

CAPTURING CONSTANTINOPLE: TRAVEL ALBUMS (1884-1910)

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SİBEL ACAR

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Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık  
Director

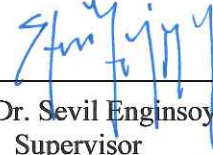
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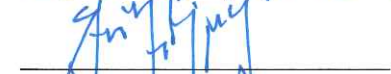
Asst. Prof. Dr. Sevil Enginsoy Ekinici  
Supervisor

**Examining Committee Members**

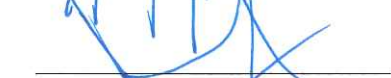
Prof. Dr. C  n   Bilse (METU, ARCH)



Asst. Prof. Dr. Sevil Enginsoy Ekinici (METU, AH)



Prof. Dr. Edhem Eldem (BOUN, HIST)



Prof. Dr. Belgin Turan   zkaya (METU, AH)



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ne  e Gurallar (GU, ARCH)



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Name, Last name : Sibel Acar

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **CAPTURING CONSTANTINOPLE: TRAVEL ALBUMS (1884-1910)**

Acar, Sibel

Ph.D., Department of Architectural History

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Sevil Enginsoy Ekinci

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This dissertation examines six travel albums of Istanbul produced between 1884 and 1910, held in Pierre de Gigord's collection of photographs of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey at the Getty Research Institute Library in Los Angeles. It explores these albums as nineteenth century presentations of Istanbul by considering the photographers and travelers as the two main actors determining their production as compilations and by analyzing not only the photographs both individually and as part of a sequence, but also the titles, page layouts, and captions. The dissertation compares the contents of albums and observes that tourism worked as a mechanism leading to common perceptions, common expectations, and common appreciation, which in turn created a gaze that influenced the view of the city. It draws on the travelogues, memoirs and guidebooks of the time to grasp the mindsets in which these images and albums were first made, used and understood. While looking at the relationship between the representations of certain architectural subjects in the albums through photographs and in travel writing through verbal accounts, it also investigates the parallel approaches in the engravings of these subjects as the previous form and the technique of visual representation.

**Keywords:** Nineteenth century, travel albums, Istanbul, architectural and urban history



## ÖZ

### *CONSTANTINOPLE*'U KAYDETMEK: SEYAHAT ALBÜMLERİ (1884-1910)

Acar, Sibel

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Bu tez, Los Angeles Getty Araştırma Enstitüsü Kütüphanesi Pierre de Gigord, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Fotoğrafları Koleksiyonu'nda bulunan, 1884 ve 1910 yılları arasında üretilmiş altı seyahat albümünü inceler. Her bir albümü İstanbul'un bir ondokuzuncu yüzyıl sunumu olarak ele alır. Fotoğrafçı ve gezgini bu albümleri üreten aktörler olarak kabul eder. Albümlerin incelenmesinde fotoğrafların görsel içeriklerinin yanı sıra malzeme özellikleri, sayfa düzenleri, başlıklar, fotoğrafların sıralamaları gibi unsurları da gözönünde bulundurur. Bu çalışma, albümlerin içeriklerini karşılaştırırken turizmin ortak algılar, ortak beklentiler, ortak beğeniler oluşmasına neden olduğunu gözlemler. Albümlerin oluşturuldukları dönemi anlayabilmek için seyahatname ve rehber kitaplara bakar. Bu kitaplardaki konu seçimleri ve konuların betimlenme biçimleriyle albümlerdeki fotoğrafları karşılaştırır. Ayrıca gravürler ve fotoğraflar arasındaki paralel yaklaşımları araştırır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Ondokuzuncu yüzyıl, seyahat albümleri, İstanbul, fotoğraf, kent ve mimarlık tarihi.

*To Bülent, Erk, and Öge*

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the proliferation of photography coincided with the rise of tourism. More tourists meant an increased demand for photographs as souvenirs. While photographers exploited this opportunity, the phenomenon also led to the emergence of albums including views of Istanbul. The compilation of albums began in the 1850s, but particularly in the last quarter of the century deluxe albums entitled, “Souvenirs de Constantinople,” “Vues de Constantinople,” “Turquie,” and “Constantinople” were widely produced. By the turn of the twentieth century, as snapshot photography and the postcard decreased the popularity of large prints, the production of such luxurious albums subsided.

These albums were produced in various ways. During their travels, by visiting prominent studios, stationary shops or bookshops, travelers could purchase pre-manufactured albums or have vendors arrange and hand-caption photographs they selected in albums or even buy loose prints by selecting photographs from a wide selection of images that they could later make into their own albums.<sup>1</sup> They could also produce their own albums by purchasing blank albums from stationary shops or have albums specially designed for their photographs. Besides, some albums were made in Europe, even though the photographs had been purchased in Istanbul.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As Alison Nordström provides with examples in her doctoral dissertation, photographers' catalogues were commonly used to fill albums and even found occasionally placed in the albums that they helped to fill. Alison Nordström, “Voyages (per)Formed: Photography and Tourism in the Gilded Age” (PhD diss., The Union Institute, Cincinnati, 2001), 92.

<sup>2</sup> Nordström refers to some travel accounts by American tourists in Middle East that tourists mailed albumen prints to home by rolling them into specially made metal tubes for shipping. Nordström, “Voyages (per)Formed: Photography and Tourism in the Gilded Age,” 98.

Starting in the 1850's, professional photographers such as James Robertson, Ernest Caranza, Pascal Sebah, Abdullah Frères and Vassilaki Kargopoulo began establishing studios in Istanbul and offered travelers a wide selection of images. It is known that certain mediators existed to introduce buyers and sellers. Guidebooks provided the addresses of photographers, bookstores and stationers mostly on the Grande Rue de Pera. Moreover, photographers were advertised in business publications like the *Annuaire Orientale*. They also published catalogues, took part in international exhibitions and forged connections to sell their photographs in abroad.

Travel albums mostly included picturesque landscapes, famous architectural structures and monuments, scenic bird's-eye views of cityscapes, and 'types,' which were portraits of local residents, particularly focusing on their professions and regional outfits. It needs to be acknowledged that even a cursory glance at randomly selected albums reveals a great deal of similarity. In fact, some subjects were so common that they appeared in almost every album, as if the photographers had agreed upon what would be photographed and how, down to the specific parts of buildings. Although these albums were compiled by various actors, the degree of similarity indicated a type of common and agreed upon knowledge, perception and taste.

This dissertation looks at the similarities in the contents of albums that were compiled by different people and observes that tourism worked as a mechanism leading to common perceptions, common expectations, and common appreciation, which in turn created a gaze that influenced the view of the city. Referring to the 'tourist gaze' argument coined by John Urry, it defines this common view as the tourist which came about with the proliferation of tourism and influenced the travelers' view.

On the other hand, we do not know for certain who produced these albums. Therefore, this dissertation does not claim that the owners of the albums were tourists as per the definition accepted in contemporary sociology. Based on the fact that the bindings of five of the albums chosen with unknown compilers were not locally produced, and the other one is an album entitled as 'Souvenir de Constantinople,' it concludes that these albums were compiled or used by foreign travelers. Due to this lack of certainty, while referring to those who compiled these albums, the dissertation opts for the term,

‘traveler,’ as a broader concept that includes tourists, instead of simply using the term, ‘tourist’. However, whether the compilers of the albums were tourists or not, it does claim that the tourist gaze influenced the contents of these albums to various extents.

Since the photographs were mass produced and commercial, they were market-driven. It was the tourists’ demands that were in control of the market. Tourists expected to see what they had read about or seen in earlier representations of Istanbul, and desired photographs of them in their personal albums. For this reason, most of the places included in travel albums were those mentioned in guidebooks or previously published travel books. Therefore, commercial photographers necessarily produced photographs of the popular sites in very conventional and similar ways. On the other hand, though certain subjects were recurrently photographed by almost every photographer in the business, within years not only the subject matter they involved, but also their ways of representation diversified. Moreover, the process of selection, sequencing and captioning gave the photographs in the albums different contexts determined by the individuals who assembled these albums.<sup>3</sup> An album could be said to reveal how a particular traveler saw, understood and remembered the city as well as what the traveler knew, respected, or even resented. A deeper investigation of travel albums therefore reveals different ways of seeing and of constructing a display of Istanbul in albums.

This thesis examines six travel albums of Istanbul produced between 1884 and 1910, held in Pierre de Gigord’s collection of photographs of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey at the Getty Research Institute Library in Los Angeles (GRI). Here, each album is explored as a nineteenth century presentation of Istanbul by considering the photographer and traveler as the two main actors determining its creation and by analyzing contents of the photographs as well as such elements of an album’s construction as title, captions, page layout and the sequence of the images it contains. It draws on the travelogues, memoirs and guidebooks of the time to grasp the mindsets in which these images and albums were first made, used and understood. It discusses the

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<sup>3</sup> Glenn Willumson, “Making Meaning. Displaced Materiality in the Library and Art Museum” in Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, *Photograph Objects Histories. On Materiality of Images* (Routledge: London and New York, 2004), 65-83, 66.

parallel aspects between travel writing and guidebooks and urban representations embodied in the albums in terms of the subjects of the photographs, their sequence and ways of representation that reveal the tourist gaze apparent in seeing and representing the city and its architecture.

Such a project calls for the examination of a group of albums to enable the analysis of any recurring themes, similarities and differences. However, not only are there a great many travel albums of Istanbul from the nineteenth century scattered among different archives, collections and antique dealers, it is also not possible to know how many travel albums of commercial photographs of Istanbul were produced, nor whether those not surviving even looked like the ones known today. The albums found today may only have survived because they contain prominent photographers' works and / or because they have durable covers and bindings. It is due to these characteristics that they have been considered valuable especially by collectors or institutions. Moreover, it remains impractical to inspect every single collection that might have albums or to examine every single album found. Thus, any sample file constituted would inevitably be 'unscientific' and 'random', and could not be claimed as 'representative' samples. Therefore, the albums examined here should not be considered as 'typical examples', but rather as 'case studies'. While working with case studies makes it harder to arrive at generalizations, it also renders possible the development of a discussion through the description of the segment and the contribution of different examples later on.

As case studies, this project examines six albums in the Pierre de Gigord Collection of photographs of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey at the Getty Research Institute Library in Los Angeles (GRI), which also contains the most comprehensive collection of albums containing photographs of Istanbul. The Getty Collection has sixty four photograph albums spanning the period between 1852 and 1935. Among them, there are twenty four albums containing views of Istanbul in the nineteenth century context of travel.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> For a detailed description of these albums, please see Appendix A.

## 1.1 On the Pierre de Gigord Collection

In 1996, focusing on the history of art, architecture, and archeology with relevant materials in the visual culture, the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles bought the collection from Pierre de Gigord. The collection contains cultural and urban images, mainly of Istanbul but also of the Balkans, Bursa and Izmir. Many significant photographers, studios and publishers are represented in the collection. The photographs present a large variety in terms of their sizes and formats such as cartes-de-visites, cabinet cards, other card-mounted photographs, stereographs, photomechanical and real photo postcards and panoramas as well as albums.

Born to Colonel François de Gigord and Anne Agnès Thérèse "Solange" d'Ussel, Pierre de Gigord is a French business man living in Paris. In 1964, at age 24, en route to a hitchhiking trip to India, Gigord stopped in Istanbul, where he found one of his relatives a Mme. H. de Saint Peine, the granddaughter of Emile Devaux, the founder of the Banque Ottomane and *régie des tabacs*, introducing him to Istanbul. Enchanted by the city, Gigord started to travel to Istanbul frequently and financed his trips by importing traditional Turkish crafts and textiles (*Şile bezi*) to France. In the 1970s, during his trips to the Middle East, Gigord became interested in historical artifacts on the Ottoman Empire and started to collect paintings, books, and prints. He observed that until the late eighteenth century publication of Ignatius Mourdgea d'Ohsson's multi-volume *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman* (1787-1820), the early visual imagery of Turkey was mostly imaginary. When he bought his first old postcard of Turkey in 1982, Gigord was impressed by the 'reality' of the photographic image demystifying the 'imaginary' quality of paintings.<sup>5</sup> That was also the year that he bought his first album in a Drouot auction - an album by Sébah and Joallier. Fascinated by the artistic quality of the prints, he focused on albums. He soon became a regular at auctions in Europe, specifically Drouot auctions in Paris to buy albums. In a short

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<sup>5</sup><http://archives2.getty.edu:8082/xtf/view?docId=ead/96.R.14/96.R.14.xml;chunk.id=ref11;brand=default>



**Figure 1.1** Pierre de Gigord and his collection in his apartment in Paris, 1991

Source: *Cumhuriyet*, 20 Temmuz 1991.

documentary, *The man collecting Istanbul: Pierre de Gigord* (1994), Gigord narrates how he has visited many antique stores and flea markets for years. He also adds how he has searched for rare photographs and bought an album because it had several photographs different than those in the albums he had already had. In the 1980s, Gigord passionately collected a wide range of diverse items including glass negatives, photographs, postcards, albums and ephemera of the nineteenth and early twentieth century Ottoman Empire. The main part of the collection was purchased in Europe with only one percent of his collection bought in Istanbul.<sup>6</sup> As a chief actor of this massive collecting effort, Gigord explains his motivation for assembling his collection as

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<sup>6</sup>Aydın Bağardı , *The man collecting Istanbul: Pierre de Gigord* , documentary directed by Aydın Bağardı (1994). The trailer for this documentary can also be viewed from [http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x89crm\\_istanbul-toplayan-adam\\_creation](http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x89crm_istanbul-toplayan-adam_creation)



contributing to the preservation of Istanbul's historical heritage. He thinks that Istanbul is a fascinating city, full of history yet deforming fast because of unresolvable problems related to modernization and population growth. Since he thinks that he cannot do anything with the present, he nostalgically collects artifacts of old Istanbul. He also adds that preserving Istanbul's cultural heritage is a universal responsibility, and he hopes his collection will contribute to the awareness of this duty.<sup>7</sup>

By acquiring a substantial part of the collection and by cataloguing, publishing online and providing opportunity for research, the Getty Institute made the collection more accessible. This dissertation is based on a research conducted in the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles in January and June 2014 as well as on the continuous investigation of the online materials released by the Getty Institute Library.

## **1.2 On the Materiality of Photographs**

Anyone who intends to read / interpret a photograph's or a group of photographs' meaning has to be aware of the photography's complexity, which has an entangled relationship to visibility and materiality: a photograph is a faithful record of what the camera sees; it is a context determined by the representation of physical reality; it engages with art and science; it has the capacity for infinite reproductions, dissemination and altering of shape; it is an object having function and usage in the social and cultural environment in time and space; it is an instrument of power and knowledge; it is an object of desire; it moves through private and public domains; and it simultaneously engages in the past, present and future.

It is undeniable that the *raison d'être* of a photograph is its image content. Because of images, photographs have been produced, reproduced, purchased, collected, kept and exchanged. Yet, different from painting, which also presents a visual resemblance between an image and the referent, the visual appeal of photography results from its indexicality. In other words, for a brief time, the real world in front of the camera is imprinted by light and chemical process on the image. For that reason, a photograph can be regarded as a trace or the imprint of a physical reality. It is because of the

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<sup>7</sup> Mine G. Saulnier "Paris'in Göbeğindeki Türkiye" Cumhuriyet, 20 Temmuz 1991.

immediate similitude between the image and the object in front of the camera that a photograph has been regarded as a “transparent media” like a “window” to look through. This has led to the idea that this distinction from oral or written messages, the photographic meaning emerges from the direct rendering of reality without the intervention of a coded system. In his essay, "The Photographic Message" (1977), Roland Barthes argues that a photographic image is “a message without code.”<sup>8</sup> Paradoxically, he also suggests that a photograph has a “connoted meaning”. The paradox argued by Barthes is as follows:

The photographic paradox can be seen as the co-existence of two messages, the one without a code (the photographic analogue), the other with a code (the 'art', or the treatment, or the 'writing' or the rhetoric, of the photograph); structurally, the paradox is not the collusion of a denoted message and connoted message (which is the -probably inevitable- status of all the forms of mass communication), it is that here the connoted (or coded) message develops on the basis of a message without a code.”<sup>9</sup>

In other words, in a photograph, Barthes observes two integrated levels. The first level is denoted / objective – a natural imprint of the world. The second level is invested and culturally connoted. Connoted meaning is imposed on a photograph at different levels of production so that the audience / the reader can interpret the meaning. It follows from this that the interpretation is socially / culturally determined.<sup>10</sup> In the same vein, in the essay, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning" (1974), Allan Sekula points out that a photograph is a message whose readability is determined by a photographic discourse. Photographic discourse is a domain of “intertextuality” comprising the hermetic domain of high art and popular press. The latter is fed by popular feedback.<sup>11</sup> For Sekula:

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<sup>8</sup> Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message" in Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 15-31, 17.

<sup>9</sup> Barthes, "The Photographic Message," 18.

<sup>10</sup> Barthes, "The Photographic Message," 20-25; See also "The Death of the Author" in Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 142-148.

<sup>11</sup> Allan Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning" in *Photography in Print*, ed. Vicki Goldberg (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), 452-473, 452-453.

The photograph is an 'incomplete' utterance, a message that depends on some external matrix of conditions and presuppositions for its readability. That is, the meaning of any photographic message is necessarily context determined.<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, such theories proposing that the photograph is a culturally constructed text have been criticized because they overlook audience reception. In 1982, Victor Burgin edited *Thinking Photography* including an introduction and three essays by himself. This publication opened up the adaptation of psychoanalytic models and psychosocial issues to semiotic analysis. Victor Burgin's essay "Looking at Photographs" (1982) was one of the important contributions paving the way to a material analysis of photography.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, dissatisfied with previous semiotic, sociological and psychoanalytical analyses of photographs, in his groundbreaking essay, *Camera Lucida: Reflections of Photography* (1981), Barthes followed his "ontological desire" by examining his own personal responses to a variety of photographs.<sup>14</sup> Barthes suggested two terms, 'studium' and 'punctum'. The former refers to common /shared meaning of a photograph, the latter connotes private / subjective meaning formed by a person's sentimental experience stimulated by the photograph. In this essay, Barthes also considers the materiality of a photograph: What he describes first about his mother's childhood photograph was not the image but the material, "the photograph was very old. The corners were blunted from having been pasted into an album, the sepia print had faded".<sup>15</sup> Therefore, Barthes' text has proposed the question of photographic experience, which has brought in the consideration of first-person narratives.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," 453.

<sup>13</sup> See Victor Burgin, "Looking at Photographs," in *The Photography Reader*, ed. Liz Wells (Oxon: Routledge, 2003), 130-137.

<sup>14</sup> Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 3.

<sup>15</sup> Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 67.

<sup>16</sup> Geoffrey Batchen, "Camera Lucida: Another Little History of Photography," in *The Meaning of Photography*, ed. Robin Kelsey and Blake Stimson (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2005), 76-90.

Recently, regarding the multivalent character of photography, studies in art history and history of photography tend to take into account materiality of photographs. In his *Each Wild Idea: Writing Photography, History*, published 2001, Geoffrey Batchen argues that "in even the most sophisticated discussions, the photograph itself- the actual object being examined- is usually left out of the analysis."<sup>17</sup> He emphasizes that "an image is also an object and that simulation is inseparable from substance."<sup>18</sup> To Batchen's book, *Photographs Object Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, edited by Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart and published in 2004, should also added as a collection of essays endorsing the consideration of photographs' materiality.<sup>19</sup>

A photograph is both an image and a physical object existing in time and space. Photographs pass through "processes of intention, making, distributing, consuming, using, discarding and recycling."<sup>20</sup> For a particular audience, a photograph is produced to carry a visual message. Yet, through its travel in time and space, the message delivered / received may vary in accordance with its material form and changing environment. In other words, each photograph produced from the very same negative may have a different meaning because of a different presentational format and / or usage. Accordingly, when a photographic media is used, its materiality should also be examined by taking into account the three aspects related to its physical existence. The first aspect is the plasticity of a photograph, which comprises technical choices of making a photograph such as papers, chemicals, surface applications, etc. The second is its presentational form such as the cartes des visites, cabinet cards, mounts, frames, albums or books with which the photographs are entangled. The third is the physical trace, which marks its usage and function through time and space. It is inevitable that in many cases, it is not possible to have information regarding all of these material aspects

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<sup>17</sup> Geoffrey Batchen, *Each Wild Idea: Writing Photography, History* (Massachusetts: MIT, 2002), 60.

<sup>18</sup> Batchen, *Each Wild Idea*, 61.

<sup>19</sup> Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, eds., *Photographs Object Histories: On the Materiality of Images* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>20</sup> Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart. "Introduction" in *Photographs Object Histories*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 1.

of a photograph. Yet, as long as available, attention paid to the material qualities of a photograph would help the revelation of possible different meanings.

### **1.3 On the Travel Albums Examined in the Study**

After a brief examination of the twenty-four travel albums in Pierre de Gigord collection of photographs of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey at the Getty Research Institute Library in Los Angeles [Table A.1], the dissertation focuses on six albums as its case studies. In the selection of these albums, an effort was made to select those that might serve as ‘case studies’ produced between 1880 and 1910. The 1880s witnessed the proliferation of deluxe travel albums in Istanbul,<sup>21</sup> using the images produced since the 1850s. Therefore, the photographs included feature much greater diversity compared to albums from the previous decades. It is harder to find such albums containing large prints from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century which later are unfortunately completely replaced by snapshot photography. Regrettably, the collections do not contain any albums featuring touristic snapshot photographs of Istanbul taken between 1890 and 1910.

This study views each album as a representation of Istanbul based on the demand and perception of a certain period in time, and as such, has endeavored to select albums that present the city with different ways of seeing even if they comprise photographs of similar subjects. In the selection of the albums for the purposes of this dissertation, the other criterion has been whether an album is still intact with the original sequence of the maintained photographs. Furthermore, the albums with labels, notes, and captions made by the compiler have been preferred over those without these features. Finally, clearly denoted year of publication, photographs in greater number and arranged in a discernible pattern have determined the selection of the albums as well.

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<sup>21</sup> Gilbert Beauge, “Souvenirs de Constantinople” in *Images D’Empire*, ed. Gilbert Beaugé (İstanbul: İstanbul Fransız Kültür Merkezi, 1993), 194.

In the Getty Collection, the earliest album of Istanbul is *Photographies Constantinople*, containing photographs produced by Ernest Caranza.<sup>22</sup> With twelve calotypes,<sup>23</sup> and Caranza's signature and year (1852) on the photographs but without captions on its pages, the album is one of the earliest examples of this genre. Including twenty-three photographs of the shores of the Bosphorus, the *Vues du Bosphore* album produced by Guillaume Berggren in 1868 is one of the earliest examples of commercially produced albums of Istanbul.<sup>24</sup> The album particularly focuses on picturesque views of Büyükdere, an area full of the summer's residences of ambassadors and rich notables as well as summer resorts, and also includes photographs of the nearest shores. Adolphe Saum's *Souvenir de Turkey*<sup>25</sup> and an unbound album,<sup>26</sup> whose photographs are attributed to Pascal Sébah, are two other examples of travel albums from the early 1870s. Unfortunately, neither album survived in the form they had been assembled; some pages were even cut out of Saum's album. In fact, this is a common problem of old albums surviving. In addition to some photographs having been removed, bindings have been damaged or more or less in tatters, the order of the photos has been changed, and so on.<sup>27</sup>

There are six *Souvenir de Constantinople* albums bearing a studio title. Three of these albums were produced by Sébah and Joaillier, each having forty albumen prints on twenty leaves, yet featuring a different design, size and content.<sup>28</sup> The remaining three

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<sup>22</sup> Getty Research Institute (GRI), Pierre de Gigord Collection of photographs, 96.R.14. A1.

<sup>23</sup> Calotype, also called talbotype is an early negative-positive photographic technique invented by William Henry Fox Talbot in Great Britain in the 1830s. The technique involves that a paper negative is produced and used to make a positive contact-print in sunlight.

<sup>24</sup> GRI , 96.R.14.A3.

<sup>25</sup> GRI , 96.R.14.A6.

<sup>26</sup> GRI , 96.R.14.A4.

<sup>27</sup> This is sadly a common problem at antique book stores since the pictures are removed from the albums and sold individually. Because the photographs taken by well-known photographers are deemed much more valuable than the albums.

<sup>28</sup> GRI , 96.R.14.A21; GRI , 96.R.14.AD3 and AD4.

albums represent Studio Apollon. Two of these three albums, which were catalogued in the same lot have identical covers, thirty prints on fifteen pages but with completely different contents.<sup>29</sup> While one focuses on palaces, mosques, and tombs, the other includes general views, pictures scenes and dervishes. Supplementing each other, these two albums present a conventional list of the main attractions of Istanbul. The last of this group of six albums is also by Studio Apollon.<sup>30</sup> Having a different design and size than the two Apollon albums, it contains twenty four hand colored albumen prints that were popular photographs frequently appearing in other albums in the collection. As a type of travel album, the *Souvenir de Constantinople* albums entitled by a specific studio commonly included twenty to forty photographs. It is likely that these albums had been pre-filled and mass-produced by a studio for tourists who were short of time. Therefore, these albums are good indicators of popular subjects and existing tropes. Of these six albums, this dissertation further examines *Souvenir de Constantinople par Sebah and Joaillier*<sup>31</sup> as a case study because it includes a greater number of photographs as well as a traceable organization.

In the collection, the album *Turkei* has embossed red percaline boards with the title in gold lettering and contains fifty three albumen prints<sup>32</sup> and an unbound album<sup>33</sup> exclusively containing photographs of Guillaume Berggren, both dated as 1875 in the catalogue. There are two albums containing photographs by the Abdullah Frères. The *Constantinople* (1875) album with European binding contains thirty photographs, nineteen of which are studio photographs of professions and ethnic types.<sup>34</sup> Another album with the initials O.H. embossed on the front cover contains seventy four photographs of Istanbul and Bursa. Offering a promenade on the Bosphorus, a visit to

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<sup>29</sup> GRI , 96.R.14.A18.

<sup>30</sup> GRI , 96.R.14.A29.

<sup>31</sup> GRI , 96.R.14.A21

<sup>32</sup> GRI, 96.R.14. A8.

<sup>33</sup> GRI, 96.R.14. A12.

<sup>34</sup> GRI, 96.R.14. A37.

the Hagia Sophia, a glimpse of the city walls and a long sequence of ethnic types and professions, the album focuses on the picturesque and exotic.

Displaying Vassilaki Kargopoulo's photographs, there are three albums. Two are similar, untitled albums (1875), each of which includes thirty-four photographs mostly of Istanbul as well as several photographs of Edirne.<sup>35</sup> These albums present monumental architecture in a seemingly random sequence. In contrast, another album, *Album Vues de Constantinople 1884*, presents a traceable sequential order.<sup>36</sup> This album is also examined because of the strict control over the human presence in its photographs. The *Constantinople 1885* album containing sixty-eight photographs by Pascal Sébah has English captions in ink in calligraphic hand on every page. Because a detached isolated view dominating the album is apparent, the album has also been selected as one of the case studies.

Besides those albums containing particularly one photographer's work, there are albums composed of photographs by different photographers. Commonly, these albums are thicker than the other groups of albums previously mentioned. There are seven albums of Istanbul composed of photographs taken by different photographers. Among them there are three albums containing photographs of Istanbul as part of a journey including several foreign cities. The album *Constantinople et le Bosphore*, (1870), which is a half-bound album with a gilt-lettered spine title, includes photographs of Vienna, Istanbul and Izmir.<sup>37</sup> Seven of the sixty-two photographs in the album depict monuments such as St. Stephan's Cathedral, Belvedere Palace, Schönbrunn Palace and Graben Street. Istanbul is presented with a larger set of pictures of monuments, picturesque views of the Bosphorus and cemeteries. The last five photographs are general views of Izmir and its vicinity.<sup>38</sup> With its title printed in gold with gilt

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<sup>35</sup> GRI, 96.R.14. A11.

<sup>36</sup> GRI, 96.R.14. A7.

<sup>37</sup> GRI, 96.R.14. A5.

<sup>38</sup> This album has also a bookplate that reads, "Ex Libris Henry Blackmer." Henry M. Blackmer was an American industrialist who was involved in a political scandal in 1924 when he was fifty five and went to Europe, and stayed there for twenty five years. It is known that he had a collection of books and manuscripts particularly related to Greece and the lands of the East



ornamentation (1890), the *Souvenir de Constantinople et d'Egypte* album includes fifty-eight photographs, thirty-five of which depict Byzantine walls and archeological objects.<sup>39</sup> The album also directs a similar interest towards ruins and archeological sites and objects in Egypt. Yet, because it does not present a variety of subjects, despite being produced in the 1890s, it has not been included as a case study here. Another album having the title *Photos* on its cover includes one hundred and twenty photographs of Turkey, Egypt and India.<sup>40</sup> It includes fifty-six photographs of views and people of Istanbul. However, the photographs of Istanbul do not present a traceable order. Another album from the 1890s with elaborately decorated pages with the crescent and star and Abdülhamid II's *tuğra* and a bookplate that says, "*Ex Libris William Schölermann*" has also been eliminated as a case study because it has fewer photographs than the other three albums mentioned in this group.<sup>41</sup> The album *Turquie* (1890) contains one hundred and thirty seven prints assembled in taxonomic order.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, an untitled album with Ottoman binding and Abdülhamid II's *tuğra* on its cover presents places in a topographically ordered sequence.<sup>43</sup> *Constantinople musée, types; Scutari, Brousse, Avril 1905*, which is also a compilation of photographs by different photographers, also has a souvenir attached to its back cover - an Ottoman identification document.<sup>44</sup> This document reveals that the owner of the album was Mademoiselle Mari Pret Fleury, a forty-six year old French woman who travelled with

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Mediterranean. A part of the collection was sold at a Sotheby's auction in 1989. The album might have been included in Blackmer's collection because of the photographs, and then when the collection was separated and sold, it might have been bought by Pierre de Gigord.

<sup>39</sup> GRI, 96.R.14. A27.

<sup>40</sup> GRI, 96.R.14. A26.

<sup>41</sup> GRI, 96.R.14. A22. It is not known whether Schölermann (1865-1923) was a German art historian who visited Istanbul and made the album, or whether he bought the album in Europe or even received it as a gift and included it in his library.

<sup>42</sup> GRI, 96.R.14. A25.

<sup>43</sup> GRI, 96.R.14. A30.

<sup>44</sup> GRI, 96.R.14. A28.

a man. This album is also further examined because of its specific focus on archeological objects.

Three of the albums that have been selected for in-depth examination as case studies contain the photographs taken by a single photographer. *Souvenirs de Constantinople* includes Sebah and Joaillier's photographs, *Constantinople 1885* contains Pascal Sebah's, and *Album Vue de Constantinople 1884* features Kargopoulo's. The other three, *Turquie, Constantinople musée, types; Scutari, Brousse, Avril 1905* and the untitled album involve compilations of images created by different photographers.

Produced for the exclusive use of their compilers and their families or friends, travel albums mostly did not bear the identification of their owners. Although some compilers used their initials, it is not always possible to identify them. Thus, many of the travel albums survived anonymously. Similarly, the albums did not necessarily have compilation dates on them. On the other hand, the year of photographs themselves and the identity of the photographers are more easily discerned. Therefore, if an album includes one photographer's work in particular, it is usually considered as the product of that photographer. Anonymously surviving albums are usually known by the photographers' names and their compilation dates are assumed as the closest year to the latest photograph included unless the compilation year is indicated. However, it is not possible to conclude unequivocally how much the traveler rather than the photographer controlled the selection of photographs, sequence and layout of pages. However, captions, remarks and an inclusion of uncommon themes or parallels between the sequence and a route suggest the traveler's control.

#### **1.4 On Literature**

Due to the multifaceted nature of the contents that the albums contain, these albums can be examined by using various academic disciplines and methods, and a single album can be positioned within multiple contexts. Various studies are available that do readings and comparisons on the contents of the albums, with the majority being in the field of art history.<sup>45</sup> Apart from the studies that carry out a visual analysis of the

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<sup>45</sup> Andrea Kunard, "Assembling Images: Interpreting the Nineteenth Century Photographic Album with a Case Study of the Sir Daniel Wilson Album," (Master Thesis, Carleton

photographs that the albums contain in series, there are also studies that investigate the social and personal various functions of the albums through detailed examination.

*Photographic Memory. The Album in the Age of Photography* (2011) by Verna Posever Curtis traces a history of photographic albums since the beginning of the twentieth century by examining a selection of albums hold in the collection of Library of Congress. Compiled by a known compiler and having a range of documents and notes in addition to photographs, each album has a personal and idiosyncratic historical perspective. *Art and the Early Photographic Album* (2011), edited by Stephan Bann includes essays on albums having photographs of reproductions of artworks. In *Suspended Conversations. The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (2001), Martha Langford focuses on material aspects of albums by suggesting that showing and telling an album is a performance. In her essay, "Making Meaning. Displaced Materiality in the Library and Art Museum," (2004) Glenn Willumson explores materiality of the image and its supporting medium, such as album page, cardboard mount or museum mat, and outlines its trajectory and changing meaning in different social situations.

In her doctoral dissertation, "Voyages (per)Formed: Photography and Tourism in the Gilded Age", Alison Devine Nordström examines a group of albums of commercial photographs that were commonly collected and assembled by middle and upper class Americans travelling abroad before 1914. The study considers the albums as objects that rendered a journey organized and comprehensible after the fact, and therefore takes

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University, Ottawa, 1996); Robert Evans, "Re-presenting Colonial Canada Through Collected Photographs: Interpretation of Travel Albums Assembled by Nineteenth-Century British Army Officers," ( Master Thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, 2002); Sharon Murray, "Miss Amanda Jefferson's Photograph Album, 1892-1898," (Master Thesis, Concordia University, Montreal, 2007); Patricia G Pena, " Ricardo Villaalba's Péron et Bolivie: Types et Costumes. An Album of Cartes de Visite," (Mater Thesis, Ryerson University, Toronto, 2007); Charlotte Mulins, "The World on a Plate: The Impact of Photography on Travel Imagery and Its Dissemination in Britain, 1839-1888," (Ph. Diss. University of Sussex, Brighton, 2013); Jenifer Beth LeBlanc, "Imaging a Colonial Presence: A Photograph Album of S.M.S. Bismarck South Pasific Expedition 1878-1900," (Master Thesis, Ryerson University, Toronto, 2007); Maryam Ghorbankarimi, "Nineteenth Century Middle East Through Photographs: Examining Two Photographic Albums," (Master Thesis, Ryerson University, Toronto, 2007); Casey K. Riley, "From Page to Stage: Isabella Steward Gardner's Photograph Albums and the Development of Her Museum, 1874-1924" ( Ph. Diss. Boston University, Boston, 2015)

into account the circumstances surrounding their creation, and the meanings that their subsequent situations and uses embody. Similarly, an essay, “Making a Journey. The Tupper Scrapbooks and the Travel They Describe” by Nordström examines albums which were composed by photographs collected by William Vaughn Tupper who was a Brooklyn financier, during his touristic trips in between 1891-1895. Nordström emphasizes that the Tupper books are objects, and actually, quite ordinary objects, and this is how they are able to reveal various aspects of the complex culture in which they were created. In his article, “Person and Place: The Construction of Ronald Graham’s Persian Photo Album,” Jeffrey B. Spurr analyzes British diplomat Ronald Graham’s album of Persia including both mass-produced images and snapshots, compiled between 1897 and 1899.

On the other hand, there are very few studies on the albums on 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Turkey and Istanbul. Without doubt, the most famous among the Ottoman photograph albums were those sent to the 1893 Chicago World Fair by Abdulhamid II and were subsequently gifted to the Library of Congress and the British Library. William Allen renders these albums through his article entitled “The Abdul Hamid II Collection” (1984), and for the first time draws the attention of researchers onto these albums. However, apart from these albums, there are very few investigations into the other examples from the Ottoman era. In this regard, “Alternative Histories of Photography in the Ottoman Middle East” by Nancy Micklewright and “Off the Frame. The Panoramic City Albums of Istanbul” by Esra Akcan in *Photography's Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation* (2013), and “Orientalism and Photography” by Micklewright in *The Poetics and Politics of Place* (2011) are important studies on this topic. More specifically, other than the article by Akcan, there is no examination of travel albums containing images of nineteenth century Istanbul by considering their contents and sequences together. This dissertation aims to contribute to this understudied field.

This study elaborates the analysis that it conducts on the basis of primary sources by making use of the researches on history of travel and tourism in the nineteenth century, tourism theories, Orientalism discussions, history of photography, history of visual and

literary representation of Istanbul, and by relating this literature to the works on architectural history of Istanbul in the nineteenth century.

*Travelling Light. Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* by Peter D. Osborne (2000) studies the close relationship between the photographic image and travel and shows that from its beginning photography has played an essential role in the formation and perception of travel. In *Tourist Gaze* (2002), John Urry suggests that tourist experience involves a particular way of seeing promoted by images. Accordingly, he defines the tourist sight in relation to its historical, cultural and natural extraordinariness. In his essay, "Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights," Chris Rojek argues that mythical triggering of imagination and speculation is unavoidable for the formation of tourist sights.

*Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Turkey* (1999) by Reinhold Schiffer is a vast survey of British travel accounts spanning almost one hundred years. Comparing their accounts, he determines the prevalent perception of Turkey in particularly popular sights of İstanbul and İzmir. Necla Arslan's book *Graviir ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul 18. Yüzyıl Sonu ve 19. Yüzyıl* (1992) discusses European travelers' and artists' common impressions and assessments about Istanbul and studies whether or not travel writing and gravures can be used as resources in art history research. *Kentin Anlam Haritaları. Gravürlerde İstanbul* (2008) by Sercan Özgencil Yıldırım focuses on the details on the gravures, reads forgotten urban stories, and presents photographs of certain places described in the gravures side by side with images of the gravures themselves.

On the topic of the transformation of Istanbul in the nineteenth century, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (1986) by Zeynep Çelik, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera* (1998) by Nur Akın (1998), *Apartman* (2010) by Ayşe Derin Öncel, and "From a Courtyard to A Square: Transformation of Beyazıt Meydanı in the Early Nineteenth Century İstanbul"(2007) by Neşe Gurallar are the basic sources used in this dissertation.

*Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth Century World's Fairs* (1992) by Zeynep Çelik, "Londra Panoramalarında İstanbul Sergileri" (2008) by

Namık Erkal, “Constructing Melchior Lorichs’s Panorama of Constantinople” (2010) by Nigel Westbrook, Kenneth Rainsbury Dark, Rene Van Meeuwen, “Representing the City. Constantinople and Its Images” in *Constantinopolis / Istanbul* (2009) by Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, *Turquie and the Politics of Representation 1728-1876* (2011) by Nebahat Avcıoğlu, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary* (2015) by Ahmet Ersoy delve into different histories of representations of Istanbul by delineating the roles of a variety of actors, cross-cultural exchanges, politics and techniques of representations.

The history of photography in Istanbul has been documented by a small number of historians of photography for the past two decades, by Engin Özendes and particularly by Bahattin Öztuncay. Thanks to their meticulous work in archives, the names of photographers, their activities and histories of studios, techniques and materials used, images, official restrictions or involvements, etc. are identified by forming solid evidence for further studies.<sup>46</sup> Featuring photographs from Pierre de Gigord Collection, *İstanbul Fotoğrafçılar Sultanlar 1840-1900* (2014) by Catherine Pinquet also belongs to this group through its focus on the relationship between photographers and the Ottoman court.

In any examination of the photographs of Istanbul and of the travel culture in the nineteenth century, the ‘Orientalism’ debate becomes unavoidable. After Edward Said’s influential book *Orientalism* (1978), the term started to denote an academic discussion based on his arguments, suggesting that Orientalism is a systematic method of producing knowledge in order to dominate and to have authority over the Orient. Following Said’s essay, studies have appeared focusing on the relationship between ‘a western subject’ and ‘a passive oriental object’ in terms of power and resistance or power and appropriation. Since then, critical and diverse studies have multiplied by showing the complexities of roles and networks of different actors, local politics, and consumption practices. Therefore, the studies on Ottoman photography have also influenced by the Orientalism debates. While the various contexts of Ottoman photography have been investigated new questions have been posed as well.

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<sup>46</sup> Please see the references for a long list of their contributions to the discourse.

*Belated Travelers. Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (1994) by Ali Behdad analyzes ideological complexities and political strategies of Orientalism in travel and travel literature. In the meantime, there have been many studies that appeared to place photographs in the context of production and consumption. They have emphasized the material culture around photography and showed how ‘fuzzy’ phenomenon Ottoman photography is, while simultaneously cooperating with diverse historical contexts. One of the earliest studies focusing on consumption and dissemination of 19<sup>th</sup> century photographs of Istanbul is Ayşe Erdoğan’s thesis “Selling the Orient: Nineteenth century photographs of Istanbul in European markets” (1989). It examines consumption of photographs of Istanbul in the British market by suggesting that those photographs had an ideological function serving British colonialist policies.

Edited by Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts, *Orientalism’s Interlocutors. Painting, Architecture and Photography* (2002) is a collection of essays examining visual representation of the Orient through cross cultural exchanges. The book elaborates on questions of audience and reception, the role of imperialism, ideological and architectural representations, and the role of individuals. In her book, *Intimate Outsiders: The Harem in Ottoman and Orientalist Art and Travel Literature* (2007), Mary Roberts has revealed how studio portraits presented an image contrasting to the oriental woman image popular during the time and powerful women controlled over their own images.

In the essay “The Sweet Waters of Asia: Representing Difference / Differencing Representation in Nineteenth Century Istanbul” (2005), Frederick N. Bohrer has examined different photographs of Küçüksu Fountain, and showed that these photographs exhibited different perspectives. Accordingly, he has argued that they could not be approached from the point of what distinguished the east from the west and that their isolated analysis could reach misleading generalizations. For him, these photographs corresponded to a hybrid whole.

In her essay, “Ottoman Photography of the Late Nineteenth Century: An ‘Innocent’ Modernism?” (2009), Wendy M.K. Shaw, has claimed that Ottoman photography was distinct from the conventions and ways of seeing in western photography and that it

had its own unique representational character. She has suggested that due to this dissociation with western tradition, it was devoid of western photography's art related concerns which led to the invention of its own representation using new technology, thus achieving a radical modernist feature.

*Photography's Orientalism. New Essays on Colonial Representation* (2013), edited by Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan, has particularly contributed to the discussion by examining oriental photographs within a network of aesthetic, economic, and political relationship crossing historical boundaries. In the book, there are three essays on Ottoman photography; "The Limits of Circumscription," by Mary Roberts, "Off the Frame: The Panoramic City Albums of İstanbul" by Esra Akcan and "Alternative Histories of Photography in the Ottoman Middle East" by Nancy Micklewright. These articles indicate local photographers' and consumers' role in the production of photographs in the Ottoman context. Roberts has showed that the sultans' photographs played an important role in the gift exchange between the Ottoman Empire and Europe. Accordingly, she has suggested that Sultan Abdulaziz's photograph exhibited in the 1867 Paris fair performed a diplomatic 'mission.' It represented the Ottoman Empire among the other European nations, rendering it distinct from 'orientalist' photography. Yet, sold separately, the Sultan's photographic portraits were also purchased by travelers and affixed to album pages randomly together with some other photographs eliminating the portrait's initial function. Hence, Roberts has opened the discussion of how Ottoman and 'orientalist' photography entangled with each other through dissemination and affiliation. Micklewright has also questioned the labeling of nineteenth century Ottoman photographs as Orientalist photographs. She has underlined the existence of various subjects, producers, target audiences, users and agendas, and pointed out the necessity of writing alternative histories on the basis of broader investigations into professional, social and daily life in the Middle East. Esra Akcan's article entitled "Off the Frame: The Panoramic City Albums of İstanbul" has defined the albums it has investigated as 'panoramic albums,' and argued that even though they did not seem to comply with the rules of western photography tradition, when taken one at a time, when the pages were flipped, they presented a panoramic view of the city. Therefore, the series of photographs comprised a meaningful whole for those who were familiar with the city. Akcan has also suggested that these albums



“construct[ed] a different way of looking which was not readily apparent from the views of art historical canon”<sup>47</sup>

Accompanied by catalogues, exhibitions focusing on different aspects of Orientalism, visual culture in nineteenth century and material culture around photography are also important sources for this study. Curated by Nazan Ölçer, Engin Özendes, Gilbert Beaugé, François Neuville, *Images d'Empire* held in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul in December 1993, was the earliest exhibition in İstanbul displaying photographs from Pierre de Gigord Collection. With a comprehensive essay on development of photography in the Ottoman Empire by Gilbert Beaugé, a catalogue *D'Empire, aux origines de la photographie in Turquie* (1993) accompanied this exhibition. Curated by Edhem Eldem, *Consuming Orient* (2007) was another exhibition supplemented by a catalogue. Focusing on object themselves rather than utilizing them thematically in a historical context, the exhibition displayed a variety of mundane objects bearing representations of the Orient such as posters, postcards, cartoons, boxes, books, etc. By featuring popular representations of the ‘Orient’, the exhibition suggested a discussion on Orientalism through a ‘materialized Orient.’ *1001 Faces of Orientalism* (2013) was the exhibition curated by Nazan Ölçer, Ahmet Ersoy, Edhem Eldem, Zeynep Çelik, Turgut Saner, Zeynep İnankur, Semra Germaner, Engin Özendes, Alexander Vassiliev, and Gökhan Akçura. It displayed diverse items representing the ‘Orient’ and / or being inspired from oriental cultures. The exhibition also featured a publication with essays on different aspects of ‘Orientalism’ in different areas, including travel literature, travel, photography, and architecture. A recent exhibition, held at the Istanbul Research Institute, *Journey to the Center of the East* (2015) curated by Ekrem Işın and Catherine Pinquet was an exhibition featuring displays of Ottoman era photographs and ephemera including postcards, posters, advertisements, brochures, books and guides from the Pierre de Gigord Collection in Paris. The exhibition focused on the transformation of travel culture to mass tourism in

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<sup>47</sup> Akcan, Esra. "Off the Frame. The Panoramic City Albums of Istanbul," in *Photography's Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation*, ed. Ali Behdad and Luke Gatlan, (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2013), 97.

Istanbul between 1850 and 1950. It was also accompanied by a publication containing essays on travel culture in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century Istanbul. In addition to these, another exhibition, *Camera Ottomana*, was recently organized at the Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, mainly on the basis of materials from Ömer M. Koç Collection. The accompanying catalogue was edited by Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem. Taking advantage of new studies on the political, social and cultural aspects of modernity as well as on the nineteenth century Ottoman photography using new documents and perspectives, Eldem and Çelik insist that one needs to distance himself/herself from the existing literature to be able to see these photographs in refreshing viewpoints. They state that although the existing literature has brought rich insights into the subject, either by discussing the western orientalism of the photographs or the unique vein of Ottoman orientalism, it gets stuck within a single ideological tendency while trying to challenge orientalist clichés. Although Çelik and Eldem do not disregard the importance of the discussion of orientalism, they emphasize that the discovery of different dynamics related to the production, distribution, and consumption and perception of images produced on Ottoman lands requires a further investigation. Therefore, photographs that have until now been ignored because of their placement outside canonized categories have to be examined to reveal and understand these dynamics.

Similarly, while investigating different representational choices of photographs in the albums, this dissertation examines and identifies those photographs that describe the city in the ‘orientalist’ style by showing the city as frozen in the past and its inhabitants as underdeveloped with a pre-industrial lifestyle. However, it does not discuss orientalism as a paradigm that dominates the entirety of the albums. Instead, it regards the orientalist view as only one of the perspectives that the albums cover.

### **1.5 On the Method of Examination**

The albums that this dissertation investigates appeared as the products of increasing tourism as well as the increasing production of photographs of Istanbul and their sales. A common practice for the storage, arrangement and display of photographs, album making ensured that photographs survived as a part of a presentational format. Their meanings were at once defined and fixed in that particular format. Their content,

sequence, captions and descriptions were added by the compiler. This process of meaning-making was an outcome of relationships between tourism, photography, visibility, collective knowledge and the personal responses of the compilers. Collective knowledge and the tourist gaze that were created and disseminated through verbal and visual sources had an influence on the places to be visited, on the travelers' ways of seeing and on the conventions of representation. Therefore, stories, histories, common tastes and anticipations recurring in travel accounts are important in the reading of albums. By sequencing and captioning, the compiler directed the gaze and defined a particular meaning cooperating with other photographs included in that particular album. The selective focus imposed by the title mostly disregarded other connotative signs of the photograph, thus preventing the viewer from deriving his or her own interpretation.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, these titles and descriptions may cooperate with a larger body of text in guidebooks, travelogues, novels, tales, and histories that travelers were already familiar with. Therefore, photography also inherited the tropes and conventions of the existing forms.

This study considers albums as a part of the materiality of photographs and contextualizes them in light of their materiality and visual qualities. While, it makes an effort to gather clues about the non-photographic, content related qualities of the albums such as the inscriptions, captions and headings as well as about the role of the actors in their productions, it tries not to fall into the trap of superficial information presenting questions more than answers. It makes use of the content information offered by the albums themselves and speculates about how these albums might have been made, sold, distributed, and used by comparing similar imagery in postcards as well as by taking into consideration possible market practices that can be traced in commercial yearbooks. However, the reconstruction of the material history of a given album is outside the scope of this dissertation. Therefore, while this study utilizes the information provided by material qualities, it focuses on visual analysis.

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<sup>48</sup> Ali Behdad, "Orientalist Photograph," in *Photography's Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation*, ed. By Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2013), 25-26.

Therefore, the primary method of this study is to focus on selected albums and their visual contents both individually and comparatively. While doing that, it relies on travel accounts of the time and previous visual representations of Istanbul as well. It juxtaposes photographs with textual descriptions of places and engravings to observe any possible parallels.

