one and a half century later, late Ottoman travelers included the same emphases with the additional premise that parks could cultivate social decorum and facilitate learning with entertaining. 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 continued to be part of their journeys. The "typical French order" and novel spatial organization of parks with cafés and concert halls with restaurants were described swiftly in reference to equivalent facilities in Istanbul like the Tepebaşı Park. More importantly, travelers could not refrain from bestowing their attention upon the educational aspect which, according to them, was missing in Istanbul.

39 Ebüzziya Tefik (1849–1913) wrote a series of articles explaining his assignment for the establishment of the public zoo in Istanbul: Ebüzziya Tefik, "Zamanımız Tarihine Hadim Hâtrât: Hayâtü'l-Hayvan Bahçesi," *Mecmua-i Ebüzziya* 139–143 (1330 [1912]).

40 There are other articles on European parks from the same period, written by well-known figures during their sojourns to Europe, in the form of exiles or travels. Most travelers had a normative approach to European parks relating them to urbanity and discussing women in the public sphere. Mustafa Sait's multiple watercolors of parks reflects his curiosity quite well. See Mustafa Sait Bey, *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi 1898*, trans. Burhan Günaysu (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2014). Besides, Samipaşazade Sezai emphasizes the urban culture in London which, according to him, thrived in parks. Labeling the English people as "the first class of the world," he thinks that they are distinguished by "the education of the mind" in schools and "strength of the body" in parks (*terbiye-i zihniye* and *kuvvet-i bedeniye*). Samipaşazade Sezai, "İngiltere Hatıratı II Haziranda Hyde Park," *Gayret* 28 (1302 [1886]): 110–111. In his travelogue, Fağfurizade Hüseyin Nesimi uses a similarly laudatory tone to describe Jardin de Paris as a "promenade for the nobles" with spaces to dance, exercise, dine, and watch performances. He alerts his readers not to dramatize and over-concentrate on the morality of European women, as was a prevalent feature among Ottoman literature on Europe. Nesimi then explains that the elegant atmosphere in British parks is formed by the virtuous women who act according to social etiquette, thus negating the established dichotomic rendition of Muslim women with high morals against European women with no values or respect for family. Fağfurizade Hüseyin Nesimi, *Seyahat* (Hanya: Yusuf Kenan Matbaası, 1320 [1902]). Finally, Ebüzziya Tefik is another figure who conspicuously writes about novel architectural typologies such as the café chantant in and around the parks, which he attributes to "a French design." Unlike travelers like Ahmet Midhat who almost zeroed spaces, for Ebüzziya, artistic and sportive expression is crucial for modern life and parks could be utilized for that purpose. See Ebüzziya Tefik, "Ruzname-i Hayatımdan Ba'zı Sahaif," *Mecmua-i Ebüzziya* 112–113 (1317 [1900]).

41 Yirmisekiz Çelebi, *Paris'te Bir Osmanlı Sefiri: Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi'nin Fransa Seyahatnamesi*, trans. Şevket Rado (Istanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 2006).

Despite the brevity of the portrayal of architectural and artistic qualities, Hayrullah Efendi and Mağmumi's experiences in museums, as well as around the displays in schools and libraries are intriguing in terms of their approach to history and art, and, also to new fields like heritage and archaeology. Mindful about these ever-evolving notions, for both travelers, a museum was, first and foremost, an educational tool and, less so, a house of curiosities. In relation, laboratories, observatory rooms, arboretums, national archives, lecture halls and dissecting rooms (*teşrihane*) occupied a great place in their narratives, as a parallel to their approach to the public parks. In broad strokes, the present-day conditions of the historical buildings as museums, sumptuous rooms of the royal residences full of resplendent surfaces and *objets d'art*, systematic classification and categorization of historical information in open shelves of libraries and representation of mundane realities from the past as ethnographic exhibits grabbed Hayrullah Efendi and Mağmumi's attention. As opposed to the historicist architectural styles, classical references on the façades or traditional building techniques, the notion of the museum serves as the material embodiment of history and modernity simultaneously. On the other hand, the travelers cited paintings, sculptures, and archeological findings in a cursory fashion as informative pieces about European history.⁴²