Apart from the Introduction and Conclusion chapters, the dissertation consists of three main parts. The second chapter is an informative section on tourism and photography in Istanbul as two coinciding phenomena paving the way for travel albums. It consists of three subchapters. The first subchapter examines the development in tourism in Istanbul in the nineteenth century to account for the connection between the albums, their photographs and tourism. The second subchapter presents approaches that were prevalent for seeing and presenting Istanbul in travel accounts and the formation of the tourist gaze and tourist sights. It bases this discussion on tourism theories, particularly on Chris Rojek's "Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights" and on John Urry's "Tourist Gaze." It also argues that tourists viewed a city as if looking at a picture, and as in the case of the writers of travelogues, they were after the scenes that they could appreciate aesthetically. Guidebooks created routes and offered tourists lists of must-see sights in order of priority. While these guidebooks highlighted some buildings, they standardized how the city was viewed. The last subchapter explains the emergence and development of photography albums with reference to the prominent photographers of the time, who were some of the main actors of album making process. It also delves into the other actors and factors that influenced the production, usage and circulation of the photographs. Meanwhile, it makes use of the literature on the history of photography to understand the period in terms of the activities of the photographers, the technical and practical opportunities or lack thereof that influenced the photographic representation.

The third chapter is focuses on the six albums chosen as case studies by scrutinizing their material qualities, the visual contents of photographs and their sequences. In the analysis of the albums, the basic methods of material culture studies have been borrowed and the answers to the following questions have been sought: Who made this album? What is the size? How many pages does it have? How many items does it

contain? Was it preserved as it was compiled? What are the sizes of photographs? Are there any relations between form and content? Does it have a title or year on the cover or on the pages? Does it have captions or notes or any biographical information? While the answers of these questions provide clues for the social circumstances of the production of an album, its personal authorship can reveal itself in the material qualities of size, cover design and / or in the preference for binding and page layouts, sequence of photographs and captions. It poses these questions to examine the roles of the actors (photographer / traveler) that had a hand in creating the album. Then, it moves on with visual content analysis via the basic methods of visual studies and inquires: What is presented in the photograph? Which subject is the focus? Is there hierarchy among the items seen in the photograph? What is underlined? What is hidden? What is exaggerated? Does the photograph reproduce existing tropes or clichés regarding its theme and composition? If so, what are those existing imageries and how are they related with that particular photograph and that particular album? Moreover, it checks whether the sequence of the photographs represents a relationship in space and movement in time, and/or whether the sequence of pictures or juxtapositions on pages tells a narrative. It also looks for repeating themes and patterns by comparing albums. During the thematic analysis of the contents, the chapter takes into consideration the temporal difference between when the photographs were taken and when the albums were compiled. This chapter not only studies similarities and differences among the subjects and the ways of representation of the photographs in the albums, it also compares the ways the albums present the city versus the ways that travel guides represent it and guide visitors. Furthermore, it compares how the subject of each photograph is represented verbally in some examples of travel writing.

Similarly, the fourth chapter investigates the parallel qualities between the photographs in the albums and some engravings as the previous form and the technique of visual representation under two subtitles. It observes some similarities between the forms of representation in the photographs and book illustrations, highlighting the overlaps in the visual and verbal ‘picturesque’ portrayals of the city. In addition to the theme of the ‘picturesque,’ this chapter discusses panoramic photographs and photographs of single structures by tracing the legacy of cartographic representations and the conventions of architectural drawings, respectively. Accordingly, the first subchapter draws a

connection between the descriptive forms of the gravures that reflected the picturesque taste of the era and the photographs in the albums on the basis of some architectural/urban subjects they shared. The second subchapter discusses the continuity between architectural drawings used in architecture books and the architectural representations in the photographs.

Presenting an overview to the issues discussed throughout the dissertation, the last chapter underlines the important aspects of its findings. It also emphasizes that photographs are context related objects and their contexts are created by their affiliations. Preserving photographs as sequences which were created and affiliated in the nineteenth century, albums offer a view through the eyes of travelers. The chapter concludes that examining albums is important to observe variety of perspectives and approaches shaping the imagery of the city.

## CHAPTER 2

### “HOW TO SEE CONSTANTINOPLE”

Constantinople is a Babylon, a world, a chaos.—Is it beautiful?—Marvelously.—Ugly?—Horribly so.—Do you like it?—It fascinates me.—Shall you remain. —How on earth can I tell! Can anyone tell how long he is likely to stay on another planet?

Edmondo de Amicis, *Constantinople*, 1877<sup>1</sup>

It was not before the mid-nineteenth century that İstanbul, or Constantinople as it used to be known to Westerners, was easily accessible to masses of travelers. Until then, travelers had been envoys, soldiers, technicians, merchants, scientists, architects or artists who came to the city on various missions. Being mostly well educated, these people produced a large array of accounts of the Ottoman capital. When tourism appeared as a new phenomenon in the first half of the nineteenth century, it proliferated through the consumption of the existing knowledge and imagery on İstanbul. On the other hand, coinciding with the advent of photography, tourism triggered the production and circulation of innumerable images of the city.

#### 2.1 Tourism

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the noun ‘tourism’ was first used in the beginning of the nineteenth century to mean traveling for pleasure. At the end of the century, the word started to refer to the business of attracting tourists and providing for their accommodation and entertainment or that of the business of operating tours.<sup>2</sup> Actually, as early as the seventeenth century, the word ‘tour’ existed and meant a

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<sup>1</sup> Edmondo de Amicis, *Constantinople*, trans. Maria Hornor Lansdale, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates 1896), 40.

<sup>2</sup> "tourism, n.". OED Online. September 2015. Oxford University Press. <http://0-www.oed.com.library.metu.edu.tr/view/Entry/203936?redirectedFrom=tourism> (accessed October 02, 2015).

journey or an expedition from any place with the intention of returning to it. Then, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, the word ‘tour’ also acquired a meaning as a verb denoting the act of making a short journey or excursion, especially for pleasure.<sup>3</sup> By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the noun ‘tourist’ appeared, meaning a person who went on a tour or tours for pleasure or culture. Yet, it was used as a synonym of the word ‘traveler’<sup>4</sup>. Presently, the social scientific definition of the term, ‘tourist’ distinguishes a tourist from a broader category of travelers, mainly based on two conditions. The first of these conditions is the temporality of the visit. The tourist travels temporally and voluntarily for recreation, culture or pleasure. On the other hand, it is difficult to distinguish a tourist from a traveler by only taking into account the period of the stay. The second condition is that tourists do not work or earn money at the places they visit.<sup>5</sup>

By the middle of the nineteenth century, mainly due to the advent as well as the consolidation of safer and faster modes of transportation, travel had become more comfortable than ever before. In 1819, the steamship Savannah crossed the Atlantic Ocean. By 1838, regular trips over the Atlantic had begun. It was in 1828 that the first steamship reached Istanbul.<sup>6</sup> In his *Voyage par bateau à vapeur de Paris à Constantinople*, published in 1835, Marchebeus portrays the first touristic tour via steamship from Naples to Istanbul. On April 16, 1833, carrying sixty passengers who were eminent personalities of the time on board, the ship sailed from Marseilles. They

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<sup>3</sup> "tour, n.". OED Online. September 2015. Oxford University Press. <http://0-www.oed.com.library.metu.edu.tr/view/Entry/203923?rskey=pBp7zR&result=1> (accessed October 02, 2015).

<sup>4</sup> "tourist, n.". OED Online. September 2015. Oxford University Press. <http://0-www.oed.com.library.metu.edu.tr/view/Entry/203937?rskey=qZaHSP&result=1> (accessed October 02, 2015). The Oxford English Dictionary quotes Pegge stating c.1800 that “A Traveller is nowadays called a Tour-ist.”

<sup>5</sup> Eric Cohen, “Who is a Tourist? A Conceptual Clarification” in *Sociological Review* 1 (1974): 529-531.

<sup>6</sup> Gökhan Akçura, "Journey to the East" in *1001 Faces of Orientalism*, ed. Ayşen Anadol (İstanbul: SSM, 2013), 112-121, 112.



travelled for four months, but sailed only for twenty three days. After stopping in Malta, Corfu, Nauplia, Hydra and Athens, the cruise arrived in Izmir on May 29<sup>th</sup> and finally in Istanbul on June 8<sup>th</sup> where the group stayed for about two weeks. The success of this tour paved the way for the development of the ship tourism in the Mediterranean.<sup>7</sup> It could be said that tourist travel to Istanbul started with the increase of commercial steamship services. In the 1830s, there were many ship companies operating trips via various routes to Istanbul.

Until the 1870s, the Danube route connecting Vienna to Istanbul through Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and the Black Sea was often used. Steam navigation on the Danube began in the early 1830s. Passing through the most beautiful locations on the banks of Austria, Hungary, Serbia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria, the route offered many excursions. Yet, particularly in the summer, it was a long and rather uncomfortable journey.<sup>8</sup>

By the 1840s, it was possible to travel from Britain to Istanbul through different routes by ship. A guide published in 1837, *A Guide Along the Danube From Vienna to Constantinople, Smyrna, Athens, The Morea, The Ionian Islands, and Venice*, indicates that “an uninterrupted line of communication with the Eastern world” was possible through the co-operation of companies operating steamers in Vienna, London, Marseilles and Trieste.<sup>9</sup> By about 1840, steamships were running on regular schedules. In Murray’s *A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor and Constantinople*, published in 1845 in London, there are detailed accounts of British, French and Austrian steamer lines to Constantinople departing from Malta,

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<sup>7</sup>Alain Servantie, "Development of Steamship Travelling in the Mediterranean (1833-1860) in *Seapower, Technology and Trade. Studies in Turkish Maritime History*, ed. Dejanirah Couto, Feza Gunergun, Maria Pia Pedani (İstanbul: Denizler Kitapevi, Kaptan Yayıncılık, 2014), 504-514, 507-508.

<sup>8</sup>Catherine Pinguet, “Journey to Istanbul” in *Journey to the Center of the East. 1850-1950. 100 Years of Travelers in İstanbul from Pierre de Gigord Collection*, ed. Catherine Pinguet and Ekrem Işın (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2015), 21; Alain Servantie, "Development of Steamship Travelling in the Mediterranean," 504-514, 504-505.

<sup>9</sup>R.T. Claridge, *A Guide Along Danube From Vienna to Constantinople, Smyrna, Athens, The Morea, The Ionian Islands, and Venice* (London: F.C.Westley, 1837), 18.

Marseilles and Trieste.<sup>10</sup> By the last quarter of the century, travel by steamers was easily available from a variety of ports in Europe. From Marseilles to Istanbul, there were steamers of the *Messageries Maritimes*, which was founded in 1851, once a week to Istanbul and Izmir.<sup>11</sup> [Fig. 2.1; Fig. 2.2] From Trieste and Brindisi, steamers operated by Austro-Hungarian Lloyd Company departed for Istanbul and Izmir once a week. Besides, after the 1860s, less prestigious, but cheaper companies such as the Fraissinet, Fabre and N. Paguet were operational. [Fig. 2.3] Travel was also possible via steamers stopping in Istanbul, operated by the *Société de Navigation Générale Italienne* (Italian General Navigation Company) cruising on the routes Marseilles-Odesa, Venice- Constantinople, Danube Line and Anatolia Line or the *Russian Steam Navigation Company* (*Compagnie Russe de Navigation à Vapeur*) cruising on the lines Odessa-Constantinople, Sebastopol- Constantinople, to Alexandria and to Anatolia.<sup>12</sup> [Fig. 2.4] The British could also use the *Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company*.<sup>13</sup> Besides, there were several first-class Liverpool steamers and the steamers of Prince Line from London and Manchester making the Mediterranean tour.<sup>14</sup> [Fig. 2.5] From the States, the first leisure trip departing from New York to Europe and the “East,” making a stop in Istanbul, took place in 1867, with the first class steamer Quaker City and its sixty-seven discerning personalities.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> John Murray, ed., *A Handbook for Travelers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor and Constantinople. Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries* (John Murray: London, 1840).

<sup>11</sup> Guides Joanne, ed., *De Paris à Constantinople* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1894), 78-94.

<sup>12</sup> Guides Joanne, *De Paris à Constantinople*, xxvii-xxix.

<sup>13</sup> Pinguet, “Journey to Istanbul,” 23.

<sup>14</sup> John Murray, ed., *Murray's Hand-Book Constantinople, Brusa and the Throad* (London: John Murray, 1900), 5

<sup>15</sup> Pinguet, “Journey to Istanbul,” 23; see also [http://www.frenchlines.com/histoire/histoire\\_cgt\\_dates\\_en.php](http://www.frenchlines.com/histoire/histoire_cgt_dates_en.php); (accessed June 9, 2015)


In Istanbul, ships could anchor in certain places, based in type, size and load. Ships traveling a long distance anchored in front of Galata, while the other ships staying in Istanbul for a short time anchored in front of Scutari.<sup>16</sup>



**Figure 2.1** A poster of Messageries Maritimes

Source: [www.delcampe.net](http://www.delcampe.net) (accessed June 9, 2015)

<sup>16</sup> Semra Germaner and Zeynep Inankur, eds., *Oryantalistlerin Istanbulu* (Istanbul: Is Bankası Yayınları, 2008), 59.



**MESSAGERIES**  
MARITIMES.

**PAQUEBOTS-POSTE FRANÇAIS**

**LIGNE CONSTANTINOPLE MARSEILLE.**

Départs de Marseille chaque Samedi, arrivée à Constantinople le Samedi. Départs de Constantinople chaque Mercredi. Arrivée à Marseille le Mercredi. Une semaine par Naples, le Pirée et Dardanelles; l'autre semaine par Syra, Smyrne et Dardanelles.

Correspondance à Smyrne avec le bateau se rendant en Syrie et à Alexandrie.

Services combinés des Messageries Maritimes et des chemins de fer Français.

Billets directs de 1<sup>e</sup> et de 2<sup>e</sup> classes, à prix réduits, de Constantinople à Paris, avec arrêts à Marseille et à Lyon, 1<sup>re</sup> classe f. 457. 2<sup>e</sup> classe f. 348.

**LIGNE DE THERSALIE.**

Départs de Constantinople chaque Jeudi pour Rodosto, Dardanelles, Enos, Dédéagh, Cavalla, Lagos et Salonique; arrivée à Constantinople le vendredi.

**LIGNE DU DANUBE.**

Départs de Constantinople chaque lundi à 4h, du soir pour Varna, Kustendjé, Sulina et Ibraïls, Arrivée à Constantinople le mardi.

**LIGNE DE TRÉBIZONDE.**

Départs de Constantinople chaque lundi pour Inéboli, Samsoun, Ordou, Kerassounde et Trébizonde; arrivée à Constantinople le mardi.

Pour les autres Lignes de la Méditerranée, pour les Lignes du Brésil, de la Plata et de l'Indo-Chine, et pour tous autres renseignements, s'adresser à l'Agence principale de Constantinople (Kiretch-Capou, Galata.)

**Figure 2.2** Advertisement of Messageries Maritimes

Source: *Le Levant Herald*, Constantinople, Mercredi Janvier 13, 1875



10 0/0 de moins.

**BATEAU A VAPEUR FRANÇAIS.**  
**N. PAQUET C<sup>ie</sup>.**  
**SERVICES REGULIERS ENTRE**  
**MARSEILLE et BATOUM.**  
**DÉPARTS DE MARSEILLE.**  
**Les Mercredis; chaque deux semaines.**  
**VOYAGES DIRECTS ET ACCÉLÉRÉS DE**  
**CONSTANTINOPLE A MARSEILLE.**

Le prochain voyage pour Batoum, touchant Samsoun et Trébizonde sera fait par MINORZIE qui partira de Marseille le 26 nov. et de Constantinople le 2 déc.

Le prochain voyage pour Marseille sera fait par AN TOIE qui partira le 9 déc.

Service combiné avec la Compagnie des Chemins de fer P. L. M. — Bilets directs pour Paris: 1 classe 250 francs, II classe 178 francs.

Pour frets, passagers et tous renseignements s'adresser à l'Agent, **T. REBOUL,**  
 Adresse: Rue Moumhané, Cité Française.

**Figure 2.3** Advertisement of Steamship Company N. Paquet

Source: *The Levant Herald, Eastern Express*, Saturday, November 29, 1890

**THEODORIDIS & CO. Agents.**  
 30, Rue Moumhané, Galata.

**THE RUSSIAN STEAM NAVIGATION AND TRADING COMPANY.**  
**ITINERARY.**  
**DEPARTURES FROM CONSTANTINOPLE.**

For ODESSA.—Every Tuesday, in correspondence with NICOLAEFF and KHERSON, and with the ports of the CRIMEA, the SEA OF AZOFF, and the CAUCASUS.

For BATOUM and POTI.—Every Saturday, touching at SAMSOUN, KERASSOND, and TRÉBIZOND. In correspondence with the lines of the CAUCASUS, the CRIMEA, and the SEA OF AZOFF.

For ALEXANDRIA.—Once a fortnight, every alternate Wednesday, touching at GALLIPOLI, the DARDANELLES, MACARONIA, SMYRNA, SCIO, RHODES, MERSINA, ALEXANDRETTA, LATAKIA, TRIPOLI, BEYROUT, ST. JEAN D'ACRE or KAIEFFA, JAFFA, and PORT-SAID. The steamer arrives at Alexandria every Tuesday fortnight.

*Frequent depar. for Marseilles & London*

**Figure 2.4** Advertisement of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company

Source: *The Levant Herald*, Constantinople, Friday, Jan. 7, 1870



REGULAR LINE OF FIRST  
CLASS STEAMERS,  
BETWEEN LIVERPOOL AND THE  
LEVANT.

	Tons		Tons		Tons
ILLYRIAN	5,500	SICILIAN	2800	MILAN	1,400
IBERIAN	5,500	VENETIAN	2800	MEANDER	1,200
ISTRIAN	5,500	CRIMEAN	2700	CASTILLIAN	700
PERSIAN	3,800	CAIRO	2500	DOURO	700
ARABIAN	3,700	RHONE	2500	SCANDERIA	3,500
Dalmatian	3,700	DANUBE	2500	MINIA	3,500
EGYPTIAN	3,700	TIBER	2200	SAHARA	2,500
GRECIAN	3,100	IONIA	2000	LYBIA	2,200
ALBANIAN	1020	SAIDA	2,200		

The S. S. "VENETIAN,"  
Capt. ROBERT H. JOY,  
Will sail TO-DAY for LIVERPOOL  
direct.

The S. S. "EGYPTIAN,"  
Capt. J. G. WARDELL,  
Has arrived from LIVERPOOL, and  
will have immediate despatch for  
SMYRNA.

SUPERIOR ACCOMMODATION  
FOR PASSENGERS.

For further particulars, apply to  
EDWARD LA FONTAINE,  
Agent.

No. 7, RUE DA LA BANQUE, GALATA,  
Owners: Messrs. JOHN BIBBY, SONS & Co.,  
Liverpool.

AGENTS.  
MALTA. S. MICALFEYNAUD, Esq.  
SYRA. Messrs. P. RALLI & Co.  
SMYRNA. The IMP. OTTOMAN BANK.  
CONSTANTINO. ED. LA FONTAINE, Esq.  
ALEXANDRIA. G. L. WAKEHAM, Esq.  
GIBRALTAR. Messrs. CARVER BROTHERS.

**Figure 2.5** Advertisement of first class steamers between Liverpool and the Levant

Source: *The Levant Herald*, Constantinople, Friday, Jan.7, 1870

Railway transport was introduced in Europe, in 1825 in England, in 1828 in France, with railways extending through Europe within decades.<sup>17</sup> The first railway connecting Istanbul to Europe opened in 1874, between Sofia and Edirne. In 1888, the Istanbul- Vienna line was completed.<sup>18</sup> The French Company, *Compagnie Internationale des Wagon-Lits* provided transportation between Paris and Istanbul as of 1876. The first Orient Express from Paris to Istanbul with its luxurious sleeping and dining cars became operational on June 5, 1883 [Fig. 2.6], a journey that took eighty seven hours. Yet, until 1895, it was not merely a railway journey. After the train reached Varna, the last part between Varna and Istanbul involved a trip by steamer. It was the fastest and most comfortable trip from Paris to Istanbul. By 1895, the journey from Vienna to Istanbul took less than forty hours.<sup>19</sup>

The first train of the Orient Express providing a direct connection between Paris and Istanbul departed on June 1, 1889.<sup>20</sup> The express was not only comfortable but also the fastest means of transportation to the Orient. The journey from Paris to Istanbul was about sixty eight hours.<sup>21</sup> [Fig. 2.7] As stated in Murray's handbook of 1900, "the extension of railways has made Turkey much more accessible than it used to be."<sup>22</sup> It is seen in the guide book that there were a variety of options of routes and prizes for arriving in Constantinople. There was a daily *Train de Luxe* between London and Vienna, both via Paris and via Ostend and from Vienna and it continued every Monday and Thursday to Constantinople. The trip from London to Constantinople was seventy

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<sup>17</sup> Ahmet Onur, *Türkiye Demiryolları Tarihi. 1860-1953*. (İstanbul: K.K.K., 1953), 6.

<sup>18</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1986), 102.

<sup>19</sup> Gökhan Akçura, "Journey to the East," 116; Reinhold Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama: British Travelers in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Turkey* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999), 42.

<sup>20</sup> Semra Germener and Zeynep İnankur, *Oryantalistlerin İstanbulu*, (2002; repr., İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008), 60.

<sup>21</sup> Pinguet, "Journey to Istanbul," 28.

<sup>22</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Hand-Book Constantinople*, 2.





**Figure 2.6** The first poster of the Orient Express, designed by Jules Chéret, 1888.

Source: <http://retours.eu/en/19-orient-express-posters/#2> (accessed June 9, 2015)



PLE (STAMBOUL). 97

TÉLÉPHONE MESSAGERIES EXPRESS-PARIS

DES

# GRANDS EXPRESS EUROPÉENS

217, Rue Saint-Honoré, PARIS

AGENCE à VIENNE 14, Zelinkagasse. AGENCE à CONSTANTINOPLE Stamboul, Ananiadi Han.

Annexe de la Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits.

BILLETS DIRECTS DE VOYAGEURS POUR TOUS PAYS

## EXPÉDITION D'ARTICLES

DE MESSAGERIES

et de MARCHANDISES EN GRANDE VITESSE

PAR

## L'ORIENT-EXPRESS

POUR TOUTES LES VILLES DE L'EUROPE.

Durée du trajet entre les points principaux :

DESTINATION	DURÉE (heures)
CONSTANTINOPLE — PARIS	environ 70 heures
— LONDRES	94
— MANCHESTER	106
— VIENNE	44
— BERLIN	35
— BUDAPEST	39
— BELGRADE	31
— SOFIA	20

et vice-versa

Départ du train de Constantinople chaque Lundi et Jeudi à 7 h. du soir.  
Arrivée du train à Constantinople chaque Mercredi et Samedi à 4 h. du soir.

Pour prix et toutes autres informations, s'adresser à  
l'Agence Générale, SCHENKER & Co, Ananiadi Han, Stamboul.

Y. - Péro, Constantinople

**Figure 2.7** Advertisement in *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891

Source: Raphael C. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental du commerce* (Paris: 1891), 97

five hours. Return service also left Constantinople every Monday and Thursday. From Vienna the *Orient (Paris) Express* continued every Saturday and the *Ostend Express* every Wednesday to Costanza, where the expresses corresponded with the Romanian steamers providing a scenic journey for Constantinople. Moreover, there was a regular

express train leaving Vienna every morning for Constantinople, which also had a daily return service from Constantinople to Vienna.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the advent of new modes of travel, over the course of the century, the establishment of numerous institutions made travel affordable and comfortable. In 1841, in England, Thomas Cook established his excursion business by inventing the modern travel agency. He was not the first person who arranged group trips for specially reduced fares, but his management of a tour by taking responsibility and organizing every aspect of the event from the transportation to the food and entertainment was an unprecedented venture.<sup>24</sup> Cook developed a system of cheap trips for groups moving according to an organized schedule. In 1851, the Cook's travel agency brought one hundred sixty five thousand visitors to the Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace.<sup>25</sup> In 1868, Thomas Cook & Son began conducting tours to Athens and Istanbul. Then, about fifteen years later, the company opened offices in both Athens and Istanbul. [Fig. 2.8] The excursions to Athens and Istanbul were advertised in the company's magazine, *The Excursionist*.<sup>26</sup> By offering group travel at reasonable prices and taking care of all material problems, Cook's agency led many people to travel to Istanbul. Indeed, in her diary published in 1897, Mrs. Max Müller, who reports visiting Istanbul in 1894, mentions that when their ship anchored "the agents of Cook and Gaze came on board and secured some of the passengers, accompanying them to the Custom House."<sup>27</sup> The Gaze agency mentioned here is another British

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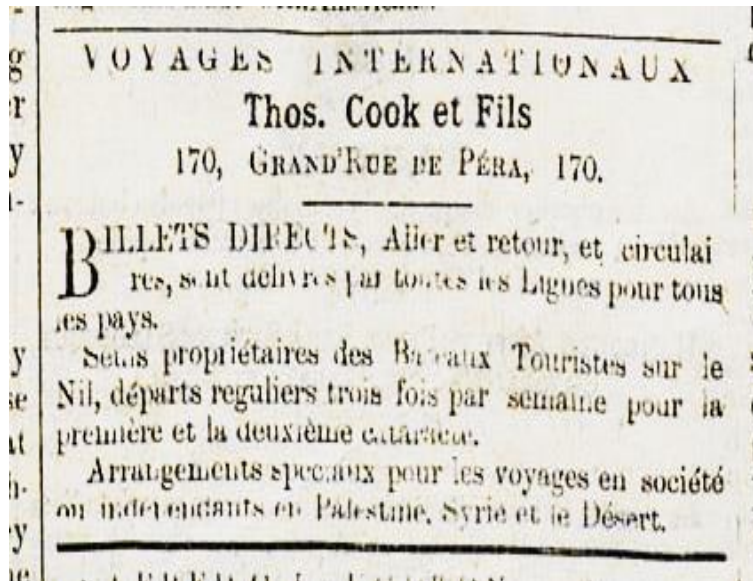
<sup>23</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Hand-Book Constantinople*, 3.

<sup>24</sup> James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 51.

<sup>25</sup> Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism*, 55-58.

<sup>26</sup> Deborah Harlan, "Travel Pictures and Victorian Gentleman in Greece," *Hesperia* 78 (2009): 421-453, 423.

<sup>27</sup> Mrs. Max. Müller, *Letters from Constantinople* (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1897), 6.



**Figure 2.8** Advertisement of the Cook et Fils, 1890

Source: *The Levant Herald & Eastern Express*, Constantinople, Thursday, December 11, 1890

agency, the Henry Gaze travel agency, that operated tours.<sup>28</sup> Yet, Cook's agency had such a reputation that when Kaiser William visited the Ottoman Empire in 1898, the Cook travel agency was entrusted with the organization of his visit.<sup>29</sup>

On the other hand, the first organized tours to Istanbul was five years before Cook & Son's tours. The year 1863 witnessed the exhibition of *Sergi-i Umum-i Osmani*, which attracted visitors from Europe. Visitors hailed from various cities around Europe, particularly from Vienna, a group of one hundred forty two people, then a group of four hundred fifty visitors, including journalists and businessmen.<sup>30</sup> That year also marked the first organized tour from Istanbul to Europe. According to an advertisement in the

<sup>28</sup> Paul Smith, *The History of Tourism: Thomas Cook and the Origins of Leisure Travel* (London: Routledge, 1998), 30.

<sup>29</sup> Pinguet, "Journey to Istanbul," 29.

<sup>30</sup> Gökhan Akçura, *Turizm Yıl Sıfır* (İstanbul, Om Yayınevi, 2002), 11-12.

newspaper *Ruzname'i Ceride-i Havadis* dated June 21, 1863, by Monsieur Misiri, owner of Angleterre Hotel, the tour would depart from Istanbul to Naples by steamboat in July. In Napoli, there would be a three-day stay, followed by visits to Paris, London and Vienna, to return via Vienna to Istanbul by steamboat along the Danube.<sup>31</sup>

As a natural result of the increase in the number of tourists and foreigners traveling to and staying in Istanbul, more and more hotels were opened. In Murray's Handbook of 1840, it was stated that there were only a few hotels in Istanbul. They were, he reported, more uncomfortable than pensions.<sup>32</sup> In the 1845 edition, Hotel d'Angleterre was mentioned as "an excellent establishment recently opened"; and Hotel de Bellevue, the pension of Madame Giuseppino Vitale and the Pension of Paul Roboly were the only other hotels suggested for a comfortable stay.<sup>33</sup> However, when it was 1875, the number of hotels increased. [Fig. 2.9] By the end of the century, there were quite a considerable number of hotels in Istanbul. Grand Hotel Français, Hotel de Rome, Hotel Bristol, Hotel de Byzance, Hotel de l'Europe, Hotel Luxembourg, Hotel Kroecker, Hotel Royal, Tokathyan Hotel were the well-known hotels of the time.<sup>34</sup> [Fig. 2.10; Fig. 2.11] In the guides from the early 1900s, Pera Palace Hotel, Grand Hotel de Londres [Fig. 2.12] Royal et Angleterre, Hotel Bristol, Hotel Croecker, and two other hotels, the Summer Palace Hotel and Petala's Hotel in Therapia were recommended for visitors.<sup>35</sup> Among these hotels, the *Summer Palace* and *Pera Palace* were associated with Wagon-Lits, a company operating a network of luxury trains all over the Europe as well as managing many hotels enroute their trains for the use of their customers. [Fig. 2.13] The Summer Palace was the first hotel built by and affiliated with by the *Compagnie Internationale des Grands Hotels* established by Wagons-Lit in Istanbul.

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<sup>31</sup> Akçura, *Turizm Yıl Sıfır*, 13; Gökhan Akçura, "Journey to the East," 114.

<sup>32</sup> John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands*, 150.

<sup>33</sup> John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers*, 171.

<sup>34</sup> Akçura, *Turizm Yıl Sıfır*, 18; Germaner and Inankur, *Oryantalistlerin Istanbulu*, 62.

<sup>35</sup> See Mamillian, ed., *Guide to the Eastern Mediterranean Including Greece and the Greek Islands, Constantinople, Smyrna, Ephesus* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1904), xvii and Demetrius Coufopoulos. *A Guide to Constantinople* (London: A. and c. Black, 1906), 35.

**HOTELS**  
ET  
**CAFÉS-RESTAURANTS.**

**HOTEL D'ANGLETERRE.**  
Fondé en 1841.  
par  
**J. MISSIRIE,**  
No. 463—GRAND'RUE DE PÉRA—No. 463.

Cet Hôtel hors ligne et jouissant d'une réputation européenne est depuis longtemps apprécié, autant par sa position et le beau panorama dont il jouit, que par son confort intérieur.

---

**HOTEL DE BYZANCE,**  
GRAND'RUE DE PÉRA.

Cet Hôtel de premier ordre possède des salons et des chambres élégamment meublées et d'une propreté modèle. Table d'hôte excellente et vins exquis.  
On parle toutes les langues.  
Interprètes et guides attachés à l'hôtel.

---

**HOTEL DE CONSTANTINOPE.**  
GRAND'RUE DE PÉRA.  
**HOTEL DE PREMIER ORDRE**  
Situé dans la plus belle position et au centre des Ambassades.  
Salons Splendides.  
APPARTEMENTS ET CHAMBRES  
richement meublées.  
Cuisine soignée.—Table d'hôte.  
Service et propreté admirables.  
Propriétaire, D. LOGOTHETTI.

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**HOTEL D'ORIENT,**  
**Cooks Excursionists Hotel.**  
GRAND'RUE DE PÉRA  
à côté de Galata-Sérai.  
Grands et petits appartements bien aérés et confortablement meublés, avec vue magnifique sur la mer et la ville de Stamboul.  
Table d'hôte.  
Arrangements avantageux pour familles qui font un long séjour à l'hôtel.

---

**HOTEL RESTAURANT ANATOLIE**  
en face de  
L'HOTEL D'ORIENT.  
Service à la carte et table d'hôte à des  
PRIX MODÉRÉS.

**GRAND HOTEL NATIONAL.**  
au coin des rues  
ASMAIL-MEMET ET CAERISTAN A PÉRA  
tenu par  
**JEAN SCHWARTZ.**

Ce nouvel établissement est organisé de la manière la plus confortable. Chambres à coucher élégamment meublées. Cuisine allemande et française. Vins de France et de Hongrie. Bière de Vienne et Journaux en diverses langues.

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**MAISON L. LEBON.**  
CONFISERIE ET PATISSERIE  
de  
**ST. PETERSBOURG.**  
RESTAURANT  
vis-à-vis l'ambassade de Russie.  
Commandes pour la ville et pour la Campagne

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**GRAND HOTEL ET BAINS DU LUXEMBOURG.**  
tenu par  
**BOSSY ET BRUN,**  
GRAND'RUE DE PÉRA.  
Jouit d'une réputation méritée par l'excellence de sa table et de son service.  
Table d'hôte et service à la carte.  
Grand et splendide Café et salle de billards au rez-de-chaussée.  
BAINS ORDINAIRES ET MÉDICINAUX  
pour Dames et Messieurs.

**Figure 2.9** Advertisements of hotels, 1875

Source: *Le Levant Herald, Edition Hebdomadaire*, Mercredi, Janvier 6, 1875





**Figure 2.10** Hotel Kroecker, postcard by Max Fruchtermann

Source: Atatürk Library



**Figure 2.11** Hotel M. Tokatljan

Source: Atatürk Library



**Figure 2.12** Advertisement in *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891

Source: Raphael C. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental du commerce* (Paris: 1891), 28



**Figure 2.13** Pera Palace Hotel, postcard by Max Fruchtermann

Source: Atatürk Library

In 1892, Pera Palace which was the first hotel to have electrical lighting and steam heating, was also opened to serve European travelers who came to Istanbul via the Orient Express.<sup>36</sup> By the 1890s, competing with each other, the hotels had higher standards and offered all kinds of new comforts. For instance, in 1891, the Grand Hotel de Londres promoted a hydraulic elevator having the same system using in Eiffel Tower as well as British style washrooms. Similarly, in 1892, Hotel Bristol presented itself as the only establishment with an American elevator and ceramic bathrooms.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, in a guide book, *New Guide to Constantinople* published in Boston in the 1890s, it was mentioned that “since the opening of the Oriental Railway, the hotels have been improving daily, and now offer to the traveler the same comforts he would obtain at any European Hotel.”<sup>38</sup>

In the meantime, it is understood from an Ottoman book *Sayyadane Bir Cevalan* by Ahmet Midhat, written in 1891, that there was an expectation of and desire for more tourists in Istanbul. However, Ahmet Midhat complained that although railways had connected Istanbul to Europe, European visitors had avoided Istanbul because the hotels had either been expensive or of poor quality. Ahmet Midhat commented that if there were more hotels, more Europeans would come and stay longer, and accordingly, they would spend more money.<sup>39</sup> What is evident here is that at the time, tourism had already started to be seen as a profitable business for the city, and there was a desire for more tourists to come to Istanbul.

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<sup>36</sup> Akçura, *Turizm Yıl Sıfır*, 15.

<sup>37</sup> Pinguet, “Journey to Istanbul,” 28.

<sup>38</sup> Binder, C.V. *New Guide to Constantinople: including all information necessary for tourists, with panorama, maps and time-table* (Boston: Yasmār-Rednib, ca 1890).

<sup>39</sup> Ahmed Midhat, *Sayyadane Bir Cevalan* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2001), 51.



## 2.2 Travelogues and Guidebooks

By the nineteenth century, travel literature was already well established in the form of volumes of travel memoirs and a variety of travel books including observations, sketches, historical information about places, ways of life and manners.<sup>40</sup> These impressionistic travel books narrated by traveling writers mainly addressed people who would most likely never travel to these lands. They began with a presentation of the author and the aim of the travel, thereby legitimizing the reliability of the narrative through references to the respectability of the author.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, through the discourse narrated in the past tense by the first person subject, a travelogue suggested a geographical distance between where the reader was and the land visited.<sup>42</sup>

Mostly written by the poets, writers and aristocrats of the time, there were many travel accounts on Istanbul in existence. These travel accounts embellished with poetic representations, stories, personal comments and humor as well as sketches intended to help the reader visualize and imagine the scenes described. Some of these accounts became so popular that through the century, they went under several editions and were

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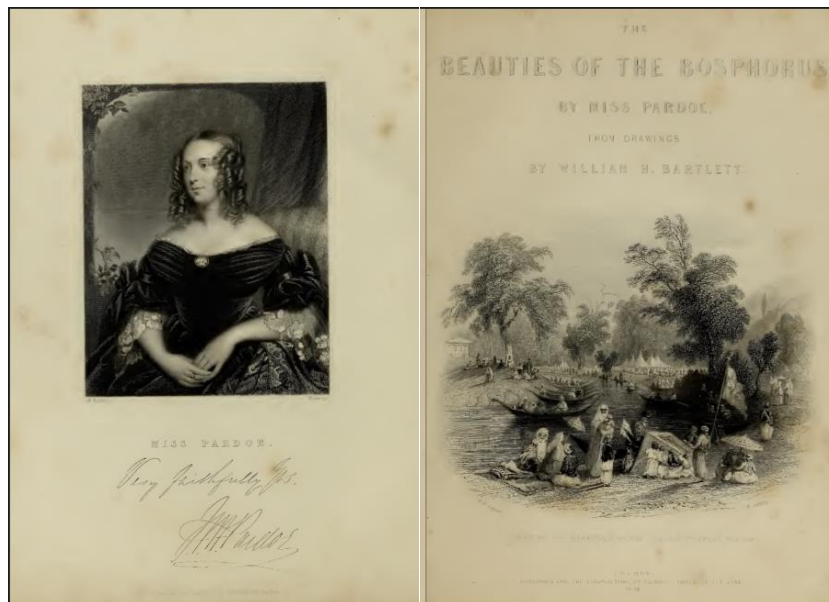
<sup>40</sup> Starting from the sixteenth century, as diplomatic relations intensified, more and more Europeans started to travel to the Ottoman Lands. Ambassadors and their companions made observations and gathered information about the landscape, history, architecture and events. Travel accounts also appeared. For instance, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq who was an Austrian envoy to the Ottoman Empire in İstanbul published a book, *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum*, in 1581, republished in 1595 as “Turkish Letters. Similarly,” Salomon Schweigger, a theologian, came to Istanbul as a Habsburgian envoy between 1578 and 1581. His well-illustrated travelogue was published in 1608. Stephan Gerlach, a cleric accompanying the Austrian ambassador, came to Istanbul between 1573 and 1576, and had his memoir published in Frankfurt in 1674. In the course of the seventeenth century, in addition to envoys and their entourage, the number of foreign travelers who stopped by and stayed in Istanbul as a part of their voyages increased. Accordingly, the number of publications including narratives on Istanbul increased. Jean de Thévenot, a French traveler, stayed in Istanbul in 1655 during his travels in the Levant, and published a book including writings about the daily life and traditions of Turks and Islam as well as the buildings and districts of Istanbul.<sup>40</sup> In the same vein, Jean-Baptiste Chardin, also a French merchant, jeweler and traveler, stayed in Istanbul in 1672. His traveling account of Persia and the Near East was published under *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin* in 1711. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu’s *Letters from Turkey* which was first published in 1725 is also a well-known example of this genre.

<sup>41</sup> Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolutions* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 40.

<sup>42</sup> Behdad, *Belated Travelers*, 44.

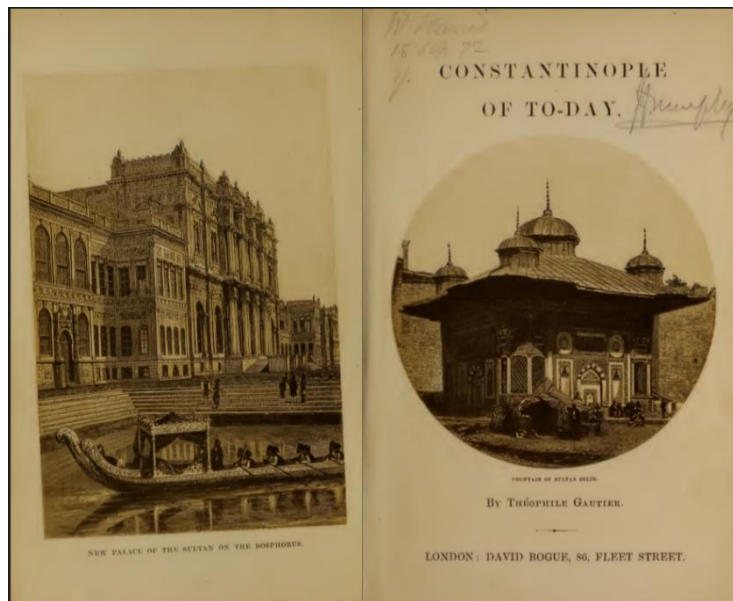
translated to other languages. *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* by Miss Julia Pardoe (1838) [Fig. 2.14], *Constantinople To- Day* (1853) by Théophile Gautier [Fig. 2.15], *Costantinople* (1877) by Edmondo Amicis [Fig. 2.16] *Diary of an Idle Woman in Constantinople* (1893) by Francis Elliot, *Letters From Constantinople* (1897) by Mrs. Max Müller [Fig. 2.17], *Constantinople. The City of the Sultans* by Clara Erskine Clement (1895) [Fig. 2.18], and *Constantinople* (1895) by Marion Crawford [Fig. 2.19] were some well-read accounts among many examples in their genre.

Authors of travelogues were usually aware of previous writings and often even referred to them. In these books, the places to go, things to see, and things to do in Istanbul intersected a great deal. In the second half of the century, when a new genre, the guidebook, grew, guidebooks also borrowed from previously written travel accounts as a source of information. On the other hand, travelogues written in the second half of the nineteenth century also referred to guidebooks.



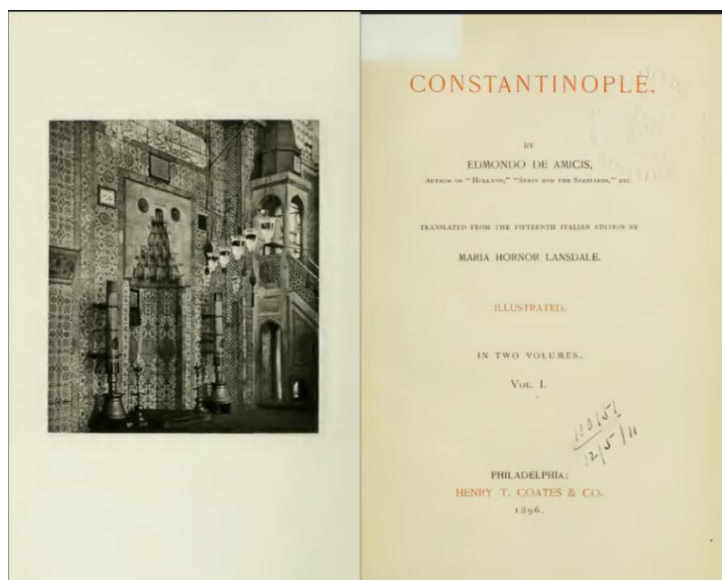
**Figure 2.14** *The Beauties of Bosphorus* by Miss Julia Pardoe

Source: Miss Julia Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (London: George Virtue 1838)



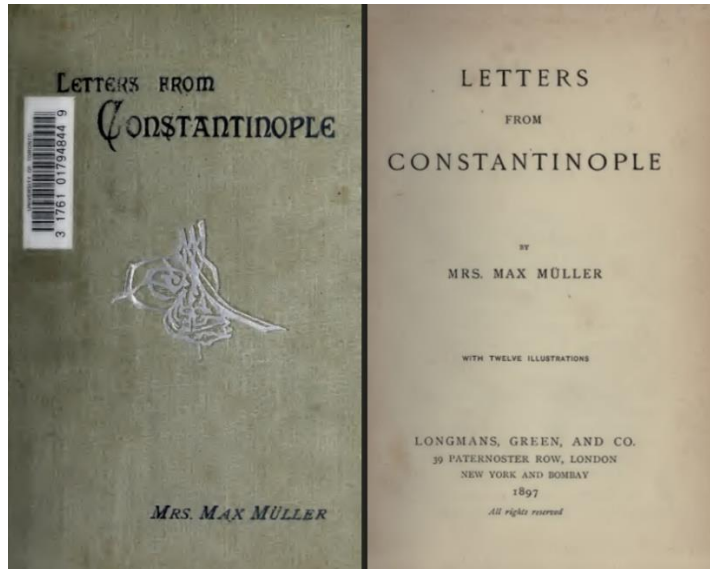
**Figure 2.15** *Constantinople of To-Day* by Théophile Gautier

Source: Théophile Gautier, *Constantinople of To-Day*, trans. Robert H. Gould (London: David Bogue, 1859)



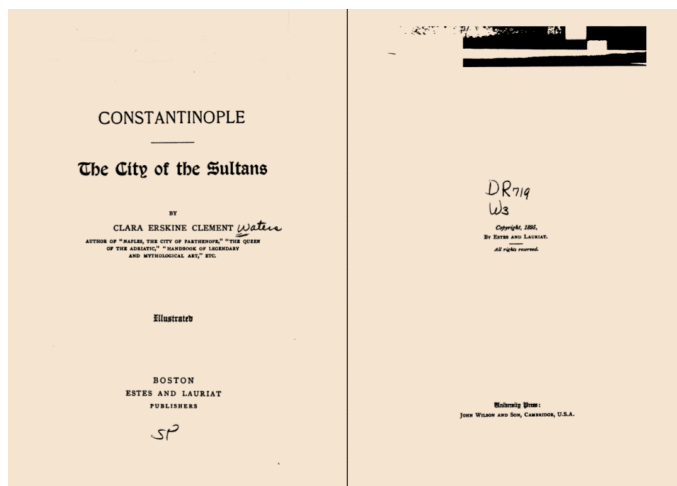
**Figure 2.16** *Constantinople* by Edmondo de Amicis

Source: Edmondo de Amicis, *Constantinople*, trans. Maria H. Langdale (Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates, 1896)



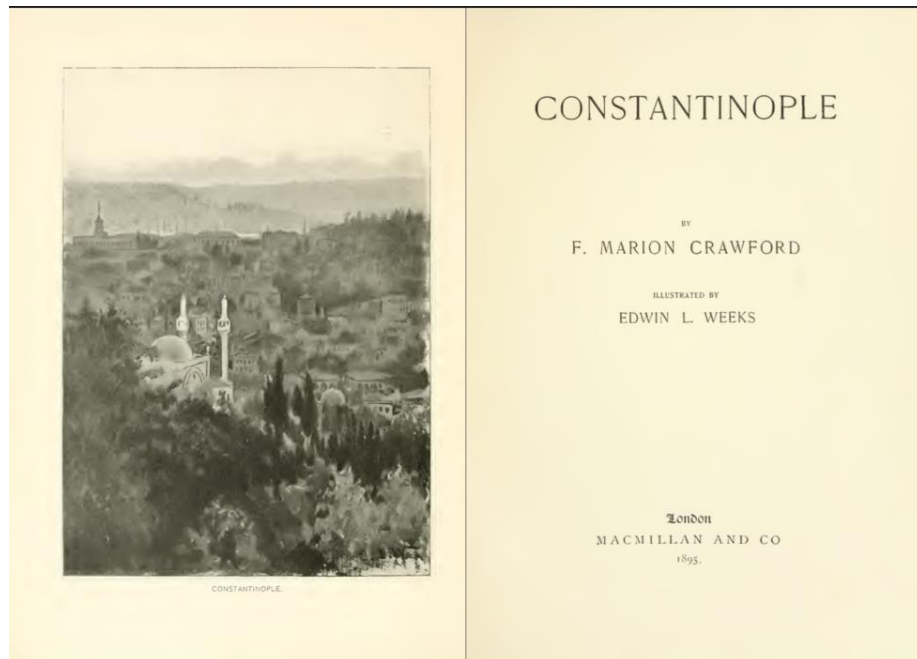
**Figure 2.17** *Letters from Constantinople* by Mrs. Max Müller

Source: Mrs. Max Müller, *Letters from Constantinople* (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Greens and Co., 1897)



**Figure 2.18** *Constantinople. The City of the Sultans* by Clara Erskine Clement

Source: Clara Erskine Clement, *Constantinople. The City of the Sultans* (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1895)



**Figure 2.19** *Constantinople* by F. Marion Crawford

Source: F. Marion Crawford, *Constantinople* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895)

Starting from the eighteenth century some travel narratives appeared, akin to the modern guidebook aiming at helping travelers by providing practical information about places. Thomas Nugent's *Grand Tour* (1749) and the *Gentleman's Pocket Companion for Traveling into Foreign Parts* (1722) are two examples of this kind. However, they were rather personal in their approach.<sup>43</sup> Published in the 1820s, the British editor Josiah Conder's thirty volumes of the *Modern Traveler* series anticipated the advance of modern travel guides. By borrowing from the reports of British travelers, each volume gathered geographical, historical, and topographical information on a particular

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<sup>43</sup> Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 67.

destination. The series attempted “to present an accurate and authentic description of various countries of the Globe.”<sup>44</sup>

Towards the mid-nineteenth century, together with the advent of tourism agencies, the guidebook, as a body of systematized and categorized knowledge about places, appeared as an outcome of the developing travel industry. Aiming at guiding tourists throughout Europe, the first guidebooks were published in London by John Murray in 1836, and in Leipzig by Karl Baedeker in 1835. In 1841, *Guides Joanne* Series, which would be renamed as *Guides Bleus* in 1919, also started to be published by Adolphe Joanne and Hachette.<sup>45</sup> These guidebooks presented a discursive category different to any former example of travel narrative. Epistemologically, travelogues and guidebooks presented different categories. While the travelogue was based on the experiences of a traveling author, the guidebook contained a body of compiled information from different sources by the publisher. On the other hand, as one of their sources, guidebooks borrowed travelogues' courses and referred to them even through directly quoted statements. Modern guidebooks included information on history, contemporary politics, classical antiquity, monuments, religion, language, and any other subjects suited to a traveler's needs. With its dry tone of informative accounts, the guidebook targeted a traveler who was at that very location at the time of reading.<sup>46</sup> Compared to travelogues, guidebooks included much more systematic, up-to-date, and practical information. Through its successive editions, the guidebook provided updated information together with maps, plans, charts, fares and schedules.

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<sup>44</sup> Josiah Conder, *The Modern Traveller. A Description Geographical, Historical, and Topographical of the Various Countries of the Globe*, vol I. (London: James Duncan, 1830).

<sup>45</sup> Edhem Eldem, *Consuming the Orient* (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2007), 19; Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis, "Visions of Constantinople. Istanbul From the 19th century guidebooks," in *Oriental Occidental: Geography, Identity, Space*, Proceedings of 2001 ACSA International Conference, Istanbul (Washington, DC: ACSA Press, 2001), 8-12, 8.

<sup>46</sup> Behdad, *Belated Travelers*, 38.

The fourteenth volume of Josiah Conder's *The Modern Traveller* series of 1827 entitled *Turkey* can be considered the first proper guide to Turkey.<sup>47</sup> By relying on lengthy quotations from previous authors such as John Cam Hobhouse (1816), George Sandys (1615), Thomas Thornton (1807), Lady Montagu (1763) among others, the book included basic information about the Empire and introduced different parts of Turkey and historical buildings.<sup>48</sup> Yet, it lacked updated and practical information. In the same vein, R.T. Claridge's *A Guide along the Danube from Vienna to Constantinople*, published in London in 1837, provided some useful information based on the writer's own journey in 1836 but was far from a guidebook's methodological approach. Published by Frederic Lacroix in 1839, *Guide du Voyageur a Constantinople et dans ses environs*, and John Murray's *A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor and Constantinople*, which appeared in 1840, were the first guidebooks offering systematic information on the subject. Then, in 1900, Murray's published a volume particularly focusing on Constantinople. While the Joanne Series extended to Turkey in 1860, Baedekers' only included Turkey in 1905.<sup>49</sup> Until the Great War, Istanbul attracted a large mass of tourists, forty five to sixty five thousand visitors per year, and a variety of travel books and guides were published by prominent publishers in Europe such as Bradshaw, Macmillan and Cook in Britain and Meyers in Germany.<sup>50</sup> Through regular updates, these guides provided all kinds of information needed for traveling such as passport and customs procedures, accommodation, tips, foreign exchange rates and monetary systems, local transportation and tariffs, time differences, climate, sanitary precautions, addresses of consulates, hospitals, not to mention possible annoyances as well as attractions. Hence, by easing and directing tourists on certain routes, the handbooks established the ways for seeing and experiencing places. As James Buzard suggests:

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<sup>47</sup> Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama*, 35.

<sup>48</sup> Josiah Conder, *The Modern Traveller. Volume the Fourteenth. Turkey* (London: James Duncan, 1830).

<sup>49</sup> Edward Mendelson, "Baedeker's Universe," *Yale Review* 74 (1985) 386-403; 393.

<sup>50</sup> Martinidis, "Visions of Constantinople. Istanbul from the 19<sup>th</sup> century guidebooks," 8.

Murray and Baedeker had invented an imperious and apparently ubiquitous authority small enough to fit in the tourist's pocket. They preceded the tourist, making the crooked straight and the rough places plain for tourist's hesitant footsteps; they accompanied the tourist on the path they had beaten, directing gazes and prompting responses.<sup>51</sup>

Therefore, some routes and spots were visited over and over again by tourists. It is not surprising that tourism was capable of remaking spaces by introducing railways, hotels, restaurants, souvenir shops, travel agencies, and so on. Moreover, since the places promoted in guidebooks were mostly visited and represented, while those places and their attractions started to represent the city, the places which were not promoted in guidebooks were mostly overlooked as if they were not parts of the same city. Prior to their visit, tourists had some expectations what would be seen. Accordingly, tourism reduced İstanbul to a couple of routes to go through and several buildings to be seen in a tourist's checklist of landmarks and certain monuments. It also created a set of symbols denoting Istanbul such as the Galata Tower, the Maiden's Tower, St. Sophia's Church, Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Süleymaniye Mosque, kayıks, and cemeteries. Therefore, to see the sight including the sign denoting a place became more important than to experience the site itself.

### 2.2.1 On the beaten track

It is evident in travelogues and guidebooks that travelers enjoyed Istanbul on multiple levels. Its geographic location made it unique. Because of its landscape, all travelers agreed that it is a very 'picturesque' city.<sup>52</sup> As the former capital of the Byzantine Empire, it was significant for antiquarian and historical reasons. As the capital of the Ottoman Empire, the city had historical architecture associated with the history of the Empire. It was an 'Oriental' city with all its Islamic associations.

Travelogues reflected the contemporary interest in certain sites. In travelogues, travelers mentioned all kind of subjects that attracted their interest, ranging from daily life practices to legends they associated with the places. Among the British travelers of

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<sup>51</sup> Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism*, 75.

<sup>52</sup> The notion of picturesque is discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis.



the nineteenth century, Miss Julia Pardoe included the most extensive list of attractions of the city in *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* published in 1838. [Table 2.1] Pardoe's book also included a map of the Bosphorus where the places mentioned could be seen. [Fig. 2.20]. Her account mainly focused on what she found picturesque in Istanbul. While she presented the city as aesthetically desirable, for the most part, she did not pay attention to any other aspects of Istanbul.

**Table 2.1** List of the titles in *Beauties of the Bosphorus* by Julia Pardoe

The title of the chapter	Themes of the interest
Valley of the Sweet Waters	Kağıthane, the Sultan's summer palace
Eyoub	Eyüp Mosque and its courtyard, the cemetery, the view from cemetery
Turkish Baths	The Imperial Bath at the summer palace of Beylerbeyi
Palace of Beshik-Tash	The new Palace of Beşiktaş
The Castles of Europe and Asia	Rumeli and Anadolu Hisarı, respectively on the European and Asian shores of Bosphorus
Fountain of the Asian Sweet Waters	Küçüksu Fountain
Aqueduct near Pyrgo	Valens Aqueduct
The Mausoleum of Solyman " the Magnificent"	Interior of the mausoleum
Yeni Djami	The courtyard, the portal, exterior galleries, three lofty arches enclose open peristyle, maple trees, vendors
The Tcharchi, or Bazars of Constantinople	The Grand Bazaar, the Armoury Bazaar, the Shoe Bazaar, the Fruit Bazaar, the Confectionary Bazaar, the Tobacco Bazaar, the Spice Bazaar, the Porcelain Bazaar
Fountain in Galata	Four small domes compose the roof, painted arabesques, coffee kiosques, and local people around.
View from Mount Bulgurlhu	The view from Çamlıca Hills in Scutari
Turkish Houses on the Bosphorus	Irregular and picturesque
Mosque of Sultana Valide, from the Port	Slender and highly ornamented minarets. It stands on the harbor, kayıks are around.
The Mosque of Sultan Achmet	Sultan Ahmed Mosque in ancient Hippodrome, six minarets, the courtyard, columns in the Hippodrome

**Table 2.1** (Continued)

The Column of Marcian	Near the Aqueducts of Valens, (also called as kıztaşı), the ornamentation on the pedestal of the pillar
Scutari	The cemetery
Musicians at the Asian Sweet Waters	Musicians, Bulgarian dancers.
Beglier Bey (It is the wooden palace built by Mahmud II in 1829)	Irregularly fronted and extensive edifice. Gardens, interior.
Saint Sophia	The court and the ablution fountain, pilgrim merchants, the gallery, the interior, relics of St. Sophia.
The Ocmeidan	The archery ground where is a good view of the Seven Hills of the city and the Aqueducts of Valens.
The Serai Bournou	The grounds where the ancient Byzantium was founded. The present day's Orientalist place. Topkapı Palace's effect from Marmara Sea. The Topkapı Palace, its courtyards and kiosques. Ahmet III Fountain.
Top-Hanne	A quarter between from Grand Street Pera, today's Istiklal Street and the Bosphorus. The Mosque of Sultan Mahmud (built in 1826 and known as Nusretiye), the cannon foundry Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque and the Fountain are main attractions of the district.
The Walls of Constantinople	Sea walls, Seven Towers, gates.
The Mosque of Chazade	Şehzade Fountain, richly ornamented mausoleum.
Suleimanie	The dome and the interior, the mihrap
The Port of Constantinople	The view of the port from the Great Cemetery of Pera
Entrance to the Black Sea	The view of the entrance to the Black Sea seen from Jouchi-Dagi (Yuşa Dağı), Therapia, Büyükdere.
The Palace of Belisarius	The remains of a lofty gateway, ruined state of the palace, wretched houses
The Seraglio Point	The view seen from Seraglio Point.
Yenikeui	The Greek village
Dolma-Batche, from the Grand Champ des Morts	The view of the valley of Dolmabahçe from the Grand Cemetery of Pera.
A Bendt, in the Forest of Belgrade	The view of the valley of Belgrade, aqueducts, cisterns.

**Table 2.1** (Continued)

Mosque of Sultan Bajazet	The portal and the court of Beyazıt Mosque, Beyazıt Fire Tower, The view from Beyazıt Toer like a map.
The Riven Tower, (near the Top-Kapousi)	It is one of the towers of old walls which was stricken by the Turks during the siege.
Istenia	Beautiful Greek village on the Bosphorus. The Moorish fountain, the crowds of <i>kayıks</i> .
The Arsenal	The view of Arsenal from Pera.
The Tower of Galata	The dilapidated state of walls, the floating bridge.
The Tchernberle Tasch	The burnt pillar.
The Ferry at Scutari	The caravan to Mekke, imperial kiosque, the barrack, the Prince Islands.
A Turkish Apartment	The elaborately ornamented ceiling, the interior of a harem.
The Slave-Market	Description of the slave market. There is no cruelty or insult. The voluntary slaves.
Petit Champ des Morts, Pera	The view from Petit Champ des Morts, Pera
The Guz-Couli, or Maiden's Tower	The legend about the tower and the truth
Bebec, on the Bosphorus	The imperial kiosque
A Public Khan	The caravanserai
Fort Beil-Gorod, on the Bosphorus	The fortress and the view
The Aqueduct of Baghtche-Keui	The aqueduct, the valley of Büyükdere, the tree of Godfrey de Bouillon
A Coffee-Kiosque	Coffee houses
The Bosphorus	The charm of the Bosphorus is endless variety of perspective. The changing vista through the Bosphorus.

In the meantime, guidebooks mentioned attractions by grouping and ordering them. Moreover, organized within geographical boundaries and aiming at providing the information about all the buildings and places related with tourism in that particular area, guidebooks included information about a wide range of buildings. Also, regarding their attained historical value or aesthetic value or exotic attraction, the guidebooks

highlighted some places as ‘must be seen’ or ‘worth seeing’ and mentored the tourist about the most proper way to see the subject.

In Murray’s *Hand-book Constantinople Brusa, and the Throad* of 1900 following the introductory chapter, there is a chapter entitled “How to See Constantinople.” The first sentence of the chapter states that “Constantinople has three attractions-historic interest, beauty of position and diversity of population.”<sup>53</sup> The guide first introduces the districts around the Golden Horn, which are outside the ancient city walls: Galata, Pera, Tophane, Kasımpaşa, Hasköy and Eyüp. Next, it presents places within the city walls. Following long chapters on the walls, the gates, Seven Towers, columns, and Byzantine churches, there is a chapter on Stamboul, introduced as “the Muhammadan” part of the city [Fig.2.21]. It includes mosques, *turbes*, the Seraglio, museums and fountains. The guide mentions bazaars, public offices, barracks, hospitals, libraries, schools, the bible house, dervishes, Turkish harems, theatres, cemeteries, *kayiks*, dogs, sports and books and proceeds with excursions: Sweet Waters of Europe, a tour from Pera to Therapia and Büyükdere by land, and finally, from Pera to the Forest of Belgrad. Another large chapter is devoted to the Bosphorus and villages on both sides. The last chapters delve into Scutari and the Prince’s Islands.

Guides Joanne’s *De Paris à Constantinople* published in 1902 also starts by presenting the city with Pera and Galata and provides a short list of the main attractions: The Galata Tower (panorama of the city), Grand Bazar, St. Sophia, Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Little St. Sophia, Sokullu Mehmet Paşa Mosque (ancient church of St. Anastasia), Archeological Museum, Beyazid Mosque, Seraskerat (Ministry of War), Süleymaniye Mosque, Şehzade Mosque, the Golden Horn, Eyüp, the walls, Scutari, Bosphorus and the Prince’s Islands. Following five different routes for visiting places in the city walls, the guide takes tourists outside the walls. In the following chapters, the guide presents religious structures including mosques, *turbes* and churches, as well as imperial palaces and the Museum of Antiquities. These are followed by excursions such as the Sweet

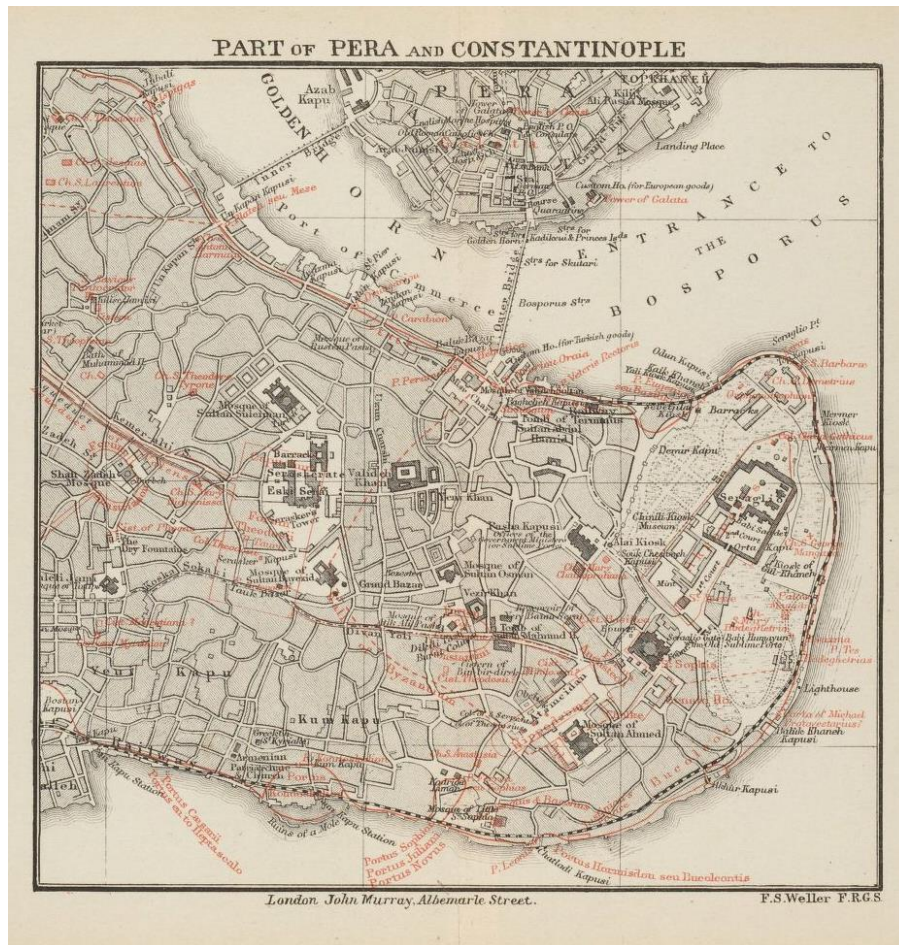
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<sup>53</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-book Constantinople*, 11.



**Figure 2.20** Map of Constantinople

Source: Miss Julia Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (London: George Virtue 1838)



**Figure 2.21** Map of Part of Pera and Constantinople

Source: *Murray's Handbook Constantinople* [1900]

Waters and the Bosphorus, Scutari, Kadıköy, Makriköy, San Stefano, Floria, Küçük Çekmece, Fenerbahçe and Prince's Islands.<sup>54</sup>

In a similar order, *the Macmillan Guide* of 1904 starts introducing the city from Galata and Pera. Then it proceeds to Stamboul, where the attractions are the Old Seraglio and its treasury, the Imperial Ottoman Museum, St. Sophia, Hippodrome, Columns,

<sup>54</sup> Guides Joanne (ed.), *De Paris à Constantinople* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1902), 231-331.

cisterns, bazaars, mosques that were once Christian churches, tombs and mosques built following the Turkish conquest, which appeared chronologically: Fatih Mosque, Beyazıt Mosque, Sultan Selim Mosque, Şehzade Mosque, Süleymaniye Mosque, Mihrimah Mosque, Rüstem Paşa Mosque, Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Yeni Valide Mosque, Laleli Mosque, Nurosmeniye Mosque and Yeni Valide Mosque in Aksaray. At the end, it also mentions Sokullu Mehmet Paşa Mosque in one sentence commenting that it contains very fine tiles. Excursions are the Selamlık in Hamidiye Mosque; the Walls, Seven Towers and Tekfour Serai, the Golden Horn including the cathedral and Patriarche of the Orthodox Greek church in Fener, the Bulgarian Church in Balat, Eyüp Mosque, and the dockyard at Azapkapı, Kasımpaşa, Hasköy and the Sweet Waters of Europe. The other excursions included the Bosphorus and the Prince's Islands.

Baedeker also presents the city by first introducing Pera and Galata. Then, it defines three routes for seeing Stamboul. The first route starts from the Galata Bridge and extends to St. Sophia. The route includes Yeni Valide Cami, Topkapı Palace and St. Sophia, Sultan Ahmet Mosque, Ahmet III. Fountain and the Hippodrome. On the second route between St. Sophia and Seraskerat; the Tomb of Sultan Mahmud II, the burnt column, Beyazıt Mosque, Seraskerat Square, Süleymaniye Mosque, Rüstem Pasha Mosque, Egyptian Market, Grand Bazaar, Nurosmeniye Mosque are seen. The last route is from Laleli Mosque to Selimiye Mosque, followed by the old walls and Eyüp. Next, Scutari and the villages on the Bosphorus are presented.<sup>55</sup>

In the preface to guide, *A Guide to Constantinople*, which was first published in 1895 by a native of İstanbul, Demetrius Coufopoulos who was a dragoman in İstanbul, Coufopoulos explains his aim as to guide a traveler who “wishes to devote a limited time as pleasantly and profitably as may be to the exploration of the City and its

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<sup>55</sup> Baedeker's *Konstantinopel und Kleinasien* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1905), 82-133.

Environs.”<sup>56</sup> In the guide there is a chapter titled “Principal Sights in Constantinople” providing a list of “the most remarkable things to be seen”<sup>57</sup> [Table 2.2].

Considering the order in which the places in the city are described in guidebooks, it is no surprise that Galata was introduced first, as it was the first docking point for ships as well as the main area facilitating access to other parts of the city via ports or the bridge. It also makes sense that accounts continued with Pera, as it was the district of hotels, consulates, banks, travel agencies and entertainment. The Galata Tower, as well, with the bird’s eye view of the city that it offers and thus the logistical advantage it presents for an initial grasp of the city, appears in the first pages of the guides. Almost every guide provides a details of the panoramic views seen from the each window of the tower. Galata and Pera are where daily excursions start and end. This is typically followed by an introduction of the historical peninsula within the city walls, and then a route outside the city walls and along the Golden Horn, from Eyub to Okmeydanı or vice versa, is described including spots to enjoy the picturesque views of the city’s skyline. Visits to Scutari and the shores of the Bosphorus are also mentioned among must-see itineraries. A trip to Prince Islands is suggested, provided a tourist has time. Excursions to Bursa, Izmit, and Edirne are also included in some guidebooks.

It is evident that the act of visiting Istanbul was affected by two sets of boundaries. The first was the sea, which drew apart three main parts, Galata, Stamboul and Scutari, constituting a geographical boundary for the routes to visits. The second was the old city walls, which drew a border by creating a physical obstacle. All guidebooks suggested that tourists go up the Galata Tower for the sake of the view and some also recommended Seraskerat (Beyazıt) Tower. Both towers provided tourists with unobstructed sights enabling them to map the city.

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<sup>56</sup> Demetrius Coufopoulos, *A Guide to Constantinople*, 3<sup>rd</sup>. ed. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1906).

<sup>57</sup> Coufopoulos, *A Guide to Constantinople*, 46-47.



**Table 2.2** List of the “most remarkable things to be seen” in Constantinople by Demetrius Coufopoulos

Mosques	St. Sophia, Ahmedieh, Sulemanieh and Chora Mosques, which are the four principal ones, and of which St. Sophia and Chora are of Byzantine architecture, and the other two Turkish. Other mosques to be seen are-SS.Sergius and Bacchus, Mehmed Pasha’s mosque, Rustem Pasha’s mosque, and the Valideh mosque, the last three having beautiful tiles.
Tombs	The tomb of Sultan Selim II, of Sultan Mahmud II, of Suleiman the Great, the tomb of Shah-Zadeh, and of Sultan Muhammad II, the Conqueror.
Museums	The Imperial Museum of Antiquities, the Church of St. Irene, the Treasury (in the Old Seraglio), and the Museum of Ancient Costumes (in the Hippodrome)
Obelisks and Columns	The Obelisk of Theodosius, the Serpent Column, and the Colossus in the Hippodrome, the Porphyry or Burnt Column, Marcian’s Column, the Column of Theodosius II, and the Column of Arcadius.
Cisterns	The Philoxenos, and the Basilica.
Walls	The Seven Towers and the Walls of Constantinople.
Bazaars	The Grand Bazaar and Egyptian Bazaar.
Processions	The Selamlık, Procession of the Holy Camel, the Sultan’s Procession to the Hırka-i Sherif Mosque in the Old Seraglio every 15 <sup>th</sup> of Ramazan, and the Sultan’s procession to Dolmah Baghcheh Palace to hold a <i>levée</i> of his ministers.
Excursions	The Golden horn, the Bosphorus, the Forest of Belgrade, the Sweet Waters of Europe, the Sweet Waters of Asia, the Princes’ Islands and Brusa.

### 2.2.2 Pressed for time

Giving a brief list of places that should be seen in Constantinople, Murray’s Handbook comments that an in-depth exploration of these spaces could take up to two or three weeks.<sup>58</sup> Yet, for travelers who were pressed for time, it suggested two different itineraries to visit the city within six days [Table 2.3] [Fig. 2.22] or three days[Table

<sup>58</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-book Constantinople*, 11.

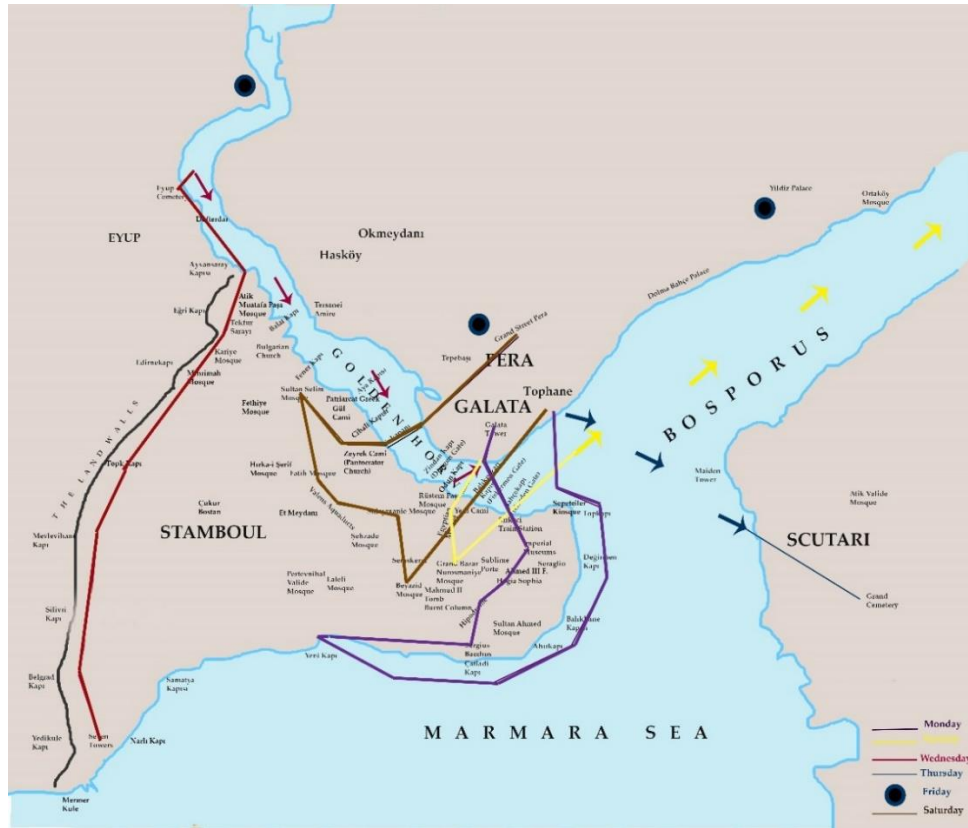
2.4] [Fig. 2.23].<sup>59</sup> Similarly, the *New Guide to Constantinople* published in Boston circa 1890, offered sights to be visited in three days for the tourist with only a limited amount of time to spend sightseeing. [Table 2.5] Apart from Murray's further emphasis on the city walls instead of a visit to Scutari, both guides include almost the same itineraries as must-see sights for those with time limitations.

**Table 2.3** Murray's six-day program<sup>60</sup>

1 <sup>st</sup> day (Monday)	Galata Tower, Seraglio Grounds, Museum of Antiquities, St. Irene, Sultan Ahmed Fountain, Hagia Sophia, Yerebatan Cistern, Tomb of Sultan Mahmud II, Column of Constantine, Cistern of Thousand and One Columns, Hippodrome, Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Museum of Ancient Costumes, Palace of Justinian, Little Hagia Sophia, Armenian Patriarche and Church, return from Kumkapı by rail or by water along the foot of the sea-walls.
2 <sup>nd</sup> day (Tuesday)	Bazaars in the morning, the Bosphorus and Robert College in the afternoon.
3 <sup>rd</sup> day (Wednesday)	Take a tour along the walls starting from Seven Towers and ending in Eyup. Return by steamer or <i>kayık</i> to Galata.
4 <sup>th</sup> day (Thursday)	Go to Scutari. Visit English Cemetery, howling dervishes, American college for girls, and Bulgurlu.
5 <sup>th</sup> day (Friday)	See Selamlık (Sultan's visit to mosque), whirling dervishes of Pera, cemetery of Pera and Sweet Waters of Europe.
6 <sup>th</sup> day (Saturday)	Visit American Bible House, Beyazid Mosque, Tower of Seraskerat, Süleymanie Mosque, Fatih Mosque, Column of Marcian, mopen cistern near the Mosque of Sultan Selim, Phanar, Eski Imaret Mesjidi, Zeirek Kilise. Return by inner bridge

<sup>59</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Hand-Book Constantinople*, 11.

<sup>60</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Hand-Book Constantinople*, 11.

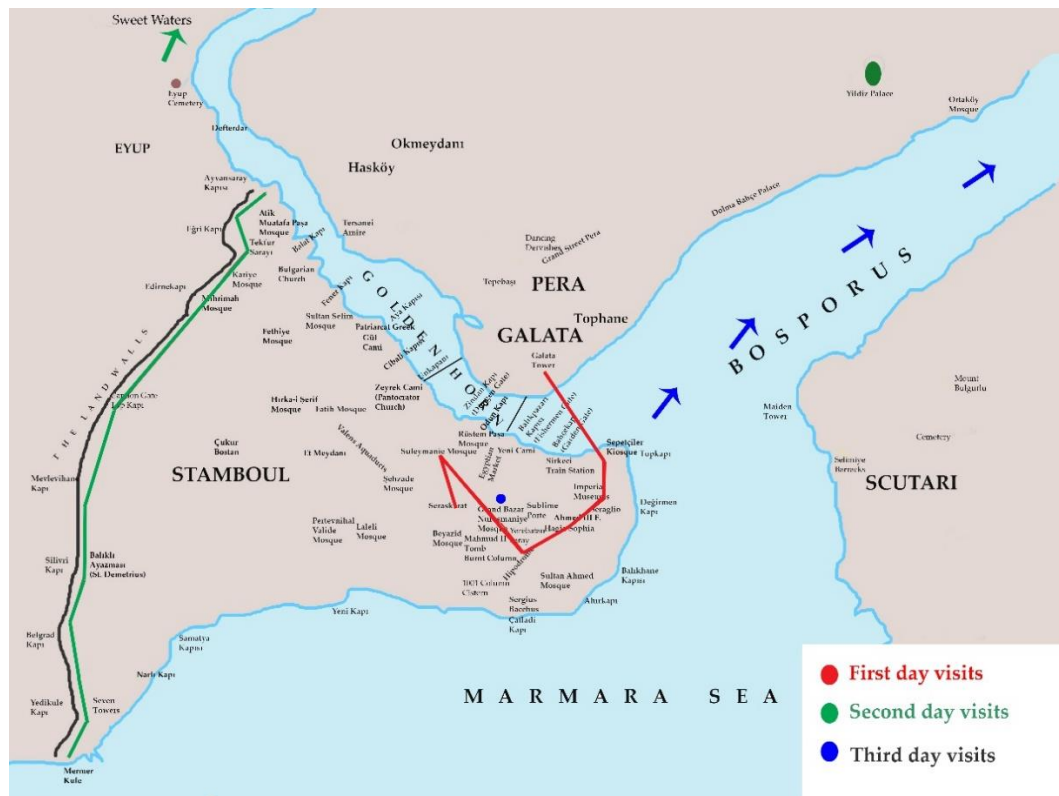


**Figure 2. 22** Six-day visit routes suggested in Murray's *Hand-book Constantinople*  
Source: Drawn by the author

**Table 2.4** Murray's three-day program<sup>61</sup>

1 <sup>st</sup> day	Galata Tower, Seraglio Grounds, Museum of Antiquities, St. Sophia, Yere Batan Serai, Hippodrome, Mosque of Sultan Ahmed, Cistern of 1001 Columns, Tomb of Sultan Mahmud II, the Column of Constantine, the Mosque of Sultan Beyazıt, the Seraskerat Square, and the Mosque of Sultan Süleyman
2 <sup>nd</sup> day	Bazaars in the morning, Bosphorus in the afternoon
3 <sup>rd</sup> day (Friday)	The old walls, Eyüb, and the Sweet Waters. If one of the days is a Friday, time should be found to see the Sultan going to mosque and the whirling dervishes.

<sup>61</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Hand-Book Constantinople*, 11.



**Figure 2. 23** Three-day visit routes suggested in Murray's *Hand-book Constantinople*

Source: Drawn by the author

**Table 2.5** Binder's three-day program<sup>62</sup>

1 <sup>st</sup> day	The Galata Tower, the Old Seraglio, the Imperial Museum, the Hippodrome, the Bazaars, the Süleymaniye and the Seraskerat Tower must be seen. A lunch must be had at a Turkish restaurant in the Bazaars.
2 <sup>nd</sup> day	Visit Eyüp, dancing dervishes, Scutari and Mount Bulgurlu which has magnificent view, the English Cemetery where there is a monument erected by the Queen of England in memory of the soldiers who fell in the Crimea, the barracks which was the hospital where Miss Nightingale tended the wounded.
3 <sup>rd</sup> day	Go through the Bosphorus, see the old walls in Rumeli Hissar and Anadolu Hissar, the European Embassies at Büyükdere and Therapia and the forts at Anadolu Kavak.

<sup>62</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Hand-Book Constantinople*, 11.

Indeed, towards the turn of the century, the shortened travel duration of about sixty-eight hours from Paris to Constantinople with the Oriental Express in 1889 also led to a shorter stay. It was not just that travel time to Istanbul was shorter; the visit was also accelerated via the modern means of transportation within the city. By the 1860s, the railway had extended to Yeşilköy (St. Stephano). The tram between Azapkapı and Beşiktaş started in 1871. As of the 1850s, there were steamers operating to Terapia, Scutari, and the Prince's Islands.<sup>63</sup> By the turn of the century, all kinds of transportation were available, as listed in Macmillan Guide of 1904. Steamers for the Bosphorus, Scutari, Haydar Pasha, Kadıköy, and the Golden Horn could be taken from Galata Bridge at frequent intervals. There were also steamers to the Prince's Islands twice a day, in the morning and in the afternoon. Trains ran from the Sirkeci Station about every half hour for Seven Towers, San Stephano, and intermediate stations. Tramway cars ran from Galata through Pera to Şişli; from Ortaköy through Galata to Azap Kapı (Inner Bridge); from the Outer Bridge, to Stamboul past the old Seraglio Gate, St. Sophia, the Hippodrome, the Burnt Column and Beyazid Mosque to Seven Towers. Moreover, a branch line ran from Aksaray to Top Kapısı (Gate of St. Romanus), from which the walk was easy, either to Ayvan Saray on the Golden Horn, or to Yedi Kule on the Marmara. Additionally, the cars in the underground, Tunnel, between Galata and Pera ran every three minutes.<sup>64</sup>

Indeed, Murray's Handbook of 1840 and 1845 provided the traveler with a six-day plan to visit mainly Stamboul within the city walls and a half-day walk on the north of the Golden Horn. Other parts of the city such as Scutari and the Bosphorus were not included in the six-day program. Yet, in the 1900 edition, the guide deemed three days to be enough for visiting Stamboul, Galata and Pera and the Bosphorus. Binder's guide, a three-day visit was long enough to include a visit to Scutari. Coufopoulos provided a list of attractions.

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<sup>63</sup> Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera* (Istanbul: Literatür, 1998), 32-33.

<sup>64</sup> Macmillan's Guides, *Guide to the Eastern Mediterranean* (London and New York: Macmillan Co., 1904), 157.

Yet, regarding the sights mentioned in these guidebooks that could be visited within one day; a tourist determined to abide by the itinerary would be so pressed for time that it would only be possible to literally see them from a distance. In fact, by the first half of nineteenth century, the sites had already become the sights. Now it was possible to 'collect' more sights in a relatively shorter period of time.

### 2.2.3 Picturesque Confusion

Travelogues based on memoirs of travelers' mostly portrayed Istanbul through the authors' first impressions. Before the proliferation of railway transportation travelers usually entered the Bosphorus from the Marmara Sea. Going along the Bosphorus, they enjoyed the delineation of the city's unique geography and the succession of panoramic views with its minarets, domes, old city walls and trees which offered a sort of 'Oriental' romance. In the 1840 and 1845 editions of Murray's handbook, the chapter on Constantinople started with a quotation from a fictional hero, Anastasius, the narrator-hero of Thomas Hope's popular novel:<sup>65</sup>

I watched, as they rose out of the bosom of the surrounding waters, the pointed minarets —the swelling cupolas—and the innumerable habitations [...] At first, agglomerated in a single confused mass, the lesser parts of this immense whole seemed, as we advanced, by degrees to unfold—to disengage themselves from each other, and to grow into various groups, divided by wide chasms and deep indentures ; until at last, the cluster thus far still distinctly connected, became transformed, as if by magic, into three distinct cities, - each, individually, of prodigious extent, and each separated from the other two by a wide arm of that sea, whose silver tide encompassed their base, and made its vast circuit rest half in Europe, half in Asia. Entranced by the magnificent spectacle, I felt as if all the faculties of my soul were insufficient fully to embrace its glories, I hardly retained power to breathe, and almost apprehended that in doing so I might dispel the glorious vision, and find its whole fabric only a delusive dream.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> *Anastasius, or Memoirs of a Greek Written at the Close of the Eighteenth Century*, written by Thomas Hope, was published in 1819 by John Murray. In its first edition, the book was presented as the memoirs of an anonymous hero which were recently found and published for those readers with an interest in the regions "once adorned by the Greeks, and now defaced by the Turks." See, *Memoirs of a Greek Written at the Close of the Eighteenth Century* (London: John Murray, 1819), i.

<sup>66</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands*, 150.

In the 1870s, Edmondo Amicis's account expressing the city's appeal also conveyed earlier travelers' fascination:

It is one universal and sovereign beauty...It is the most beautiful spot on the earth, and so judged by all the world. Writers of travels arriving there are in despair. Pertusiers stammers, Tournefort says that language is impotent, Fonqueville thinks himself transported into another planet, La Croix is bewildered, the Viconte de Marcellus becomes ecstatic, Lamartine gives thanks to God, Gautier doubts the reality of what he sees, and one and all accumulate image upon image; are as brilliant as possible in style, and torment themselves in vain to find expressions that are not miserably beneath their thought. Chateaubriand alone describes his entrance to Constantinople with a remarkable air of tranquility of mind; but he does not fail to dwell upon the beauty of spectacle, the most beautiful in the world, he says, while Lady Mary Wortley Montague, using the same expression, drops a perhaps, as if tacitly leaving the first place to her own beauty, of which she thought so much.<sup>67</sup>

In the 1840s version of the Murray's handbook, Anastasius was so entranced by the magnificent spectacle which he associated with the past glories of the city that he was incapable of naming the sights. Later, in the 1900 edition of Murray's handbook, self-contained Thomas Hope's voice had already been replaced by an anonymous voice of a canny tourism advertiser depicting the panorama as a catalogue of sights and attractions the city offered to tourists:

There is no lovelier scene on earth than that which opens up before the traveler as he approaches Constantinople from the Sea of Marmara. Nowhere else is there a picture so bright, so varied in outline, so rich in color, so gorgeous in architecture. On the left, washed by the waves, the quaint old battlements extend from Seraglio point to the Seven Towers [...] and over them picturesque confusion of the terraced roofs, domes and minarets of Stamboul. To the right the white mansions, cemeteries, and cypress groves of Skutari [...] the Bosphorus, revealing a vista of matchless beauty, like one of the gorgeous pictures of Turner [...] Genoese Tower of Old Galata, appear on the heights of Pera [...] Facing the city and the mouth of the Golden Horn, on the Asiatic shore, lies Skutari, with its bright houses and monuments [...] Looking northward past the splendid portals of Dolmabaghcheh.<sup>68</sup>

These accounts described the city as a beautiful spectacle, as a picture existing solely for the delight of travelers rather than a living entity that confused tourists. Many of the visitors agreed that Istanbul was the most panoramic city in the world. In the eighteenth

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<sup>67</sup> Amicis, *Constantinople*, 3.

<sup>68</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Hand-Book Constantinople*, 8.

century, Joseph de Tournefort compared the terraced settlements on the hills climbing gradually up from sea level on both sides of the Golden Horn to an amphitheater and admired the *coup-d'oeil* that the view included all the houses of the largest city in Europe.<sup>69</sup> After about a century and a half, another French traveler, Theophile Gautier, also likened the Golden Horn to an amphitheater and described his fascination about the vista as: "A marvelous panorama displays itself before our eyes, like a grand theatrical scene of some oriental spectacle."<sup>70</sup> Yet, upon taking a closer look, neither Tournefort nor Gautier or Amicis admired the houses they had previously seen from a distance. Five hours after his arrival, Amicis expressed this as, "there is a disorder, a confusion, of the most incongruous objects, a succession of the strangest and most unexpected sights."<sup>71</sup> When Gautier landed at Galata and found himself in a labyrinth of hardly paved narrow streets, he complained about his present reality:

The lovely mirage which had enwrapped the city as seen from the sea rapidly disappeared. The paradise changed into a cloaca, the poetry turned into prose: and I could not but ask myself sadly how these ugly and ruinous houses could derive from distance and perspective aspects so seducing a coloring so soft and luminous.<sup>72</sup>

#### 2.2.4 "What have they not seen?"

Tourism is a journey to places that are different than the usual place of residence and work, and a period of stay in a new place or places. Accordingly, tourism is all about "a series of direct and meditated relationships with, and in, the context of space/place. The spaces of tourism are the spaces of movement, destination, experience, memory and representation."<sup>73</sup> Chris Rojek points out that a tourist sight is "a spatial location

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<sup>69</sup> Joseph de Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, vol 2. (Alyon, 1717), 178-179. PDF available from <https://archive.org/stream/mobot31753003772503#page/n0/mode/2up>

<sup>70</sup> Theophile Gautier, *Constantinople of To-Day*. Trans. Robert Howe Gould (New York: Holt, 1875), 71.

<sup>71</sup> Amicis, *Constantinople*, 18.

<sup>72</sup> Gautier, *Constantinople of To-Day*, 73.

<sup>73</sup> Stephen Wearing, Deborah Stevenson and Tamara Young, *Tourist Cultures. Identity, Place and the Traveller* (Los Angeles; London; New Delhi: Sage, 2010), 10.



distinguished from everyday life by virtue of its natural, historical or cultural extraordinariness".<sup>74</sup> Similarly, John Urry discusses that tourist sights pronounce a culturally constructed binary opposition between ordinary and the extraordinary.<sup>75</sup> Referring to Roland Barthes, Rojeck argues that "the mythical is unavoidable in discussions of travel and tourism" and "the social construction of sights always, to some degree, involves the mobilization of the myth."<sup>76</sup> A place which is socially regarded as "extraordinary" provokes speculation and acts of imagination. It is apparently evident that tourist sights have discursive narratives consisting of "false impressions, exaggerated claims and tall stories."<sup>77</sup> He points out two reasons to explain why myth and fantasy have a large role in the social construction of all travel and tourist sights. In the first place, since travel sights are far from travelers' own places of residence, they leave their everyday life routine and social places behind and enter new territory which is unfamiliar. This unfamiliarity "invites speculation and fantasy about the nature of what they might find and how our [travelers'] ordinary assumptions and practices regarding everyday life may be limited."<sup>78</sup> Moreover, travelers have pre-existing knowledge about sights that have been shaped by books, pictures, stories and fantasies creating anticipation about the places. Therefore, a given sight is also explored imaginatively through cultural metaphors, allegories and fabrications. Secondly, through variety representations a touristic sight is accessible in everyday life. Yet, those representations are not a product of a uniform entity. There is a large file of representations for a particular touristic place involving everything that is relevant to tourist culture; travelers' tales, novels, poems, guidebooks, brochures, posters, postcards, photographs, and the like. Thus, metaphorical, allegorical, exaggerated and false information as an object of daydreaming, imagination and

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<sup>74</sup> Chris Rojeck, "Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights" in *Touring Cultures. Transformations of Travel and Theory*, ed. Chris Rojeck and John Urry. (New York, Routledge, 2000), 52-74, 52.

<sup>75</sup> John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage, 2002), 4.

<sup>76</sup> Rojeck, "Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights," 52.

<sup>77</sup> Rojeck, "Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights," 52.

<sup>78</sup> Rojeck, "Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights," 53.

speculation is as important a factor for the social construction of sights as are factual materials.<sup>79</sup> Accordingly, through representations portrayed in a variety of sources shaping everyday tourist perceptions, a tourist feels familiar to the tourist sight and has some expectations. For the most part, the experience that is different than previous representations creates a sense of disappointment to some degree. However, since tourist narratives somehow compensate the disappointment, the myths continue.<sup>80</sup>

Indeed, it is observed in travelogues that writers commonly associated places with tales, legends, false stories, and historical anecdotes. Two chapters entitled “Memorials” and “Resemblances” in Amicis’s *Constantinople* exemplify how narrations of the existing oriental discourse influenced the formation of tourist’s sights in nineteenth century Istanbul. Amicis was enthusiastic to see the city because he associated its places with historical and legendary events:

In no other city in Europe do places and legendary or historical monuments excite the fancy as in Stamboul, for, in no other city do they record events so recent yet so fantastic...It is but a few years since the fabulous hecatomb of the janissaries was consumed in the Et Meidan;...since the family of Brancovano were destroyed in the castle of the Seven Towers...since there ceased behind the walls of the Old Seraglio that strange life, so mingled with love, horror, and madness...Every door, every tower, every mosque, every square, recalls some prodigy, or some carnage, some love, or mystery, or prowess of a Padishah, or caprice of a Sultana, every place has its legend.<sup>81</sup>

He also mentioned famous personalities and narratives of the Oriental literature affixed in his imagination to the places and people that he had seen in Istanbul:

I have been in the same café with Soliman the Big...All the personalities of the Thousand and One Nights, the Aladins, the Zobeides, the Sinbads, the

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<sup>79</sup> Here, Rojek gives this example, "the visitor to Dallas may frame the site by indexing cultural items from representational files of the Kennedy assassination and incidental knowledge from representational files relating to the Ewing family as portrayed in the television series *Dallas*." Rojek, "Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights," 53.

<sup>80</sup> Rojek, "Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights," 54.

<sup>81</sup> Amicis, *Constantinople*, 101.

Gulnares, the old Jewish merchants, possessors of enchanted carpets and wonderful lamps, passed before me like a procession of phantoms.<sup>82</sup>

*Arabian Nights*, which was a mixture of Arabic, Iranian, Indian, Mesopotamian and Egyptian folk tales consisting of twelve volumes, was translated in French by Antoine Galland from a Syrian manuscript in 1704-1717. The English translation by an unknown translator was also published in 1706.<sup>83</sup> Thereafter, the themes of despotic sultans, vicious killers, dexterous thieves, ignorant people, rich and barbarous men, and erotic image of beautiful and witty harem women were exploited in European art constituted the exotic imagery of 'oriental people' and 'oriental spaces.' They were imagined as if they were real people who lived in their exotic "Oriental" country. Tourists had a desire to experience the 'Orient,' which was exotic and adventurous (but safe). Correspondingly, they searched for signs such as costumes and armory or objects such as carpets, rugs, lamps, and so on that they could associate the people and places with people and places in tales and stories. Indeed, aware of tourists' expectations of seeing types and places that fit the imagery in "oriental" tales, Frances Elliot, who was a British woman that traveled to Istanbul in the early 1890s, sarcastically advised future tourists, saying that since she did not see any sons of Kings, nor Aladdins with lambs in the streets of Pera, a tourist "must visit the bazaar and close alleys of Stamboul to experience the Arabian nights."<sup>84</sup> Therefore, having absorbed the existing imagery of a particular place, building or space, a tourist had an expectation of what he or she would see. On the other hand, since the popularity of sights and accordingly tourists' expectations were shaped by information from a variety of sources from diverse epistemological origins, the imagery of a touristic sight was a file in which reality merged with fiction. Accordingly, the dullness of the present reality of places never met tourists' expectations, which were mostly nourished by the imaginary. For

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<sup>82</sup> Amicis, *Constantinople*, 103.

<sup>83</sup> Naskali, "Orientalism in Europe," 23; Frances Mannsaker, "Elagency and Wildness: Reflections of the East in the Eighteenth Century Imagination" in *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, ed. G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), 179-181.

<sup>84</sup> Frances Elliot, *Diary of an Idle Women in Constantinople* (London: John Murray, 1893), 21.

instance, Topkapı Palace was a place associated with stories of despotic sultans, harem women, and the barbarity of ‘terrible Turks’ and the fantastic luxury of an ‘Oriental’ palace. With her memory saturated with fancy stories and imagery about an ‘Oriental’ palace, Elliot wrote about her disappointment when she saw Topkapı Palace:

"The old Seraglio! What a name! A place of love, murder, beauty, ambition, and torture through so many ages; of dark trees and gleaming walls, fretted fountains, gilded kiosks, and enchanting halls, fair open spaces, greenly planted lawns, and sombre gloomy courts. What have they not seen?"<sup>85</sup>

Similarly, when Topkapı did not fit his expectations, disillusioned by the reality, Amicis remarked that "it is not possible to describe the palace without disappointing the most modest expectation."<sup>86</sup> In the same vein, during his visit to Topkapı Palace, having found the palace quite modest and disappointing, Gautier admitted that in Northern countries they have an exaggerated idea of Oriental magnificence invoked by recollections of the Arabian Nights. They imagine Alhambras, magical architecture with columns lapis-lazuli, with capitals of gold and foliage of emeralds, etc.<sup>87</sup>

In Istanbul, nineteenth century tourists were in search of the theatres of history where legendary events once played out. What was really seen was a place containing incongruous things disrupting the historical stage. In the second half of the century, the railway went through the walls of Topkapı Palace - a sign of modernity destroying the medieval imagery of the palace-; some buildings were destroyed in the fire of 1865 and some modifications were made. In the last decade of the century, truly disappointed with Topkapı Palace, another tourist, Clara Erskine Clement also noted that the garden of Topkapı Palace was narrowed by the railway, and the palace was desolated. Yet, by embellishing the sober reality of the palace with its mythical connotations in her imagination, she still found it worth seeing:

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<sup>85</sup> Elliot, *Diary of an Idle Woman in Constantinople*, 9.

<sup>86</sup> Amicis, *Constantinople*, 269.

<sup>87</sup> Gautier, *Constantinople of To-Day*, 281.

[M]uch of interest still exist in the associations with these deserted halls, where every passion of the human heart-ambition, love, hatred, revenge, and tender pity-has existed, and manifested itself in the superlative degree.<sup>88</sup>

#### 2.2.5 Judging Ottoman Modernity

In the context of nineteenth century tourism in Istanbul, a place was an attraction center because of three reasons: It was of historic interest and /or it presented a picturesque view, and /or it displayed an exotic way of life. In the second half of the century, a tourist who arrived in Istanbul encountered the city's unique state of modernity governed by its own complex and contradicting dynamics. However, as Miss Pardoe writes in the 1830s, before the start of extensive urban modernization:

The great charm of Constantinople to a European eye exists in the extreme novelty, which is in itself a spell; for not only the whole locality, but all its accessories, are so unlike what the traveller has left behind him in the West.<sup>89</sup>

Therefore, since tourists felt familiar with the city through such accounts presenting Istanbul as an extremely exotic place, for the most part, Istanbul did not meet their expectations. Accordingly, Ottoman modernization was discredited because it disrupted the exoticism of the city. As tourists, they sought places unlike their usual built environment. What they came to see was not modern Istanbul but an "Oriental" spectacle:

[...] the white buildings of arsenal erected above extensive vaults, and crowned by a tower and belfry. Being built, however, in accordance with civilized tastes, it has no attraction for Europeans, although the Turks are very proud of it.<sup>90</sup>

Subsequently, European style buildings around were disappointing because they felt contemporary western style architecture disturbed the "oriental" spectacle. As Gautier discredits the neo-classical style of the custom house and arsenal:

In all the countries of the world, the custom houses have columns, and an architecture in the style of Odeon. That of Constantinople is not false its

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<sup>88</sup> Clara Erskine Clement, *Constantinople* (New York and Boston: H. M. Caldwell, 1895), 176.

<sup>89</sup> Pardoe, *Beauties of Constantinople*, 4.

<sup>90</sup> Gautier, *Constantinople of To-Day*, 82.

species, but luckily the neighboring barracks are so dilapidated, so out of the perpendicular, and shouldering each other about with nonchalance so truly oriental, that the severe classicality of the custom house is somewhat ameliorated.<sup>91</sup>

Nevertheless, there was no escape from the modern façades of the city. Starting from the Tanzimat period (1839-1876), the Ottoman Empire underwent an intense phase of transformation aimed at modernization by implementing administrative, economic, military and educational reforms. The spatial reflection of these reforms was a newly built environment housing modern governmental, military and educational institutions. During the century, not only traditional spatial organization but also the appearance of Istanbul was transformed by new building types such as barracks, banks, office buildings, hotels, department stores, apartments, theaters, museums and universities designed in contemporary revivalist architectural styles.