Based on the discourse of Baedeker guidebooks, Hayrullah Efendi's depiction of most museums consisted of chronological and statistical data including the construction date, expenses, information about the commissioners, and restoration processes. He is almost oblivious to the exhibitions, ancient history or archeological sites except for the most prominent examples. His description of Piraeus indicates his limited interest: "[t]here is nothing special in Piraeus, but Athens, as a result of being one of the old cities, is very proud of its ruins."⁴³ Later, in central and western European capitals, what surprised Hayrullah Efendi most was the locations of museum buildings and the ways in which these institutions provided a visual and literary description of royal culture, folkloric values, as well as scientific knowledge for the locals and tourists alike.⁴⁴ In the major cities, he lists national museums, attributing them as "houses to preserve and memorize" while in each small town he provides the number of museums to demonstrate its level of modernization.⁴⁵

In Berlin, Hayrullah attentively describes Charlottenburg Palace as a "product of progress" (*mahsulat-ı terakkiyat*) and the Japanese Palace in Dresden as "one of the best palaces in Europe with [a] quite weird and uniform design" (*gayet tuhaf ve muntazam*).⁴⁶ These two baroque structures appealed to Hayrullah Efendi's taste and met his expectations in terms of austerity and their dominant image in the urban setting. In Vienna, he describes his observations in Museum of Military History and Hofburg Palace as:

42 In fact, written earlier than *Yolculuk Kitabı*, two Ottoman diplomatic reports from the second quarter of the nineteenth century underpin the foundational ideas about antiquity, the habit of collecting, and heritage for the Ottoman bureaucratic intelligentsia. Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa. "Avrupa Ahvaline Dair Risale," *Marife* 6, no. 3 (2006): 461-468; Mustafa Sami Efendi, *Avrupa Risalesi*, trans. Remzi Demir (Istanbul: Gündoğan Yayınları, 1996).

43 Hayrullah Efendi, *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*, 62.

44 In the same vein, Ahmed Midhat was impressed by the ethnographic and folkloric museums in northern European cities. The National Museum in Stockholm and the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo are the subject of Midhat's most lavish descriptions in his travelogue. His comments turned out to be exceptionally positive, so much so that he began to think that Stockholm could be "the" model for Ottoman cities. He imagined an Ottoman museum representing the multi-ethnic culture of the empire, reflecting his ideology of "Ottomanism as a supra-identity," as coined by Ahmet Ersoy. Ahmet Midhat, *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan*, 225-226.

45 The royal museums in Vienna, especially the Belvedere Museum, dazzled Hayrullah Efendi with its ornate staircases, elegant furniture, and sizable sculptures. The main reason for his admiration, however, was not only 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 museum flawlessly. The only exhibits he found worthy of mention were the ones related to Ottoman society like the gifts of the sultans. With this concentration on practical and organizational aspects, under the title "Paris'te olan âsar-ı atika ve tabiiyât müzeleri" (the Art and Natural History Museums in Paris) Hayrullah Efendi also provides brief descriptions of several Parisian museums—similar to the Baedeker guidebooks. His typical sentences read as: "I am impressed by the Gothic architecture of Cluny Museum that create lofty atmosphere inside and striking facade articulations outside"; or "in Musée de l'Artillerie (later Musée de l'Armée) the sequential longitudinal exhibition halls are interesting." See Hayrullah Efendi, *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*, 123-127.

46 *Ibid.*, 37.

I went to the weapons museum, state treasury and even the imperial palace. [The palace] rooms pass through one another, and the doors are adjacent to the windows. In every corner of the room, there are valuable furnishings, stoves with ornate and gilded ceramic tiles, chair sets with marvelous fabrics, expensive marble tables with valuable antiquities (*âsâr-ı atîka*) on top. On the walls, there are velvet textiles illustrating old battles waged between the Ottoman state (Devlet-i Aliyye) and Austrian state.⁴⁷

His note on the connected rooms of the Hofburg Palace recalls the planning of Topkapı Palace. In fact, Mağmumi would describe Vatican in a similar fashion years later which gives the idea that Topkapı Palace is the reference for both travelers.

During his tour in Italy, Hayrullah Efendi prefers to add two letters that were written by his son Abdülhalik Nasuhi recounting his own trips to his father in 1862. It is interesting that he included his son's voice at this point in the structured guidebook narrative to recount the historical architectural culture of the Italian cities. Although the letters have a different tone than the rest of the account, they share a presupposition about Italian historic palaces and churches, as buildings "full of weird ostentatious qualities."⁴⁸ In a cursory fashion, Nasuhi praises the admirable marble facades, monuments and numerous fountains around the Italian churches that form the public squares.⁴⁹ In his description of the Vatican in Rome, he gives more attention to the expense of maintenance and renovation than to the architectural styles and spatial characteristics of the complex. He then compares St. Peter's Basilica to Hagia Sophia as:

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. Despite the fact that our Istanbul's Hagia Sophia is more skillful than this [St. 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 necessitates writing a book, so here the most important information has been expressed.⁵⁰

As seen here, Nasuhi is not particularly interested in describing the history of the St. Peter's Basilica nor its physical details such as the dome dimensions, which is the main comparative framework of the majority of the subsequent travelogues. His remarks involve a certain pride in Hagia Sophia but also criticism due to the neglected state of the interior and the mosaics of the church, as he links building maintenance to historicist consciousness and awareness of its heritage. His complaint about the lack of information on the color and decoration of the stones is intriguing viewed alongside the restoration of Hagia Sophia between 1847–1849 by Fossati Brothers.⁵¹ Apparently, according to Nasuhi, the mosaics and finishing materials of the interior surfaces were not in good shape. He does not elaborate on the issue further, but even this short paragraph reveals his sensitivity to the current conditions of historic buildings and artifacts in Istanbul and the necessity of further research on the restoration of the architectural heritage.

It is tempting to add here that Mustafa Sami also had remarks on Hagia Sophia in his diplomatic account *Avrupa Risalesi* (1840). Explaining the concept of antiquities (*âsâr-ı atîka*) Sami writes:

[...] and even the images of two angels with wings in the Grand Hagia Sophia 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

47 Hayrullah Efendi, *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*, 29.

48 Ibid., 72–78.

49 His descriptions are replete with cursory observations: "[T]he 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 [...]" Ibid., 72.

50 Ibid., 76.

51 Natalia B. Teteriatnikov ed., *Mosaics of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul: The Fossati Restoration and the Work of the Byzantine Institute* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection, 1998).

fact that those were left unchanged as they were by Sultan Mehmed, it is understood that even in our ancestors and the Islamic nations, such subtleties were taken care of and antiques were respected.⁵²

His description of Hagia Sophia, which was converted into a mosque, and the preservation of its mosaics and the obelisks is intended to manifest that the Ottomans were effective custodians of antiquity and cultural artifacts from different lands and time periods, as well as from the non-Muslim history of Istanbul. In a succinct but insightful manner Sami claims that such sensitivities are not essentially Western or European; and, since the time of Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481), there has been a certain level of esteem to different religions, cultures, and time periods in Ottoman society.

Almost half a century later than these accounts, in parallel to the growing historical sentiment ignited by the Hamidian regime and the drastic urban transformations of the period, Mağmumi holds an overtly historicist approach towards his own culture while describing European museums. As Ahmet Ersoy states, starting in the 1860s, Ottoman intellectuals expressed their distinct interpretations of modernism, their critiques towards it, and the growing need of history as point of reference for progress.⁵³ In the final quarter of the century, along with the changes in all aspects of life, modes of interactions and encounters with other cultures varied (through world fairs, illustrated journals, photography albums, etc.). Mağmumi's encounter with European museums and Baedeker guidebooks triggered his journey to retrieve the Ottoman past. Without much theorization, Mağmumi writes lengthy observations on palaces and museums ascribing them the role of simultaneously visualizing the past and connecting it with modern social life. He thinks that museums are a novel architectural typology and, that palatial museums in particular represent the summit of aesthetic values and the authentic characteristics of different countries.⁵⁴ Furthermore, Mağmumi defines historical buildings as embellishments within the urban landscape; their contribution to the urban image and institutional efforts to benefit from the existing building fabric is a major theme in his portrayal of architectural landmarks. For instance, in Brussels, upon wandering around the numerous thematic exhibits in 1897 World Fair he applauds the public universities and private unions which promote exhibitions financially. In contrast, he criticizes the substituting institutions of the Ottoman Empire, such as the Imperial School of Medicine for using the garden at Topkapı Palace without opening it to the public. He claims that Istanbulites were in dire need of exhibition spaces of all kinds:

The only way to make the people taste scientific and technical taste is to open this kind of an institution to the public. 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, Imperial Museum, House of Weapons, Imperial Mint and Fez Factory are opened at least once a week, during the weekends, on Fridays and Sundays, and the public are allowed to visit for free.⁵⁵

Mağmumi's comment indicates that visiting exhibitions were not part of Ottoman social life even in late 1890s, despite the existence of the Ottoman Imperial Museum and House of Weapons (i.e. Hagia Irene, the Byzantine church that began to be used as the Collection of Ancient Arms [Mecma-ı Ešliha-ı Atika] in the nineteenth century).⁵⁶ He constantly advocates elevating the curiosity of citizens to see and learn, by opening museums, industrial

52 Mustafa Sami, *Avrupa Risalesi*, trans. Remzi Demir (Ankara: Gündoğan Yayınları, 1996), 24–25.

53 Ahmet Ersoy, *Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*, esp. 29–91 and 185–241.

54 His depiction of St. Maria Church in Brussels well indicates his typical approach: “St. Marie Church is one of the grand buildings and artworks that adorn Brussels and built in Byzantine style in 1835. The biggest part of it 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.” Mağmumi, *Avrupa Seyahat Hatıraları*, 33–34.

55 *Ibid.*, 83–84.

56 For more on the history of the institutionalization of the Ottoman Imperial Museum, see Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

84 establishments, and royal gardens to the public. According to Mağmumi, these establishments are precious not only for their functional programs but also for harboring exemplary environments to experience modernity and trigger the desire to know more about history in an enjoyable way.⁵⁷ In his rather modern perspective, the main criterion for the success of education and exhibition buildings was their role planting seeds of curiosity in the eyes and minds of public.

In Mağmumi's perception of London, the significance of museums could be gauged by the number of letters he devotes to them, which equals almost one of third of his travelogue (five letters out of sixteen). Still, his description of the architectural and stylistic features is laconic in most of the letters.⁵⁸ For instance, Mağmumi starts his description of British Museum by listing the extensive ancient relics, and the exhibition strategies of different sections in the museum. He then recounts the history of the foundation of the museum, which was initiated by the private collection of a group of medical doctors almost two centuries ago—as he transfers it from the guidebook with surprise.⁵⁹ He is impressed that a personal archive was transformed into the repository of the nation. Albeit concise, Mağmumi touches upon the Elgin Marbles, unlike some other travelers like Ahmet İhsan. He very briefly covers the story of their transfer from Athens to London throughout the first quarter of the nineteenth century with no comment or criticism to Lord Elgin or to the Ottoman state.⁶⁰ Edhem Eldem defines this period as a phase of “blissful indifference” in the history of Ottoman archaeology. Apparently, these specific objects continued to be received with apathy by some of the late Ottoman travelers even in the final decade of the century.

Later, in the Asian section of the museum, Mağmumi writes in a bitter tone about the tile collection from Bursa:

During my trip to ancient Bursa, the Green Tomb of Çelebi Sultan Mehmed 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.⁶¹

Following such dispersed comments, Mağmumi abruptly passes on to the ethnographic collections, the plaster models of native people with local garments, global weapons, and wares.⁶² He bestows his attention on the folkloric and ethnographic pieces that represent the traditional cultural values much more than the artistic and archaeological exhibits. This could be related to his lack of vocabulary to write about visual arts and archaeological exhibitions and also to the fact that Mağmumi was knowledgeable about the Collection of Ancient Arms.

57 In fact, even when visiting the Sistine Chapel, where he saw many painters training and painting—copying certain frames, taking photos—Mağmumi did not write about the aesthetics of the artworks but their use as an educational tool.

58 The portrayal of the Imperial Institute in Exhibition Road, South Kensington is a typical example that reads: “Its façade is 180 meters and the site 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 two shorter towers on the corners that increase its magnificence.” Mağmumi, *Avrupa Seyahat Hatıraları*, 137.

59 Ibid.

60 For a detailed history of the removal of the Parthenon friezes by Lord Elgin, including the limited reactions of the Ottoman state, see Edhem Eldem, “From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern: Ottoman Perception of Antiquities, 1799–1869” in *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753–1914*, ed. Zeinab Bahrani, Edhem Eldem, and Zeynep Çelik (Istanbul: SALT, 2011), 281–329.