After the Galata Bridge opened in 1858, Karaköy, which is at the foot of the Galata Bridge and conveniently close to the harbor, developed as a business center. The strip on the side of the Bosphorus from Karaköy toward Tophane and Kabataş evolved into a commercial waterfront. Towards the north, on the Dolmabahçe - Beşiktaş line following the waterway, imperial palaces were built. Grand Street Pera (Beyoğlu) developed as a Western-style cultural, shopping and entertainment center. Pera was the district where the most of the Europeans lived and embassy buildings stood.<sup>92</sup> The prevailing style of Pera buildings was neoclassicism. The neo-renaissance Russian Embassy, designed by the Swiss Fossati Brothers in 1839, the neo-Renaissance British Embassy, constructed upon the original plan of Charles Barry in 1845,<sup>93</sup> and the Dutch Embassy, also designed by the Fossati brothers in the manner of a small French chateau, occupied large sections of Pera. The majority of other Pera buildings, hotels, department stores, restaurants, cafés, and theatres conveyed the neoclassical trend

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<sup>91</sup> Gautier, *Constantinople of To-Day*, 94.

<sup>92</sup> Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera* 31-32, 40-43 and Çelik, *Remaking of Istanbul*, 127.

<sup>93</sup> The building was slightly modified by W.J. Smith.

imposed by the embassy buildings.<sup>94</sup> Along Pera, all kind of luxury goods, textiles, household articles, hunting equipment, cosmetics, jewelry, bronze art objects, toys, optical instruments, drugs, eyeglasses, photographic equipment and so on imported from Europe were found in the shops and department stores. Two galleries, the Passage d'Europe and the Passage Crespın, were like European galleries with their metal structures and glass roofs, neoclassical ornamentations on their interior and exterior façades. With their French names such as Brassaire de Londres, Café-Chantant Parisiana, there were cafés, nightclubs, restaurants, café-chantants and theatres, which were spaces typical of contemporary western cities.<sup>95</sup>

Banks and other institutions associated with trade concentrated in Karaköy and Galata. The most prominent building of the area was the Banque Ottomane, designed by Levantine architect Alexandre Vallaurı in the 1890s. The typical office building of the time was a four or five story stone structure with lower stories of roughly textured rows of stone in the Renaissance style with a variety of classical details on its façades.<sup>96</sup>

Neoclassicism was not only exhausted in the northern sections of the Golden Horn, but also applied in the new buildings on the Istanbul peninsula. In the 1850s and the 1870s, in Eminönü and Sirkeci, stone or brick structured warehouses and customs houses were built similar to those on the opposite shore along Karaköy and Tophane.<sup>97</sup> As a part of educational reforms, Darülfünun was built in 1846. The architects were, once again, the Fossati Brothers. It was a three-story rectangular building with a neo-Greek portico on its eastern façade, which was visible from the Marmara Sea as a part of city's skyline. The Royal Museum of Antique Works (Asar-ı Antika Müze-i Hümayun) designed by Vallaurı (1850-1921) was another example of contemporary architecture that acquired a neo-classical architectural language.

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<sup>94</sup> Mark Crinson, *Empire Building. Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 136 and Çelik, *Remaking of Istanbul*, 133.

<sup>95</sup> Çelik, *Remaking of Istanbul*, 134-35.

<sup>96</sup> Çelik, *Remaking of Istanbul*, 128-129.

<sup>97</sup> Çelik, *Remaking of Istanbul*, 139.

Moreover, following the 1870 Pera fire, after which brick or stone construction became obligatory, the number of multi-story apartments increased. During the last two decades of the century, the city was introduced to a new housing type -row houses- intended for moderate income families. Their façades were simple, symmetrical and modestly ornamented with some classical elements.<sup>98</sup>

On the other hand, modern buildings were criticized not only because modern façades were thought to spoil the “oriental” appearance of the city, but also because their styles were found as incompetent imitations of western examples:

Some ugly houses, of six or seven storeys line the road on one side [...] that these houses pass for the best in Constantinople and that per is proud of them, judging them (rightly) as to fit to figure honorably at Marseilles, or Barcelona, or even at Paris; for they are in fact, of an ugliness the most civilized and modern.<sup>99</sup>

As a consequence, lacking old historical and legendary associations or not being sights of traditional acts, only a few modern buildings held touristic attraction through architectural significance. In Murray’s hand-book of 1900, among the modern public offices, Sublime Porte is described as “a building in the Italian style, which stands in a court with a huge marble portal flanked by fountains.” The Seraskerat is also mentioned as “deserving of notice”.<sup>100</sup>

The defining features of the Sublime Porte were its portal with a large ornamented eave and the fountains on either sides of the portal. It featured an adaptation of Baroque elements to the Ottoman architecture. Built in the 1880s, Seraskerat (Ministry of War) was a building that borrowed from aspects of Moorish architecture. The Taksim Artillery Barracks by Sarkis Balian, Sirkeci Train Station by August Jahmund and Düyun-u Umumiye (General Debt Office) by Alexandre Vallaury were some examples incorporating oriental architecture.

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<sup>98</sup> Ayşe Derin Öncel, *Apartman* (İstanbul, Kitap, 2010), Akın, 19. *Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, 293-315.

<sup>99</sup> Gautier, *Constantinople of To-Day*, 94.

<sup>100</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-Book Constantinople*, 80.



Classical elements in an eclectic style were also applied to traditional building types such as mosques, palaces and tombs. During the reign of Abdülmecid (1839-1861), in the design of Dolmabahçe Palace, Garabet Balyan (1800-1866) applied classicism with variations on the Empire concept. The design of Dolmabahçe Mosque and Ortaköy Mosque included a neo-baroque-spirit and elements in addition to their classical lines.<sup>101</sup> Mahmut II's tomb in Divanyolu also acquired some neo-classical elements. During the reign of Abdülaziz (1861-1876) and Abdülhamid (1876-1909) Sarkis Balian designed Beylerbeyi Palace, Çırağan Palace, Adile Sultan Palace in Kandilli, the main building of Yıldız Palace, Çadır Kiosk, Malta Kiosk and Sadabad Mosque in Kağıthane in historicist eclecticism.

Dolmabahçe Palace is also mentioned in Murray's as a building which is a "mixture of styles", having ornaments "not always in the best taste" yet "the general effect is not unpleasing to the eye."<sup>102</sup> Ortaköy Cami is mentioned as "a picturesque mosque."<sup>103</sup> Edwin Grosvenor mentions Hamidiye Mosque as "of graceful proportions and harmonious coloring, but of small dimensions, it is eclipsed in size, though not always in beauty, by many an imperial mosque."<sup>104</sup> Guide Joanne mentions Valide Cami in Aksaray, Ortaköy Mosque and Dolmabahçe Mosque as beautiful modern mosques.<sup>105</sup>

Pertevnihal Valide Mosque, which was in the revivalist style incorporating with Islamic and classical Ottoman architectural forms, was built in 1873. This mosque and Çırağan Palace were two buildings promoted in *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani*, which was a

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<sup>101</sup> For further discussion see Alyson Wharton, "The Identity of the Ottoman Architect in the Era of 'Westernization'" in *Armenian Architects of Istanbul*, ed. Hasan Kuruyazici (İstanbul: Hrant Dink Vakfı Yayınları, 2011), 18-33.

<sup>102</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Hand-Book Constantinople*, 94.

<sup>103</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Hand-Book Constantinople*, 95.

<sup>104</sup> Edwin A. Grosvenor, *Constantinople* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1895), 151.

<sup>105</sup> Guides Joanne, *De Paris a Constantinople* [1894], 203.

scholarly publication produced for the 1873 Vienna Universal Exposition.<sup>106</sup> In the 1870s, revivalist architecture adorned by neo-Greek and neo-Renaissance elements was considered as a kind of degeneration by Ottoman intellectuals. As a response, *Usul*, which was the first comprehensive study on history and theory of the Ottoman architecture, was prepared by the imperial command during the reign of Abdülaziz. Introducing the traditions of Ottoman imperial architectural style according to the norms and methods of the contemporary art historical scholarship<sup>107</sup>, the treatise aspired to promote the Ottoman style as a unique, rational and evolutionary building practice.<sup>108</sup> Indeed, the evaluation of Ottoman architecture as a sort of Islamic architecture as an inert and timeless entity have existed for a time. It is evident in travelogues that there were not many visitors giving credit to Ottoman architecture as an independent architecture evolving out of Saracenic, Gothic or Byzantine architecture. Many writers also repeated the common prejudice that “the Turks lacked innovation, their style of architecture had remained the same for centuries.”<sup>109</sup> Accordingly, *Usul* was an attempt to distance Ottoman architecture from ongoing dissociations of the timelessness and /or inertness of Islamic architecture.<sup>110</sup> Moreover,

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<sup>106</sup> For a modern publication of *Usul* see, Edhem Paşa and Marie de Launay, *Osmanlı Mimarisi. Usul-i Mimari Osmani. L'Architecture L'Empire Ottomane . Die Ottomanische Baukunst*, ed. Selman Soydemir (Istanbul: Çamlıca Yayınları, 2010).

<sup>107</sup> In 1817, Thomas Rickman established a terminology of Gothic architecture in his *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture*. *Usul-i Mimari Osmani* had a similar attempt to discriminate evolution of a national style. See Thomas Rickman, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England*, 6th ed. (London: John Henry and James Parker, 1881)

<sup>108</sup> Edhem Paşa and De Launay, *Osmanlı Mimarisi. Usul-i Mimari Osmani*, 9-13. See also Ahmet Ersoy, “Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period,” in *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 117-139, 117.

<sup>109</sup> Reinhold Schiffer quotes from Robert Burford. *Description of a View of the City of Constantinople, with its European and Asiatic Suburbs, now Exhibiting at the Panorama, Strand. Painted by Robert Burford* (London: Adlard, 1829), 6; Reinhold Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama, British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999), 141.

<sup>110</sup> Evaluation of Ottoman architecture as a sort of Islamic architecture as an inert and timeless entity was also apparent in the earliest editions of Fletchers', *A History of Architecture*. Banister Fletcher and Banister F. Fletcher, *A History of Architecture for the Student, Craftsman and Amateur* (London: Batsford, 1901), v.

The separation of ‘historical styles’ and ‘non-historical styles’ was widely discussed and examined as a subject of post-colonial studies. See Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, “Toward

it defined a cyclical scheme of periodization, which was a common stylistic approach at the time,<sup>111</sup> delineating the beginnings, rise, and fall.<sup>112</sup> In this context, the circle starting with modest beginnings and culminating in the sixteenth century was defined. The stagnation period was observed after the culmination. The eighteenth century was seen as the period of decline that led to a total breakdown in the first half of the nineteenth century. Then, the revivalist style in Abdülaziz Era was promoted. Two monuments of the Abdülaziz Era, the Aksaray Valide Sultan Mosque and Çırağan Palace, were appreciated as the forerunners of the new Ottoman style.<sup>113</sup>

These two buildings were mentioned in guidebooks; the new Çırağan Palace was described as “the finest of the palaces on the Bosphorus.”<sup>114</sup> Yeni Valide Cami in Aksaray was also advertised as “a beautiful mosque, built in the [Ottoman] Renaissance style.”<sup>115</sup> What tourists wanted to see was not modernity. Regarding the city as an oriental spectacle, tourists seeking romantic visual pleasures did not appreciate modernization and urban transformation changing the picture. They did not want travails, either. Even though “there is nothing to see in Pera,” tourists usually preferred to stay in Pera, which was the most cosmopolitan district offering a life similar to that in any other contemporary European city.<sup>116</sup> By exploiting the modernity of the city which provided them with comfortable accommodations, hygiene, safety, entertainment, and easy transportation, they focused more on the disappearing pre-

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Postcolonial Openings: Rereading Sir Banister Fletcher’s History of Architecture,” *Assemblage* 35 (1998): 6-17.

<sup>111</sup> See Eric Fernie, *Introduction Art History and Its Methods. A Critical Anthology* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1995), 12, 13.

<sup>112</sup> Edhem Paşa and De Launay, *Osmanlı Mimarisi. Usul-i Mimari Osmani*, 5-7; For further discussion of the subject see Ahmet Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 131-184.

<sup>113</sup> Edhem Paşa and De Launay, *Osmanlı Mimarisi. Usul-i Mimari Osmani*, 3, 7.

<sup>114</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-Book Constantinople*, 95.

<sup>115</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-Book Constantinople*, 64; Guide Joanne, *De Paris a Constantinople* (1894), 203.

<sup>116</sup> Elliot, *Diary of an Idle Woman*, 37.

modern fragments of Constantinople. They selectively perceived Istanbul as a display of monuments, of a picturesque interplay of land and water and of ethnographic mosaic. Amicis expressed sorrow imagining a future Constantinople:

I see her, the Constantinople of the future, that London of the East that will sit in sad and threatening majesty upon the ruins of the most lively and smiling of cities. The hills will be levelled, the groves cut down, the many colored houses cleared away; the horizon will be cut on every side by the long, rigid lines of palaces, factories, and store houses, in the myriads of straight streets, flanked by tall shops and pyramidal roofs and steeples. Long, wide avenues will divide Stamboul into ten thousands enormous blocks; telegraph wires will cross each other like an immense spider web [...] the whole will be solid, geometrical, useful, grey and ugly.<sup>117</sup>

#### 2.2.6 Collecting sights

Starting from the eighteenth century, the idea of connoisseurship, “the well trained eye” developed. Accordingly, in Europe, people started to travel not only make scientific expeditions but also to see buildings, works of arts and landscapes. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, “scenic tourism” developed in Europe. Sightseeing became a new way of seeing. It was not a passive look but a contemplative look at the field of vision with a certain disengagement from a distance.<sup>118</sup> During the eighteenth century, a more specialized visual sense developed through the use of travel handbooks, the widespread knowledge about certain routes and use of camera obscura or Claude glasses. A Claude glass (or black mirror) is a small, slightly convex mirror with a dark surface. It was famously used by travelers and connoisseurs of landscape and painters as the aid of drawing. The user turned his/her back to the scene to observe the framed view reflecting in the mirror. Claude glasses also had the effect of changing the tonal range of the scenes to give them a painterly look. To be able to possess the view in desired picture like quality, filters which created special light effects were also used by pre-photographic tourists. This way of seeing provided travelers a detachment and mastery. Through seeking a proper view from a distance, the picture-like view was

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<sup>117</sup> Amicis, *Constantinople*, 106

<sup>118</sup> Urry, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 157.

grasped and gazed. This notion of sight-seeing also revealed itself in language. Such expressions as “seeing sights”, “eye-catching scenery”, “worth seeing”, “capturing views”, “picturesque city”, which were delineations of a particular emphasis upon seeing, increased drastically.<sup>119</sup> Within the context of travel, when seeing gained privilege over other senses, a “site” was transformed into a “sight”.<sup>120</sup> Accordingly, the world started to be grasped as a picture.

As a matter of fact, this stress on “picture-like” seeing is quite evident in travelogues. Amicis defines Istanbul as “an immense sketch of a metropolis; a great spectacle but not a great city.”<sup>121</sup> Glancing similarly at the city, in the early days of his stay in Istanbul, Gautier climbed the hills of the Bosphorus and before descending, he “paused a moment to contemplate” the superb view, which he depicted picture by picture:

The first picture was formed by the cemetery and its slopes, covered with cypresses and tombs; the second, by the brown tiled roofs, and the red houses of the quarter of Kassim Pasha; the third, by the blue waters of the gulf, which extends from Serai-Bournou to the “Sweet Waters of Europe;” and the fourth, by the line of undulating hills, upon the slope of which Constantinople lies outspread as in an amphitheater.<sup>122</sup>

Similarly, by looking at the houses on the Bosphorus, Albert Smith writes in 1851:

[T]his quaint toy-box houses came to the very water's edge; so closely, indeed, that the lowest seemed to float on it....One regular Thames-side eight-storied warehouse would have spoiled the whole picture.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Carol Crawshaw and John Urry, “Tourism and the Photographic Eye,” in *Touring Cultures. Transformations of Travel and Theory*, ed. Chris Rojek and John Urry (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 176-195, 178.

<sup>120</sup> Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 2; Urry, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 166. For this discussion Urry refers to Timothy Mitchell, “The World as Exhibition,” *Comparative Societies in Society and History* 31 (1989): 217-36, 220 and Michael Jay, *Downcast Eyes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 65-66.

<sup>121</sup> Amicis, *Constantinople*, 37.

<sup>122</sup> Gautier, *Constantinople to-day*, 80

<sup>123</sup> Albert Smith, *A Month in Constantinople*, 50

In the same vein, while he was passing through a Turkish neighborhood, pleased by what he saw, Amicis's impression conveys:

A mass of foliage out of which issues the white point of a minaret, a Turk dressed in red coming toward you, a black servant standing immovable before a doorway, a strip of Persian carpet hanging from a window, suffice to form a picture so full of life and harmony that one could stand gazing at it by the hour.<sup>124</sup>

This new way of seeing -seeing the world as if it were a picture- coincided with its counterpart: seeing the world through pictures. Starting from the early decades of the century, a set of new representation techniques was invented. Panorama, diorama, polyrama were picture displays of places. The panorama, which was a painted circular representation of a landscape or a cityscape, appeared at the end of the eighteenth century. In London, at Leicester Square, the first rotunda for exhibiting panoramic paintings was built by Robert Barker. In 1801, the first panorama of Istanbul based on the view from Galata Tower, painted by Aston Barker, was displayed, and garnered great success. In 1810, John Cam Hobhouse also climbed up the Galata Tower, and made panoramic views of Istanbul, which were exhibited in England.<sup>125</sup> During the first half of the century, panoramas and its variations such as Thomas Allom's moving panorama, the polyrama; Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre's diorama, which was an exhibition of painted views with various effects created by changes in the lighting, were popular forms of public entertainment both in England and in France.<sup>126</sup> Daguerre, who was one the inventors of photography, was also a panorama painter. He opened a theater for his dioramas in Paris in 1822. A similar building opened in Regent's Park London but was destroyed in a fire in 1839. It is also evident in an exhibition catalogue published in Philadelphia in 1840 that Daguerre's paintings

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<sup>124</sup> Amicis, *Constantinople*, 62

<sup>125</sup> Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama*, 146.

<sup>126</sup> Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama*, 146; Öztucay, *Dersaadetin Fotoğrafçıları*, 19; for a further discussion on panoramas of Istanbul exhibited in London in the first half of the nineteenth century see also Namık Erkal."Londra Panoramalarında İstanbul Sergileri (I)," *Toplumsal Tarih* 170 (2008): 41-47 and Namık Erkal."Londra Panoramalarında İstanbul Sergileri (II)," *Toplumsal Tarih* 171 (2008): 24-31.

including “one magnificent view of the city of Istanbul” was imported to be exhibited in major American cities beginning with New York. In 1840, they were on display in Philadelphia and Baltimore. In 1842, they were exhibited in Washington, Philadelphia and New Orleans, where according to an 1844 newspaper, they were lost in a fire in 1843.<sup>127</sup>

The second half of the century was the era of world exhibitions. In the exhibitions, the world was ordered, set-up, exhibited and perceived as a picture. Aiming at education, amusement and consumption, representative spaces were abstracted from their original cultural, functional or ceremonial context but built theatrically as stages of “authenticity.”<sup>128</sup> As Timothy Mitchell suggests in his essay, “The world as exhibition” that the world exhibitions were arranged as stages intending to offer the same direct experience of an object-world.<sup>129</sup> Mitchell mentions that when the Khedive of Egypt

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<sup>127</sup> The author accessed notes on the catalogue via the internet. Messrs. Maffey and Lonati. [Exhibition catalogue] (Philadelphia: Masonic Hall, 1841); available from <http://www.worldcat.org/title/definitively-and-absolutely-last-week-of-daguerres-diorama-at-the-masonic-hall-open-from-11-until-2-oclock-pm-from-5-until-9-in-the-evening-monday-april-5th-and-all-the-week-being-positively-the-last-for-the-present-season-one-new-tableau-representing-a-graphic-episode-of-the-sicilian-vespers-or-palermo-in-1282-mm-maffey-and-lonati-desirous-to-render-their-exhibition-as-attractive-as-possible-respectfully-announce-in-addition-of-the-two-superb-tableaux-one-magnificent-view-of-the-city-of-constantinople-madame-lonati-from-the-royal-conservatoire-at-paris-will-execute-on-the-piano-forte-in-the-intervals-of-the-tableaux-several-favorite-airs-the-magical-and-sublime-view-of-venice-with-its-carnival-at-night-mm-maffey-lonati-will-positively-leave-philadelphia-on-monday-the-12th-inst-having-made-arrangements-to-visit-boston-prices-of-admission-front-seats-50-cents-second-seats-25-cents-children-under-12-years-of-age-half-price/oclc/746324231>; accessed on 15 June 2015.

<sup>128</sup> Observing contemporary structures of tourist’s settings, MacCannell coined the term, ‘staged authenticity’ in tourism in 1973. The term does not “suggest ‘real’ or ‘actual’ authenticity in social life.” But it means that in tourist sights “there are intentional arrangements, including architecture and decor for tourists, that imply tourists may experience the ‘real’ or the ‘actual’.” I am aware of the discourse connoting to MacCannell’s term and the term’s postmodern context. Here, it is not suggested whether the term and the related theory can be applicable to the context of nineteenth century tourism or not. However, the term which is literally an oxymoron fits theatrically built exhibition places representing the ‘authenticity’ of cultures in the nineteenth century world fairs, which were great touristic events of the time. Dean MacCannell, “Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 79, vol.3 (1973), 589-603. Dean MacCannell, *Ethics of Sightseeing* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2011), 18.

<sup>129</sup> Mitchell, “The World as Exhibition,” 220.

visited Paris in 1867 to attend the Exposition Universelle in 1867, he found that the Egyptian exhibit had built an imitation palace simulating medieval Cairo in the form of a royal palace. Having no qualms about getting personally involved in the “theatrical machinery” of the exhibit, i.e., becoming a part of the exposition, during his visit, he stayed in the imitation palace and received visitors with oriental hospitality.<sup>130</sup> As Mitchell points out; particularly designed for the gaze of the western spectator, the ‘Orient’ was “perhaps the most important object on display at Europe’s exhibitions.”<sup>131</sup> Yet, neither the Khedive of the Egypt nor the Ottomans were passive objects of these exhibitions. Being aware of the power of representation, they made great efforts to manage their self-image.

The Ottoman state had already discerned the usefulness of the world exhibitions for promoting imperial prestige. Starting from the Great Exhibition in 1851, they took part in almost every major world exhibition.<sup>132</sup> In 1867, Sultan Abdülaziz himself visited Champ de Mars in response to Napoleon III’s invitation. In the course of the century, while the Ottomans sought to join the modern world, they also redefined their own conceptions of the ‘East’ by executing many reforms.<sup>133</sup> Because of their “self-proclaimed intellectual and technical superiority,” their geographical immediacy to Europe and their dynastic pride; the Ottomans saw themselves as the “self-styled leaders of the Islamic community.”<sup>134</sup> Therefore, they thought that they could manipulate their position according to their political and cultural agenda both within and without designated Western categories of the East. World exhibitions were showplaces to display their own conceptions of their identity.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," 220.

<sup>131</sup> Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," 218.

<sup>132</sup> Ersoy, *Architecture and Late Ottoman Imaginary*, 50.

<sup>133</sup> Ersoy, *Architecture and Late Ottoman Imaginary*, 1.

<sup>134</sup> Ersoy, *Architecture and Late Ottoman Imaginary*, 55.

<sup>135</sup> Ersoy, *Architecture and Late Ottoman Imaginary*, 55.



In the 1867 Paris exhibition, the Ottoman Empire was represented by a group of buildings: objects modeled in the form of a mosque, a *yali* (mansion), a bath and a fountain. This set-up of buildings might have been intended to work on two levels. First, they were the end products of a theoretical study based on theories produced in Europe. The Ottoman pavilion was designed with the cooperation of French architect Léon Parvillée and the Italian architect Baborini. Léon Parville was a follower of Eugène Emmanuel Viollet le Duc, was a proponent of rationalism in nineteenth century architecture, and had been commissioned by the Ottoman government to document and restore historic monuments in Bursa.<sup>136</sup> Challenging the interpretation of “Oriental art” as a product of fantasy, Parvillée discovered the compositional principals of Ottoman architecture. His analyses connecting Islamic architecture and geometric principles have been widely discussed in Europe.<sup>137</sup> In the 1867 Exhibition, the Ottoman pavilion displayed their claims of technical aptitude and rationality in Ottoman architecture.<sup>138</sup> Secondly, even animated with live models and accompanied by a guidebook and catalogue also promoting the beauty of the East saying, “compared to the pleasure of seeing them amid the beautiful natural décor, the great pleasure found in this representation was nothing,”<sup>139</sup> the pavilions addressed popular touristic interest. Other artistic items on display such as photographs and paintings were also displayed as evidence of the Ottomans’ technical and artistic accomplishments. A set of photographs by Abdullah Frères was exhibited as Ottomans’ artistic products together with Ottoman paintings. Starting with a portrait of Sultan Abdulaziz, the photographs in the exhibition included portraits of some notable figures of the time such as the French Secretary of Foreign Affairs, a former French ambassador to Istanbul, the Belgian Envoy to Istanbul, the head bishop of the Armenian Catholic Church in

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<sup>136</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 96.

<sup>137</sup> Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 98.

<sup>138</sup> Ersoy, *Architecture and Late Ottoman Imaginary*, 56.

<sup>139</sup> Salahaddin Bey, *La Turquie a l'exposition universelle de 1867* (Paris: Hachette, 1867), 6. The other contemporary publication like a guidebook is *Exposition universelle de 1867: Coup d'oeil sur l'exposition ottomane* (Paris: Hachette, 1867).

Istanbul, the chief governor of Lebanon, Davut Paşa, and portraits of some beautiful, young Levantine women. Four panoramas taken from Beyazıt Tower, Galata Tower and Tophane were also exhibited and received praise from the media.<sup>140</sup>

In the 1873 exhibitions, the Ottomans partook with pavilions in the form of a full sized replica of the Ahmed III Fountain, a kiosk designed in the form of an Ottoman imperial mausoleum, an Ottoman house and an Ottoman café. Moreover, a set of three publications were prepared for the exhibition to serve as academic references to the ethnographic, architectural and archaeological exhibits in the Ottoman section: *Usul-i Mimari Osmani: L'Architecture ottomane* (Istanbul, 1873), *Elbise-i 'Osmaniyye: Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie* (Istanbul, 1873) and *Der Bospor und Constantinopel*. *Usul-i Mimari Osmani: L'Architecture Ottomane* was prepared in three languages: Turkish, French and German and was the first comprehensive study on the history and theory of Ottoman architecture. The Ahmed III Fountain was exhibited as the main feature in the Ottoman architectural exhibit because according to *Usul-i Mimari*, it was a perfect example displaying “finesse and technical skill”, which were intrinsic qualities of Ottoman art, before they were annihilated by Western taste.<sup>141</sup> In the same vein, the kiosk housing articles from the imperial treasury was designed as a creative example of the ‘Ottoman Renaissance’, which was promoted in *Usul-i Mimari Osmani*.<sup>142</sup> *Elbise-i Osmaniye* included seventy four photographic plates organized under three main sections: the European territories, the Aegean-Mediterranean Islands and Asian-African territories. Each of the photographs, which were taken by Pascal Sébah, showed a group of models dressed in their regional outfits. The plates had labels written in Ottoman Turkish and supplementary text in French providing information about the region, history, customs and so on. The book was accompanied by a large collection of Ottoman costumes, part of them possibly borrowed from the Janissary Museum in Istanbul. *Der Bospor und Constantinopel* was a guide book was prepared

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<sup>140</sup> Özendes, *Abdullah Freres*, 42-45.

<sup>141</sup> Ersoy, *Architecture and Late Ottoman Imaginary*, 86.

<sup>142</sup> Ersoy, *Architecture and Late Ottoman Imaginary*, 82

by Philipp Anton Dethier, the director of the Imperial Museum of Antiquities in Istanbul. With the map included in the book as well as brief historical information on many Byzantine and Ottoman monuments in the city, *Der Bospor und Constantinople* was to serve as a reference for tourists.

During the second half of the century, the representation craze was not limited to the exhibitions. A great variety of representative techniques and visual arrangements rendered the world as a thing to be viewed.<sup>143</sup> Museums, theatres and exhibitions were places where the world was objectified, ordered, set up, transformed into pictures and exhibited for spectators to learn from and enjoy.

Thanks to photography, almost every subject of interest was represented. Even representations themselves were represented. Thus, not only was the world captured, fixed, kept, displayed or commoditized, it also became familiar through the many pictures of landscapes, buildings and cultures. As Liz Wells quotes from Oliver Wendall Holmes' writings of 1859:

There is only one Coliseum or Pantheon: but how many millions of potential negatives have they shed-representatives of billions of pictures-since they were erected! Matter in large masses always be fixed and dear; form is cheap and transportable. We have got the fruit of the creation now and need not trouble ourselves with the core. Every conceivable object of Nature and Art will soon scale off its surface for us. We will hunt all curious, beautiful grand objects, as they hunt the cattle in South Africa, for their *skins*, and leave the carcasses as of little worth.<sup>144</sup>

## 2.3 Photography

The year 1839 witnessed the introduction of two different photographic techniques invented by Jacques Mande Daguerre (1787-1851)<sup>145</sup> and Henry Fox Talbot (1800-

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<sup>143</sup> Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," 220-222.

<sup>144</sup> Quoted from Lizz Wells, *Photography: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2001), 20.

<sup>145</sup> Daguerreotype was invented by collaboration of Nicephore Niepce (1765-1833) and Jacques Mande Daguerre (1787-1851). After the death of Niepce, Daguerre developed the technique as a practical method for producing images.

1877), respectively. The process daguerreotype was the technique of recording an object on a small, silver-plated metal base. Although the sizes of daguerreotypes were small, they had accurate details.<sup>146</sup> On the other hand, Talbot's invention, the calotype, was a technique for producing a paper negative from which any number of positive prints could be manufactured. However, a calotype was not as accurate as a daguerreotype.<sup>147</sup> In Istanbul, on 28 October 1839, the invention of the Daguerreotype was reported in the newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi*. The article compiled from some news pieces in European newspapers also mentioned Talbot's calotype.<sup>148</sup> Photography was invented almost simultaneously with new means of travel. Thus, "as soon as there was photography there was travel photography."<sup>149</sup> In fact, the first photographs of Turkey were taken as early as 1840 by the French daguerreotypist Frédéric Auguste Antoine Goupil-Fesquet (1817-1878). Together with the French painter Emile Jean Horace Vernet (1789-1863) and Charles Marie Bouton (1781-1853), Fesquet departed from Marseille by ship to go on a photographic excursion to the East. The journey took five months between October 1839 and March 1840. Through the route Malta-Alexandria-Cario-Gaza-Lebanon-Damascus-Beirut-Izmir-Istanbul-Rome-Marseille, Fesquet produced daguerreotypes. He and his companions arrived in

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<sup>146</sup> The smallest details of architecture or landscape could be examined with the aid of a magnifying glass. Nonetheless, the daguerreotype was quite a laborious technique and not a proper method for producing multiple copies. Only one image could be produced as an outcome of the process.

<sup>147</sup> Daguerreotype was announced to the public in 1839 by Dominique François Arago, the secretary of the French Academy of Sciences. A short time after the announcement of the invention, the French government purchased a daguerreotype and donated it for the use of all nations. It is interesting to note that five days before the details of Daguerre's process were explained freely to the public; Daguerre took out a patent in England. So, the use of the Daguerreotype technique was free everywhere but England. On the other hand, until 1854, the calotype could not be used freely, because Talbot had not relinquished all rights to his process. Therefore, being free from patent restrictions and having cheap brochures explaining details, the daguerreotype rapidly became popular. Helmut Gersheim and Alison Gersheim, *A Concise History of Photography* (New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1965, 22; Peter Pollack, *The Picture History of Photography, from the Earliest Beginnings to Present Day*, (New York: H. N. Abrams 1969), 43.

<sup>148</sup> Öztuncay, *Dersaadetin Fotoğrafçıları*, 36.

<sup>149</sup> Peter D. Osborne, *Travelling Light. Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 3.

Istanbul on February 16, 1840 and before they boarded the ship to Malta, they spent eight days in Istanbul. During their stay, they visited Hagia Sophia and mosques, Galata Tower and the Bosphorus.<sup>150</sup> Likewise, a French photographer Joseph Philbert Girault de Prangey (1804-1892), who was particularly interested in oriental architecture, travelled to the Middle East in between 1842-1844. During his travels Girault de Prangey used daguerreotypes and published an album entitled *Paysages de l'Orient: Algérie, Tunisie, Egypte, Syrie, Asie-Mineure, Grèce, Turquie, etc. Lithographies Exécuteés en Couleur d'après ses Aquarelles* (1851), including lithographs produced from these daguerreotypes.<sup>151</sup> In 1843, Girault de Prangey made the first photographic panorama of Istanbul from Seraskerat Tower, produced by placing daguerreotypes one next to another.<sup>152</sup> He also made daguerreotypes of the Ahmed III Fountain, Sultan Selim Mosque in Scutari, fishing nets in the Bosphorus and the Godefroi de Boullion plane tree in Büyükdere.<sup>153</sup> Maxime du Camp (1822-1894) was also a traveling photographer who visited Izmir and Istanbul in 1843. He published *Souvenirs et Paysages d'Orient: Symrne, Ephèse, Magnésie, Constantinople, Scio* in Paris in 1848.<sup>154</sup> Besides these traveling daguerreotypists, it is known that the British calotypists came and took photographs in Istanbul as a part of their travels.<sup>155</sup> In 1851,

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<sup>150</sup> Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 87-93.

<sup>151</sup> Öztuncay, *Dersaadetin Fotoğrafçıları* 69-72; Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 95-96.

<sup>152</sup> Bahattin Öztuncay, "İstanbul'da Fotoğrafçılığın Doğuşu ve Gelişim Süreci" in *Camera Ottomana. Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Fotoğraf ve Modernite. 1840-1914*, ed. Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem (İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi, 2015) 66-106; 78.

<sup>153</sup> Catherine Pinguet, "Journey to Istanbul" in *Journey to the Center of the East. 1850-1950. 100 Years of Travelers in İstanbul from Pierre de Gigord Collection*, ed. Catherine Pinguet and Ekrem Işın (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2015), 20.

<sup>154</sup> Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 95-96.

<sup>155</sup> Research conducted so far shows that British George W. Bridges (1788–1863) and Claudius Galen Wheelhouse (1826-1909) were the first calotypists taking photographs of Istanbul in the late 1840s. In 1846, together with his two friends, Bridges made a nine-month trip starting from Malta and including Italy, Greece, Palestine and Aegean coasts. Wheelhouse who was a surgeon traveled to Istanbul in 1849 as a crew of Lord Lincoln's yacht "Gitana" making Mediterranean tour. In his diaries, Wheelhouse mentions that he took calotypes of Istanbul and saw quite

British calotypist John Shaw Smith (1811-1873) spent some time and took photographs in Istanbul during his trip that included Egypt and Palestine. His photographs are the oldest surviving calotypes of Istanbul.<sup>156</sup>

In the second half of the century, besides enthusiastic amateur photographers, professional photographers who engaged in the business of photography took photographs of Istanbul which were mass distributed in the international market individually or as albums. For instance, Francis Bedford (1816-1898) who was a prominent British photographer accompanying Prince Edward VII on his travel to Turkey and the Middle East in 1862, took photographs in Istanbul, which appeared in an album in 1863.<sup>157</sup> Francis Frith, one of the early masters of British photography and the owner of F. Frith & Co., traveled to the Middle East, Egypt and Palestine to take photographs and also enriched the firm's image archive by purchasing photographs from the notable photographers of the time such as Francis Bedford, Frank Mason Good, Roger Fenton, and Francis Frith published photographs in a variety of formats including individual prints and postcards as well as albums. Through its network of more than two thousands shops in Britain, F. Frith & Co. widely disseminated photographs.<sup>158</sup> Similarly, Felix Bonfils (1831-1885), who initially ran a studio in Alais in France before settling in Beirut and operating a studio there between 1867 and 1918, took photographs in Antakya, Mersin, Antalya, Izmir, Efes, Bergama, Akhisar and

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beautiful calotypes of Istanbul taken by Bridges. Unfortunately, it is not known the fate of these photographs. Öztuncay, *Dersaadetin Fotoğrafçıları*, 72-73.

<sup>156</sup> French architects Alfred-Nicholas Normand (1822-1909) and Pierre Trémaux (1818-1895), Italian orientalist painter Pietro Luchini (1800-1883), Henri Bevan (?-1897), Claude-Marie Ferrier (1811-1889), Alphonse Durand, and Christian Paier (1839-?) were also traveler photographers whose photographs of Istanbul survived until today.

<sup>157</sup> W.M. Thompson and Francis Bedford, *The Holy Land, Egypt, Constantinople, Athens...A Series of Forty-eight Photographs, Taken by F. Bedford, for the Prince of Wales during the Tour* (London: British Library, 2011).

<sup>158</sup> John Hannavy, ed., *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 559-60; Öztuncay, *Dersaadetin Fotoğrafçıları*, 93.

Istanbul.<sup>159</sup> Luigi Fiorillo also took photographs of Istanbul and sold them in Alexandria, where he had a studio.<sup>160</sup>

Starting from the 1840s, in addition to traveling photographers who spent some time in Istanbul, various European photographers settled there and established facilities for taking photographs. Moreover, a few also imported and retailed photographic equipment and taught the daguerreotype technique to the locals for a fee. In the 1840s, the French Compa and the German Abresche were the first commercial photographers who took portraits. They made daguerreotypes for a while in Istanbul. The Italian Carlo and Giovanni Naya Brothers and the French Laurent Astras and his wife had the first studios in the city.<sup>161</sup> In the 1850s, another French photographer, Jules Dérain, operated a studio in Pera.<sup>162</sup>

Furthermore, in these early years of photography, European technicians who were invited to Istanbul to work also got involved in photography. In 1852, Ernest Caranza, a French engineer, took a series of photographs of Istanbul including scenes from both sides of the Bosphorus and of iconic architecture of the city such as Ahmed III Fountain, Galata Tower, Beyazıt Square, Hagia Sophia, Dolmabahçe Palace and Küçüksu Pavillion.<sup>163</sup> Caranza took about two hundred calotypes of Istanbul and opened a studio

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<sup>159</sup> Öztuncay, *Dersaadetin Fotoğrafçıları*, 91.

<sup>160</sup> Not a lot is known about his biography. He is mentioned in Murray's Handbook for Egypt (1875). One of his photographs in an album is examined in this thesis.

<sup>161</sup> Öztuncay, *Dersaadetin Fotoğrafçıları*, 40-44; Catherine Pinquet, *Istanbul Fotoğrafçıları Sultanlar. 1840-1900* (Istanbul: İş Bankası, 2014), 47-48.

<sup>162</sup> It is told in Kevork Abdullah's memoirs that around 1860, Dérain was invited to the palace to take a portrait of Abdülaziz, the result of which did not please the Sultan. Abdullah Frères was then tasked with taking another portrait, which Abdülaziz liked very much, paving the way for Abdullah becoming the court photographers. See Öztuncay, "İstanbul'da Fotoğrafçılığın Doğuşu ve Gelişim Süreci," 73.

<sup>163</sup> Ernest de Caranza, a French chemical and physical engineer worked on some projects including the installation of gaslight in Istanbul and gunpowder production at the Armory between 1839 and 1854. He had initially practiced photography as a hobby, which then turned into a profession. Caranza used waxed paper negatives, a modified calotype technique providing more details, developed in 1851 in France. Since the exposure time required for these photographs was as long as several minutes, there were rarely any people in these photographs.

with a French person called Maggie in 1853 in Pera, where he sold his Istanbul photographs and took portraits. He closed his studio in 1855.<sup>164</sup>

James Robertson (1813-1888), an English engraver and dye-maker who had had a successful career at the mint for forty years, was another prolific photographer in the 1850s.<sup>165</sup> His first album of Istanbul containing twenty photographs (approximately 25x30 cm in size) was published by Cundall in London in 1853.<sup>166</sup> He mainly focused on historical monuments in Sultanahmet, Beyoğlu, Galata and Tophane. In the foreground of the architectural photographs, he often included one or more human figures dressed in local costumes. In 1854, he took the first 360 degree panoramic photograph of Istanbul from Seraskerat Tower<sup>167</sup> and also produced a series on costumes. His photographs of Istanbul appeared in a variety of media of the time in the 1850s. Between 1853-1857, some of them were even published in *Illustrated London News*. In the album *Souvenirs de Constantinople* [Fig.2.24; Fig. 2.25], published by the Austrian Lloyd shipping company in around 1855, twenty one of twenty eight lithographs were from Robertson's photographs. Moreover, in the English edition of Theophile Gautier's travelogue, *Constantinople of Today*, published in 1854, there were eight lithographs from Robertson's photographs, which were obtained from the publisher Cundall in London. Similarly, in the book, *Turkish Life and Character*, by Walter Thornbury published in 1860 in London, Robertson's photographs from his costumes and professions serial appeared as lithographs.<sup>168</sup> It is known that Robertson and his partner Felice Beato had a studio until 1867 in Pera, where Robertson's

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<sup>164</sup> Bahattin Öztuncay, *Vassilaki Kargopoulo Photographer to His Majesty the Sultan*. (İstanbul: Aygaz, 2000), 20; Öztuncay, "İstanbul'da Fotoğrafçılığın Doğuşu ve Gelişim Süreci," 79 ; Pinquet, *Istanbul Fotoğrafçılar Sultanlar*, 48.

<sup>165</sup> Bahattin Öztuncay, *James Robertson. Photographer and Engraver in the Ottoman Capital* (İstanbul: ANAMED, 2013), 14-15.

<sup>166</sup> Öztuncay, *James Robertson*, 31-35.

<sup>167</sup> Öztuncay, *James Robertson*, 40.

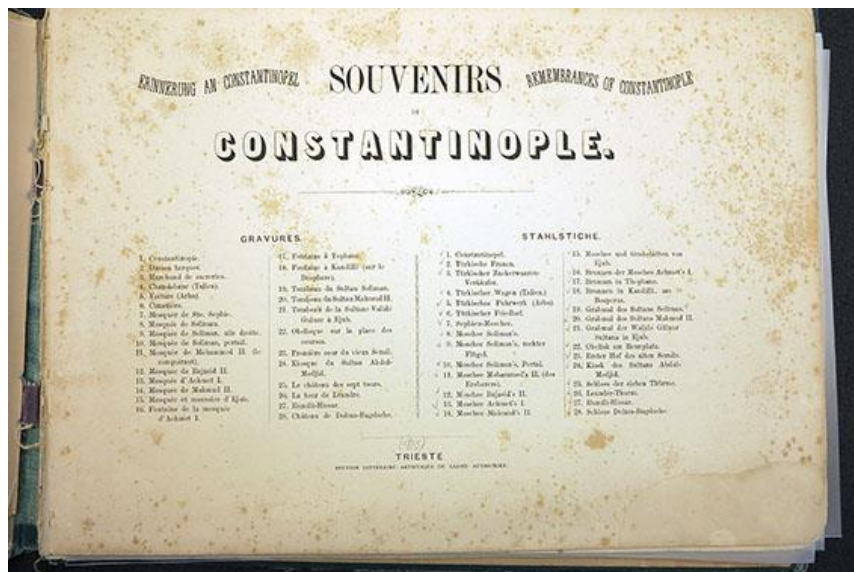
<sup>168</sup> Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları*, 141-145.





**Figure 2.24** *Souvenirs de Constantinople* by Austrian Lloyd, c.1855

Source: GRI, 96R.14.140D2



**Figure 2.25** Index page of *Souvenirs de Constantinople* by Austrian Lloyd, c.1855

Source: GRI, 96R.14.140D2

architectural and landscape photographs were sold.<sup>169</sup> It is likely that Robertson did not take any new photographs after 1858 but produced prints from existing negatives. Some years later in 1867, Robertson announced the sale of all of the studio's negatives, positives and equipment.<sup>170</sup>

A German chemist and daguerreotypist called Rabach was another European who established a studio in Istanbul. Rabach's studio opened in 1856 in Beyazıt. Viçen Abdullah worked for Rabach as a retouching artist and then took over Rabach's studio in 1858 when Rabach returned to Germany.<sup>171</sup>

In the second half of the century, the number of permanent studios operated by local residents increased, making professional photography widely available in Istanbul.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Öztuncay, *James Robertson*, 35-44.

<sup>170</sup> It is not known who bought Robertson's negatives and prints. Bahattin Öztuncay does note, however, that some of his photographs appeared in albums of Pascal Sébah in the late 1860s. Although these photographs were unsigned, they were Robertson's photographs. Therefore, some of Robertson's negatives might have been bought by Pascal Sébah. See Öztuncay, *James Robertson*, 80-81.

<sup>171</sup> Engin Özendes, Abdullah Freres. *Osmanlı Sarayının Fotoğrafçıları*. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1998), 31.

<sup>172</sup> In the first decade of photography, the number of photographers was also limited in Europe. The daguerreotype was a difficult technique to use and not suitable for producing multiple copies. The main technical problem in for the calotype, on the other hand, was the image resolution. It was impossible to get rid of the appearance of the fibrous texture of the paper negative used for calotyping. Towards the end of the 1840s, a sculptor, Frederic Scott Archer (1813-1857), invented a workable process called the 'collodion wet plate process.' By using this technique it was possible to produce images which were sharp like those made with the Daguerrotype but also easily reproducible like the Calotype in shorter exposure times. Although the process led to improvement in all areas of photography, it was more complicated than the Daguerreotype or Calotype. For the photographers in the field, in particular, the process was much more laborious since all operations had to be done on site because the photograph had to be taken before the plate dried. In order to prepare the plate, the photographer had to bring along bulky glass plates and establish a portable darkroom on the field. Nevertheless, early photographers were able to successfully produce photographs with the technique even under the most troublesome circumstances. By the end of the 1850s, it had nearly replaced all earlier techniques, overhauling negative-positive photography. Another photographic invention that became widespread in the late 1850s was the cartes-des-visites photographs (6x9 cm), which transformed photography into a profitable business. In Paris in 1854, André Adolphe Eugène Disderi devised the system, which allowed the photographer to make eight photographs on a single sheet, making it extremely suitable for mass production. Gaining significant success and immediately spreading to other countries, this novelty allowed for the production and affordability of personal portraits as well as different sets of photographs portraying famous

Vassilaki Kargopoulo, a Greek Ottoman, opened the first studio operated by locals in Istanbul in 1850. This was followed by Pascal Sébah, who opened his first studio called "El Chark Société Photographique" in 1857, and in 1858, the Abdullah Frères, three Armenian brothers, Viçen, Hovsep and Kevork Abdullah, started to operate a photography studio. [Fig. 2.26; Fig. 2.27]

The Ottoman court took a special interest in photography. In 1863, Viçen Abdullah (1820-1902) was hired by the court to take photographs of Sultan Abdülaziz and his family. These photographs were so well-received by the Sultan that the Abdullah Brothers were granted the title of "Photographes de S.M.I. le Sultan," and were given the right to use the royal monogram. In the same year, one hundred fifty of their photographs took part in the first national exhibition, Sergi-i Umumi-i Osmani.<sup>173</sup> Then, in 1867, their photographs including a portrait of Sultan Abdülaziz and the portraits of some notables of the time took part in the Paris Universal Exhibition. In particular, a panorama composed of six photographs taken from Seraskerat Tower was highly praised.<sup>174</sup> The exhibition brought great success to the Abdullah Brothers and provided them with a reputation in Europe. In the same year, they moved their studio to Grande Rue de Pera.<sup>175</sup> As court photographers, they were also especially proficient in portrait photography.<sup>176</sup> Until they sold their studio including the equipment to Sébah and Joallier in 1900, the Abdullah Frères produced many portraits of the royal family, Istanbul elite and foreign dignitaries visiting Istanbul. They also took photographs of

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people, reproductions of art, views of well-known buildings and sites, and many other popular subjects of the day. As a response to the increasing demand for *carte-de-visite* photographs, more and more people became involved in photography in the 1860s. Beaumont Newhall, *Photography: A Short Critical History* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1938), 45; See Frank Staff, *The Picture Postcards and Its Origins* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1979), 42-43.

<sup>173</sup> Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 113.

<sup>174</sup> Öztuncay, "İstanbul'da Fotoğrafçılığın Doğuşu ve Gelişim Süreci," 82.

<sup>175</sup> Özendes, *Abdullah Frères*, 39-45.

<sup>176</sup> In 1874-1875, they were ordered by Abdülaziz to prepare a series of portraits of high ranked officers and statesmen. Later, some of these portraits were used in the album, *La Chambre des Deputes de Constantinople*, 1877, prepared to commemorate the opening of the Chamber of Deputies. Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları*, 221.

various scenes of the Bosphorus, royal palaces, streets, mosques, traditional craftsmen at work, people in regional outfits and important events. They developed an international reputation with advertisements of their studio in contemporary guidebooks. In Murray's Handbook of 1871, they were praised as follows:

There are fine views of Constantinople, taken by Mr. Robertson, and colored sketches by Mr. Preziosi, the artist. The best photographs, however, are made by Messrs. Abdullah Brothers, Photographers to the Sultan and Court; they are native gentlemen whose remarkable talent has acquired them a European reputation unsurpassed by any of the fraternity. Indeed, a photograph by these artists has become one of the most valuable curiosities that can be carried away from the capital of Turkey. Their establishment is in the Grande Rue of Pera, opposite Missiri's Hotel, and their collection of photographs contains panoramas of Constantinople, views of its most interesting monuments, ancient and modern costumes, portraits of the Imperial family and the whole Osmanli dynasty, from the miniature gallery kept at the Library of the Old Seraglio, as well as of all the men of note in the empire.<sup>177</sup>

However, in 1878, they lost their official title as the Sultan's photographers, and it was not until 1890 that they got their royal privileges back.<sup>178</sup> This meant they lost their exclusive rights to sell the Sultan's portraits. Furthermore, since photographs of monumental architecture, the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus could only be taken by official permission, the Abdullah Frères might have lost their permission to take photographs of views and architecture, as well.<sup>179</sup> Between 1878 and 1889, Abdullah Frères did not produce a comprehensive set of Istanbul photographs. In 1886, they did open a branch in Cairo, however. The next year, accompanying Khedive Tevfik Pasha during his travel to Egypt, Kevork Abdullah took photographs of archeological sites, monuments and sites. After the Abdullah Frères got their royal title back in 1892,

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<sup>177</sup> John Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Constantinople: The Bosphorus, Dardanelles, Brousa and Plain of Troy* (London: John Murray, 1871), 117-118; Joanne's, 121

<sup>178</sup> Pinguet, *İstanbul Fotoğrafçılar Sultanlar*, 130.