61 Mağmumi, *Avrupa Seyahat Hatıraları*, 137. It is important to remember the addendum to Hayrullah Efendi's travelogue on Bursa. Also, Mağmumi's travelogue on Anatolian towns includes his observations on Bursa during his visit to the city to investigate its health facilities.

62 Mağmumi's references about palaces and museums are always from Istanbul. He likens the Palace of Westminster 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 buildings with symbolic power. 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. He advocates raising the attention and personal interest of the Ottoman public in the royal buildings as cultural artifacts and historical testimonies. Within this approach, the nineteenth-century coastal palaces, Hagia Sophia, Fatih, and Süleymaniye complexes fall under the same category of dynastic buildings, irrespective of their distinctive historical or aesthetic properties. What is more important for him is the location of these edifices in the urban landscape, on which I provide more examples from his account herein.

In Italy, his description appears to be influenced by the Baedeker edition.⁶³ Here, Hagia Sophia again arose as a point of comparison with St. Peter's Basilica through its uniform volumetric design, colossal appearance, and the expansion of the dome. Mağmumi's depiction of Hagia Sophia reads:

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.⁶⁴

Further, Mağmumi readily expresses his emotional attachment to Hagia Sophia but does not hesitate to add criticism about the additional foundational walls built during the retrofitting of the edifice in different periods. He thinks that the additional buttresses (some of which were added by Mimar Sinan while others were from the late Byzantine period), and the entirety of the major additions, cloud the original austerity of the site and the solemnity of the structure, crowding its surroundings.⁶⁵ Finally, he writes favorably about the semi-open character of the narthexes of both St. Peter's Basilica and Hagia Sophia even though he did not use the term narthex, which he describes instead as an open entrance hall passing the colonnades. Such commentary and wording give the impression that Mağmumi did not directly copy information from the guidebook but transferred his experiences and perception.

In fact, Mağmumi's view of Hagia Sophia reflects another instance of the "natural and gradual monumentalization process" of the edifice in Edhem Eldem's words.⁶⁶ Similarly, in his research on the changing perception of Hagia Sophia, Robert Nelson argues that the building was transformed, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, "from an interior space, experienced by the faithful, to a monument, objectified, abstracted, seen from afar, and thus able to be appreciated by modern secular audiences."⁶⁷ In this very manner, Mağmumi is eager to see the edifice in its "authentic form," as it were, without any addition and isolated from its urban context. Apparently, late Ottoman travelers became a part of the changing reception of Hagia Sophia by reading about it in Baedeker editions, comparing it to St. Peter's Basilica in Rome and St Paul's Cathedral in London. Travelers were encouraged to "objectify" the edifice as a monument and became aware of its potential as a "landmark of Istanbul" in the international arena.⁶⁸ On one level, personal experiences in and around the edifices in homeland and in Europe and, more so, the comparative framework of guidebook discourse concerning the dimensions of the monuments were operative.

Mağmumi attentively broadens his "objectified lenses" towards other Ottoman mosques, not to forget that Hagia Sophia was an Ottoman mosque then. He critically compares the roles of palatial complexes in Istanbul and major cities in Europe. Unlike his peers, Mağmumi does not merely bring out mosques to make pairwise comparisons but stresses the significant role

63 I checked the French Baedeker editions on central Italy and Rome published between 1880 and 1890, corresponding to Mağmumi's travels in Europe, and detected that in all editions Hagia Sophia is mentioned by comparing the diameter and height of its dome to St. Peter's Basilica. It is also compared to St. Paul's Cathedral in London. Apparently, the Ottoman travelers vicariously learned to look at Hagia Sophia while touring in Europe with the Baedeker editions on their hands. For the French editions and a well-organized archive of the Baedeker guidebooks see: <http://www.bdkr.com/regional.php?p=28>, accessed August 2, 2021. In addition, Patriarch Konstantios, in his book on Istanbul first published in 1824 in Greek, also compared Hagia Sophia, St. Peter's and St. Paul's Cathedral in terms of the structural composition of the dome, arches and vaults praising Hagia Sophia above all. See Constantinopolis Patriarcha I. Constantius, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople*, trans. John P. Brown (London: Steven Brothers, 1868), 66. I would like to thank K. Mehmet Kentel for drawing my attention to this source.

64 Mağmumi, *Avrupa Seyahat Hatıraları*, 260.

65 He writes: "[T]he old appearance of Hagia Sophia is no longer here as its main façade was covered and lost due to the additional load bearing walls that were constructed out of necessity." *Ibid.*, 262.

66 Edhem Eldem, "Ayasofya: Kilise, Cami, Abide, Müze, Simge," *Toplumsal Tarih* 254 (2015): 76–85.

67 Robert S. Nelson, *Hagia Sophia, 1850–1950: Holy Wisdom and Modern Monument* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), xviii.

68 For Hagia Sophia's monumentalization, see the following inspiring account: Robert S. Nelson, "Tourists, Terrorists, and Metaphysical Theatre at Hagia Sophia," in *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 59–83.

86 of the imperial architectural repertoire in the morphological evolution of Ottoman cities. He asserts that the unblemished edifices of religious complexes exude authenticity via their positioning and orientation in the urban planning.⁶⁹ He finds, for instance, the square where St. Paul's is located not wide enough to bring out its grand scale. Mağmumi thinks that the organization of mosques and their courtyards in the urban setting of Ottoman cities is a skillful device to solve such visibility problems and provide protection:

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.⁷⁰

He then enumerates Fatih, Süleymaniye, Sultan Ahmed, and New Mosque 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. I believe his discussion of mosques as an authentic architectural and urban characteristic evinces a growing self-consciousness about Istanbul regarding the planning and experience of the city.

As I noted before, like Hayrullah Efendi's depiction of Hofburg Palace, Mağmumi criticizes the interior allocation of Vatican Museum due to the attached rooms since he finds it involuted and not welcoming.⁷¹ Also, according to him, the distinct architectural characteristics impair the allure of the complex as a whole and weaken the gracefulness of each unique building. The linear plan articulation that does not communicate the changing functions of the interior units on the "weirdly simple" façade, in Mağmumi's words, creates an unpleasant experience.⁷² Curiously, parallel considerations about the coherence of interior and exterior were also raised by Evliya Çelebi concerning the Süleymaniye Mosque centuries ago.⁷³ Both travelers emphasized that the harmony of interior and exterior surfaces and their coexistence that compounds the experience is a necessary feature for the beauty of an edifice.⁷⁴

My final note about Mağmumi's account concerns his suggestions for certain European methods of maintenance, historicization, and the revitalization of the imperial edifices in Istanbul. According to Mağmumi, the firmness and elegance of the historical buildings are influential to the public's material and moral progress—not only the experts. Mağmumi cites the gilded and engraved domes and eaves in Paris, Pisa, and Brussels as examples to create an impressive and well-groomed urban image. Particularly in Brussels, he was almost smitten by the gilded building parts that give an idiosyncratic image to such a small city.⁷⁵ He suggests that the dominant architectural language in Istanbul is suitable for such applications and that the Fatih, Beyazıt, Sultanahmet, Ayasofya, Yeni Cihangir, Hamidiye, Üsküdar, and Selimiye mosques could benefit from this method if applied properly in a partial or dotted configuration.⁷⁶ Further, Mağmumi adds the spires, balcony balustrades, and other metal components of Beyazıt and Galata towers to his list to create a bright and flamboyant image of significant landmarks. He explains that his selection depends on the strategic locations of these buildings—not their date, commissioners, or popularity.⁷⁷ Indeed, the mosques he selects are visible from various districts and still mark the urban silhouette of Istanbul. Then, considering possible criticism from his readers, Mağmumi claims that there is no place for

69 Mağmumi, *Avrupa Seyahat Hatıraları*, 135.

70 *Ibid.*

71 *Ibid.*, 274–278.

72 Mağmumi, *Avrupa Seyahat Hatıraları*, 275.

73 Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi: İstanbul 1. Kitap*, trans. Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2013), 73. Discussed also in Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Itinerant Gaze: The Representation of Ottoman and Medieval Anatolian Architecture," in *Evliyâ Çelebi: Studies and Essays Commemorating the 400th Anniversary of His Birth*, ed. Nuran Tezcan (Ankara: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2012), 310–326; and Yavuz Sezer, "The Architecture of Bibliophilia: Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Libraries," (PhD diss., MIT 2016), 190.