<sup>179</sup> Bahattin Öztuncay refers to a petition by Bogos Tarkulyan asking permission for taking photographs of Bosphorus and shores of Kagithane and a document dated 27 November 1890 shows that Tarkulyan had a permission to take photographs. So, it is understood that professional photography was only possible by the official permission; Öztuncay, *Dersaadetin Fotoğrafçıları*, 285.

# PHOTOGRAPHES.

**Abdullah Frères**, (*Voir annonce page 43*), Grande Rue de Péra, 452.  
**Arakeloff** (Antoine), R. Djedidié, 79, P.  
**BERGGREN (G.)**, (*Voir annonce page 32*), Grande Rue de Péra, 444.  
**Boulmann** (Joseph), R. Keklik, 1, P.  
**Caracache Frères**, (*Voir annonce page 18*), Grande Rue de Péra, 677.

## PORTRAITS DE GRANDE DIMENSION

### SPÉCIALITÉ

DE PORTRAITS INSTANTANÉS  
 EN 1/50 DE SECONDE, POUR BÉBÉS.

— 0 —  
**C. J. FETTEL**

PHOTOGRAPHE

GRANDE RUE DE PÉRA

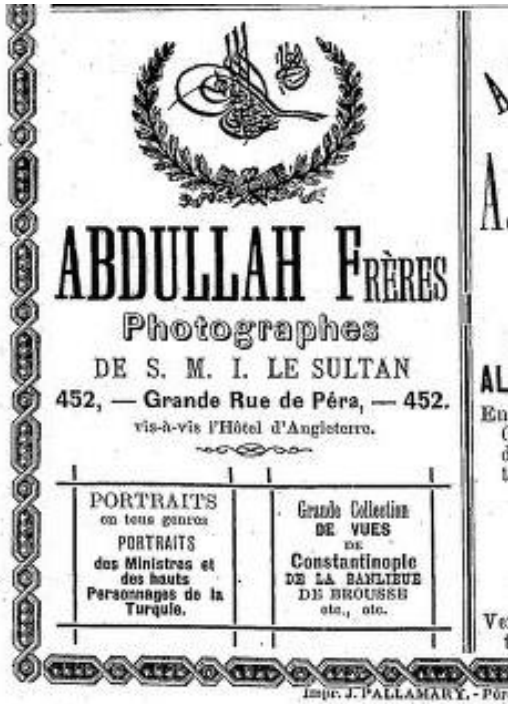
au coin de la rue Derviche, N° 1,  
 CONSTANTINOPLE.

Collection de Vues de Constantinople.  
 Portraits en tous genres. — Prix Modérés.

**Goldenfan Frères**, R. Yuksek Calderim, 27, G.  
**Gulmez Frères**, portraits en tous genres,  
 Grande Rue de Péra, 397.  
**Iranian (M.)**, Impasse Ottoni, 7, P.  
**Kargopoulo (B.)**, Place du Tunnel, P.  
**Kasparian (Edouard)**, R. Leilak, 4, P.  
**Sebah et Joaillier**, (*Voir annonce page 47*), Gde Rue de Péra, 439.  
**Sofiano (Const. C.)**, au Phanar.  
**Tarkoul (Paul)**, propriétaire de la photographie *Phébus* (*Voir annonce page 35*), Grande Rue de Péra, 301.  
**Tchobanian Frères**, Ismirlioglou Han, 20, G.

Figure 2.26 Photographers page in *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891

Source: Raphael C. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental du commerce* (Paris: 1891), 564



**Figure 2.27** Advertisement in *Annuaire Oriental* 1891 with the Sultan's monograph

Source: Raphael C. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental du commerce* (Paris: 1891), 43

Viçen Abdullah was commissioned by the Sultan to produce a set of photographs portraying the exteriors and interiors of all the military schools in Istanbul together with portraits of students. In 1893, he also took the photographs of a newly finished hospice. He produced a thousand and two hundred ninety one photographs appearing in thirty five of Sultan Abdul Hamid's albums.<sup>180</sup>

The proliferation of photography in Istanbul coincided with the reign of Abdulhamid II (1876 - 1908), who was personally involved in photography. During his relatively long reign, photography studios employing photographers were established in public institutions. The palace commissioned thousands of photographs to document and

<sup>180</sup> Öztuncay, "İstanbul'da Fotoğrafçılığın Doğuşu ve Gelişim Süreci," 84; Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları*, 230.

report events and people. Abdulhamid also used the propaganda power of photography. He commissioned fifty one large format albums containing over a thousand and eight hundred photographs portraying the different aspects of modernization in the Empire. Most of these were taken in or around Istanbul, a relatively small proportion in Bursa and other towns associated with the early days of the Ottoman dynasty. The images depicted schools, students including law, medical and military schools, well-equipped army and navy personnel and facilities, technologically advanced rescue and firefighting teams, factories, mines and police stations. Other photographs included imperial mosques, tombs, libraries, fountains, palaces, Byzantine structures, and landscapes as well as Abdulhamid's Yildiz Palace, yacht, and horses. The Abdullah Frères's company took most of the photographs. Also included were images by Sébah & Joailler, Phébus (Studio), and Turkish military photographer, Ali Riza Pasa. The albums were gifted to the British Museum and the United States Library of Congress in 1893.<sup>181</sup>

When the Abdullah Brothers were dismissed from Abdulhamid II's service, Vassilaki Kargopoulo (1839-1886) was assigned as the official court photographer, a position he kept until his death. Kargopoulo proudly used the title 'Kargopoulo Basile, de S.M.I le Sultan' and the Sultan's monogram on the backs of his photographs and in advertisements for his studio. As the court photographer, he became responsible for taking photographs of court members and official events as well as foreign guests received by the Sultan. He was also entitled to take and distribute the photographs of interiors and exteriors of all the imperial palaces and residences of the imperial family.<sup>182</sup> Taking advantage of his position as official photographer, he took photographs of interiors of Dolmabahçe, Yıldız, Göksu and Beylerbeyi Palaces as well as a series of photographs of historical architecture in Istanbul.<sup>183</sup> In the early 1870s, he carried out a project to produce a systematic collection of Istanbul landscapes and

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<sup>181</sup> See the Prints and Photographs of online catalogue (PPCOC) of Library Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003652945/>; accessed 12 April 2014.

<sup>182</sup> Öztuncay, *Vassilaki Kargopoulo*, 49.

<sup>183</sup> Öztuncay, *Vassilaki Kargopoulo*, 70.

architecture as well as panoramas. Kargopoulo also produced a series of photographs focusing on the themes of the costumes and professions in the city, which were particularly in demand among foreigners. The first series of these photographs was taken around 1870. Intending to present images as faithful to reality as possible, Kargopoulo chose people from the street as his models. In his studio, he photographed these people with their own dresses and outfits as if they were performing their trades in the street. These photographs were mounted on *carte-de-visite* size cards. These images were so appreciated that even after thirty years they were still being reproduced as postcards.<sup>184</sup>

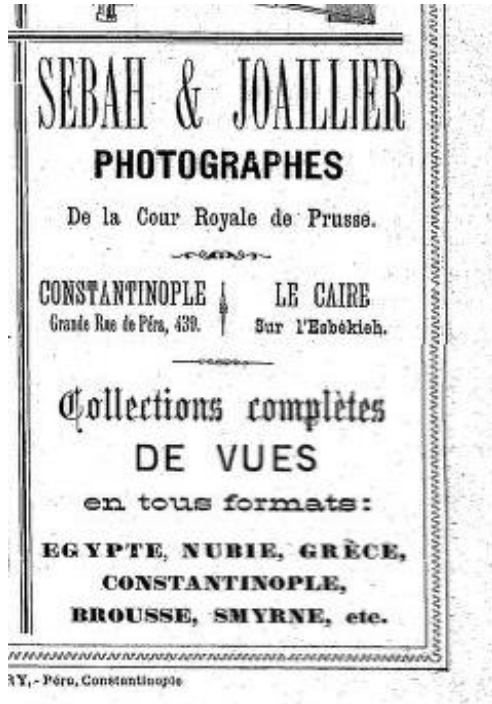
Pascal Sébah (1823-1886) was another Istanbul born photographer who opened his first studio in 1857. In 1860, he moved his studio to the fashionable Grande Rue de Pera, a center for Europeans where other photography studios also existed. Sébah was one of the most accomplished photographers, and produced landscapes, photographs of historical architecture and panoramas. [Fig. 2.28] Two panoramas taken by Pascal Sébah from the Seraskerat Tower and Galata Tower, each consisting of ten photographs, were exhibited in Sergi-i Umum-i Osmani in 1863.<sup>185</sup> Yet, he was best known for his portraits and photographs of costumes and street vendors. In 1873, on the occasion of the World Exposition in Vienna, Sébah was commissioned by the Ottoman government for the *Elbise-i Osmaniyye (Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie)*, produced as a photographic album of traditional Ottoman dress. The album included seventy-four photographic plates; each was a studio portrait of a group of live models displaying regional outfits. Prepared by Osman Hamdi Bey and Marie de Launay, the Ottoman folk costumes albums accompanied an ethnographic

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<sup>184</sup> Öztuncay, *Vassilaki Kargopoulo*, 33.

<sup>185</sup> Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 113-114.





**Figure 2.28** Advertisement in *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891

Source: Raphael C. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental du commerce* (Paris: 1891), 47

costumes exhibition. The costumes displayed in the photographs were specially designed for this exhibition. However, the same costumes were also exploited by Pascal Sébah for his commercial ‘orientalist’ series.<sup>186</sup> At the end of 1873, Sébah opened a branch in Cairo. It is known that the photographers of the time exchanged negatives and that photographs from these negatives were printed and signed by the new studio as well. Pascal Sébah exchanged his negatives with H. Bechard to expand his archive of photographs of Egypt.<sup>187</sup> He took part in the International Exhibition

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<sup>186</sup> Edhem Eldem, “Elbise-i Osmaniye’yi Tekrar Ele Almak-2,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 250 (2014): 46-51. For different aspects of the process of design and the distribution of this album, see also Edhem Eldem, “Elbise-i Osmaniye’yi Tekrar Ele Almak,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 248 (2014): 26-35; “Elbise-i Osmaniye’yi Tekrar Ele Almak-3,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 252 (2014): 72-77.

<sup>187</sup> Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 128.

Philadelphia 1876 and Paris World's Fair 1878 and received medals. Moreover, he also participated regularly in the exhibitions in Paris and became a member of the Société Française de Photographie.<sup>188</sup> In July 1882, Pascal Sébah was commissioned to take photographs of holdings of the Imperial Museum for the preparation of the museum's catalogue, a job he did not live to complete. After his death in 1886, his son Jean Sébah (1872-1947) went into a partnership with Polycarpe Joaillier (1848-1904) in 1888 and the studio continued as Sébah and Joaillier.<sup>189</sup> Besides taking photographs for the Imperial Museum's catalogue, they were also commissioned to provide photographs of school buildings and school children in the Empire for Abdülhamid's Albums.<sup>190</sup> Starting from 1888, Sébah and Joaillier produced Istanbul views and studio portraits depicting "oriental" types for tourists. Sebah and Joaillier's studio was included in all guidebooks.<sup>191</sup>

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a group of new photographers joined the scene. Guillaume Berggren (1835-1920) [Fig. 2.29], Bogos Tarkulian (?- 1940) [Fig. 2.30], Nikolai Andriomenos (1850-1929), Mihran Iranian and Gulmez Frères were among the most prolific ones whose photographs survived and appeared in a variety of albums and collections. Swedish Guillaume (Gustaf Adolf) Berggren (1835-1920) operated a studio in the 1880s in Pera. [Fig.2.29] He produced his first Istanbul series around 1875. He also produced profession and costume series. His studio in Pera was a place for tourists to buy souvenir photographs. In particular, tourists from Germany and Austria preferred Berggren because they were familiar with his photographs published in Germany and Scandinavian countries. Moreover, he was acclaimed in the Baedeker, Meyers Reisebücker guidebooks as well as Murray's and Joannes's.<sup>192</sup> In addition to

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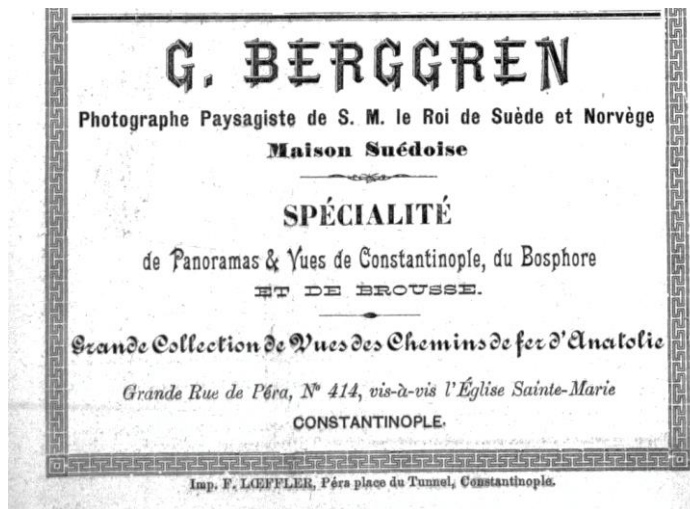
<sup>188</sup> In a fire 1880, Sébah lost many of his negatives along with his equipment. This is why Pascal Sebah's Istanbul photographs taken in the 1860s and the 1870s are rarely found today. Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları*, 275.

<sup>189</sup> Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 242-243.

<sup>190</sup> Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları*, 278.

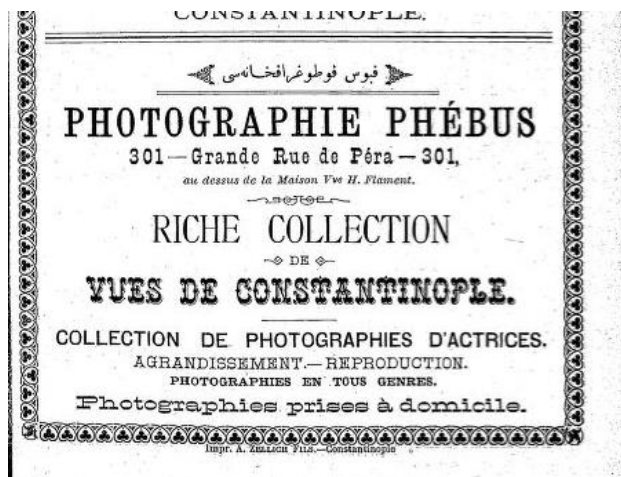
<sup>191</sup> Macmillan, 158; Murray's (1900), 162; Baedeker, 76; Joanne's, 121.

<sup>192</sup> Macmillan, 158; Murray's (1900), 162; Baedeker, 76; Joanne's, 121.



**Figure 2.29** Advertisement in *Annuaire Oriental*, 1896

Source: Raphael C. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental* (Istanbul, 1896), 1480



**Figure 2.30** Advertisement in *Annuaire Oriental*, 1891

Source: Raphael C. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental du commerce* (Paris: 1891), 35

his İstanbul series, he also produced documentary photographs. In 1888, during the construction of Anatolian Railways, he accompanied Colmar von der Goltz Pasha to take photographs.

Bogos Tarkulyan, a.k.a. Febüs Efendi, who had learned about photography from the Abdullah Frères, was the owner of Atelier Phébus [Fig.2.30], and later opened his studio in the early 1880s. For many years, he took photographs of Sultan Abdülhamid II's sons. Bogos Tarkulyan also prepared seventy photographs of preschool and secondary buildings in Istanbul, which were included in two albums in the Abdülhamid collection. He was a master of coloring photographs in pastel tones.<sup>193</sup> Beside portrait photography, he also produced a series of Istanbul photographs. His negatives featured French titles for places as well as his signature, "Phebus."<sup>194</sup> An official document dated November 27, 1890 shows that he was granted the permission to take photographs on the Bosphorus and Kağıthane shores. An advertisement in *Annuaire Oriental* 1891-1892 also shows that he took photographs of the Bosphorus.<sup>195</sup>

Gülmez Frères, three Armenian brothers, Artin, Kirkor and Yervant, opened a studio in Pera in 1870 [Fig.2.31]. In the second half of the 1880s, they produced a set of photographs of the architecture of Istanbul and scenes from the Bosphorus as well as panoramas. Their portfolio also included a series of photographs of costumes and street vendors. In 1893, photographs of Gülmez Frères took part in the international exhibition of Chicago and received a medal. As a result of their success, in 1894, they were granted the title 'Phot. de S.M.I. le Soultan', which used on their advertisements

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Mihran Iranian and Nikolas Andriomenos (1851-1929) were among the photographers of Istanbul taking portraits and albums.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 221-22; Öztuncay, *Dersaadetin Fotoğrafçıları*, 282, 290.

<sup>194</sup> Öztuncay, *Dersaadetin Fotoğrafçıları*, 285.

<sup>195</sup> Öztuncay, *Dersaadetin Fotoğrafçıları*, 285.

<sup>196</sup> Öztuncay, *Dersaadetin Fotoğrafçıları*, 302-306; Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 210-213.

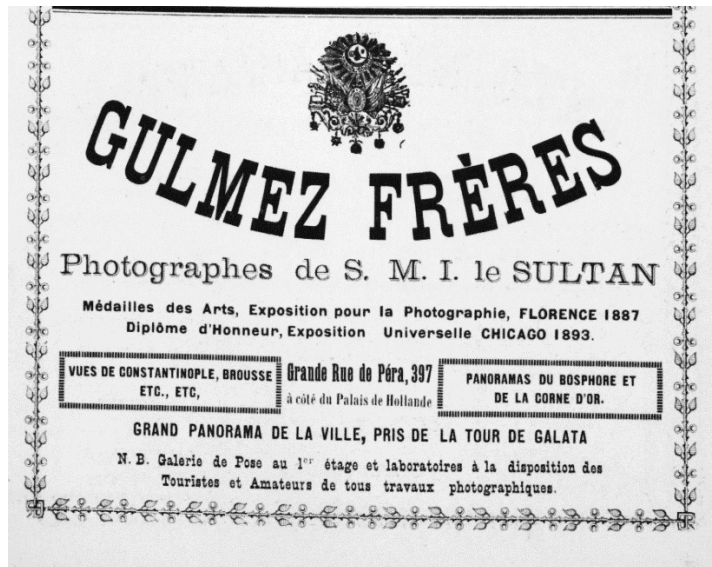


Figure 2.31 Advertisement in *Annuaire Oriental*, 1896

Source: Raphael C. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental* (Istanbul, 1896), 1469.



Figure 2.32 Advertisement in *Annuaire Oriental*, 1894

Source: Raphael C. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental* (Istanbul, 1894), 1314 D

[Fig.2.33] Later, having been renamed as Photographic Apollon, the studio was sold in the early 1900s to Aşil (Achille) Samancı (1870-1942).<sup>197</sup>

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Mihran Iranian and Nikolas Andriomenos (1851-1929) were among the photographers of Istanbul taking portraits and producing Istanbul series. In the early 1890s, Mihran Iranian produced fine photographs of street views, cemeteries, street vendors and monuments of Istanbul. He also produced a series of costumes and professions. [Fig.2.32].<sup>198</sup> Nikolas Andriomenos was close to the court circles and gave photography lessons to the future Sultan Vahidettin. In 1895, he managed to complete the production of an Istanbul series. Unfortunately, photography copycatting was rampant, and what happened to so many of the works of prominent Istanbul photographers of the last decades also happened to Andriomenos, with his photographs also copied and sold commercially for low prices.<sup>199</sup>

Indeed, in the 1890s, the photography business had already started to transform. The advent of new techniques that made the equipment and operation simpler increased the number of photographers as well as the competition among them. Dry plate negatives, which could be used any time and also could be developed long after exposure, were manufactured and sold. Additionally, different types of hand cameras appeared on the market. The most famous one was the Kodak.<sup>200</sup> Advertisement by Caracache Frères, Sigmund Weinberg, O. Diradour in *Annuaire Orientale* shows that Lumiere brand dry glass negatives and Kodak cameras were sold in Istanbul and negatives developed and

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<sup>197</sup> Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 213.

<sup>198</sup> The negatives of these series bear negative number, a caption in French and his signature. Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 277; Öztuncay, *Dersaadetin Fotoğrafçıları*, 297.

<sup>199</sup> Öztuncay, *Dersaadetin Fotoğrafçıları*, 307-308.

<sup>200</sup> It was produced by George Eastman who was a dry plate maker in Rochester. The camera was loaded at the factory with a roll of paper coated with gelatino-bromide emulsion. The entire camera was sent to the factory after the user took photographs. The negatives were developed and printed in the factory. Then the new roll of paper was loaded and the camera was sent to the user. George Eastman invented not only the practical hand camera, but also a system. The motto of Kodak Company was “you press the button, we do the rest.” In 1889, the paper was substituted with transparent film. See Newhall, *The History of Photography*, 112

printed for amateurs.[Fig.2.33; 2.34; 2.35]. Moreover, because pirated copies of Istanbul photographs produced from the old negatives of prominent photographers were available, the sale of prints of Istanbul scenes was no longer a lucrative business. By 1909, there was no single advertisement of photographer in *Annuaire Oriental*.

1284 **CONSTANTINOPLE (PÉRA).**

**CARACACHE FRÈRES**  
**PHOTOGRAPHES**  
 GRANDE RUE DE PÉRA  
 Coulé Capou, 675 – 677.

**GRAND DÉPOT D'APPAREILS**  
**ET DE FOURNITURES PHOTOGRAPHIQUES**  
 PRODUITS CHIMIQUES GARANTIS PURS

Seuls Représentants pour toute la Turquie des Plaques "APOLLO" extra-rapides  
 Monopole des plaques du Dr VAN MONCHOWEN.  
 VENTE DES PLAQUES DE A. LUMIÈRE ET SES FILS

Nouvel appareil à main  
 dit KODAK EASTMAN & Co  
 de 60 à 100 poses  
 à rouleau pelliculaire

OBTURATEURS INSTANTANÉS  
 ET A POSE  
 Papiers albuminés et sensibilisés.  
 PAPIERS  
 Gelatino-bromure d'argent

**APPAREILS COMPLETS**  
**CHAMBRES NOIRES**  
 Objectifs des grandes marques,  
 Cartons découpés,  
 Cuvettes, Presses à satiner chaud, Fonds peints  
 à l'huile et en drap.

Inv. F. LIEFFLER, — Pera, Constantinople.

**Figure 2.33** Advertisement in *Annuaire Oriental*, 1894

Source: Raphael C. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental* (Istanbul, 1894), 1284



**Figure 2.34** Advertisement in *Annuaire Oriental*, 1896

Source: Raphael C. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental* (Istanbul, 1896), 1483



**Figure 2.35** Advertisement in *Annuaire Oriental*, 1896

Source: Raphael C. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental* (Istanbul, 1896), 1542



Besides, picture postcards which boomed as a craze at the end of the century replaced prints as prized souvenirs. The first Ottoman postcard, published in 1895, was a 'Gruss' series printed for Editor Max Fruchtermann by the imprimerie Emil Pinkau in Breslau. It bore the inscription, 'Souvenir de Constantinople' and a kufic script of 'İstanbul Yadigârı'.<sup>201</sup> By the first decade of the new century, there were about 200 editors in Istanbul, including the well-known publishers and firms, such as Max Fructermann, J. Ludwingsohn Freres, Zellich Brothers, Au Bon Marché, E.F. Rochat, who published eight to nine thousands different postcards depicting all kinds of views, buildings, streets, markets, important events, and people of Istanbul.<sup>202</sup> These publishers utilized the old negatives and photographs to print postcards. This made it unnecessary to buy expensive prints of photographs.

In addition, since accomplished military photographers had grown and successfully fulfilled the demands of the court and governmental institutions, the number of commissions given by the court decreased. Towards the end of the century, the first generation studios began closing one by one after having produced skillfully handcrafted photographs for so many years.

From the first day it was introduced to Istanbul, photography found applications in various areas. While institutions used photography as an instrument for documentation as well as for portraying modernization; portrait photography met the needs of the middle and upper classes of society. In the meantime, tourism created its own market for photographs.

Particularly, during the reign of Abdülhamid, the modernization efforts of the Empire were photographed by the commercial photographers of the time who were commissioned by the Court. Then, starting from the 1890s, mostly military photographers such as Ali Rıza Pasha (1850-1907) who undertook all the photographic services for the palace, Ali Sami Aközer (1867-1936), Bahriyeli Ali Sami, Üsküdarlı

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<sup>201</sup> Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann* (İstanbul, Koçbank, 2000), 6, 39, 44.

<sup>202</sup> Behzat Üsdiken, "Beyoğlu'nda Resimli Kartpostal Yayımcıları," *Tarih ve Toplum* 100 (1992): 219-226.

Hasan Rıza (1864-?), Captain Hüsnü Bey (1844-1896), Servili Ali Emin (1845-1922), Mehmed Hüsnü (1861-?) and Fahreddin Türkkân Pasha (1868-1948) documented almost all the facets of modernization. Excessive construction activities, modern buildings, schools, hospitals, medical operations, military trainings, communication facilities, historically significant events such as inaugurations of important buildings or visits of foreign monarchs and so on were all recorded. Yet, many of these photographs were produced for the exclusive use of a particular institution and not seen by many people. Many of these photographs even those included in the Abdülhamid albums, or donated to the British Library or the Library of Congress were not viewed by large audiences. On the other hand, thousands of images portraying the city's scenery, monumental architecture, historical heritage and types and professions were widely circulated. Although some of these images were not initially produced with commercial intentions, somehow they met the demands of the tourist market. Starting from 1895, produced as picture postcards, these images disseminated and circulated in large scale. Therefore, these widely consumed images constituted the imagery of the city.

John Urry marks the 1840s as the birth of the tourist gaze in the west and claims photography as "the most important technology for developing and extending the tourist gaze."<sup>203</sup> The concept of the gaze refers to socially constructing seeing. While "seeing is what the human eye does," gazing is "a learned ability."<sup>204</sup> As John Berger states, "one's eyes are socio-culturally framed and there are various "ways of seeing". We never look just at one thing; we are always looking at the relation between things and ourselves."<sup>205</sup> Gazing is not merely seeing, but rather a set of cognitive practices that include interpreting, evaluating, imagining and "making mental connections between signs and their referents and capturing signs photographically."<sup>206</sup> Yet, the

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<sup>203</sup> Urry, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 14, 19.

<sup>204</sup> John Urry. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London: Sage Publications, 2011), 1-2

<sup>205</sup> Urry, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 2; Urry quoted from John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), 9.

<sup>206</sup> Urry, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 17.

sights are framed by cultural styles, circulating images and texts of the place being gazed at and /or some other places as well as personal memories.

As Susan Sontag points out, " photography's main effect is to convert the world into a department store or a museum-without -walls in which every subject is depreciated into an article of consumption, promoted into an item for aesthetic appreciation."<sup>207</sup> And it is thus that a tourist strolls in the aisles of this huge department store, in search for sights to frame and collects pictures.

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<sup>207</sup> Urry, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 166; Quoted from Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (Harmondsworth: Penquin, 1979), 10.

## CHAPTER 3

### TRAVEL ALBUMS

Every enjoyment of life has three distinct stages—anticipation—reality—and reminiscence; and it is more difficult than it at first appears to be, to decide on the comparative extent and value of each. Hope is the most extravagant and imaginative; action, the most engrossing and tangible; and memory, the most calm, and durable, and sober.

Miss Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, 1838<sup>1</sup>

The history of the album is much longer than that of the photograph. Yet, similar to the photograph, its ontological roots are closely related to record, memory, and display. In post-classical Latin, especially in Dutch and German sources, it denotes a book (*album amicorum*) in which the owner collected friends' signatures, memorial verses, and epigrams as mementos or keepsakes.<sup>2</sup> Although the oldest use of the word album refers to a book of writings, starting from the Renaissance in Europe, the word also started to indicate another kind of book – a book of pictures. By the mid-sixteenth century in Europe, the advancement of the technique of wood-cut printing onto paper led the way to a collectors' market for engravings and woodcuts. Collectors were able to preserve, organize and display their precious possessions by creating albums. In the seventeenth century, connoisseurs used albums to arrange and display prints.<sup>3</sup> In the same vein, by

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<sup>1</sup> Julia Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, 3.

<sup>2</sup> "album, n" *The Encyclopedia Britannica. A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*, vol. I (Chicago: R.S. Peale Company, 1892); "album." *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*. 1996. *Encyclopedia.com*. <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O27-album.html> (accessed October 2, 2015); "album, n.2". OED Online. September 2015. Oxford University Press. <http://0-www.oed.com.library.metu.edu.tr/view/Entry/4635> (accessed October 02, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Verna Posever Curtis, *Photographic Memory: The Album in the Age of Photography* (Library of Congress, Aperture, 2011), 8. In this statement, Curtis refers to the Pembroke Album, which is held in the Prints and Photographs Division Holdings in the Library of Congress. The album contains ninety woodcuts and one drawing made between 1500 and 1680. They were acquired by English collectors Philip and Thomas Herbert, the 5<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> Earls of Pembroke, and

the nineteenth century, albums were used for the preservation and display of collections such as stamps, postcards, photographs and so on.<sup>4</sup>

The first commercial albums for photographs were designed for *cartes-de-visite*,<sup>5</sup> collecting of which was a very popular activity 1860s.<sup>6</sup> A *carte-de-visite* is a 5.4 x 8.9 cm photograph mounted on a 6.4 x 10 cm card. A typical *carte-de-visite* album had pages of thick paper overlaid with a second layer of paper into which windows were cut for photographs to be placed in. Deluxe albums contained ornately lithographed pages. On the other hand, within a decade, with the popularity of cabinet card, which was a thin photograph mounted on a 10.8 x 16.5 cm card, larger albums became available in the 1870s. In following decades, because of the advent of new cameras and the availability of ready-made negatives and printing papers, photography became easier to practice. As photographs increased, albums started to be widely used for collecting, ordering, storing and displaying them.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the photography album had evolved in diverse paths in response to the amateur and professional production of photographs and their consumption. The album became a versatile medium leading the way to a wide range of productions from modest assemblages of amateur prints to large, fancy volumes. Professional photographers and studios were commissioned for prestigious albums by a variety of patrons in addition to the albums they made for their own retailing. The latter included souvenir albums intended for tourists. The format and extravagance of an album was a sign of respectability. Tourists bought or made travel albums both for themselves to show and tell their friends and family or as gifts. Thus, travel albums were objects communicating the owner's wealth. A luxurious album relatively large size, with elaborately designed covers and heavy pages including one large print per

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later placed in a sixteen-volume compendium, which was assembled between 1683 and 1733, and is also known as the Wilton Collection.

<sup>4</sup> Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations. The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 23.

<sup>5</sup> Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 23.

<sup>6</sup> Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 25.

page showed that the maker was rich enough to have it. Therefore, depending on how much a person could pay, different sizes and qualities were made available on the market. On the other hand, apart from commercially produced albums sold at studios and stationary shops, some people devised their own home-made, hand-crafted albums to suit the size and number of their photographs.<sup>7</sup>

Not surprisingly, most of the albums that survived were those that had hard covers and rigid spines. Commonly having percaline covers and holding thirty to a hundred photographs that had been tipped in or glued in by hand, these albums endured because of their lavishness and firmness as well as their remarkable contents produced by professionals. Indeed, an album produced using durable materials to avoid any deformation also implies that the content was regarded as valuable and intended to be preserved. Therefore, while materially modest albums including snapshots were easily discarded because they were not considered as pretty, prestigious or distinctive objects, these albums were kept and continued their afterlife in attics, antique stores, collections or archives.<sup>8</sup>

The Getty Collection contains travel albums of Istanbul with hard covers and includes commercial prints mainly produced between 1870 and 1910. This is hardly surprising and was not peculiar to Istanbul. In archives, many albums that were produced in the same period are found to contain photographs of different cities.<sup>9</sup> It is also known that frequent travelers produced travel albums in series with some albums having a volume number assigned and printed on the spine. For instance, French industrialist Paul Fleury went on trips to Switzerland, the Middle East, India, Asia, and South America

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<sup>7</sup> Curtis, *Photographic Memory*, 9.

<sup>8</sup> See also Alison Nordström, "Making a Journey. The Tupper Scrapbooks and the Travel They Describe," in *Photographs Object Histories*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart. (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 85-195, 89.

<sup>9</sup> In her doctoral dissertation, Alison Nordström examines a group of albums produced by American tourists between 1860 -1917 and also observes the years as the period of albums which are compilations of commercial prints. Alison Devine Nordström, "Voyages (Per)formed," 5.

between 1896 and 1918, and produced no less than eighteen albums.<sup>10</sup> An album made by Marie Fleury in 1905, which is one of the case studies examined in this chapter, has also a number (IV) on its spine indicating that she made a series of albums of her travels.<sup>11</sup>

In the collection, although every travel album is different, certain patterns and incongruences emerge when several are compared. In many albums, the photographs were usually separated into groups in which views, types of people and reproductions of sculptures were arranged separately. The sequence of the subjects and the format of the pages according to subject matter also presented similarities. For instance, in many nineteenth-century travel albums, while photographs of landscapes or monuments often appeared in the first pages of albums and were arranged such that there was one photograph per page, “types” were mostly arranged several photographs to a page and appeared toward the end of the album.

While some albums includes photographs solely taken by a particular photographer, some contains photographs by different photographers. Even though there are photographs by unidentified photographers, mostly photographers are known. Some photographers would have written the number of the negative and the signature directly upon the negative in black ink, so that they appeared in white on the prints. Commonly, each of the well-known studios used a consistent form of their signature claiming their authorship. It is also known that studios exchanged negatives in order to enlarge their portfolios. Moreover, when an old studio was taken over by a new photographer, the negatives were usually sold along with the studio and the equipment. Therefore, it was not surprising when new prints were produced from old negatives and appeared with the signature of their new owners. The result was that identical photographs were reprinted through the years and sold by different studios. Therefore, since negatives have been printed in many times through years, it is not always possible to know the year of the negative or who took the photograph. Unless a different source is explicitly

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<sup>10</sup> GRI, 91.R.5

<sup>11</sup> As the number on the spine indicates, there might be other albums. Yet, unfortunately, I couldn't find other albums made by Marie Fleury in any of the known archives.

referred to, the dates and photographers' information in this study have been taken from the Getty catalog. However, the information in the Getty catalog frequently refers to the collector's inventory. Furthermore, the information in the catalog with regard to the production dates of the photographs and the albums have usually been denoted in decades. Even if we assume the accuracy of this information provided by the previous owner of the collection and the antiques dealer, it always makes sense to compare this information with recent findings of photography historians. This dissertation provides the dates of some of the photographs investigated based on contemporary sources even if the information is not available in the Getty Catalog.

There are six albums examined as case studies in this chapter. For three of the albums, the years they were compiled are known thanks to their titles: 1884, 1885 and 1905. Although the other three albums do not contain written compilation dates, it is highly likely that they were compiled in the 1890s and the 1900s.

Among these albums the *Souvenir de Constantinople par Sébah and Joaillier*, as implied by the name of the studio on its cover, was an album mass produced by the studio, with the same album seen in various other collections.<sup>12</sup> These kinds of albums may have been sold by souvenir vendors or at large stationary shops apart from photography studios. Therefore, the photographer appears as the main actor in the compilation of these albums.

On the other hand, *Constantinople 1885* contains photographs taken by Pascal Sebah and *Constantinople 1884* includes photographs all of which was taken by Vasillaki Kargopoulo. Neither of the two albums features the name of the photographer on the album cover or on the inside despite containing the photographs of a single photographer. The fact that there is no inscription or stamps pointing to any one stationery shop, bookshop or photography studio, as well as the fact that there is a place and year written on the album cover increases the likelihood that the album was created after the photographs had been collected by the traveler. On the other hand, Vasillaki Kargopoulo was the only palace photographer in 1884 that carried the title of palace

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<sup>12</sup> The author bases her claim in this regard as well on Bahattin Öztuncay's findings.





**Figure 3.1** Studio card of Vassilaki Kargopoulo

Source: Bahattin Öztuncay, *Der ssadetin Fotoğrafçıları* (İstanbul: Aygaz, 2003)

photographer. It is hard to conceive that Kargopoulo would create such an album and not use so prestigious a title, considering he used this title even on the studio cards.

[Fig. 3.1] This suggests that these photographs must have been compiled in an album after the traveler had returned to his homeland having bought the photographs in Istanbul.<sup>13</sup>

The other three albums, however; namely, *Turquie*, *Constantinople Musee Types*, and the untitled album, contain a greater number of photographs, more diverse ones and those taken by different photographers. Among albums examined only one of them gives us some idea about the initial compiler / owner of the album through the official travel document stuck inside, which shows she came to Istanbul with a relative in April, 1905 and used it to travel to Bursa, implying that the photographs were bought in

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<sup>13</sup> The photography historian Bahattin Öztuncay, whom I consulted for information about the albums I was investigating, stated that neither of these two bindings were locally produced, and that's the album that contained Kargopoulo's photographs was a typical Viennese album based on his experience. Considering the date that the Kargopoulo album was compiled and that neither the Sultan's insignia or *tugra* nor the title of palace photographer was on the cover, it was concluded that this album was not compiled by Kargopoulo himself.

Istanbul. The stamp on the back of the album shows that the pictures were turned into an album upon the owner's return to France. Although the compilers of the albums other than Constantinople Musee Types and Souvenir de Constantinople are unknown, it could be said by looking at the covers that the other four albums were also covered in Europe. The binding of the *Turquie* album is very similar to the binding of the *Constantinople Musee Types* album, strongly implies that it was produced in France. Each with its unique number of photographs and arrangement, these albums have their own unique focus for collecting and displaying photographs of Istanbul.

### 3.1 Constantinople 1885

Produced by an anonymous compiler, the album *Constantinople 1885* [Fig. 3.2] is a full bound, large sized (35.5 x43.5cm), fancy album having a brown skin cover with the title in gold lettering.<sup>14</sup> It contains sixty-eight albumen prints<sup>15</sup> of Istanbul on thick, cream colored card leafs. There is one photograph on each page with calligraphic captions in English. Even though there are several unsigned photographs, all photographs are attributed to Pascal Sébah in the Getty catalogue. As can be understood from the title printed on the cover, the album was compiled in 1885. Yet, photographs were taken between the 1865 and 1883.<sup>16</sup>

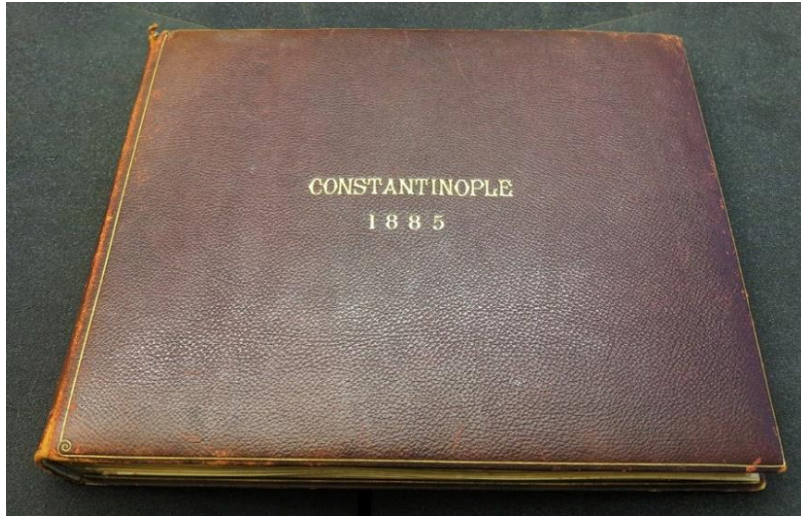
The album begins with a series of seven panoramic photographs mapping the city through reciprocal panoramic views from Galata and Seraskerat Towers [Fig. 3.3]. The first two photographs (26.2x34.5cm) are successive views seen from the Galata

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<sup>14</sup> GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.

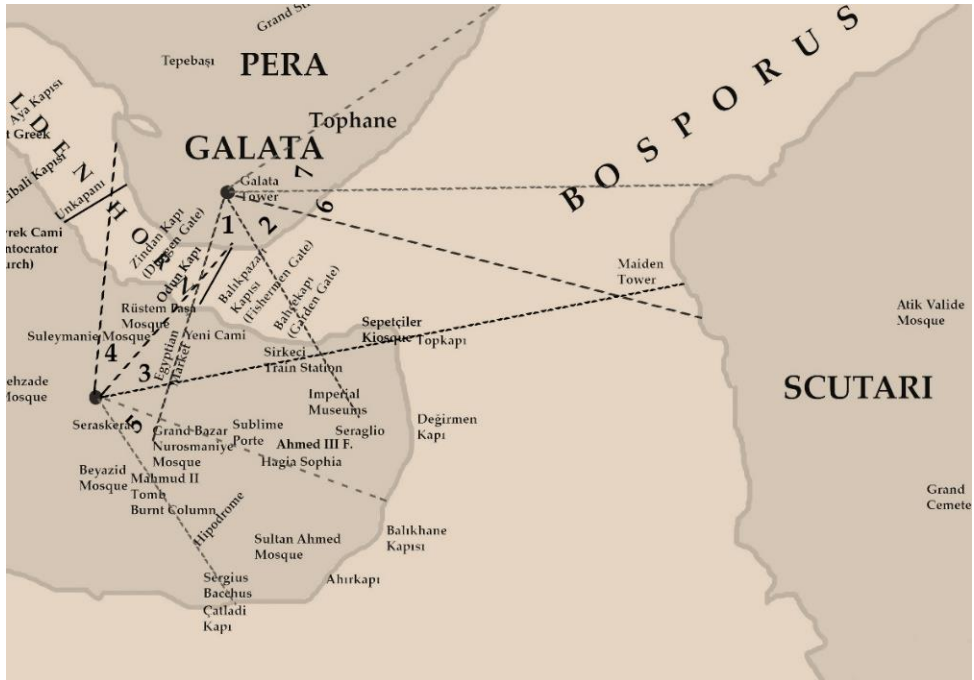
<sup>15</sup> The albumen print, also called albumen silver print, was invented in 1847 by Louis Désiré Blanquart-Evrard. It was a method of producing print on a paper from a negative. The name came from the albumen coat on the paper which was used to bind the photographic chemicals on the paper. The use of albumen papers provided the photographs deeper tonality and more details. The combination of wet plate negatives and albumen prints renovated the negative/positive photography and dominated nineteenth century photography.

<sup>16</sup> Since Pascal Sébah paralyzed in 1883, photographs might have been taken before that year. Although, the Getty catalogue does not provide the dates of the photographs, years of some of photographs in the album are known. A9.F09a, is the same photograph as the one in Engin Özendes's *Sébah and Joallier'den Foto Sabah'a*. Özendes indicates the date of the photograph as c1870. Similarly, the photograph A9.F10a was taken before 1866; See, Özendes, *Sébah and Joallier'den Foto Sabah'a*, 24, 154, 179. A9.F23a is also dated 1870; A9.F15a and A9.F18a are dated as 1865 by Bahattin Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları*, 635, 595, 600.



**Figure 3.2** Album *Constantinople 1885*

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9



**Figure 3.3** Map showing the areas seen in the panoramic photographs in the album, taken from Galata Tower and Seraskerat Tower.

Source: Drawn by the author

Tower.<sup>17</sup> The caption on the first page reads “Constantinople: Galata Bridge over the Golden Horn”. [Fig. 3.4] In fact, assigning numbers to each of the fourteen windows on the Galata Tower from one to fourteen left to right, Murray’s Handbook depicted the view seen from each window as if that particular view was framed by that window by matching the view depicted with the window number. Joannes’s Guidebook also did the same. This particular photograph conveys the view seen from the tenth window of the Galata Tower, depicted in Murray’s handbook. The photograph shows that the new Galata Bridge is under construction, establishing the year of the photograph as 1874. In the foreground are the Galata district and the bridge crossing the Golden Horn from Karaköy to Eminönü. St.Sophia, Sultan Ahmet Mosque and Nurosmeniye Mosque are seen farther away. Labeled, “Seraglio Point with Mouths of Golden Horn and Bosphorus,” the following photograph is the view from the ninth window of the Galata Tower.<sup>18</sup> [Fig. 3.5] It includes the Galata shores in the foreground, the Golden Horn and Seraglio in the middle ground, and Scutari in the background. Then, the image in the album crosses the Golden Horn and views the opposite shore from the Seraskerat Tower. The next photograph, “[t]he Bosphorus from Stamboul,” [Fig. 3.6] is a view displaying the Bosphorus starting from the entrance of the Golden Horn and pointing north-east. It is followed by a successive view of “Galata and Pera from Stamboul,” obtained from the same place but by shifting the vantage point slightly to the left to get a sight of Galata. [Fig. 3.7] Next, the album presents another view from the Seraskerat Tower [Fig. 3.8] in a south-east direction portraying the roofs of the network of bazaars, Nurosmeniye Mosque, Sultan Ahmet Mosque, the burnt column and little St. Sophia. In the following photograph, once again, the camera crosses the Golden Horn and captures Scutari and the Bosphorus from the Galata Tower [Fig. 3.9]. In the photograph, Maiden’s Tower, Mount Bulgurlu and the minarets of the Old Valide Mosque are seen. Taken also from the Galata Tower, “Top-Haneh and the Bosphorus” [Fig. 3.10] depicts Tophane and Fındıklı, with the Bosphorus lying beyond them. The height of the sight lowers,

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<sup>17</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-Book Constantinople*, 17-18; Guides Joanne, *De Paris a Constantinople* [1894], 137-138.

<sup>18</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-Book Constantinople*, 18.



**Figure 3.4** “Constantinople: Galata Bridge over the Golden Horn”

Photograph by Pascal Sébah

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F01a



**Figure 3.5** “Seraglio Point with Mouths of Golden Horn and Bosphorus”

Photograph by Pascal Sébah

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F01b





**Figure 3.6** “The Bosphorus from Stamboul”. Photograph by Pascal Sébah  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F02a



**Figure 3.7** “Galata and Pera from Stamboul”. Photograph by Pascal Sébah  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F02b



**Figure 3.8** “Exterior of the Bazaars, Stamboul.” Photograph by Pascal Sébah  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F03a



**Figure 3.9** “Scutari from Galata.” Photograph by Pascal Sébah  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F03b





**Figure 3.10** “Top-Haneh and the Bosphorus.” Photograph by Pascal Sébah

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F04a



**Figure 3.11** “Galata Bridge from Stamboul side.” Photograph by Pascal Sébah.

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F04b



with the next photograph showing the crowds on the Galata Bridge.<sup>19</sup> [Fig. 3.11] The Galata Tower is also included in the scene. Connecting Galata to the historical peninsula, the Galata Bridge was one of the main touristic attractions of the city as mentioned in Murray's handbook:

Even of greater interest is the scene on the bridge itself, where a motley crowd, representing nearly every nation of the East and West, is constantly passing; and soldiers, kavasses, dervishes, water carriers, cake-sellers, and veiled women may be seen struggling forward amidst horses, carriages and laden animals in picturesque disarray.<sup>20</sup>

Similar to handbooks, almost all travelogues referred to the Galata Bridge as a place to observe the diversity of the people living in the city. Thus, almost every souvenir album included at least one photograph of the bridge. The slightly heightened vantage point of the photograph renders the crowd on the bridge composed of people from all walks of life discernable.

The first architectural monument represented in the album is St. Sophia. Indeed, through histories and engravings such as Guillaume J. Grelot's drawings in *Relation Nouvelle d'un Voyage de Constantinople* or in Ignatius M. D'Ohsson's, *Tableau General de L'Emphire Othoman* or Thomas Allom's *Constantinople Ancienne et Moderne*, for centuries, St. Sophia has been the most well-known, most frequently depicted, and glorified architectural heritage in the city. It has been the object of curiosity because it has been a sacred place and one of the masterpieces of Byzantine architecture hosting antique treasures as well as one of the principal mosques of the city for years. Since it is one of the most ancient buildings that survived, a large array of stories, legends, tales and histories are associated with almost every part of the building. Therefore, travelogues and guidebooks included long narratives on the building. For instance; tired of writing lengthy stories about the building, Frances Elliot notes in her travelogue in 1893, "Language fails to convey even the faintest idea of its

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<sup>19</sup> Özendes provides with the date of this photograph as 1870. Özendes, *Sébah and Joallier'den*, 154.

<sup>20</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Hand-Book Constantinople*, 15.

former glories.”<sup>21</sup> Then “of course” her “first object is to visit St. Sophia.”<sup>22</sup> St. Sophia was at the top of the list of touristic places to visit in the city. Indeed, almost every souvenir album included at least a view of St. Sophia in its first pages.

In this album, nine pages have been reserved for images of St. Sophia. Even though it has the caption, “Church of St. Sophia built by Justinian A.D. 548,” the first photograph [Fig. 3.12] showing the southwest façade of the building emphasizes the Ottoman additions, tombs and minarets. On the other hand, the next photograph captioned “Mosquée de Ste. Sophie,” depicts three dimensional massing of forms. The following photograph is the ablution fountain in its courtyard. [Fig. 3.13] This fountain, which is a fine specimen of the eighteenth century Ottoman baroque with its large eaves and ornamentation, appears in many albums as an example of ablution fountains. It is understood from nineteenth century travel accounts that merchants mostly stationed around the fountain added to the exotic appearance of the scene for tourists. As Pardoe depicts:

[...] while in its immediate vicinity, amulet and scent merchants, generally hadjis or pilgrims, with their green turbans and flowing beards, spread their mats, and expose for sale all descriptions of chaplets, perfumes, relics from Mecca, charms against the Evil Eye, amber and ivory mouth-pieces.<sup>23</sup>

There are five photographs depicting the interior of St. Sophia. The first is a photograph of the narthex looking north. The second photograph shows the interior of the nave from the west gallery. Because of the size of the interior, this photograph was formed by a montage of six separate photographs. [Fig. 3.14] The most striking spatial effect felt in the edifice is its vastness under the dome. As Miss Pardoe writes, “it is the vastness of St. Sophia which for a time fills the imagination and satisfies the fancy of the traveler.”<sup>24</sup> Even though the building did not always meet the great expectations of tourists, such as in the case of Francis Elliot referring to Fergusson and disagreeing

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<sup>21</sup> Elliot, *Diary of an Idle Woman*, 47.

<sup>22</sup> Elliot, *Diary of an Idle Woman*, 37.

<sup>23</sup> Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus*, 60.

<sup>24</sup> Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus*, 62.



**Figure 3.12** “Church of St. Sophia built by Justinian A.D.”

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F05a



**Figure 3.13** “St. Sophia, the fountain in the court.” Photograph by Pascal Sébah

Source: GRI , 96.R.14.AD9.F06a

with his statement that “he doubts if any Christian church in any age excels the interior of St. Sophia”; nevertheless, its interior has always been celebrated.<sup>25</sup> The west gallery is the spot where “the best view of the whole interior of the edifice is obtained.”<sup>26</sup> Indeed, the interior viewed from this gallery has been photographed by many different photographers. As the most popular image of the interior of St. Sophia, it comes up in many albums in the form of similar photographs taken by different photographers. After this photograph, the album continues with a photograph depicting the second floor gallery, columns and capitals. It is followed by photographs presenting the antique treasury in the building, with the captions, “St. Sophia: the green marble columns from the Temple of Diana at Ephesus” and “St. Sophia: marble gate in the gallery,” respectively.



**Figure 3.14** “St. Sophia: the Interior.” Photograph by Pascal Sébah

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F07a

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<sup>25</sup> Elliot, *Diary of an Idle Woman*, 37. Elliot does not provide with an academic reference to her quotation but probably she refers here James Fergusson. See James Fergusson, *A history of architecture in all countries: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (New York: Dodd Mead and Company, 1887), 450.

<sup>26</sup> Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus*, 62.

The next two photographs depict the exterior of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque which are entitled “Mosque of Sultan Achmed with six minarets” and “Mosque of Sultan Achmed from the Hippodrome.” [Fig. 3.15] Sultan Ahmed Mosque was mostly been depicted together with hippodrome. In particular, the column of Theodosius was included as in the example of Thomas Allom’s engraving published in *The Seven Churches of Asia Minor*. Yet, what is peculiar in these two photographs is the exclusion of the obelisks. Although, the second photograph shows the serpentine column, it is not a marked element of the photograph. By selecting these photographs, the author particularly presents the mosque in the sequence of Istanbul’s mosques instead of presenting the area. In the guidebooks of the day Sultan Ahmet Mosque, built in the seventeenth century, is presented as “one of the finest mosques to be seen in Stamboul.”<sup>27</sup> It is emphasized that it is the only mosque with six minarets. Moreover, the story is told of how the seventh minaret was added to the mosque at Mecca by Sultan Ahmet to overcome the objection the imam of Mecca raised to the sixth minaret of his mosque.<sup>28</sup> In short, albums commonly have a photograph of the mosque including its six minarets. Photographs of Sultan Ahmed Mosque are followed by two photographs of Süleymaniye Mosque. The first one entitled “Suleimanyeh, the Mosque of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, A.D. 1555” is a photograph taken from Seraskerat Tower. [Fig. 3.16] The second one is a photograph taken from the Golden Horn, showing the mosque rising on the hill. Crediting Sinan, “the great architect of the reign of Suleiman I”<sup>29</sup>, guidebooks praised Süleymaniye, built in the sixteenth century, using such terms as “the most splendid and the most important one of Stamboul”<sup>30</sup> or “the most beautiful monument of Ottoman architecture”.<sup>31</sup> Seraskerat Tower, standing south of Süleymaniye Mosque provides a nice vantage point for the entire mosque and

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<sup>27</sup> Binder, *New Guide to Constantinople*, 38.

<sup>28</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-Book Constantinople*, 15.

<sup>29</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-Book Constantinople*, 59.

<sup>30</sup> Binder, *New Guide to Constantinople*, 47.

<sup>31</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-Book Constantinople*, 59.



**Figure 3.15** “Mosque of Sultan Achmed from Hippodrome.” Photograph by Pascal Sébah

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F09b



**Figure 3.16** “Suleimanyeh, the Mosque of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, A.D. 1555.” Photograph by Pascal Sébah

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F010a

its campus including the tombs. The view of Süleymaniye Mosque with the Golden Horn in the background has been photographed by many different photographers. Then, in the album, after a display of the exteriors of Sultan Ahmet Mosque and Süleymaniye, the sequence of mosques ends with a nineteenth century example, “Mosque of the Valideh at Dolmabahçe.”

Thereafter, the album’s content continues with six photographs showing obelisks. The first two photographs entitled “At Meidan or Hippodrome” [Fig. 3.17] and “the Obelisk & Pillar of Constantine Porphyrogenitus” portray the hippodrome (facing south) by including the column of Theodosius, the built column, and the Serpentine column. [Fig. 3.18] The next photograph entitled “[t]he Obelisk, 50 Feet High from Heliopolis” particularly emphasizes the Obelisk of Theodosius, which is made of granite and was brought from Karnak, Egypt, and erected here at the end of the fourth century. This photograph shows some people standing next to the obelisk, inadvertently providing a measure for the height of the obelisk. [Fig. 3.19] This is followed by three photographs, each of which shows one side of the base of the obelisks adorned with a relief portraying the emperor and his entourage participating in ceremonies from the imperial box in the Hippodrome. [Fig. 3.20] Next comes a photograph depicting the Serpentine Column, which is composed of three intertwined serpents of gilded bronze (the heads are gone). The column was brought from the Temple of Apollon at Delphi in the Byzantine era. In travel accounts, this column is mostly mentioned with an anecdote about Sultan Mehmet striking off the heads of the serpent with his battle axe.<sup>32</sup> The series of obelisks in the album ends with a photograph captioned, “Burnt porphyry column which stood in the center of the forum of Constantine.” It is a photograph showing the porphyry column erected as the centerpiece of the Forum of Constantine. It was later damaged in the fires in the area. [Fig. 3.21]

The album includes four photographs from the Seven Towers and the old walls entitled: “Gate of the Seven Towers” [Fig. 3.22], depicting the moat, the bridge and the

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<sup>32</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-Book Constantinople*, 42; Marion Crawford, *Constantinople* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895), 4.





**Figure 3.17** “At Meidan or Hippodrome.” Photograph by Pascal Sébah.

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F11b



**Figure 3.18** “The Obelisk & Pillar of Constantine Porphyrogenitus” Photograph by Pascal Sébah.

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F12a





**Figure 3.19** “The Obelisk, 50 Feet High from Heliopolis”  
 Photograph by Pascal Sébah.

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F12b



**Figure 3.20** “Pedestal of obelisk, commemorating its erection by Theodosius (south side)” Photograph by Pascal Sébah.

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F13a



**Figure 3.21** “Burnt porphyry column which stood in the centre of the forum of Constantine” Photograph by Pascal Sébah.

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F015a

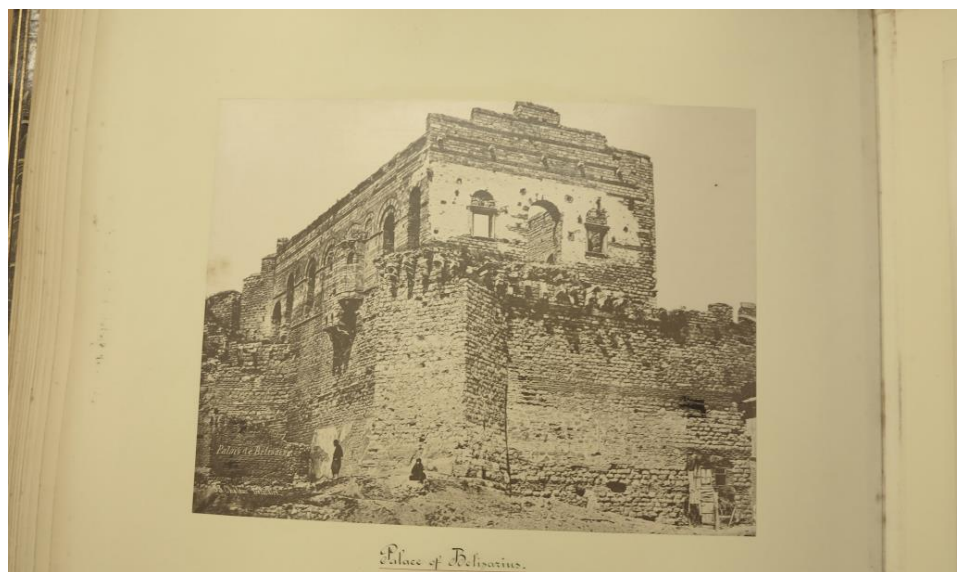


**Figure 3.22** “Gate of the Seven Towers.” Photograph by Pascal Sébah.

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F016a



**Figure 3.23** "Golden Gate of Theodosius." Photograph by Pascal Sébah  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F16b



**Figure 3.24** "Palace of Belisarius." Photograph by Pascal Sébah  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F017b

adjacent tower, the “Tower of the Ambassadors,” “Golden Gate of Theodosius.” [Fig. 3.23], and “Towers along the walls.”

Associated with horror stories and bloody events of the past, the Seven Towers was one of the main attractions of the city. As written in Murray’s guidebook, “Several Sultans have thus lost their lives in this place, and innumerable heads of Grand Viziers and less illustrious sufferers have hung from battlements.”<sup>33</sup> Similar information also exists in other guidebooks from that time.<sup>34</sup> Together with Seven Towers, because of their ruinous condition, historical associations, and their uncanny present state, the land walls stretching between the Marmara Sea and the Golden Horn were regarded as picturesque and became one of the touristic sights of the city. As introduced in Murray’s:

[t]he ancient fortifications, though in a ruinous state, are, next to S. Sophia, the chief object of interest in Constantinople. They consists of the harbor walls along the Golden Horn, the sea walls along the Marmara, and the land walls from the Marmara to the Golden Horn. The last are most picturesque and of great interest as an historical monument and unique example of medieval fortification.<sup>35</sup>

Accordingly, they also became one of the favorite subjects of photographers. Photographs of Seven Towers and the old walls were included in almost every album.

Then, by taking the viewer from the south end of the walls to the north end, the album displays Tekfur Sarayı, “Palace of Belisaurus.” Most albums containing a photograph of the Seven Towers also include a photograph of Tekfur Sarayı. [Fig. 3.24]

Next, following three consecutive photographs of towers portraying “Tower of Galata built by the Genoese,” “Seraskier Tower,” and the towered portal of the second courtyard of Topkapı Palace, “Old Sublime Porte Built by Mohammed II,” the album takes the viewer on a picturesque tour through the hills of the Bosphorus. Then, Dolmabahçe Palace becomes the subject of four consecutive photographs. The first one, “Palaces of the Sultan on the Bosphorus” shows Dolmabahçe Palace and the

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<sup>33</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-Book Constantinople*, 39.

<sup>34</sup> For another example see Binder, *New Guide to Constantinople*, 49.

<sup>35</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-Book Constantinople*, 25.



**Figure 3.25** "Palaces of the Sultan on the Bosphorus." Photograph by Pascal Sébah  
 Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F22b



**Figure 3.26** "Palace of Dolmabatche." Photograph by Pascal Sébah.  
 GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F23a

Bosphorus from high ground at Fındıklı [Fig. 3.25]. Çırağan Palace is also seen from afar. The second photograph, “Palace of Dolmabahçe” is a perspective view of the palace [Fig. 3.26]. The other two photographs depict the imperial gates of the palace. Completed in 1856, built by Sultan Abdülmecit, the palace was designed by the Armenian - Ottoman architects Garabet Amira Balyan and Nigogos Balyan. Facing the water on a long marble terrace, the palace is composed of a series of buildings having façades adorned with western architectural elements in a fashionable eclectic style. According to western eyes of the time, it was not “in the best taste”<sup>36</sup> yet the “whole effect is rich and splendid”<sup>37</sup> and “is not displeasing to the eye.”<sup>38</sup> Although the long white marble façade of the palace presents a nice view from the sea, on land, it is hidden by high walls with two richly decorated portals. Because the façade is long, the whole view can only be obtained from a distance or from higher ground. Thus, photographs showing the exterior of Dolmabahçe Palace were either taken from the hills of Fındıklı or from the sea. The photograph which is a perspective view of the palace with a rowing boat in the foreground is one of the most popular photographs produced by different photographers and appears in many albums.

The album continues with a photograph, entitled “Mosque of Ortaköy,” depicting the Sultan’s Friday Procession from Ortaköy Mosque. [Fig. 3.27] Indeed, “Selamlık”, which is Sultan’s procession to the mosque for the Friday prayer, is one of the spectacles of the city suggested for tourists to see. Accordingly, it was one of the most commonly found subjects included in albums. The next is a view of the Grand Street of Pera, followed by three photographs are from cemeteries in Scutari. The first view is from a Turkish cemetery. The next one is of a Turkish tombstone and the last entitled, “Monument by Queen Victoria to the fallen in the Russian War” is a view from a British cemetery showing the monument. In the following pages, the turning dervishes

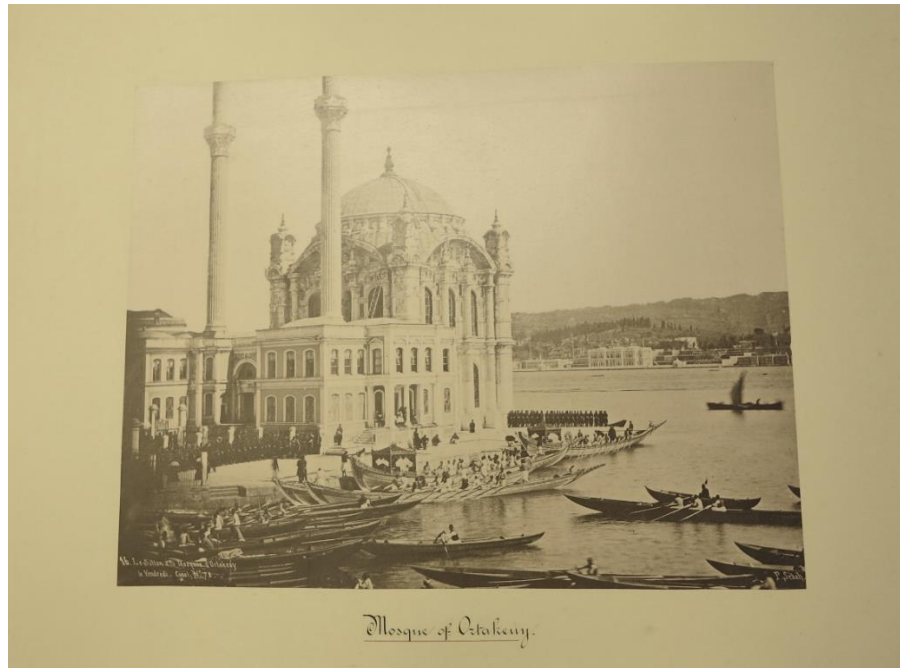
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<sup>36</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-Book Constantinople*, 93.

<sup>37</sup> Amicis, *Constantinople*, 192.

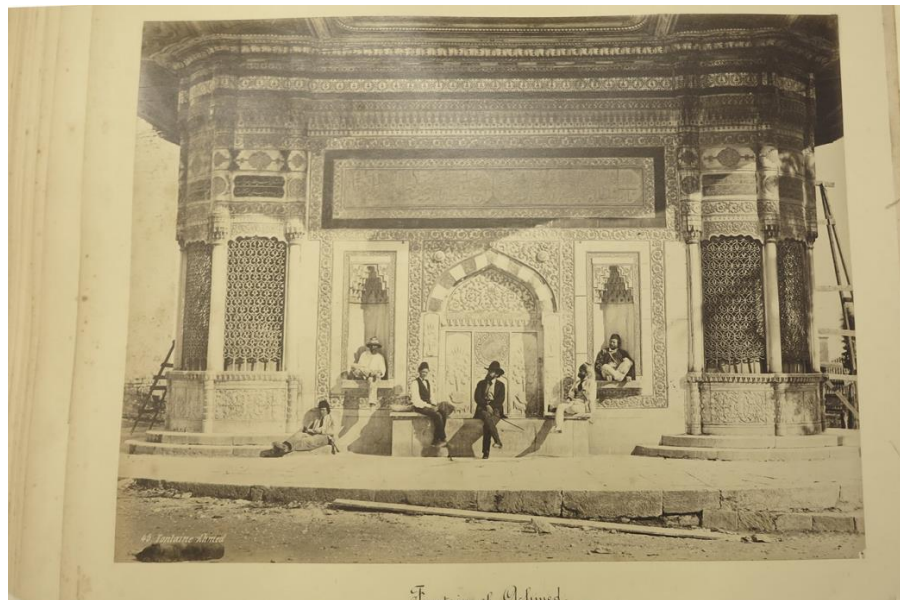
<sup>38</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-Book Constantinople*, 93.





**Figure 3.27** “Mosque of Ortaköy” Photograph by Pascal Sébah.

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F22b



**Figure 3.28** “Fountain of Ahmed” Photograph by Pascal Sébah

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD9.F33

of Pera and a whirling dervish of Scutari are presented in the album. After the sights in Istanbul, there are two photographs of Bursa. Finally, the album displays ethnographic types', professions and women. Containing three to five photographs on each page, there are six pages reserved for peddlers, women, dervishes, water carriers, porters, and so on.

Oddly, there are four photographs that do not follow a theme or a sequence. Two are photographs of the Ahmet III Fountain, and the other two depict the old city walls. Interestingly, the Ahmed III Fountain, which commonly appears in the first pages of albums, here appears at the end. On the other hand, one of two photographs of the fountain is also interesting, because the photograph includes the photographer, Pascal Sébah. The photograph shows six men symmetrically sitting and posing in front of the fountain.<sup>39</sup> [Fig. 3.28] The photograph also shows ladders leaning on the walls of the fountain. Despite the fact that it is not quite clear what exactly, Pascal Sébah, the man in a dark suit, sits elegantly in the center, the rest of men look like a team who are on break from fieldwork. Yet, there is another version of this photograph printed from the same negative, with the exclusion of the ladders which appeared in some other albums. Although both photographs were obviously produced from the same negative, the second one easily fits in Orientalist genre by presenting a well-dressed European man sitting elegantly and looking thoughtfully among tired looking Ottomans.<sup>40</sup>

Regarding the photographs of the portraits of people at the end of the album and keeping the last four photographs out of the sequence as divergences, I would suggest that the album mimics the sequence of sights seen on a quick tour like those suggested in guidebooks. It first maps the city from high up as a series of panoramic photographs. After presenting St. Sophia, which is the oldest and the most symbolic edifice of the city, it continues with a visit to the historical peninsula. The Sultan Ahmet Mosque and Süleymaniye appear as representative of religious Ottoman architecture. Obelisks and old city walls are displayed as part of the Byzantine past of the city. Following a set of

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<sup>39</sup> Catherine Pinquet, *Fotoğrafçılar Sultanlar*, 88.

<sup>40</sup> Catherine Pinquet, *İstanbul Fotoğrafçılar Sultanlar*, 88.



picturesque voyages to the hills of the Golden Horn and Bosphorus, the album presents some fragments from the “oriental” life of the city along with the ‘oriental’ residents of the city. Therefore, three attractions of the city; its geography, its architecture and people are seen. Yet, all are seen from a distance. On the other hand, the picture of the city presented in the album is a collage from the past twenty years of the city. It would be fair to say that most of the photographs portray the city either from a physical or a historical distance. Hence, the distance provides isolation from the reality of the city and allows space for imagination.

### **3.2 *Souvenir de Constantinople par Sébah and Joallier***

With its red percaline cover (29x37x2 cm), the *Souvenir de Constantinople par Sébah and Joallier* album contains forty albumen prints.<sup>41</sup> [Fig. 3.29] The front cover is decorated with figures of the Galata Tower and Maiden’s Tower. At the top right-hand corner, there is the *tuğra* of Abdülhamid II. The title of the album "Souvenir de Constantinople" and the name of the studio “Sébah and Joallier” are embossed in gold at the center. On the cover, there is a crescent and star. According to the Getty catalogue, the photographs in the album were collected in the 1890s. It has cream colored card pages with printed frames. A single photograph is affixed to rectos and versos. All of the photographs in the album are approximately 21x27cm.<sup>42</sup> Almost all of the photographs have a serial number, caption, and the signature of Sébah and Joallier. There are no additional handwritten or lithographic inscriptions in the album. The album also includes five photographs from Bursa. Most of the photographs were taken in the 1890s.<sup>43</sup> Although, in the Getty catalogue, the date of the album has been

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<sup>41</sup> GRI, 96.R.14.A21.

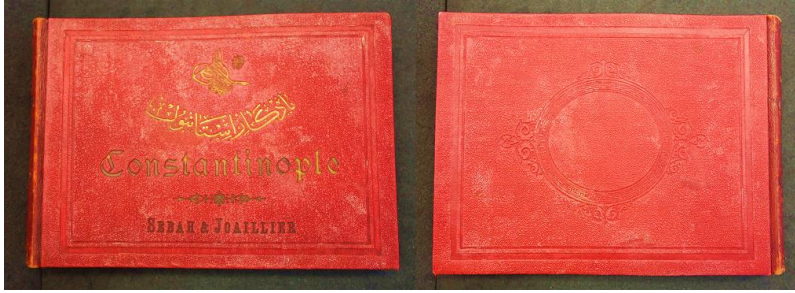
<sup>42</sup> An undated sales catalogue of the Sebah and Joallier firm shows that photographs were available in small format (21x27cm) or in a larger size (27x34cm). The smaller version on albumen paper was Fr. 1 each, or Fr. 10 a dozen. The larger size was slightly more expensive. Ayşe Erdoğan, “Selling the Orient,” 13.

<sup>43</sup> Some of the photographs are identical with photographs reproduced in Engin Özendes’s and Bahattin Öztuncay’s books. In these books, Özendes and Öztuncay provide the dates of these photographs.  
R14.A21.017\_recto was produced in 1894. Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 255;  
R14.A21.014\_verso was produced in 1894. Özendes, *Sébah and Joallier’dan*, 49;  
R14.A21.06\_verso was produced in 1894. Özendes, *Sébah and Joallier’dan*, 95;



**Figure 3.29** *Souvenir de Constantinople* Album by Sebah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21



**Figure 3.30** *Constantinople* Album by Sebah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD3



**Figure 3.31** *Constantinople* Album by Sebah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.AD4

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R14.A21.012\_verso was produced in 1890. Özendes, *Sébah and Joallier'den*, 96;  
R14.A21.011\_verso was produced in 1889. Özendes, *Sébah and Joallier'den*, 144;  
R14.A21.0114\_recto was produced in 1889. Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları*, 620

recorded as 1890, one photograph taken by the Abdullah Brothers in 1891-92<sup>44</sup> indicates that the album might have been compiled after Abdullah's studio was sold to Sébah and Joallier in 1900.<sup>45</sup>

The Pierre de Gigord collection also has two more albums sold by Sébah and Joallier in the 1890s that are modest in size and include smaller prints (app.12 x18 cm). Having twenty leafs, the *Souvenir de Constantinople*<sup>46</sup> contains forty photographs. [Fig. 3.30] The other album, *Constantinople*,<sup>47</sup> has thirty photographs on both sides of fifteen folios. [Fig. 3.31] Although they are smaller in size, some of the photographs in these albums are identical views such as the view of Seraglio Point from the Galata Tower, the Fountain of Ahmet III, a Turkish café, view of Dolmabahçe from Fındıklı. This indicates the popularity of those subjects.

The first photograph in the album is a view of the Seraglio Point from the Marmara Sea at the entrance of the Bosphorus. [Fig. 3.32] In the mid-ground, the photograph displays sail boats. Behind the boats are city walls running through the peninsula, Sultanahmet Mosque, the neoclassical façade of Darülfünun (University), a lighthouse (Ahırkapı Feneri) and St. Sophia. Even though the order in which the photo has been placed in the album coincides with the order in which this sight is viewed among the first sights seen while a ship is approaching the city, it has not been mentioned in travel writings as it is seen in this photograph. The first sights obtained at the entrance of Bosphorus are highly praised in many accounts depicting the first appearances of Seven Towers, minarets, domes, Sultan Ahmed Mosque, St. Sophia and Topkapı Palace. Yet, although the neo classical façade of Darülfünun was one of the dominant

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<sup>44</sup> R14.A21.013\_verso was produced in 1891-92 by Abdullah Brothers. Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları*, 615. [Fig. 3.48]

<sup>45</sup> Özendes, *Abdullah Frères*, 184.

<sup>46</sup> Getty Research Institute, 96.R.14.AD4.

<sup>47</sup> Getty Research Institute, 96.R.14.AD3.



**Figure 3.32** “Mosquées du Sultan Ahmed et de Ste. Sophie: vue prise de la mer.”  
 Photograph by Sébah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21\_1a



**Figure 3.33** “La pointe du Seraï.” Photograph by Sébah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21\_1b

elements of the city's skyline as of the 1860s, it is not mentioned as part of the skyline of the city.<sup>48</sup>

The next photograph showing the north shore of the Seraglio Point, taken from a higher vantage point in Karaköy is a well-liked one. [Fig. 3.33] It commonly appears in other albums. There are other similar photographs taken by different photographers depicting the same sight. The following photograph was taken from an elevated point, the Galata Tower. It shows the Golden Horn and the area between Beyazıt Mosque and Süleymaniye Mosque. [Fig. 3.34] The next photograph, also taken from a height portrays the Galata Bridge crossing the Golden Horn from Galata to Eminönü. [Fig. 3.35] The crowd at the Galata port, the Galata Bridge, and the steamers running on the Bosphorus providing mass transport to Scutari, Bosphorus and the Prince's Islands are visible. The bridge is seen as it was described in one of the late nineteenth century travelogues:

It is built in on floating pontoons, having a draw in the middle which is only opened in the night, and it consists practically of three parts- a highway for foot-passengers and carriages, a narrow street of little shops and coffee-houses, and a series of steamboat piers.<sup>49</sup>

Then, after introducing the Stamboul within the ancient city walls through a set of panoramic photographs, the album continues with places outside the city walls by displaying four consecutive pastoral views. The first one depicts a popular subject, the Sweet Waters of Europe. [Fig. 3.36] Actually, at the turn of the century, Kağıthane was a promenade with streams, meadows and forests. It was a very popular location because it was very close to the city and one could even walk there from Beyoğlu.<sup>50</sup> It was especially popular on Fridays, the weekly holiday, and visited on Sundays, particularly by Christians. It was not only a recreational area suited for picnicking but also a place for people-watching. Both foreigners and locals enjoyed the rowboat (kayık) rides. As described by Marion Crawford, it was a joy “to be pulled swiftly up

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<sup>48</sup> The building was demolished in 1833 when it was severely damaged due to a fire.

<sup>49</sup> Crawford, *Constantinople*, 12.

<sup>50</sup> Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 232-233.

the Golden Horn on a Friday afternoon in summer” and the place was a great spectacle with women and children as well as numerous people such as Egyptian fiddlers, flute players, and peddlers.<sup>51</sup> The photograph obviously taken from a high vantage point shows the Kağıthane stream, the meadows and the rowboats. It presents a pastoral scene yet fails to convey any of the exotic or romantic scenes depicted in travelogues. The next photograph is another popular subject widely described and depicted in engravings such as Ignace Melling’s *Voyage Pittoresque* and Barlett’s drawing in *The Beauties of Constantinople*. The photograph contains the Golden Horn from the hills of Eyüp including some tombstones in the foreground. [Fig. 3.37] The hills of Eyüp present a good view of where the entire inlet of the Golden Horn joins the Bosphorus as well as the settlements along both sides of the Golden Horn. Similar photographs from the same spot or nearby were taken and included in the portfolios of all of the commercial photographers of the time.<sup>52</sup>

The next three photographs were taken from a pedestrian’s eye level, providing a sense of immersion in the city. On its negative, the first photograph has the title, “Mosquée et kiosk impériale à Top-Hané.” [Fig. 3.38] Although the photograph portrays the mosque, it equally depicts the modernity of the vicinity. One can see the neoclassical façade of a building, soldiers with uniforms, tram rails on the ground and the street in front of the mosque. The following photograph, however, depicts an Oriental scene. The title is “Bazar de Yeni-Djami,” yet, it shows a few street vendors such as a kebabçı (kebab seller) and people eating and wandering in front of the mosque. [Fig. 3.39] Another photograph from taken at eye level displays the ablution fountain in the courtyard of Beyazıt Mosque. [Fig. 3.40] Many pigeons, women and children entering the mosque, street vendors and several men have been captured in the photograph. Located near the Grand Bazaar, Beyazıt Mosque, particularly its courtyard, was one of the most commonly visited places by tourists. In Murray’s handbook, the courtyard is praised as a fine specimen of Ottoman art and the arches of black and white marble, the

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<sup>51</sup> Crawford, *Constantinople*, 35-36.

<sup>52</sup> Similar photographs in the albums in the Pierre de Gigord Collection are by Berggren (96R. A12. 046), by Gülmez Freres (96R.A18\_2\_046).





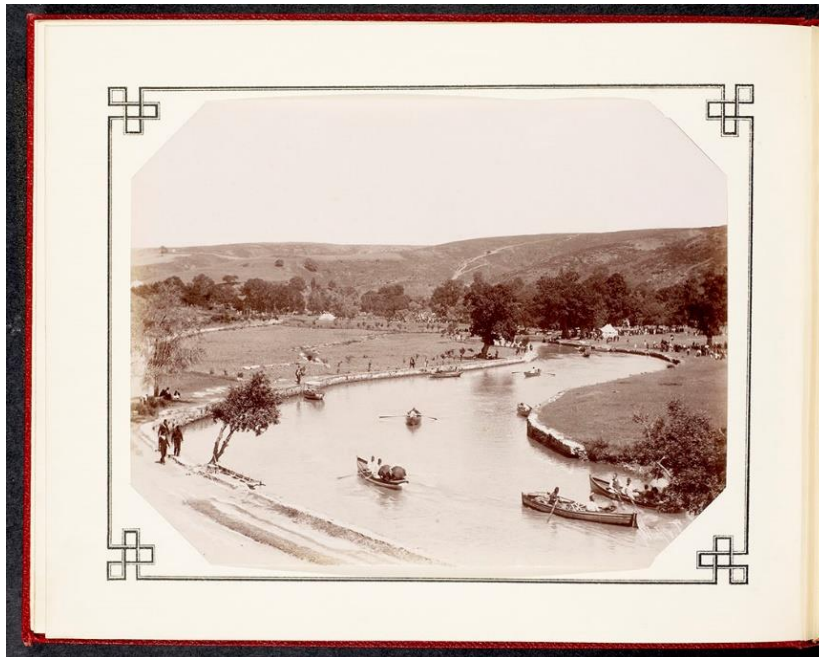
**Figure 3.34** “Vue panoramique de Constantinople et de la Corne d'Or” Photograph by Sébah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21\_2a



**Figure 3.35** Galata Bridge. Photograph by Sébah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21\_2b



**Figure 3.36** “Eaux douces d'Europe.” Photograph by Sébah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21\_3b



**Figure 3.37** “Cimetière turc à Eyoub et Corne d'Or.” Photograph by Sébah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21\_4a





**Figure 3.38** “Mosquée et kiosk impériale à Top-Hané.” Photograph by Sébah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21\_5b



**Figure 3.39** “Bazar de Yeni-Djami.” Photograph by Sébah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21\_6a

column capitals, the octagonal fountain, the cypresses, and the plane trees in the courtyard are emphasized. The story goes that the pigeons are the offspring of a couple of sacred pigeons gifted to the mosque by Sultan Beyazıt himself and are thus considered sacred. It is also mentioned that there is a permanent market in the courtyard.<sup>53</sup> The story and the reference to the architectural elements mentioned in Murray's handbook are also repeated in the travelogue written by Mrs. Max Müller:

It is the forecourt of this Mosque that appeals to one; the Mosque itself is not interesting. The cloisters surrounding the court are thoroughly Saracenic, the columns are monoliths of *verde antico*, porphyry, black and white marble, &c.; a covered fountain stands in the centre, and there are fine cypresses and plane-trees also, and on every roof and minaret, capital and cornice, are myriads of pigeons, which are looked on as sacred and are never killed.<sup>54</sup>

While the photograph of the courtyard of Beyazıt Mosque included in the album is not quite the most aesthetically pleasing photograph, it perfectly conveys its touristic depictions. This photograph is one of the widely disseminated photographs. There are also colored version in different albums.

Then, following the interruption of a scenic photograph showing Halki Island, the album continues by presenting mosques. The next two photographs show St. Sophia. The first depicts St. Sophia in its entirety and its site from a height. [Fig. 3.41] The other photograph is also a well-liked image appearing in almost every album: the interior of St. Sophia from the west gallery. The following photograph presents Sultan Ahmet Mosque including the column of Theodosius and the serpentine column in the foreground. [Fig. 3.42] Yet, with the help of the heightened vantage point of the photograph obtained from a distance, while the size of the mosque is emphasized, the obelisk appears to be of subsidiary importance. The next photograph, taken from Seraskerat Tower, shows Beyazıt Mosque [Fig. 3.43] It is followed by a photograph depicting Seraskerat Square. [Fig. 3.44] Defined by two symbolic buildings, Seraskerat Tower and Seraskerat Gate, the square was an important public area of the city which developed as an outcome of

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<sup>53</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Hand-Book Constantinople*, 63; Guide Joenne's, *De Paris a Constantinople* [1894], 190.

<sup>54</sup> Müller, *Letters from Constantinople*, 81-82.



**Figure 3.40** “Cour et fontaine de la mosquée Bayazed.” Photograph by Sébah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21\_6b



**Figure 3.41** “Sainte Sophie.” Photograph by Sébah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21\_07b



**Figure 3.42** “Mosquée Ahmed et l'Hippodrome.” Photograph by Sébah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21\_08b



**Figure 3.43** “Vue panoramique de la mosquée Bayazed.” Photograph by Sébah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21\_09a

modernization efforts. After the abolishment of the janissary corps (1826), Mahmut II moved the headquarter of the new army (*Seraskerlik*) to the place of the Old Palace which was built on the third hill of the seven hills of İstanbul by Mehmet II after the conquest of İstanbul. As a symbol of the empire and its new army, the first monumental gate was built by Sultan Mahmut II in 1826-1827.<sup>55</sup> With its large waving canopy, it was similar to the gate of Sublime Porte. The empty space in front of the gate became a stage for military marches of the modern army and imperial ceremonies. Moreover, the place also started to transform as a one of the main public spaces of the city for different public activities such as strolling, and gathering, funerals, buying and selling, demonstrations.<sup>56</sup> In 1864, the old gate was replaced by a larger one which was shown in the photograph. Having twin pavilions at both sides, the gate resembles the *Arc de Triomphe* in Paris. Adorned with architectural elements such as horseshoe arches and muqarnas capitals of columns, the gate was built in Orientalist revivalist style.<sup>57</sup> It became the symbol of the area. Almost every album has one photograph depicting the square. Next in the album is a photograph of the Sublime Porte emphasizing the large ornamented eave of the portal and two fountains on the wall on either sides. [Fig. 3.45]. This photograph of the Sublime Porte is also one widely reproduced with even colored versions in existence.

The next architectural edifice displayed in the album is the Ahmet III Fountain. After two consecutive photographs of Galata Tower and Yüksek Kaldırım Street, which is the business center in Galata, the album displays a series of photographs depicting the “oriental” way of life. A Muslim cleric praying in the tomb of Mahmud II and Abdülaziz, the coffins inside the tomb at Yeni Valide Mosque, peddlers, porters, and dogs around Şehzadebaşı Fountain [Fig. 3.46], merchants in the Grand Bazaar, dervishes, women sitting in a cemetery, men smoking pipes in a Turkish café, and a studio photograph of a Muslim woman are the subjects in this category. Then, the

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<sup>55</sup> Neşe Gurallar Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı in the Early Nineteenth Century İstanbul,” *METU JFA* 24, vol. 1 (2007): 71-92, 73-75.

<sup>56</sup> Neşe Gurallar Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth Century İstanbul: Beyazıt Meydanı” (PhD diss., METU, Ankara, 2003), 176-243.

<sup>57</sup> Gurallar Yeşilkaya, “Transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı,” 161-166.





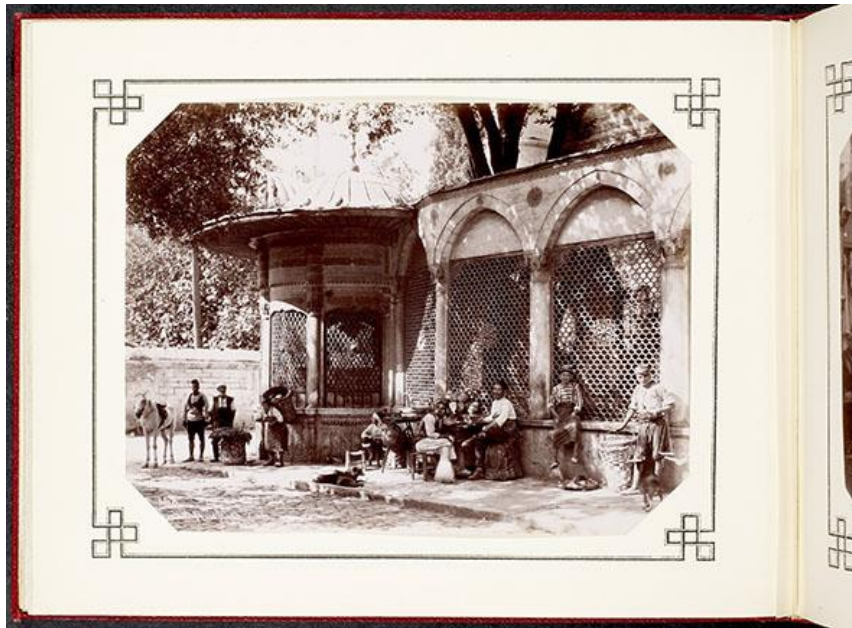
**Figure 3.44** “Entrée et tour du Séraskiérat.” Photograph by Sébah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21\_010a



**Figure 3.45** “Sublime Porte.” Photograph by Sébah & Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21\_10b



**Figure 3.46** “Sébil de la mosquée Schah-Zadé” Photograph by Abdullah Frères

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A21\_13b

album includes two photographs of Kariye (Chora) Mosque. After five photographs from Bursa, the album ends.

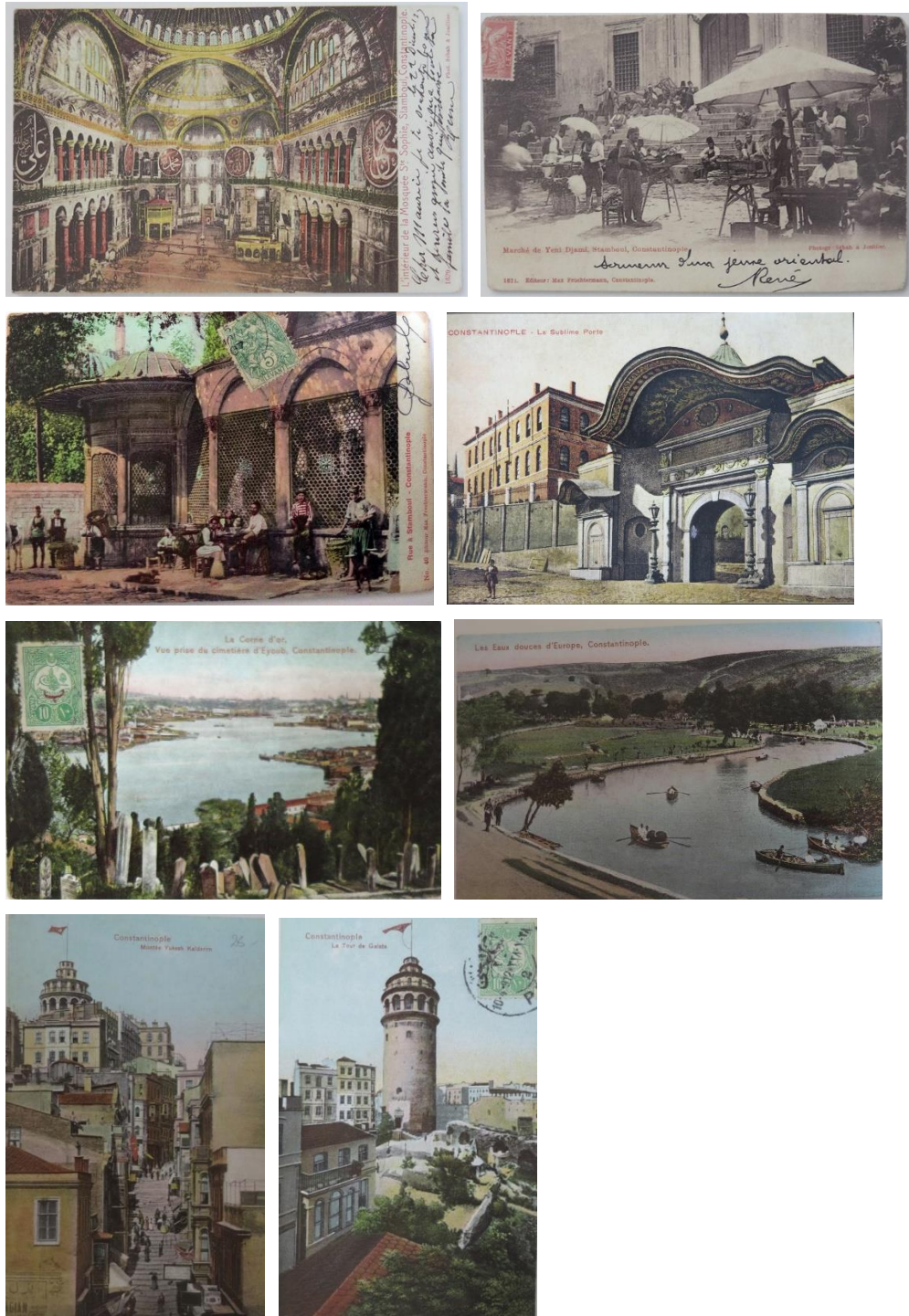
This album begins with a panoramic sight of the entrance of the Bosphorus and continues with reciprocal views of Stamboul from Galata, and Galata from Stamboul from a height. Next, it displays picturesque scenes from the hills of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. There are a few street photographs taken at eye level. Three photographs of mosques, St. Sophia, Sultan Ahmed Mosque, and Beyazit Mosque are also included from high vantage points. The only interior included in the album is the interior of St. Sophia. The album mostly displays the city from a height. There is always quite a distance between the camera and the subject. This reflects what travelers say in travel writings; how they usually praise the view of the city from a distance but are disappointed upon taking a closer look. In the album, through a small number of street photographs, the eye gets closer to the city for a brief moment to see ‘oriental’



**Figure 3.47** Postcards produced from the same negatives with photographs in *Souvenir de Constantinople* album

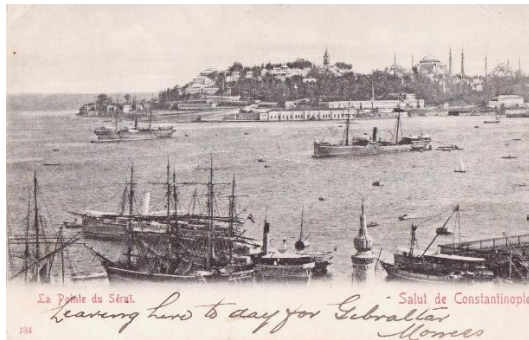
Source: Ottoman Bank Archives





**Figure 3.48** Postcards produced from the same negatives with photographs in *Souvenir de Constantinople* album

Source: Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann* (İstanbul: Koçbank, 2000)



**Figure 3.49** Postcards produced from the same negatives with photographs in *Souvenir de Constantinople* album

Source: [www.ebay.co.uk/bhp/turkey-postcard](http://www.ebay.co.uk/bhp/turkey-postcard) (accessed October 5, 2015)

scenes and types of people. On the other hand, the album does not view the city from a historical distance. It does not overlook the modern condition of İstanbul. It does not see any harm in starting the album with an image that includes a modern building. It also includes a contemporary view from Tophane Mosque Street and Yüksek Kaldırım Street, which is the street of banks and business as previously mentioned. Moreover, it presents a view of the Galata Bridge including the piers and steamboats. Similarly, a contemporary view of the Hippodrome and Seraskerat Square showing the new landscape of the areas are included. In the meantime, photographs showing shoe makers, merchants of grand bazaar, people in the courtyard of Yeni Cami and people around Şehzade Fountain depict daily scenes of the city. These photographs might have been chosen due to their exotic subjects, but are not photographs of oriental set-ups. Prepared by Sébah and Joaillier as a souvenir album, this album consists the most prevalent images of the most popular subjects depicting the city. Indeed, all photographs in this particular album also appeared frequently in other albums. Moreover, almost all of them were printed as postcards for several times. [Fig. 3.47; Fig. 3.48; Fig. 3.49]

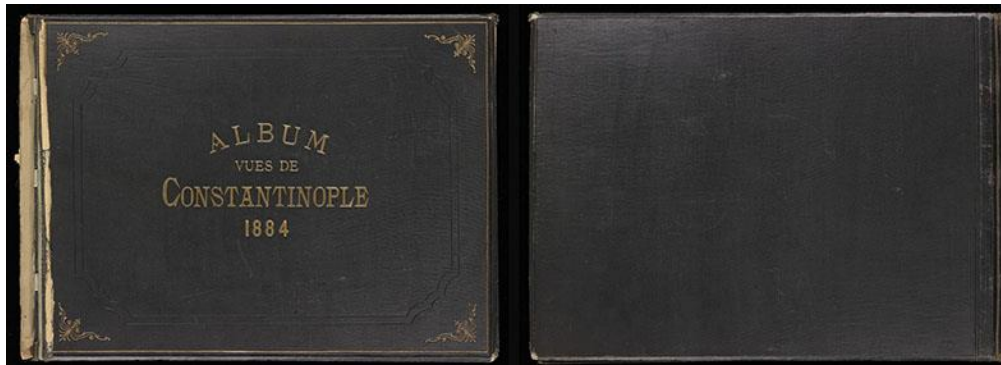
### ***3.3 Album Vues de Constantinople 1884***

With percaline boards (32x42.5cm) featuring a title in gold lettering, the album contains forty four albumen prints by Vassilaki Kargopoulo.<sup>58</sup> [Fig. 3.50] The album has cream colored card leafs. There is one photograph affixed per page within a printed frame. No clue about the compiler is available. On the first page of the album, there is a note in English that says, “B. Kargopoulo / photos taken between 1865-1875.” Yet, it is highly likely that this was written by an antique dealer, and is thus inaccurate. There is one photograph in the album, for instance, that was evidently taken in 1884. On the other hand, photographs in the album are a part of a series produced between 1865 and

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<sup>58</sup> GRI, 96.R.14.A11.





**Figure 3.50** Album Vue de Constantinople 1884

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7

1884. All of the photographs in this series measure 21x27cm and were taken at different times.<sup>59</sup> All of them have a label of the studio or a signature on the negative as well as a label.<sup>60</sup> The album begins with a photograph depicting Sultan Ahmet Mosque. [Fig. 3.51] The Obelisk of Theodosius and Serpentine column are seen in the foreground. The next photograph is of Beyazıt Mosque. [Fig. 3.52] It is followed by a photograph showing Tophane Mosque, after which the exterior view of St. Sophia is seen. In all of these photographs, the mosques have been photographed from a distance. All the photographs of mosques have been framed meticulously so that their three dimensional massive forms cascading downward and their minarets are visible. Moreover, because of the long exposure, the vicinity looks deserted. Before presenting the nave of St. Sophia, the album displays the Ahmet III Fountain. This photograph includes four local people whose position and poses have been arranged by the photographer. [Fig. 3.53] It is followed by a photograph showing the ablution fountain in the courtyard of St. Sophia. Because of the relatively long exposure time of the photograph, people are not seen around the fountain, with the exception of a few

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<sup>59</sup> Öztuncay, *Vassilaki Kargopoulo*, 214.

<sup>60</sup> The sharpness of the photographs shows that they were made using the wet collodion technique, which is quite elaborate and requires on field preparation to ensure the light sensitive chemical put on the negative does not dry prior to posing.



**Figure 3.51** “Mosquée du Sul. Ahmed.” Photograph by Vassilliaki Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_01a



**Figure 3.52** “Mosquée du Sul. Bayazid.” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_01b



**Figure 3.53** “Fontaine Sul. Ahmed.” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_03a



**Figure 3.54** “Fontaine des ablutions.” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_06a

constant figures. [Fig. 3.54] It depicts quite a picturesque scene including trees, three local people sitting and the Bosphorus in the background. The Sweet Waters of Asia was the name given by Europeans to the two streams, Göksu and Küçükusu, which flow into the Bosphorus near Anadolu Hisarı (the Castle of Asia). The meadow in between was a popular place for picnicking and promenade. Women and children came here and stayed for hours. This scene soon became one of the more popular subjects depicted by European artists. W.H. Bartlett's drawing in Pardoe's *Beauties of Bosphorus*, Flandin's drawing in his *L'Orient*, Allom's drawing in *Constantinople and the Scenery of Seven Churches of Asia Scenery of Seven Churches of Asia* are among the most known representations of the area and the fountain. Bartlett and Allom depicted it as a crowded place, full of women, children and *arabas* (bull carts). Flandin portrayed it as there were eunuchs and lines of *kayıks* (rowing boats) transporting women and children. Gautier also mentions the place by relating to women. His description conveys:

A charming fountain of white marble, surmounted with crescents, and adorned with sculpture and gilding, is visible from the sea, and indicates to the passenger the locality of this favorite resort of the Osmanlis.[...] crowded (especially on Fridays) with *arabas* and *talikas*; and, upon their Symrna carpets, lounge the peerless beauties of the harem.