74 Rome was not honored by Mağmumi; rather, he describes the ruins in a dismissive tone with sentences like "[i]t looks like a gray tent set in the middle of a cemetery." Mağmumi, *Avrupa'da Seyahat Hatıraları*, 339.

75 *Ibid.*, 77–78.

76 *Ibid.*

77 *Ibid.*, 77.

resistance to such foreign elements in historical buildings; in fact, he asserts the source of this idea stems from the Orient—referring to the gilded domes as a part of Islamic architectural culture.⁷⁸ With an obvious pride in Islamic architectural repertoire and criticism of the current limited sensitivities, Mağmumi notes that the European decorative rationale is full of adaptations from Arabian and Andalusian architectural styles that were sadly turned away from by current Ottoman experts. It would not be productive to speculate on Mağmumi's taste or the possible implications of his suggestion; however, it is important that he, as an amateur, was sensitive to the maintenance and upgrading of the existing landmarks. It is important to note how his writings urged Ottoman officials and the public at large to approach architecture as a category of intellectual and aesthetic sensibility that had the power to link the past with the present urban culture and social life.

Conclusion: Going Forward, Looking Back

The civilian character of the late Ottoman travel boom signals the emergence of, to borrow from John Urry, a modern subjectivity and experience. As Urry puts it, “[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.”⁷⁹ Viewed within this framework, it can be argued that late Ottoman civilian travelers went to Europe as the beholders of modernization and came back as its performers in Istanbul.

Hayrullah Efendi and Mağmumi's mediated and comparative impulses were nourished by their normative approach to European cities coupled with their belief that the Ottoman imperial power would incite modernization starting from the capital. Istanbul arose as a familiar backdrop enabling a clear visualization of Europe in readers' minds, situated within the empirical knowledge of modern European cities. Vahid Vahdat summarizes the principle of comparison in westward Persian travelogues: “[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.”⁸⁰ More importantly, I think, self-reflective visions became one of the fundamental inscriptive mechanisms to construct a narrative for Ottoman cultural artifacts, monumentalize the Ottoman past, and to ultimately reconstruct it as heritage.⁸¹ Whilst touring European museums, botanical gardens or standing in front of memorial sculptures, Hayrullah Efendi and Mağmumi encountered representations of natural science and history through positivist methods; artifacts, objects and places from the past that were placed within a framework of systematized knowledge. Social life fostered by these institutions and artworks was engraved in travelers' mind as a key to stir knowledge of art, history, and science in the Ottoman public sphere. Thus, their accounts prove to be notable in part due to their unrelenting self-criticism regarding the lack of these modern institutions in Istanbul, but also due to their constant search for exhibitory environments and traces of Istanbul's historic heritage.

The analysis of Ottoman travelogues presents potential links between the understanding of urban and architectural culture by late Ottoman intellectuals and by republican nationalist figures—even though they are generally regarded as distinct groups. 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 followers of new urban values steered by the European middle classes. I suggest the cultural and aesthetic spheres of these influences motivated Ottoman intellectuals to reflect on the grand narrative of Ottoman imperial culture and to articulate

⁷⁸ A part of his justification reads: “[...] in fact, Europeans imitate them [Eastern cultures]. Therefore, there is no room to understand these appropriations as an invented traditions or wrongdoing.” Ibid.

⁷⁹ John Urry and J. Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (New York: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2011), 2.

⁸⁰ Vahid Vahdat, *Occidental Perceptions of European Architecture in Nineteenth-Century Persian Travel Diaries: Travels in Farangi Space* (London: Routledge, 2017), 51.

⁸¹ For the development of the idea of architectural heritage see Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, trans. Lauren O'Connell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001). For the evolution of this idea as a single building and as a site in the context of Istanbul, see Pınar Aykaç “Musealisation as an Urban Process: The Transformation of the Sultanahmet District in Istanbul's Historic Peninsula” (PhD diss., University College London, 2017).

88 modernization via the novel historical consciousness and urban episteme. Departing from this point, the next corner in the modernization process would be to search for a national architectural idiom and to construct cities with the help of experts, academics, and intellectuals appointed during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Further examination of personal conceptions of modernization in travelogues, architectural monographs, and copious print media will deepen our understanding of the role of urbanism and architecture in this transition period and subsequent early republican nationalism.

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