Black eunuchs, switching their white trousers with the whip which is their badge of office, walk among the groups, watching for any furtive glance [...]<sup>61</sup>

Kargopoulo's effort to animate the photograph according to such depictions is apparent in that he actually incorporated people in the scene rather than eliminating them. As the caption suggests, the fountain is the main focus of the photograph, which perfectly depicts its architectural features by calling equal attention to its large eave, the mass and its ornamentation. On the other hand, in order to make the viewer connect more deeply with the scene and the existing imagery of the place, several men and children dressed like eunuchs were arranged in pose. Yet, the photograph is far from showing the crowd of women and vivid scenes depicted in drawings and writings. In fact, there are no women in the scene, although the presence of children and eunuchs does suggest the existence of women close by. Thus, in the photograph, lacking a harem around to

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<sup>61</sup> Gautier, *Constantinople*, 353.



**Figure 3.55** “Fontaine des Eaux douces d'Asie.” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_04b



**Figure 3.56** “Tombeau du Sultan Mahmoud.” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_05a



watch, eunuchs are seen to be spending time smoking and chatting. Within the context of nineteenth century tourism, the photograph could be said to sufficiently imply signs that cooperate with the existing imagery.

Following mosques and fountains, the next two photographs present the Tomb of Sultan Mahmud. The first is an exterior view from the street. It shows the octagonal tomb of Sultan Mahmud II built in 1893, designed by Karabet Balian, on the Divan Yolu (Byzantine Mese) along with its *sebil* and fenestrated wall. [Fig. 3.56] The Burnt Column (The Column of Constantine, *Çemberlitaş* in Turkish) is seen behind the tomb. There are local people who were probably arranged by the photographer. On the other hand, the crowd on the street was eliminated by the long exposure time in the photograph. The next photograph depicts the interior of the tomb. Because there is only Sultan Mahmud's coffin in the photograph, it can be concluded that it was taken prior to the death of Sultan Abdülaziz in 1876.

Pictures of mosques, fountains and tombs are followed by the photographs of two towers, the Galata Tower and Seraskerat Square together with Seraskerat Gate and Seraskerat Tower, respectively. [Fig. 3.57] In the photograph, the Seraskerat Square looks deserted. After a perspective view of Çinili Köşk, [Fig. 3.58] the album presents a series of picturesque views: The ruined door of the Seven Towers behind tomb stones [Fig. 3.59]; a view of the cemetery in Scutari including a local man sitting on the ground leaning against a tombstone -actually a model asked to pose by the photographer- [Fig. 3.60]; a pastoral view showing the small mosque of Kağıthane among trees in the valley [Fig. 3.61]; a view depicting old wooden Turkish houses lining either side a dusty street including local men and children [Fig. 3.62].

Then, through four panoramic photographs, the album portrays the Golden Horn and the historical peninsula (Stamboul). The first two panoramic photographs were taken from the Galata Tower. While the first is a view of Seraglio Point [Fig. 3.63]; the second depicts the Galata Bridge and the area between St. Sophia and Nurosmaniye Mosque. [Fig. 3.64] The next photograph, taken from the hills of Eyup, shows the Golden Horn. The fourth photograph, which was taken from Seraskerat Tower displays Beyazıt Mosque and the Marmara Sea in the background. After presenting Stamboul



**Figure 3.57** “Porte et tour du Séraskérat.” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_06b



**Figure 3.58** “Kiosque des Yanissaires.” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_07a



**Figure 3.59** “Une porte des Sept Tours.” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_07b



**Figure 3.60** “Cimetiere de Scutari.” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_08a

and the Golden Horn from up high, the album displays the Galata side. Then the next photograph shows Galata and the Galata Tower as seen from Eminönü. This photograph also depicts the Galata Bridge under construction in 1872-1875.<sup>62</sup> [Fig. 3.65] The next photograph shows the Arsenal and the Ministry of Navy in Kasımpaşa.

The following photograph entitled on its negative, “Tour de Léandre”, is quite picturesque in spirit. Including exotic subjects, it is one of the most fashionable photographs of Kargopoulo, obvious in that it appears in several albums.<sup>63</sup> [Fig. 3.66] The meticulous arrangement of several subjects is discernable in the photograph. It shows the Maiden’s Tower in the middle ground, the Seraglio point and the ships on the Bosphorus are seen in the background, and in the foreground there is a local poor man (a dervish?) sitting on a hill and playing a flute. Two wooden structures constituting women’s bathhouses built in the sea and connected to the shore by piers are also visible. Such bathhouses were wooden enclosures in which women swam, indeed plunged into water. The inside of the bathhouses was concealed from the outside world. Thus, these enclosed spaces triggered the imagination and rendered them a subject of fantasy.<sup>64</sup> Some local people standing on the pier are also seen in the photograph. The water seems frozen in time, which implies that the exposure time of the photograph was relatively long. This also means that the people depicted were models asked to stand still during the exposure time of the photograph.<sup>65</sup>

After two panoramic photographs showing the Prince’s Islands, the album continues with picturesque scenes from the Bosphorus including views of Dolmabahçe Palace, the Sweet Waters of Asia, Terapia, Büyükdere and Anadolu Kavağı. Except for a photograph of Dolmabahçe Palace from the Bosphorus, the photographs were taken by

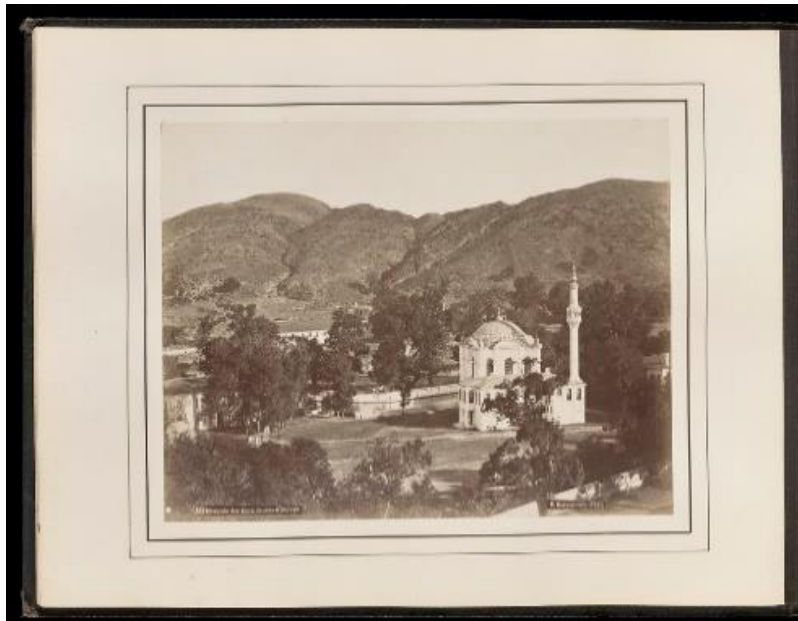
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<sup>62</sup> Pinquet, *Fotoğrafçılar, Sultanlar*, 91.

<sup>63</sup> There is also another variation of these photograph exist in another album. GRI, 96R.14. A5\_007recto.

<sup>64</sup> Ekrem Işın, *Everyday Life in Istanbul* (Istanbul: YKY, 2008), 215.

<sup>65</sup> Actually, it is evident from one other version of this photograph which is slightly different that Kargopoulo photographed this scene more than once.



**Figure 3.61** “Mosquée des Eaux douces d’Europe.” Photograph by V. Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_08b



**Figure 3.62** “Quartier turc.” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_09a



**Figure 3.63** “Vue de Pointe du Sérail” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo

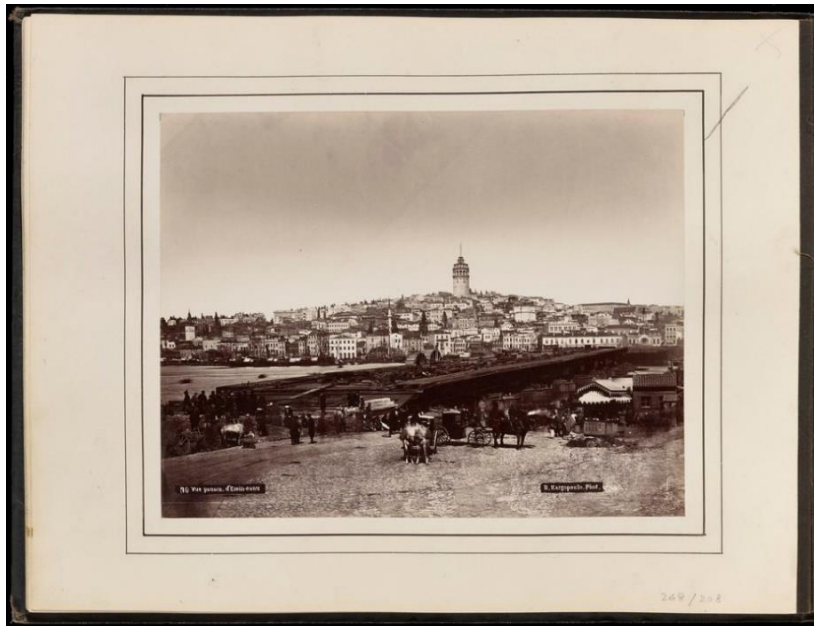
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_010a



**Figure 3.64** “Vue panoramique prise de la Tour de Galata”  
Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_010a





**Figure 3.65** “Vue panora[mique] d'Eminönü” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_11b



**Figure 3.66** “Tour de Léandre.” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_12b

long exposure which, once again, caused the frozen water effect on the sea and made any moving objects disappear. One of these photographs showing the Ottoman fleet anchored in Büyükdere cove is quite remarkable in terms of its overall picture-like atmosphere and successful composition. [Fig. 3.67]

Before the album proceeds with a set of architectural photographs displaying various exteriors and some interiors of nineteenth century palaces, there is one photograph showing the funicular entrance in Pera. [Fig. 3.68] Built between 1872 and 1875 and designed by the French engineer Eugène Henri Gavand, it was the first underground in the country, indeed one of the first in the world. Connecting Galata and the Grand Street Pera, the funicular was inaugurated in January 1875. The photograph shows the entrance of the funicular illuminated for a celebration of the anniversary of Abdülhamid II's accession (1 September 1884)<sup>66</sup>. This was also one of the most reproduced images in different formats.

Next, the album features palaces. The first architectural photograph presenting palaces is the Gate of Treasures at Dolmabahçe Palace. With the palace obscured by high walls on land, one of the two elaborate gates was usually added to albums. In the album, the image of the gate is followed by two photographs showing the interiors of the palace. Not surprisingly, photographs of interiors were not as widely available as the photographs of its exterior. As the court photographer, Kargopoulo had the advantage of easily accessing the interiors of imperial palaces. Thus, in the 1880s, he produced photographs of interiors of Dolmabahçe, Yıldız, and Beylerbeyi Palaces and Küçüksu Kiosk. The first photograph shown in the album is an interior view of the great central hall called the Throne Room, which is double the height of the places in the rest of the palace. [Fig. 3.96] The photograph which is an elevation view emphasizing the height of the room, portrays elaborately ornamented niches, columns, walls and the gallery as well as the massive crystal chandelier. The room is mentioned in Murray's handbook as "one of the largest and the most profusely decorated halls in Europe."<sup>67</sup> It is also

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<sup>66</sup> Öztuncay, *Vassilaki Kargopoulo*, 223.

<sup>67</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Hand-Book Constantinople*, 94.





**Figure 3.67** “Vue de Buyuk-déré.” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_15b



**Figure 3.68** “Station du tunnel à Pera” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_17a

pointed out that it was only used for state occasions, and housed the inaugural sitting of the first Turkish Parliament on the 19<sup>th</sup> March, 1877. The next is another interior view depicting the hall of ambassadors at Dolmabahçe Palace. Including a part of the ceiling and the mirrors in its image, the photograph portrays the flamboyant, westernized style of ornamentation and decoration of the room. [Fig. 3.70] Next in the album is a perspective photograph of the exterior of Beylerbeyi Palace on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus. Beylerbeyi Palace was also praised in *Joanne's Handbook* as “reflecting its marble façade, white as snow, in the blue waters of the Bosphorus, is one of the most graceful monuments of Constantinople.”<sup>68</sup>

Two photographs presenting the old palace are interior views showing the entrance of the harem [Fig. 3.71] and the rails crossing the garden of the palace; [Fig.3.72]. The last four photographs in the album display the exterior of Küçüksu Kiosk [Fig. 3.73]; a perspective view of the ceremonial kiosk built in Beykoz for French Empress Eugénie's visit to Istanbul in 1869 [Fig. 3.74]; and an elevation view of İhlamur Kiosk including the little pond and the garden in front of the kiosk [Fig. 3.75], and a view of Yıldız Palace. Photographs of Beykoz Kiosk and İhlamur Kiosk were not commonly included in albums. Indeed, they were not among the most frequently photographed subjects by other photographers.

Kargopoulo produced much-praised studio portrait series of costumes and professions around 1870. These series were still popular in the early 1900s and still being used by postcard manufacturers; interestingly, this album does not include any of them. Yet, it could be said that the photos he took outside were reminiscent of studio photographs in that there was a very controlled quality to the photographs. The photographer rather presented a performance with the long exposure times, effectively erasing the passersby so to speak, with only the posed models staying in place long enough to ultimately appear on film. On the other hand, even though the photographer does not intend to include people in the photograph, while taking photographs in the street, people are usually inevitably captured on film. The involvement of such uncontrolled

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<sup>68</sup> Guide Joenne's, *De Paris a Constantinople* [1894], 234.



**Figure 3.69** “Salle du trône du palais de Dolmabaghtché” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_18b



**Figure 3.70** “Salle du trône du palais de Dolmabaghtché” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_19a



**Figure 3.71** “Porte du harem.” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_20a



**Figure 3.72** “Trésor impérial du Vieux palais” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_20b



**Figure 3.73** “Palais de Gueuk-Sou.” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_21a



**Figure 3.74** “Kiosque à Beycos.” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_21b





**Figure 3.75** “Kiosque de Grand Flamour” Photograph by Vassillaki Kargopoulo

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_22a

elements in the photograph can either detract from the composition aesthetically or can affect the intended meaning produced by the photographer. Therefore, in most of the photographs in this album, while the uncontrolled appearance of people in the photographs was eliminated with the help of long exposure, some models were meticulously arranged to pose to add human interest to the scene. By doing this, the photographer first emptied the places from their inhabitants and transformed the place as a stage for his set-up, then included people suited for his purpose. In these photographs people were included either to provide the viewer with an idea of dimension or to set up some oriental scenes to appeal to popular interest.

All the photographs in the album are aesthetically appealing and exhibit signs of highly technical skill on the part of the photographer. By isolating the architecture from the city's residents and using models instead, the image of the city has been strictly controlled. It was thus that those actually inhabiting the city were rendered invisible;

the city abstracted from its very residents, with the architecture reduced to mere décor and the city transformed into a stage on which only actors perfectly suited to the scene were meticulously placed. By appropriating the photographer's gaze and arranging these photographs what the compiler present here is a spectacle not of a city but of something like a pavilion set up in an exhibition.

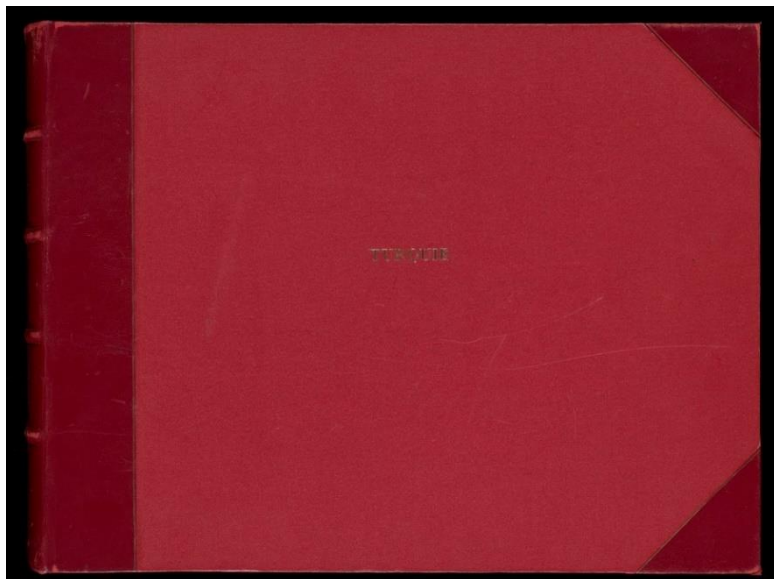
### **3.4 *Turquie* Album**

The album with its European binding has a large sized (32.5 x43 cm), quarter-bound, red-morocco cover with the title “Turkei” embossed in gold.<sup>69</sup> [Fig. 3.76] It contains one hundred thirty seven albumen prints of photographs taken from 1868 to 1890. According to the Getty catalogue, the album was compiled in the 1890s. Although the album title is “Turquie”, the photographs are limited to those taken in Istanbul. The album has light green card pages with mostly one photograph affixed per page. However, the last part of the album has several pages where two or four photographs depicting ‘types’ have been affixed together on a page. There is no frame or ornamentation on the pages, which contain inked captions on mounts in French. The compiler is not known. Some photographs bear the signature of the photographer and a title, but there are a number of photographs having no signature in the album. The album includes the works of Sébah and Joallier, Pascal Sébah, Abdullah Frères, Guillaume Berggren, Christian Paier, and Luigi Fiorillo.

The album begins with a photograph of Sultanahmet Mosque [Fig. 3.77], and continues with a set of photographs showing mosques and their architectural details. It is organized taxonomically. Following the mosques, the subjects displayed are palaces, tombs, fountains, towers, city walls, panoramic and picturesque views, and people. The first photograph is an elevation view of Sultanahmet Mosque. It shows the succession of its half domes, the main dome and its six minarets. The view does not include the obelisks in the Hippodrome in front of the mosque. The second photograph shows the hexagonal structure of ablution fountain in the courtyard of Sultanahmet Mosque. [Fig. 3.78] It is almost the same as a photograph in one of the Abdülhamid albums held at

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<sup>69</sup> GRI, 96.R.14.A25



**Figure 3.76** *Turquie* Album.

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25



**Figure 3.77** “Mosquée du Sultan Ahmed.” Photograph by Sébah & Joaillier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_1a



the Library of Congress. [Fig. 3.79] It is followed by a perspective view of Nurosmaniye Mosque from a distance. [Fig. 3.80] This photograph displays the mass of the mosque and its courtyard entrance from a street. The next photograph shows the ablution fountains of Nurosmaniye Mosque, which are adjacent to the front façade of the mosque. [Fig. 3.81] It is followed by a view of the portal of Yeni Valide Mosque in Scutari. [Fig. 3.82] The next photograph is a side view of Yeni Valide Mosque in Eminönü with a view of the mosque itself and the vicinity taken from the bridge. Carts, *kayıks*, shops, and the hustle and bustle of daily life are visible. The following are two photographs portraying two architectural details from the interior of Yeni Cami. The first is a door opening out to a window niche in the Sultan's lodge. [Fig. 3.83] The door is isolated from its environment. Wood carvings and motives are shown. The second one shows tiles in the Sultan's lodge. [Fig. 3.84]. Actually, as fine specimens of traditional Ottoman applied arts, the tiled façades of mosques have always been one of the subjects promoted by the Ottomans as showpieces of the Ottomans' considerably skilled craftsmanship and refined aesthetic taste for decoration. In fact, dozens of photographs depicting tiles are featured in the Abdülhamid Albums. This photograph is quite similar to one appearing in an album produced by Abdullah Frères for the Abdülhamid collection. [Fig. 3.85] The following photograph shows the tiled mihrab of Rüstem Paşa Mosque. [Fig. 3.86] Built in the sixteenth century, the Rustem Pasha Mosque is famed for its Iznik tiles, presenting a variety of floral and geometric motifs that cover the façade of the portico, the mihrab, minbar and interior walls, but the compiler has mistakenly labeled it, "Mirab en faïences dans la mosquée Validé". The next is also an interior view showing tiles. It is followed by a photograph of Süleymaniye Mosque from Seraskerat Tower. The entire mass of the mosque, the progression of the domes, minarets and the tombs are visible. The Golden Horn is also seen behind the mosque. Taken by Pascal Sébah, this photograph appears in some other albums in the collection. The portal of Süleymaniye Mosque is the next photograph by Sébah and Joallier. It shows the entrance façade of Süleymaniye Mosque. Providing the viewer with a scale, a man is sitting on the stairs and has been included in the photograph. [Fig. 3.87] Following a fresco from Kariye Mosque (previously Chora Church), there are nine successive photographs that show the St. Sophia complex. The



**Figure 3.78** “Fontaine d'ablution du Sultan Ahmed” Photograph by Abdullah frères  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_1b



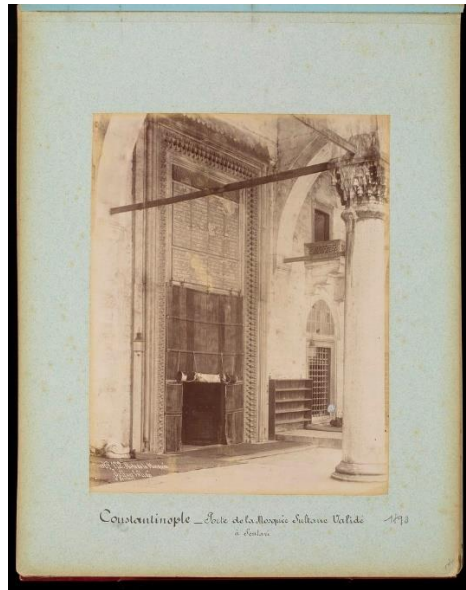
**Figure 3.79** “Fontaine d'ablution du Sultan Ahmed” Phot.by Abdullah F.  
Source: LC, LOT 9517, no.15



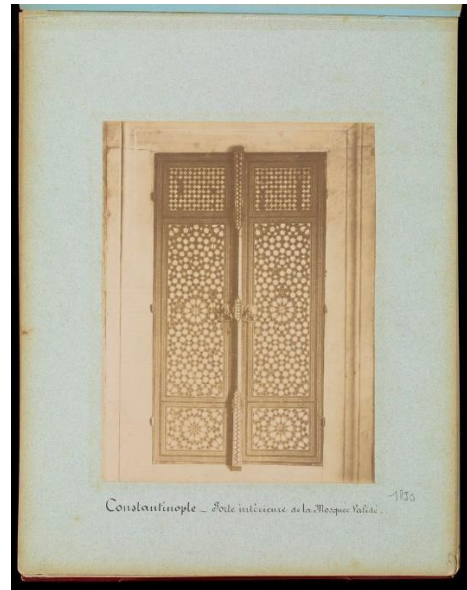
**Figure 3.80** “Constantinople: mosquée Nouri-Osmanié ”  
Phot. by Sébah & Joaillier  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_2a



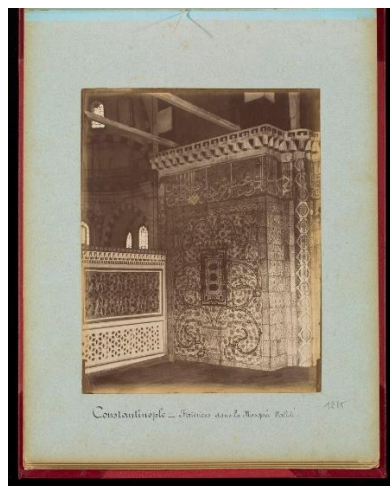
**Figure 3.81** “Fontaine des ablutions et entrée de la Mosquée Nouri-Osmanié. ”  
Phot. by Sébah & Joaillier  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_2b



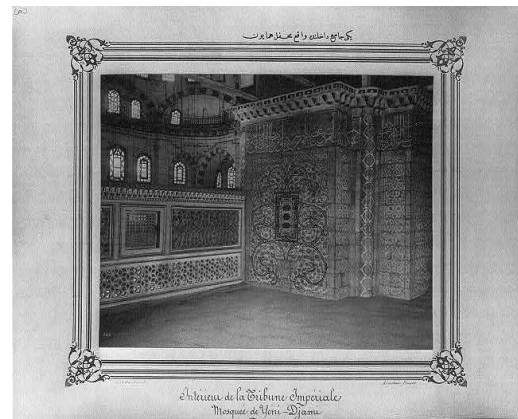
**Figure 3.82** “Porte de la mosquée Sultan Validé à Scutari”  
Photograph by Sébah & Joaillier  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_3a



**Figure 3.83** “Constantinople: porte intérieure de la mosquée Validé”  
Photographer unknown  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_4a



**Figure 3.84** “faïences dans la mosquée Impériale Validé”  
Photographer unknown  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_012



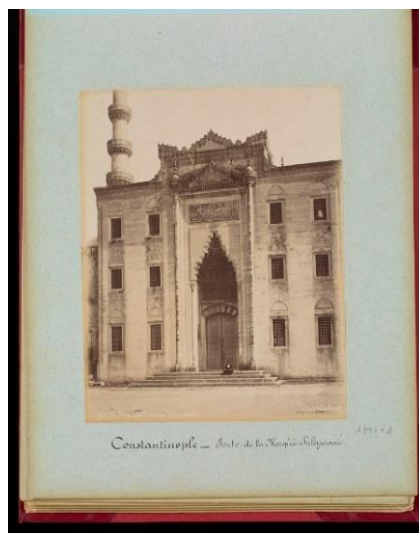
**Figure 3.85** “Interieur de la Tribune Mosquée de Yeni-Djami”  
Photograph by Abdullah frères  
Source: LC, LOT 9535, no.20



**Figure 3.86** “Mihrab of Rustem Pasha Mosque”

Photographer unknown

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_5a



**Figure 3.87** “Porte de la mosquée Süleymanié”

Photograph by Sébah and Joallier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_6b



**Figure 3.88** “Entrée de la mosquée Ste. Sophie”. Photograph by Pascal Sébah

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_8a



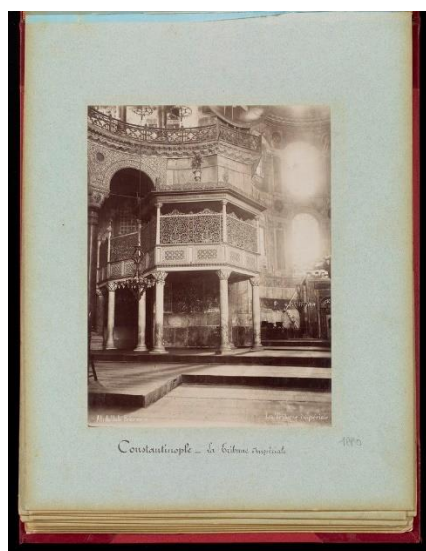
first photograph is a perspective view from pedestrian eye level. The next is the ablution fountain of St. Sophia. Then, the album displays the Ottoman Baroque gate of the St. Sophia *imaret*. The gate is at the corner of a narrow street with wooden Turkish houses. [Fig. 3.88] It is followed by an interior view from the second floor west gallery of St. Sophia. It shows the apsis, the mihrab, the mimbar and the sultan's lodge. The medallions contain the word "Allah" and the names of the Prophet Mohammed, the first four caliphs, and Hasan and Huseyin, the grandchildren of the prophet. The mihrab in the apse, the stained glass windows over the mihrab and mimbar, the raised platform for the chanters are Turkish additions. This view was produced by almost every photographer and appears in almost all albums. [Fig. 3.89] The next two photographs are details of this view. The first one depicts the Sultan's lodge added by the mid-nineteenth century, designed by the Fossati Brothers. [Fig. 3.90] The mimbar is also depicted in another photograph. [Fig. 3.91] Taken by Abdullah Frères, the next three photographs of St. Sophia show the second floor gallery, the colonnades and the exedra.

The album continues to show tiled interiors. The following are two photographs depicting Turkish house interiors. In the first photograph, tiles, two pictures and some old weapons hanging on the walls are seen. [Fig. 3.92; Fig. 3.93] It is also seen that there are two armchairs, a coffee table, a mirror and a cupboard in the room. In the second photograph, a dozen tiles, an Arabic script, a picture, two photographs and a mirror on the wall as well as a fireplace and a sofa are visible. The next photograph is a view of the interior of the Circumcision Room built in the seventeenth century in Topkapı Palace. Yet, it was mislabeled as "Constantinople: divan du kiosque impérial de Bagdad," Bagdad Pavilion. Its interior and exterior were decorated with rare tiles. [Fig. 3.94] An identical photograph by Abdullah Frères also appears in the Abdülhamid Albums. [Fig. 3.95] The next photograph shows an elaborate interior with a ceramic fireplace. [Fig. 3.96] It is also followed by a view of a tiled façade in Topkapı Palace. [Fig. 3.97] Next, Çırağan and Dolmabahçe Palaces are presented in the album. Following a perspective view of the sea façade of Çırağan Palace [Fig. 3.98] and its imperial gate [Fig. 3.99], there are two photographs showing interiors. [Fig. 3.100; Fig. 3.101] The album includes two photographs depicting the exterior of Dolmabahçe



**Figure 3.90** “Constantinople: intérieur de Ste. Sophie”. Photographer unknown

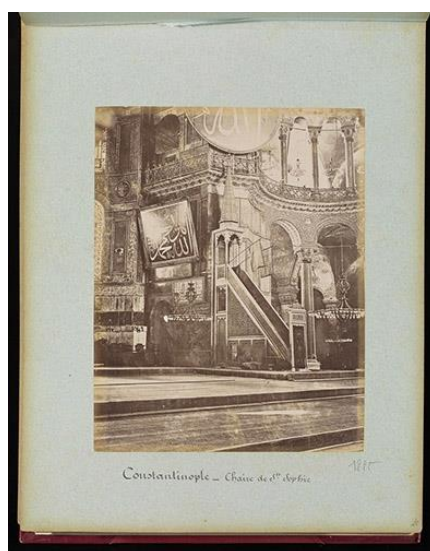
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_9a



**Figure 3.90** “Constantinople: la tribune Impériale”

Photograph by Abdullah Frères

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_9b



**Figure 3.91** “Constantinople: chaire de Ste. Sophie” Photographer unknown

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_10a



**Figure 3.92** “Constantinople: intérieur de la maison turque”

Photograph by Guillaume Berggren

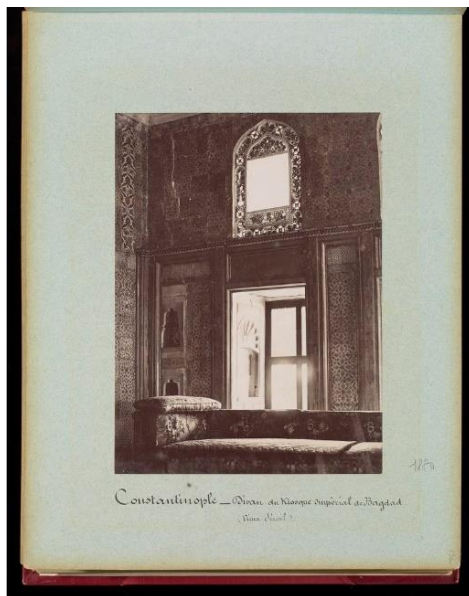
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_12a



**Figure 3.93** “Constantinople: intérieur de la maison turque ”

Photograph by Guillaume Berggren

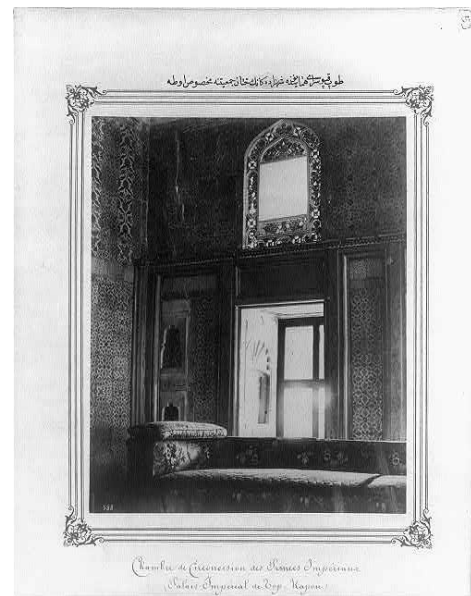
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_12b



**Figure 3.94** “Constantinople: divan du kiosque impérial de Bagdad”  
[Circumcision room]

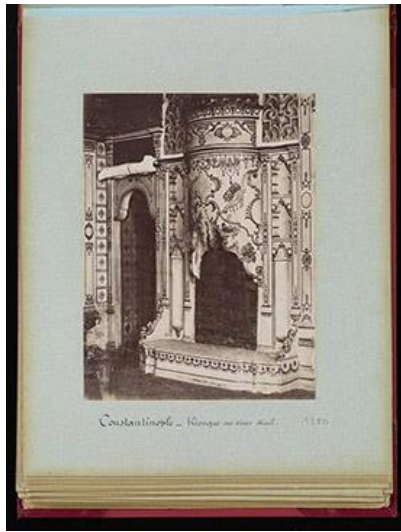
Photographer unknown

Source: GRI 96.R.14.A25\_13a



**Figure 3.95** Circumcision room  
Photograph by Abdullah Frères

Source: LC, LOT 9529, no. 5



**Figure 3.96** “Constantinople: kiosque vieux sérail”  
Photographer unknown

Source: GRI 96.R.14.A25\_030



**Figure 3.97** “Constantinople: intérieur du vieux sérail”  
Photographer unknown

Source: GRI 96.R.14.A25\_031



**Figure 3.98** “Constantinople: Palace de Tchéragan au Bosphore”  
Photograph by Pascal Sébah

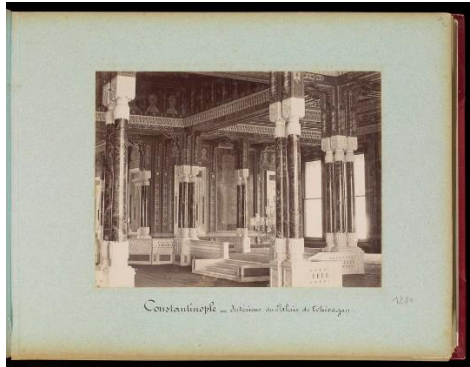
Source: GRI 96.R.14.A25\_14b



**Figure 3.99** “Constantinople: porte du palais de Tchéragan”  
Photographer unknown

Source: GRI 96.R.14.A25\_15b

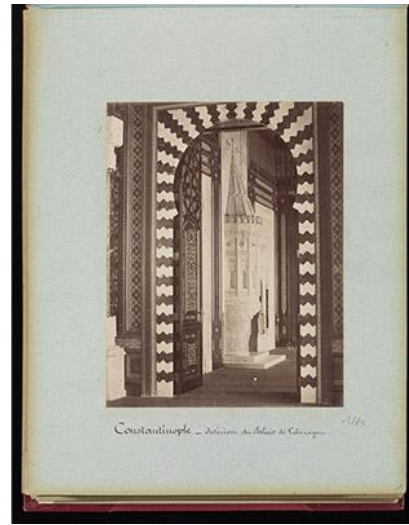




**Figure 3.100** “Constantinople: intérieur du palais de Tchéragan au Bosphore”

Photographer unknown

Source: GRI 96.R.14.A25\_15a



**Figure 3.101** “Constantinople: intérieur du palais de Tchéragan au Bosphore”

Photographer unknown

Source: GRI 96.R.14.A25\_016a



**Figure 3.102** “Constantinople: palais de Dolma-Bagtché”

Photographer unknown

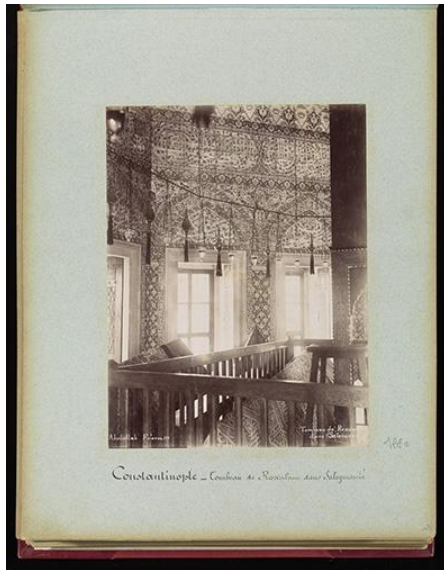
Source: GRI 96.R.14.A25\_16b



**Figure 3.103** “Constantinople: palais de Dolma-Bagtché” [Küçüksu Kiosk]

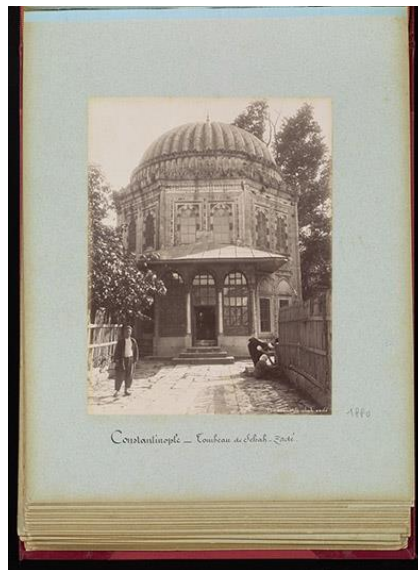
Photographer unknown

Source: GRI 96.R.14.A25\_017a



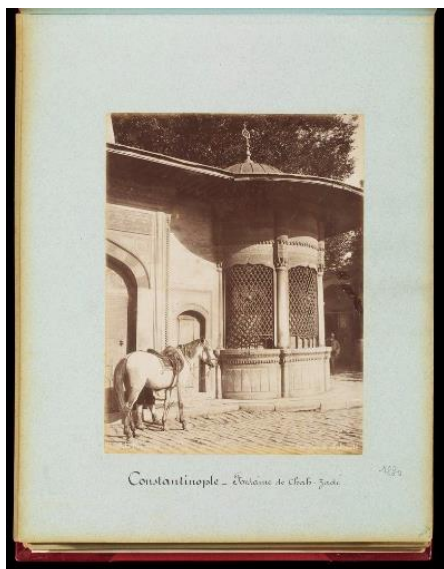
**Figure 3.104** “Constantinople: Tombeau de Roxalane dans Süleymanié.”  
Photograph by Abdullah Frères

Source: GRI 96.R.14.A25\_18a



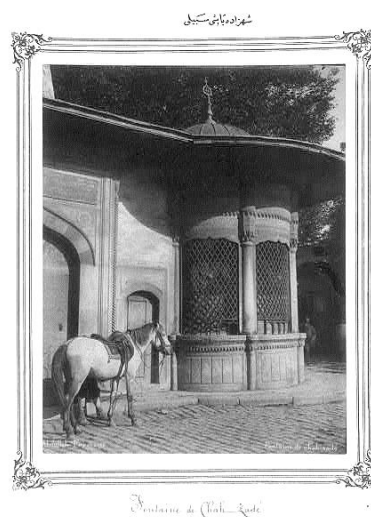
**Figure 3.105** “Tombeau de chah-Zadé”  
Photograph by Abdullah Frères

Source: GRI 96.R.14.A25\_19b



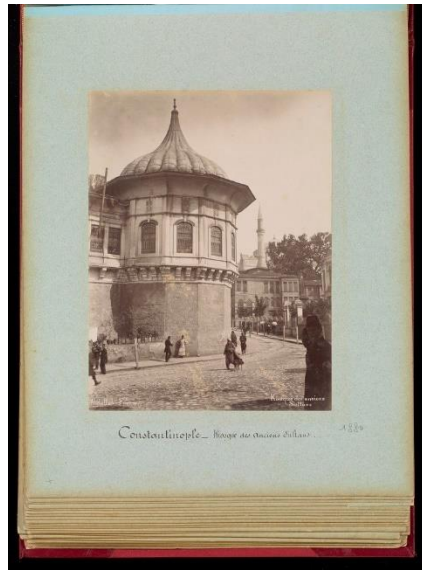
**Figure 3.106** “Fontaine de Chah-Zadé”  
Photograph by Abdullah Frères

Source: GRI 96.R.14.A25\_20b



**Figure 3.107** “Fontaine de Chah- Zade”  
Photograph by Abdullah Frères

Source: LC, LOT 9517, no. 14



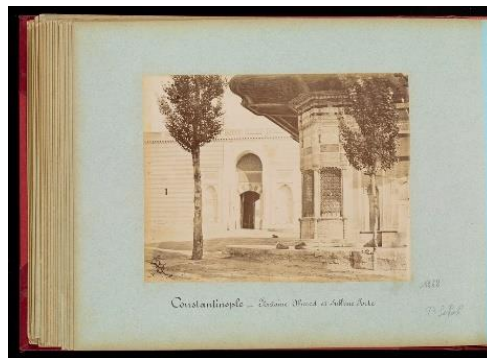
**Figure 3.108** “Constantinople: kiosque des anciens Sultans.”  
Photograph by Abdullah Frères

Source: GRI 96.R.14.A25\_20b



**Figure 3.109** “Constantinople: Fontaine des Eaux douces d'Asie.”  
Photographer unknown

Source: GRI 96.R.14.A25\_21a



**Figure 3.110** “Fontaine Ahmed et Sublime Porte” Photograph by Christian Paier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_22a



**Figure 3.112** “Fontaine de Topané.”  
Photograph by Abdullah Frères

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A25\_21b

Palace [Fig. 3.102] and its gate. There is also one photograph of Küçüksu Palace, [Fig. 3.103] which the compiler mislabeled as “Dolmabahçe Palace.”

Following these photographs of palaces, there are three photographs showing the interiors of the tomb of Roxalane (Hürrem) and Sultan Süleyman, [Fig. 3.104] and the tomb of Mahmud II and Abdülaziz. The next photographs are the tomb in the Şehzade complex [Fig. 3.105] and Şehzade Fountain [Fig. 3.106] The same photograph of the Şehzade Mosque also exists in Abdülhamid albums. [Fig. 3.107] They are followed by a view of Alay Kiosk in Topkapı. [Fig. 3.108] Then, the album contains photographs of Küçüksu Fountain [Fig. 3.109], Ahmet III Fountain [Fig. 3.110], and Tophane Fountain [Fig. 3.111]. After photographs of the Galata Tower, Seraskerat Tower, the obelisk of Theodosius, and the clock tower at Tophane, the album continues with a series of photographs of cemeteries and the Theodosian walls.

The next subject of display in the album is panoramic photographs. One of them is from the Galata Tower, showing the Seraglio Point; another from Seraskerat Tower shows the Golden Horn and the Galata district from afar, and the last one looks atop the hills of Eyup to the Golden Horn. The one also taken from Seraskerat Tower faces a north-east direction over the roofs of bazaars and captures Nurosmaniye and Sultanahmet Mosques in the distance.

Next, the album takes its viewer on a picturesque tour through the Bosphorus to the point where the Bosphorus ends. Along the shores of Bosphorus, the Maiden Tower, Dolmabahçe Palace and Çırağan Palace, Ortaköy Mosque, Rumeli Hisarı, the shores of Büyükdere, fishermen’s nets at the Anadolu Kavak and finally the Sweet Waters of Asia are shown. Returning to Galata, the album displays a view of the Galata Bridge and the rowboats station where people took kayıks at the foot of the bridge. Then after a series of photographs showing people such as dervishes, porters (hammals), firefighters (tulumbacılar), ethnic types and also including photographs of street dogs, a Turkish street and a Turkish café, the album ends with twenty three photographs showing Turkish women.

*Turquie* album has the largest collection of photographs among the albums in the Pierre de Gigord collection. Including a great number of photographs depicting the city’s

architecture. It presents the city following a certain order: monuments, city walls, panoramic photographs, picturesque views through the Bosphorus, oriental life and studio portraits of ethnographic ‘types’ and women. Ottoman architecture is displayed in such an order that first mosques and their elements (ablution fountains, interiors, ornamentations, gates) then palaces, fountains, and vertical monuments (towers and obelisks) are presented. Photographs taken by a variety of photographers in the album indicate that the compiler made a concerted effort to get different photographs from different sellers to collect the subjects of his or her interest. The album contains several photographs almost identical with some photographs in the Abdülhamit albums taken by the Abdullah Brothers. Thus, even though these photographs do not bear the signature of the studio, it is possible that they were produced from the same negatives as those in the Abdülhamit albums or were even taken at the same time. It also includes rare photographs such as the portal of Valide Mosque in Scutari, which did not appear in albums very often. From the taxonomic order of architectural subjects as well as the titles written on each page, the efforts of the compiler to gain knowledge of architecture are apparent. On the other hand, although the compiler had a certain enthusiasm for the Ottoman architecture of the city, the mislabeling (the photograph of the mihrab of Rüstem Paşa Mosque is entitled Yeni Valide Mosque; Küçüksu Kiosk is entitled as Dolmabahçe Palace) indicates that he or she lacked sufficient knowledge. Thus, the mislabeling of Dolmabahçe Palace implies that the compiler did not stay long in the city yet collected photographs to know the city.

The collector starts to present Istanbul with a photograph of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque. The photograph depicts the entire structure, but does not denote its relationship with the Hippodrome. The only focus of the photograph is the architecture of the mosque. Having a similar approach, the following photograph is the ablution fountain. With the focus on the mosque as an architectural type, a certain sequence is visibly followed in the organization of the photographs: mosque, ablution fountain, its ornamental detail exemplifying Turkish art such as marble portal, tiles, wood carved doors, etc. in all of the pictures of Sultan Ahmet Mosque, Nurosmaniye Mosque and Yeni Valide Mosque, Süleymaniye Mosque and St. Sophia. Palaces, tombs, fountains, towers, cemeteries, old walls, picturesque views of the Bosphorus, and ‘types’ constitute the main categories.

Of those examined, this album has the most photographs showing interior spaces and architectural details. While not too many were seen until the 1880s, photographs of interior spaces soon diversified. As seen in the albums investigated, photographs showing interiors were previously limited to only those of St. Sophia's interior. The interior of the tomb of Sultan Mahmud II also came up frequently as well as the interiors of the tomb in the Yeni Cami complex and the tomb of Hürrem Sultan, which were also well-liked subjects included in the albums. An interesting observation is that different aspects of different mosques are highlighted in the photographs of their interiors. For example, the minber and the nineteenth century addition, the Sultan's lodge, of the St Sophia are seen often in pictures while the interior of the Süleymaniye Mosque is featured with the volume under its main dome. For Sultan Ahmet Mosque, most shots are angled so they capture the pillars in particular and the sultan's lodge. The tiles of many mosques naturally come up in many of the photographs such as of Yeni Mosque, and Rüstem Paşa Mosque, whose mihrab is also usually included. The Baghdad Kiosk of Topkapı Palace and the circumcision room of Topkapı Palace, the reception rooms of Dolmabahçe and Yıldız Palaces and the interior of Çırağan Palace are subjects that have garnered attention from photographers and album compilers alike.

Except for the palaces, the Seraskerat Gate, Tophane (cannon artillery) and Selamlık in Ortaköy Mosque, the more modern buildings of the time nor the present time in streets are not seen in the album. The album is like a catalogue of picturesque scenes, oriental architecture and types.

### ***3.5 Constantinople. Musée, Types, Scutari, Brousse***

This is also one of the more physically formidable albums in the collection. It is a half-bound album with red-morocco covers (28 x 40.5 cm). [Fig.3.112] The title is printed in gold on the front cover. Moreover, on the binding, there is the number, "IV", printed together with the title. There is a stamp of a stationary shop on the back of the front cover that reads, "Estampes-Photographies. Maison Martinet. Albert Hautecoeur. Boulev'des Capucines, 12 Paris. Papeterie Maroquinere." The stamp indicates that the album was made in Paris. The album contains one hundred twenty four photographs in





**Figure 3.112** *Constantinople. Musée, Types, Scutari, Brousse* Album

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28

a variety of techniques including albumen, gelatin silver, and hand-colored gelatin silver prints, and color photolithographs. The photographers whose works are featured include Sébah & Joaillier; Photoglob Co.; Guillaume Berggren; Pascal Sébah; Abdullah Frères, M. Iranian; and Gülmez Frères. Eight photographs seem to be missing from the album, which contains cream color plain card pages. There is no ornamentation or titles printed. There are some pages with inked titles. Most of the photographs have a serial number, a title and a signature but some do not. In the album, except for the last page containing two small portraits of Turkish women, there is one photograph on each page. There is an Ottoman identification document (*mürur tezkeresi*) that has been pasted inside the back cover of the album. [Fig.3.113] The document was issued in April 1905 for a year for Mademoiselle Fleury's travel to Bursa from Istanbul. It is written in Joanne's Guidebok (1902) that it was necessary to bring a passport to the Turkish consulate. In Turkey, a passport was required to be issued a *tezkere* (travelling passport in Turkish). As Murray's explains: "to obtain this





the traveler must present his passport personally or by proxy at the Consulate. The tezkere order is then delivered upon payment.”<sup>70</sup> The tezkere was required to travel around in the Ottoman Empire and even for some distant excursions of Constantinople, for instance to go to Bursa.<sup>71</sup> Since domestic police officers and authorities could not read a foreign passport and were not authorized to verify its validity, this was a document in Turkish to inform local Ottoman authorities to aid and protection of the owner of the tezkere. It was obtained by a payment of a small fee on application through the consulate in Istanbul. Moreover, a visa was required for every fresh journey, and each *vilayet* (province) <sup>72</sup> Reporting the name, nationality, age, occupation, destination, father’s name, religion as well as some descriptive information such as color of eye, hair, height, etc., it was a document valid for a year. Indeed, a regulation required a foreigner travelling in Ottoman lands to carry the *mürur tezkeresi* together with their passports was passed in 1867. According to this regulation, once people registered their names for the tezkere, no additional tezkere was required for the spouse and any children under fifteen years of age.<sup>73</sup> It is understood from the document that Mademoiselle Fleury was a sixty-six year old French painter travelling with a man - a relative called Paul Fleury, who also made eighteen albums currently held in the Getty collection. Mademoiselle Fleury came to Istanbul in April 1905 and obtained her tezkere to travel to Bursa. The title on the cover of the album indicates that there are photographs of three different places in the album: Constantinople, Scutari and Brousse. Moreover, under the title of Constantinople, there are two subtitles: Musée and Types. In accordance with its title, Mademoiselle Fleury’s album begins with a photograph of the new building of the imperial museum opened in 1891. [Fig.3.114] and a photograph of the Tiled Pavilion (Çinili Köşk). [Fig.3.115]

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<sup>70</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-book to Constantinople*, 158.

<sup>71</sup> Joannes Guidebook, *De Paris a Constantinople* [1902], 5.

<sup>72</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Hand-book to Constantinople*, 7.

<sup>73</sup> Musa Çadırcı, “Tanzimat Döneminde Çıkarılan Men’i Mürûr ve Pasaport “ Türk Tarih Kurumu Belgeler Dergisi 19 (1993) 169-182.

Designed by Alexandre Vallaury, the museum was built to house archeological edifices uncovered during various excavations throughout the empire, including the sarcophagus of Alexander the Great and the sarcophagus of Mourning Women. It was common for nineteenth century museums in Europe and America featuring primarily Greco-Roman heritage to be built in the neo-classical style, such as the British Museum in London (1823-46), the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (1870-1876); thus, the Ottoman Imperial Museum was also built in the neo-classical style suggesting what it contained inside. The museum was completed in three stages respectively in 1891, 1893, and 1908. The first part was built between 1887 and 1891, and finally opened in 1891.<sup>74</sup>

Starting from the first half of the nineteenth century and increasing over the century, the Ottoman State made an effort to gather their cultural heritage and preserve them. In 1846, a collection of antiquities including ancient weapons went on display in the former church of St. Irene.<sup>75</sup> Gautier visited the church in 1852 commented as:

[T]he ancient church of Saint-Irene, now transformed into an arsenal, and which forms a part of the dependencies of the seraglio, the authorities have collected many relics of antiquity ; heads and trunks of statues, bas-reliefs, inscriptions, and tombs; the rudiments, in fact, of a Byzantine museum, which may gradually become curious and valuable, by daily additions. Near the church, stand two or three sarcophagi of porphyry, covered with Greek crosses, and which have, doubtless, contained the remains of former emperors and empresses ; but now, deprived of their lids, become reservoirs of the rain of heaven, and serve as baths to the birds of the air, who hover joyously about them.<sup>76</sup>

This initial effort aiming at gathering, preserving and displaying the cultural heritage paved the way for more systematical and scientific attempts in terms of museology in

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<sup>74</sup> For a further discussion of the establishment of the Ottoman Imperial Museum, see Pelin Gürol Öngören, “Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums From the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic “, (PhD. Diss., METU, 2012) 9, 85-130.

<sup>75</sup> Öngören, “Displaying Cultural Heritage,” 67.

<sup>76</sup> Theophile Gautier, *Constantinople To-Day* [1859], 295.

two decades. In 1869, the Ottoman Imperial Museum (Müze-i Hümayun) was officially established. In 1876, having been enriched, the collection was moved from St. Irene to the Tiled Pavillion. Located in the outer gardens of Topkapı Palace, this fifteenth century kiosk was built almost at the same time as the Palace as the Sultan's private residence. After the building underwent a restoration process for five years, it was converted into a museum. During the restoration process, some fundamental alterations were made. For instance, the original staircases were replaced by double-sided staircases in front of the building, new doors were opened, some niches were filled, and some existing walls were demolished.<sup>77</sup> It opened to the public in 1880.<sup>78</sup> However, within several years, the building was rendered unable to function adequately as a museum. Besides, as new antiquities were discovered and gathered, the spaces of the museum became insufficient to preserve and display them. When extremely important, large and heavy sarcophagi in Sidon were found in 1887-1888, a new building became inevitable since it was impossible to display those gigantic artifacts in the existing building. Thus, the new museum was built in the area opposite the Tiled Kiosk. Osman Hamdi Bey (1842- 1910), appointed in 1881 as the new director of the museum, was closely involved in the construction of the new building. He was the son of the Grand Vizier İbrahim Edhem Paşa and had studied art and archaeology at the Ecoles des Beaux Arts. One of his main efforts was the implementation of new regulations on antiquities in 1884 to prevent the exportation of antiquities. Besides these regulations, he also initiated and conducted the first scientific excavations, which resulted in the discovery of important archeological articles. In 1887, his excavations in the Sidon Necropolis resulted in the extremely important discovery of a series of sarcophaguses. The more important findings were immediately transported to İstanbul.<sup>79</sup> Thus, a new building that could function as a modern museum and display the sarcophaguses found in Sidon was built.

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<sup>77</sup> Öngören, "Displaying Cultural Heritage," 79.

<sup>78</sup> Öngören, "Displaying Cultural Heritage," 76.

<sup>79</sup> Öngören, "Displaying Cultural Heritage," 88.



**Figure 3.114** “Extérieur du musée imp.” Photograph by Sébah & Joallier  
 Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28.F001



**Figure 3.115** “Palais de faïences.” Photograph by Sébah & Joallier  
 Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28.F002

Presenting the State Collection of Antiquities, Murray's mentioned its history and first presented the Tiled Kiosk as one of the oldest buildings of Ottoman architecture and then indicated the importance of the new discoveries and the role of Osman Hamdi Bey:

The state collection of Antiquities, begun in 1850, was kept in the court of St. Irene and other annexes of that Church, but in 1875 was transferred to its present locality. The museum consists of Chinili Kiosk (*Faince K.*) and the New Museum. The former was built by Sultan Muhammad in 1466, and repaired by Sultan Murad III in 1590, is one of the oldest buildings in Constantinople. The plan is a Greek cross, and the re-entering angles carry a dome with pendentives. In each of the re-entering angles there is a room covered by a dome, and the north arm ends with a hexagonal apse. In front a beautiful portico runs the whole length of the building. The *kiosk* was once ornamented within and without with *faince*, remains of which still appear; the *inscription* over the door is a fine specimen of calligraphy. The New Museum was built in 1891, to contain Sidon, sarcophagi, which with the Syirian, Chaldaean, Hittite, and other antiquities, form one of the most interesting collections in the world. Its importance due to the zeal and ability of H. E. Hamdi Bey, who personally conducted the excavations in Sidon. In one tomb, which contains seven chambers, were found "Alexander's," the "Mourners'," the "Satrap's," the "Lycian," and other sarcophagi. From another was taken the sarco. Of Tabnith, king of Sidon, the son or father of Eshmunazar, whose sarco. is in the Louvre at Paris.<sup>80</sup>

In all of the prominent guidebooks of the 1890s and the early 1900s, the Ottoman Archeological Museum was mentioned with high praises for the collection, deemed to be as valuable as the collections of European museums. The Guide Joanne of 1894 stated:

This museum was founded in 1875, and the first classification made in 1881 with the obliging assistance of Mr. Salomon Reinach. Thanks to the competence and zeal of his eminent director, S.E. Hamdy Bey, the son of an eminent statesman, S.A. Edhem Pasha, the catalog is enriched every day through the addition of new pieces of the highest artistic and archaeological value. At present, the museum contains more than 600 pieces.

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<sup>80</sup> Murray, Handbook for Travellers in Constantinople, 69; In the same vein, Macmillan and Baedeker widely mentioned the new building and its important holdings which were discovered by Osman Hamdi Bey. See Baedeker, 105-113; Macmillan, 171-179.

The most interesting part of the museum is the gallery, which contains a series of sarcophagi discovered in 1887 by Hamdi Bey in the Hypogei necropole Saida, Sidon or Syria; artifacts that are sure to make him the envy of the richest galleries of Europe.<sup>81</sup>

Moreover, defining and numbering galleries and artifacts on the plan, they also provided detailed information about the artifacts by indicating their positions in the galleries.

Having added a photograph of the Alexandre Sarcophagus and the Mourners Sarcophagus to her travelogue, Mrs. Max Müller, who visited Istanbul in 1894, reserved a chapter for “The New Museum and Sidon Sarcophagi.” The footnote for the title indicates that this article had already been published in *The New Review* before being published in her travelogue in 1897. In the article, even though guidebooks praised the museum, Mrs. Müller regretted that “[T]here has long been a Museum of Antiquities at Stambul, but few people have taken the trouble to visit it, nor did it deserve a visit from a busy traveler.”<sup>82</sup> By providing a lengthy history of the establishment of the museum starting from 1850, she praised Osman Hamdi Bey’s efforts for the new regulations that paved the way for the formation of rich collection of antiquities and praised the new museum:

We know the brilliant discoveries which have rewarded the labours of Schliemann and of the various scientific expeditions sent by the English, French, and German Governments to various parts of the Turkish Empire. If the Turkish Government would undertake this work of disinterring the treasures of antiquity more systematically, its museums would soon rival, nay excel, the best museums in Europe. An excellent beginning has been made, and thanks to the perseverance of Hamdy Bey, thanks to the enlightened and generous support of the present Sultan, Abdul Hamid, Constantinople now possesses a new museum which every Turk may well be proud of.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Guide Joanne, *De Paris a Constantinople* (1894), 260.

<sup>82</sup> Mrs. Müller, *Letters From Constantinople*, 132.

<sup>83</sup> Mrs. Müller, *Letters From Constantinople*, 133.

It is understood that during the four years between the discovery and the opening of the museum, curiosity increased and Osman Hamdi Bey was criticized for keeping the pieces to himself rather than giving them to one of the European museums.

This museum was built opposite the Chinili Kiosk, the architect being Vallauray Efendi. It was chiefly intended for the magnificent sarcophagi which were discovered in 1887 by Hamdy Bey. The fame of this discovery spread quickly over Europe, and the most extravagant accounts were published, though no one had really seen the works of art which Hamdy Bey had unearthed at Sidon. Hamdy Bey has been blamed for keeping these treasures so long under lock and key; nay, it was considered very unfair that he should not at once have made over his sarcophagi to the care of one of the great European museums. It was thought that the Turks had no right to keep these treasures of classical antiquity.<sup>84</sup>

By criticizing the circles that were upset about the new regulations preventing smuggling and noting that the similar regulations existed in every country, she praised the new museum and the preservationist act of the Ottoman government and added that these sarcophagi were not in fact locked up but open to the public, and any student of art that wanted to study could go and examine them.<sup>85</sup>

Therefore, Mrs. Müller's article and guidebooks show that although the Imperial museum did not attract the popular interest of busy travelers, in particular, the sarcophaguses and the collection were the subject of antiquarian interest. Actually, exploiting this interest, photographs of the artifacts taken strictly for the museum's catalogue somehow leaked out into the tourist market and appeared in albums.

It was common for travelers to include reproductions of sculptures and paintings in their travel albums. In this album, two photographs showing the museum buildings are followed by 22 photographs of the archeological objects contained in these buildings. Most of these photographs have a negative number and a caption at the left bottom corner but none of them bears the name of a studio. The prints without captions have an inscription written by ink.

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<sup>84</sup> Mrs. Müller, *Letters From Constantinople*, 134.

<sup>85</sup> Mrs. Müller, *Letters From Constantinople*, 134.

The first photograph shows a vase. It does not have a caption or number; [Fig.3.116]. Similarly, the following three photographs are of the head of the statue of a woman, the head of the statue of a man and a vase, respectively. The next shows a vase that is one of the finest examples of the sixteenth century Ottoman earthenware; [Fig.3.117]. Having the caption, “Tabbenih, roi de Sidon, VIe siècle a[vant] J.C.” the following is a sarcophagus. It is followed by a photograph of a giant statue in a niche in the Tiled Kiosk [Fig.3.118] The photograph has a number and a caption, “Hercule de Chypre”, on the lower left corner of the photograph. [Fig.3.119] The next is a Hellenistic sculpture, the statue of an ephebos (i.e. a male teenager). It is followed by a relief which is a medallion decorated with Medusa’s head. The rest of the archeological artifacts presented in the album are sarcophagi. All of these fourteen photographs bear a negative number, and ten of them also have captions. There are four photographs showing four sides of the “Alexander Sarcophagus”, which was considered the most important artifact in the museum, found in the Royal Necropolis in Sidon in 1887. [Fig.3.120; Fig.3.121; Fig.3.122; Fig.3.123] Moreover, there are two photographs showing details of the “Weeping Women Sarcophagus”.

In the catalogue, Sebah and Joallier are said to account for some of the photographs – some for certain, others with some doubt. Yet, nine of them attributed to unknown photographers. It is known that Pascal Sébah had a commission for photographing of the museum’s holdings in July 1882. Sébah signed a five-year exclusivity contract with Osman Hamdi Bey, the director of the museum. The contract restricted Sebah in that he would be allowed to sell these photographs in his studio only with the museum’s permission. In return, Osman Hamdi bound himself to Sébah’s services to the exclusion of any other studio. As Eldem has mentioned, the museum had dozens of photographs within a year.<sup>86</sup> Yet, Pascal Sébah was unable to finish this project. He was paralyzed in 1883 and died three years later.<sup>87</sup> The project to systematically photograph the collection was later completed by Sebah and Joallier as Pascal Sebah’s

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<sup>86</sup> Edhem Eldem, *Mendel-Sebah. Documenting the Imperial Museum* (İstanbul: Istanbul Archeology Museums, 2014), 31-35.

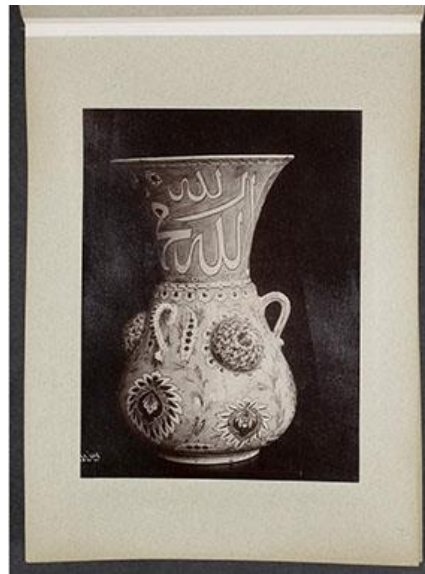
<sup>87</sup> Özendes, *Sebah and Joallier’dan*, 209.





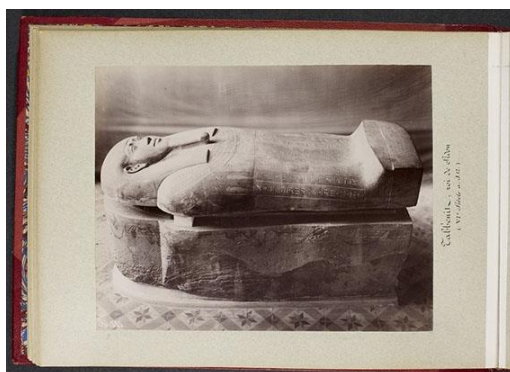
**Figure 3.116** “Lampsaque, Dardanelles vase doré, IV siècle a J.C”.  
Photographer unknown

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28\_003



**Figure 3.117** [Faience Vase]  
Photographer unknown

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28\_004



**Figure 3.118** “Tabbenih, roi de Sidon, VIe siècle a J.C” Phot. by Sébah & Joaillier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28\_008



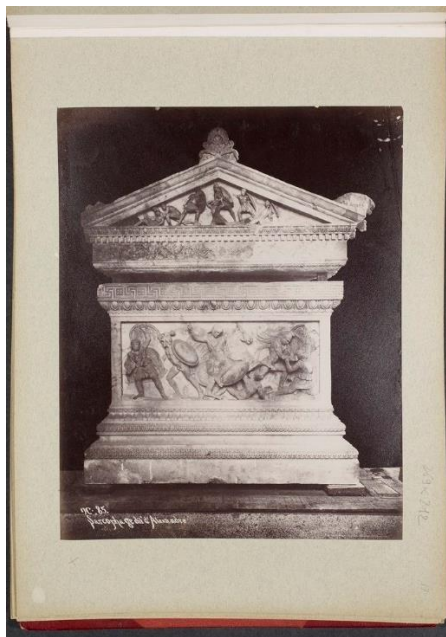
**Figure 3.119** “Hercule de Chypre”  
Photography by Sébah & Joaillier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28\_0



**Figure 3.120** Sarcophage dit d'Alexandre”  
Photographer unknown

Source: GRI, 96.R.16.A28\_016



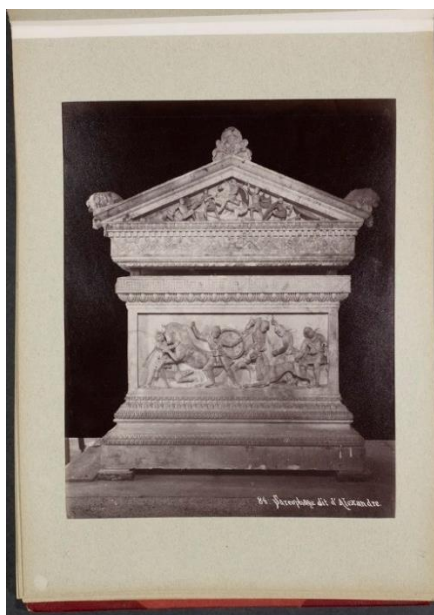
**Figure 3.121** “Sarcophage dit d'Alexandre.” Photographer unknown

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28\_017



**Figure 3.122** Sarcophage dit d'Alexandre”  
Photographer unknown

Source: GRI, 96.R.16.A28\_018



**Figure 3.123** “Sarcophage dit d'Alexandre. ”Photographer unknown

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28\_019

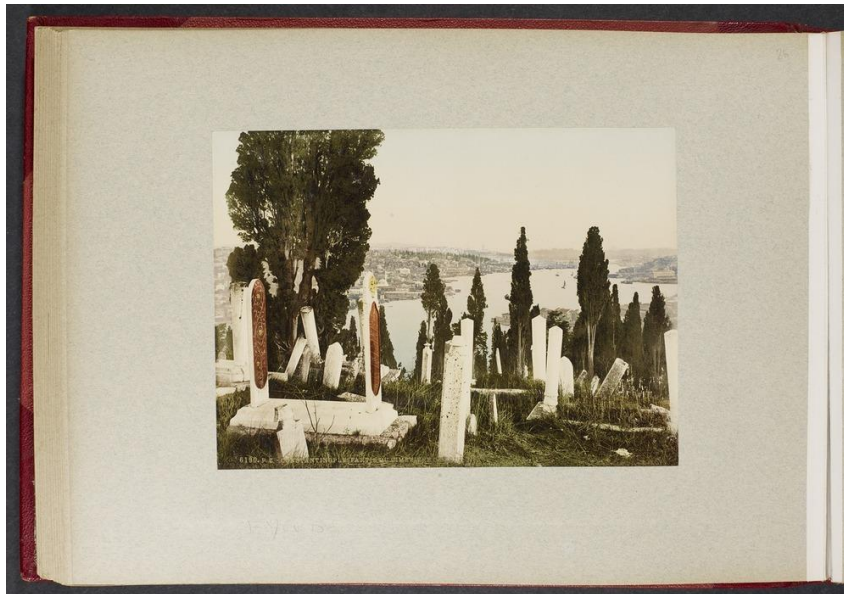
successors. According to Eldem's recent research in the archives of the Istanbul Archeology Museum, the first massive photographic campaign took place around 1892. While some of these negatives bore only a negative number on the lower left corner, some of them bore a caption as well. What is striking is that the negatives bearing captions are the images of the most attractive pieces such as sarcophagi. Moreover, the photographs depicting the museum itself also bore the studio's name on the lower right corner of the negative.<sup>88</sup> It seems that the studio intended to release these photographs into the market. In fact, this is more or less proven by an official insert published in the *Moniteur Oriental* condemning Sebah, saying that Sebah and Joallier disregarded one of the most important terms of Pascal Sébah's 1882 contract and sold some of the photographs commissioned by the Imperial Museum, including photographs of the Saida sarcophagi.<sup>89</sup> As it can be understood, there was a certain curiosity about the objects in the museum's collections creating a demand for their photographs. In fact, the Getty collection contains not only this album but also another album including a set of photographs depicting sarcophagi and some sculptures, as solid evidence of this interest.

In this particular album, in addition to its interest in the Imperial Museum's holdings, the album displays an equal interest in picturesque scenes. The first photograph following the archeological photographs is a view of the Golden Horn behind tombstones. The photograph was taken in the cemeteries in the hills of Eyüp. [Fig.3.124] This is a color lithograph with an inscription on the lower left corner that reads, "Constantinople: partie du cimetière d'Eyoub 6190. P.Z. (Photocrom Zurich)". Photochrom is a photographic version of color lithography, used to create prints that are colorized images produced from black and white photographic negatives. The process involves the transfer of a negative onto lithographic printing plates. It results in prints that look deceptively like color photographs. The photochrome process was

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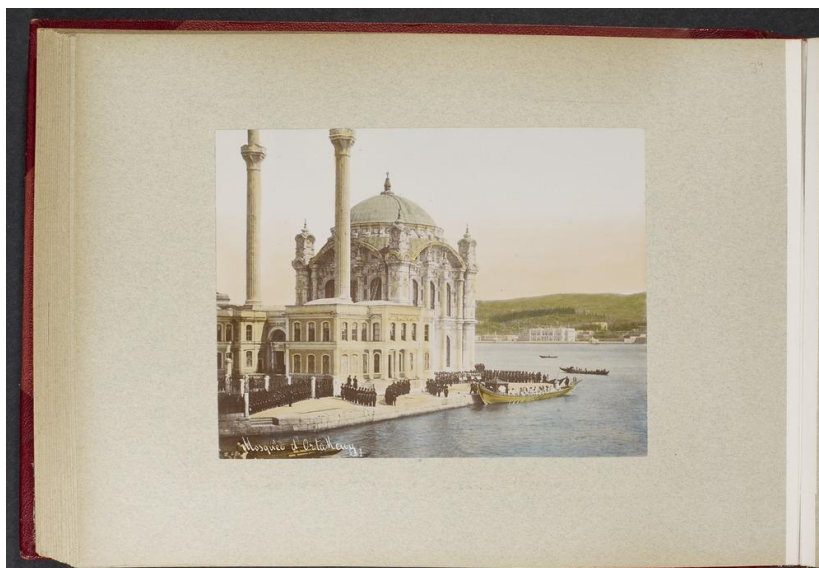
<sup>88</sup> Eldem, *Mendel-Sebah*, 35.

<sup>89</sup> Eldem, *Mendel-Sebah*, 37.



**Figure 3.124** “Constantinople: partie du cimetière d'Eyoub”  
 Photograph by Photoglob Co.

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28.F026



**Figure 3.125** “Sultan à la mosquée d'Ortakeuy le vendredi”  
 Photograph by Pascal Sébah

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28.F034





**Figure 3.126** “Porte du palais impérial aux Eaux douces d'Asie”. Photograph by Sébah & Joaillier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28.F038



**Figure 3.127** [Palace Dining Room] Photograph by Abdullah Frères

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28.F039

devised in 1880 by a Swiss printing company, Orell Füssli. Füssli published the prints through a company with the imprint Photochrom Zürich, and later Photoglob Zürich. Initially, the company offered printed views of Europe. They either sent their photographers to take pictures or bought photographs from commercial photographers. In 1896, the company's stock comprised 3,000 European subjects including landscapes, views of cities, sites and monuments. They later increased the scope of their collection by including views from North Africa, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, India, Russia, and the United States, and later Central and South America, adding Persia in 1911, as well as China, New South Wales and New Zealand. A characteristic of the photochrom print is a gold-lettered caption along one edge and an inventory number. The initials "P.Z." indicate prints produced at the Photochrom and Photoglob Zürich. Prints were available in seven sizes.<sup>90</sup> These color lithographs show how some subjects became so popular and how their images were consumed globally. Photochrome prints in this album are picturesque views: the Turkish cemetery in Eyup, the sunset behind the lighthouse of Fenerbahçe, a view of Kandilli from Rumeli Hisar, prayer positions, a Turkish street in Scutari and landscapes from Bursa.

The following two photographs are scenic views of the Kağıthane stream (the Sweet Waters of Europe) from an elevated point. The river, boats on the river, the bridge and people on the meadows are visible. Next, a photograph of a small waterfall is followed by a romantic view of the lighthouse in Fenerbahçe (photochrome). The next two photographs are also picturesque scenes showing the ruins of the city walls. The only mosque included in the album is the Ortaköy Mosque. There are two photographs of the mosque showing its location on the shore of the Bosphorus, with Beylerbeyi Palace visible in the distance. Actually, the latter one is a photograph of Selamlık rather than merely a photograph of the mosque. [Fig.3.125] The photograph shows the imperial boat of the Sultan approaching the dock of the mosque for the Friday prayer. The following photograph is a view of Beylerbeyi Palace from the sea. Including the view of Selamlık and the photograph of Beylerbeyi Palace, the album includes thirty six hand-colored photographs. Photographs were often hand-colored since the earliest days

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<sup>90</sup> John Hannavy, *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth Century Photography* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 1079.

of photography. Usually, water color was applied to prints on paper to create more realistic images. Hand-colored photographs were most popular in the mid- to late-19<sup>th</sup> century before the invention of color photography.<sup>91</sup> In Istanbul, commercial photographers added colored versions of their photographs to their portfolios as well. Particularly in the 1890s, it is evident from the larger number of color photographs in albums that there was a considerable demand for colored photographs of picturesque landscapes and oriental scenes.<sup>92</sup>

After a perspective view of exterior of Yıldız Palace, there are an exterior view of Küçüksu Palace and its finely ornamented imperial gate. [Fig.3.126] The next is a photograph showing the dining room of a palace. [Fig.3.127] It is followed by a photograph of the reception chamber in Yıldız Palace. Then, after a view of from Sweet Waters of Asia, there are a series of scenic views from the shores and hills of Bosphorus: Kandilli from Rumeli Hisarı, scenic views of Rumeli Hisarı, Terapia Bay, and Arnavutköy.

The next photograph exemplifies how these photographs in albums are context dependent. It is a group portrait of three little boys standing with their ceremonial outfits and uniforms, guarded by two teenagers. [Fig.3.128] The title of the photograph is “the Sultan’s Sons”. However, in the photograph, only one of the boys was truly Sultan Abdülhamid’s son (Abdürrahim Hayri Efendi, 1894-1952). The two other little boys are the grandson of Sultan Abdülaziz (Mehmed Cemaleddin Efendi, 1890-1946) and the grandson of Sultan Abdülmecid (Mehmed Abdülhalim Efendi, 1894-1926), respectively. The guarded teenagers are the sons of high ranked officers. The photograph was taken by Bogos Tarkulyan.<sup>93</sup> The real story of the photograph is that a

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<sup>91</sup> Heinz K. Henisch and Bridget A Henisch, *The Photographic Experience. 1839-1914. Images and Attitudes* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 93. For further interest, see Heinz K. Henisch and Bridget A Henisch, *The Painted Photograph. 1839-1914* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996).

<sup>92</sup> In GRI, Pierre de Gigord Collection a Souvenir album by Gülmez frères compiled in the 1890s in which have all photographs colored. (Accession no: 96.R.14.A29).

<sup>93</sup> There is no signature on the photograph and in Getty catalogue it is recorded as by unknown photographer. Yet, the photograph is definitely by Bogos Tarkulyan. See Bahattin Öztuncay,

new modern children's hospital, Hamidiye Eftal Hospital, was opened and together with the Sultan's son and two other little *şehzades* many poor boys were circumcised under modern hygienic conditions in the hospital. The photograph was taken to commemorate this occasion.<sup>94</sup> However, this story behind the photograph was immediately obscured. Although only the youngest boy is the son of the sultan, the photograph had acquired the title, "Le fils du Sultan" and was also well-circulated as a souvenir. [Fig.3.129] In the album, this photograph is followed by the one showing Sultan's horse and a groomsmen in front of the palace. [Fig.3.130] Titled as "Le Cheval du Sultan", this photograph is also interesting in that it shows how photographs can be flexible and fit different contexts. Although, there is no signature on the photograph, in the Abdülhamid Albums held in Library of Congress, there is a quite similar photograph taken by Abdullah Freres.<sup>95</sup> [Fig.3.131] The photograph in the Abdülhamid Albums was taken from a slightly different angle but it is certain that the two photographs were taken at the same time.<sup>96</sup> This image was also a well-liked one that was printed as a postcard. [Fig.3.132]

In the next photograph, there is a black man sitting in front of a marble carved wall. [Fig.3.133] The caption for the photograph reads, "chef des eunuchs" on its mount. Following two photographs showing the boys and the Sultan's horse in front of a palace, this photograph says that the man in the photograph is a chief eunuch sitting at the gate of the Sultan's harem, where the sultan has many wives to ensure having sons. The succession of these three photographs suggests an image of an Oriental Sultan. Yet, the original contexts of the photographs are completely different. The following two images are photo chromes showing prayer (*namaz*) positions. Next, the album

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*Hatıra-i Uhuvvet. Portre Fotoğraflarının Cazibesi: 1846-1950* (İstanbul: Aygaz, 2005), 184-185.

<sup>94</sup> Edhem Eldem, "Görüntülerin Gücü. Fotoğraf'ın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yayılması ve Etkisi, 1870-1914," ed. Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem, *Camera Ottomana. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fotoğraf ve Modernite. 1840-1914* (İstanbul: KÜY, 2014), 106-154, 131.

<sup>95</sup> In the collection of Abdülhamid Albums, there are two albums devoted exclusively to displaying thoroughbred horses with their grooms. Most of the photographs were taken by Abdullah Frères. See LC, LOT 9546 and LOT 11916.

<sup>96</sup> In Getty catalogue it is recorded as by unknown photographer. Yet, it is strongly possible that the photograph has been taken by Abdullah Freres.





**Figure 3.128** “Les fils du Sultan”.

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28.F049



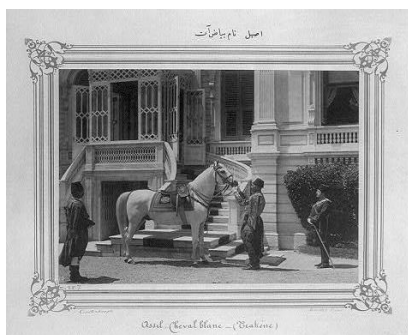
**Figure 3.129** “Les Princes Impériaux”.

Source: Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann*



**Figure 3.130** “Le cheval du Sultan” Photographer unknown

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28.F050



**Figure 3.131** “asil Cheval blanc”  
Photograph by Abdullah Frères

Source: LC, LOT 9546, no.1



**Figure 3.132** “La cheval de selle favori”

Source: Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann*



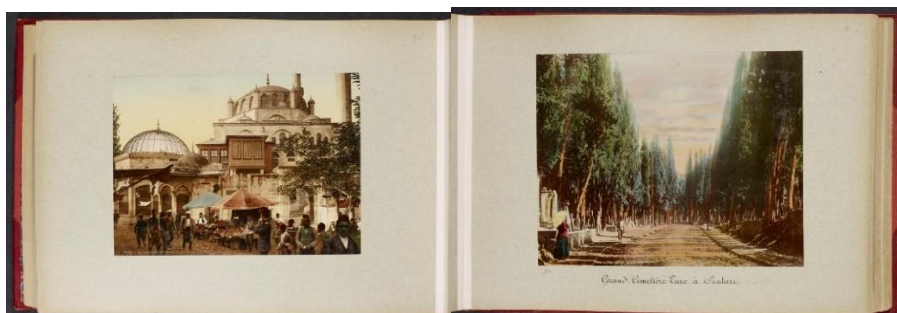
**Figure 3.133** "Vieux sérail."  
Photographer unknown

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28.F051



**Figure 3.134** Album pages

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28.F073-74



**Figure 3.135** Album pages

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A28.F090-91

presents different scenes of daily life in an Oriental city and a parade of exotic types: A photograph of two butchers performing their job in the middle of a street and posing with meat is followed by a portrait of a long bearded, old musician playing an instrument. The next is a studio portrait of an Armenian priest. Then comes a portrait of a bearded man, followed by the portrait of a porter (*hamal*) carrying a huge barrel. The next picture is of a group of people sitting in a cemetery. After a series of photographs including views of a Turkish cafe, cemeteries, Turkish houses, bull carts, street dogs, barbers, hookah smokers, street vendors, a bear and a bear leader, beggars, dervishes, and women, the album continues with photographs from Bursa. [Fig. 3.134; Fig. 3.135] On the last page of the album, there are two small photographs of Turkish women. Before that, the last three photographs of the album are three scenic views of the Prince's Islands.

As the title of her album, Mademoiselle Fleury denotes its focus: "Musée and Types". Yet the album also includes photographs of picturesque landscapes, views of old city walls, Beylerbeyi, Yıldız and Küçüksu Palaces, street views, cemeteries and some scenes depicting oriental daily life in addition to photographs of archeological articles in the Museum and portraits in the genre of types. By doing this, the album displays the city as a museum in which picturesque scenes could be viewed as paintings, and archeological objects could be examined. Mrs. Fleury did not take into consideration Istanbul's present, but rather regarded the city as a historical sight that had once inhabited the city and their people now gone but was kept as a historical article. Being a painter, except for catalogue photographs of items of the museum, she was only interested in picturesque and exotic subjects. In her album, people, the streets and architecture of the city are presented as articles in a museum that are set up and displayed for the knowledge and enjoyment of a visitor.

### **3.6 Untitled Album**

The album is bound in brown calfskin with gilt, green and red ornamentation, embossed with the imperial *tuğra* of Abdülhamid II. [Fig. 3.136] It measures 29.5 x 40 cm in size. The album contains one hundred nineteen albumen prints depicting Istanbul. The photographs are to be found on simple cream-colored pages on which German captions have been inked. Photographers included are Guillaume Berggren,

Sébah & Joaillier, Abdullah Frères, and Apollon. The photographs were taken between the 1860s and 1901. The album was compiled sometime between 1901 and 1909 by an anonymous compiler.<sup>97</sup>

The album opens with a panoramic view, “Serailspitze” depicting the geographic position of the Seraglio Point connecting Galata with a bridge. [Fig.3.137] The second photograph is a closer view of the Seraglio Point.<sup>98</sup> These two photographs set the stage for the visit. Through the next twenty photographs, taken from the street level, the album provides its viewer a tour on the Seraglio Point by following an itinerary [Fig. 3.138] which is quite similar to the one suggested in Baedeker’s guide as from the new Bridge to St. Sophia (Von der Neunen Brücke zur Aja Sophia).<sup>99</sup> Ahmet III Fountain is the first subject depicted from three different vantage points. [Fig. 3.139]. Each of the photograph shows the spatial relations of the fountain with the Topkapı Palace and St.



**Figure 3.136** The front cover of untitled album

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30

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<sup>97</sup> There is one photograph showing the German fountain included indicates that the album was compiled after 1901 and the insignia of Abdül Hamid II makes it evident that the album was compiled before the end of his reign in 1909.

<sup>98</sup> GRI 96R14.A30.001recto, GRI 96R14.A30.001verso; A30.001verso =A21.001verso

<sup>99</sup> *Baedeker's Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*, 88-96.

Sophia. [Fig. 3.140; Fig.3.141] The last one [Fig.3. 142] indicates the direction of the next move to the gate of Topkapı Palace.<sup>100</sup> Next, the gate of Topkapı Palace invites the viewer's gaze into the courtyard. [Fig.3. 143] In the first courtyard, also called the court of Janissaries, St. Irene and the famous tree of the Janissaries are depicted. Anything about Janissaries had touristic attraction because of their associations with the sixteenth century image of Turks, their exotic costumes, stories about their corruption, revolts and finally their bloody execution became stories told in travel accounts and guidebooks. In Murray's (1900), the Tree of the Janissaries is described as, "beneath this tree the Janissaries hatched mutinies and palace revolutions, and hence they sent in their demands to the Sultan for the dismissal of popular Ministers, or the grant of new privileges and concessions."<sup>101</sup> Passing through the courtyard, Babüsselam is seen in the album. [Fig.3. 144] With its two towers, the medieval appearance of the gate also triggered the imagination with stories. In Murray's, the gate was presented saying:

Here Grand Viziers and Ministers who had incurred the displeasure of Sultans were seized and executed after leaving the presence; and here foreign ambassadors had humbly to await permission to pass the second door.<sup>102</sup>

The other parts of Topkapı Palace included are the Throne Room and two interior views of Bağdat Kiosk [Fig. 3.145; Fig. 146], and a detailed photograph of the tiles. [Fig. 3.147].

Leaving Topkapı Palace, the album shows St. Sophia. Before entering St. Sophia, the richly ornamented the Ottoman Baroque gate of St. Sophia Imaret [Fig. 3.148], and the entrance of the tomb of Selim II [Fig. 3.149], and the ablution fountain of St. Sophia Mosque are seen, with the main artistic features of these buildings representing Turkish art highlighted. In the first photograph, the gate seen at the corner of a narrow street

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<sup>100</sup> As the photographer of this photograph (GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_03a) James Roberstson is recorded missingly in the Getty Catalogue. The photograph is by Guillaume Berggren. For its reproduction see Gilbert Beaugé, "İstanbul et l'Empire: 1845-1909," 91.

<sup>101</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Handbook Constantinople*, 67.

<sup>102</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Handbook Constantinople*, 67.

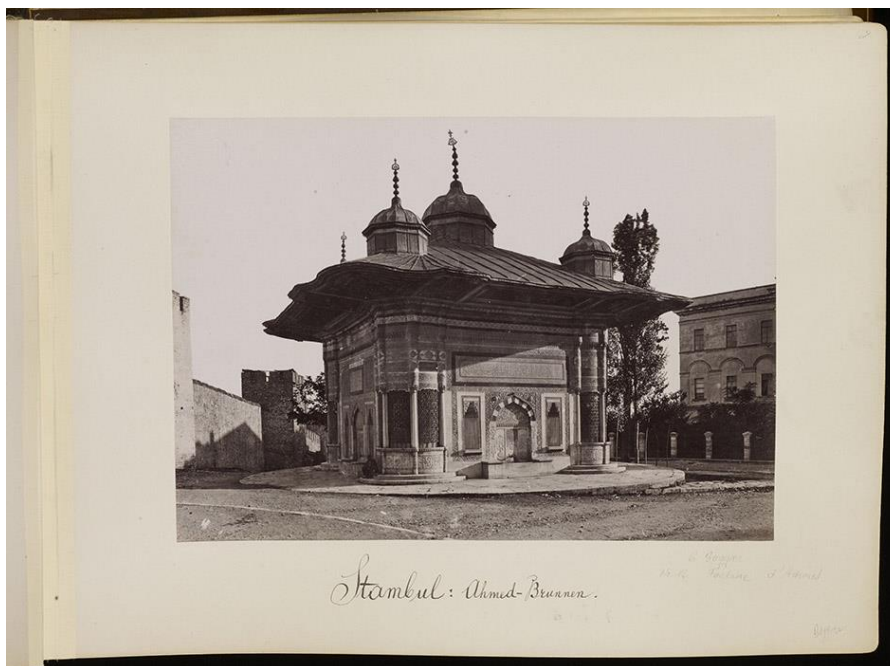






**Figure 3.139** Map showing three different vantage points of photographs of Ahmet III Fountain.

Source: [www.maps.google.com](http://www.maps.google.com)



**Figure 3.140** “Stambul: Ahmed-Brunnen.” Photograph by Guillaume Berggren

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_02a



**Figure 3.141** “Aya Sofia, Ahmedsbrunnen, Serailmauer.” Photographer unknown

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_02b



**Figure 3.142** “Stambul: Bab-i-humayun, Ahmed-Brunnen.” Photograph by Guillaume Berggren

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_03a





**Figure 3.143** “Stambul: Altes Serail, Bab-i-humayun.” Photographer unknown

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_03b



**Figure 3.144** “Stambul: Altes Serail, Orta Kapu.” Photograph by Sebah and Joaillier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_05a



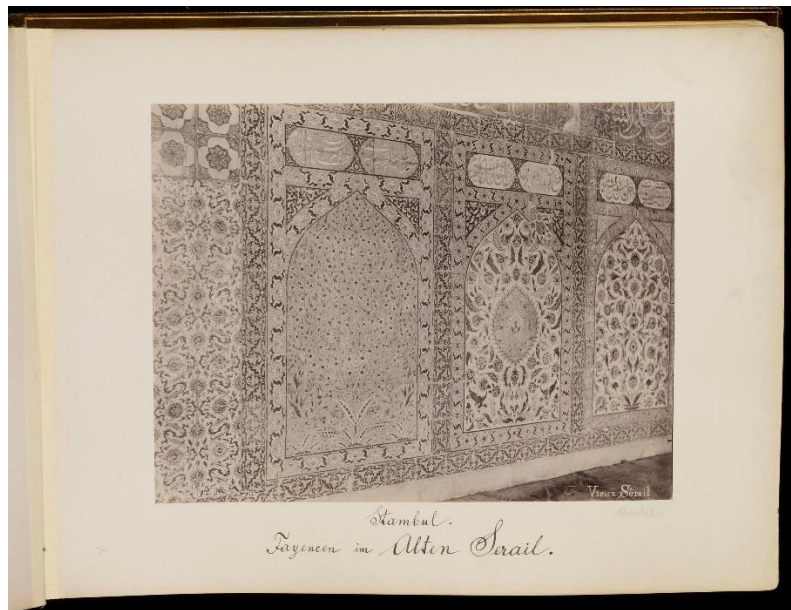
**Figure 3.145** “Stambul: Altes Serail, inneres des Bagdad-Kiosks.” Photograph by Abdullah Frères

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_06a



**Figure 3.146** “Stambul: Altes Serail, inneres des Bagdad-Kiosks.” Photograph by Abdullah Frères

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_06b



**Figure 3.147** “Stambul: Fayencen im alten Serail.” Photograph by Abdullah Frères  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_07a



**Figure 3.148** “Stambul: Eingangstor zur Aya Sofia, rechts: Mauer des alten Serail.”  
Photograph by Guillaume Berggren  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_08a



**Figure 3.149** “Stambul: Eingang der Türbé Sultan Selim II.” Photograph by Guillaume Berggren

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_08b



**Figure 3.150** “Stambul: Atmeidan, Gemauerte Obelisk d. Konstantin Porphyrogeneta, Obelisk Theodosius d[es] Gr[ossen], Brunnen Kaiser Wilhelm II.” Photograph by Guillaume Berggren

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_011b

with wooden Turkish houses adjacent to the walls of the old palace. One of dominant elements of the photograph is the eaves of the gate, its ornamentation and three crescents on top of it. A well-dressed man sitting on the entrance is there probably to indicate the scale. Soft side light on the gate and the angle of the camera highlight the surface plasticity of the gate. Similarly, the following photograph depicts marble carved scripts, two colored marble arches, tiles and wooden carved door. The other photograph also highlights the hexagonal form, large eaves and ornamented metal lattices. Thereafter, the album includes several photographs of the interior St. Sophia and continues with the Hippodrome by viewing the obelisk and the German Fountain, which was built as a gift of Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1901. [Fig. 3.150]. Consequently, the Sultan Ahmet Mosque is seen from a distance from eye level, then the next photograph depicts its courtyard. Finally, its interior is shown. [Fig. 3.151] In the next photograph, Seraglio Point is seen from a far from Marmara Sea as if finishing the tour a visitor leaves the area by boat. Then, passing through Galata Bridge [Fig. 3.152], another tour starting from the Sublime Porte and visiting Seraskerat Square [Fig. 3.153], Beyazıt Mosque, Grand Bazaar, Süleymaniye Mosque [Fig. 3.154], Nurosmaniye Mosque conveys another itinerary provided by Baedker's guide as "von der Aja Sophia zum Seraskierat. Der Bazaar."<sup>103</sup> Sequentially, Şehzade Mosque [Fig. 3. 155], Aksaray Valide Mosque [Fig. 3.156], Sultan Selim Mosque are seen.

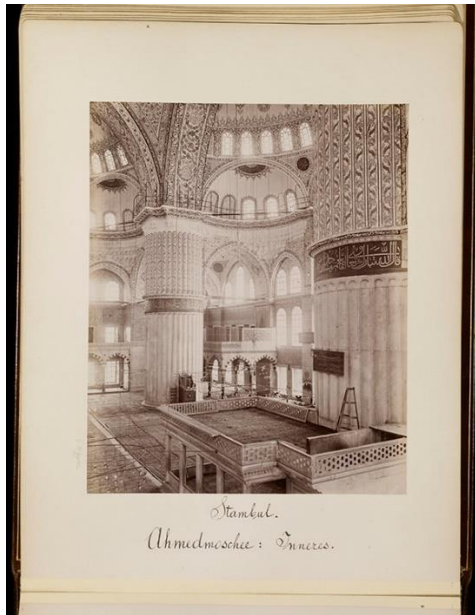
As another tour, the compiler visits the Seven Towers and old city walls, Eyüp and Eyüp cemetery. Later, Tekfur Palace, the aquaducts of Valens, [Fig. 3.157; Fig. 158], a Turkish street [Fig. 3.159], wooden houses [Fig. 3.160], and Sirkeci Station [Fig. 3.161] are seen. The next photograph was taken from Seraskerat Tower and shows the Bosphorus starting from the Galata Bridge indicates the direction of the next tour.

Accordingly, starting from Dolmabahçe [Fig. 3.162, Fig. 3.163], the European shores of the Bosphorus until the Rumeli Hisarı are visited. Then, the compiler crosses the Bosphorus, reaches to Anadolı Hisarı and Küçüksu Kiosk. Probably, it was on Friday because the Sweet Waters of Asia is very crowded with *kayık*s and people. The Bosphorus is crossed once more towards Therapia [Fig. 3.164]. Reaching Therapia, the

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<sup>103</sup> *Baedecker's Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*, 96-101.





**Figure 3.151** “Stambul: Ahmedmoschee, Inneres.” Photograph by Guillaume Berggren  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_013b



**Figure 3.152** “Stambul: Nuri Osmanié Moschee, Jeni Validé Moschee, Bayezid-  
(Tauben-) Moschee; Kriegsministerium, Seriaskerturm: Neue Brücke von Galata.”  
Photograph by Sebah and Joaillier.

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_014b



**Figure 3.153** “Stambul: Seriaskeriatplatz, Thor, Kriegsministerium, Seriaskerturm”  
Photograph by Guillaume Berggren

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_015b



**Figure 3.154** “Stambul: Moschee Suleiman des Prächtigen, Hauptportal” Photograph  
by Sebah and Joaillier.

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_020a



**Figure 3.155** “Stambul: Schahzadé Dschami (Prinzenmoschee): Fontäne” Photograph by Sebah and Joaillier.

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_022b



**Figure 3.156** “Stambul: Moschee Sultan Validé in Ak Seraj: Portal” Photograph by Sebah and Joaillier.

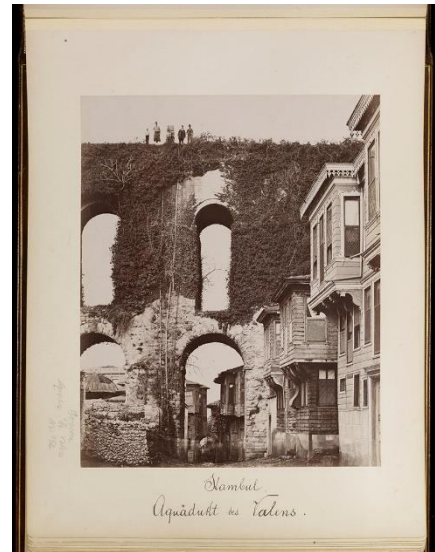
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_024b





**Figure 3.157** “Stambul: Aquädukt des Valens”  
Photograph by Guillaume Berggren

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_031a



**Figure 3.158** “Stambul: Aquädukt des Valens” Phot. by G. Berggren

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_031b



**Figure 3.159** “Stambul: Strasse in einem Türkenviertel ”  
Photograph by Guillaume Berggren

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_032a



**Figure 3.160** “Stambul: Strasse in einem Türkenviertel ”  
Photograph by Guillaume Berggren

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_032b



**Figure 3.161** “Stambul: Sirkedschi (Bahnhof).” Photograph by Sebah and Joaillier.

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_033a



**Figure 3.162** “Bosporus: Dolmabahçische Seraj, Tronsaal.” Photograph by Abdullah Frères

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_036a



**Figure 3.163** “Dolmabahçe: Uhrturm.” Photograph by Guillaume Berggren  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_036b



**Figure 3.164** “Bosphorus: Therapia, Summer Palace Hotel.”  
Photograph by Abdullah Frères

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_043a



**Figure 3.165** “Pera: Taxim, Französisches Nationalspital.”  
 Photograph by Sébah and Joaillier

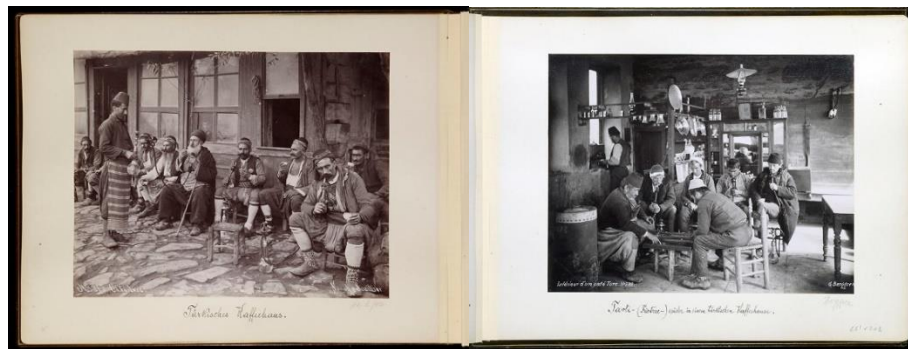
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_055a



**Figure 3.166** “Pera: Deutsche Botschaft.” Photograph by Sébah and Joaillier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_055b





**Figure 3.167** Album pages

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_056b-57a



**Figure 3.168** Album pages

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_057b-58a



**Figure 3.169** Album pages

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_059b-60a

compiler turns to Yıldız Palace by passing through Büyükdere to see the Sultan's Friday ceremony of Selamlık. Then, the Sweet Waters of Europe (Kağıthane) are presented. As another excursion, the Belgrad Bends are seen and the cemetery of Scutari is visited. Returning from Scutari, Cihangir Mosque is seen from the sea and the compiler is lands at Karaköy. The viewer sees Tophane fountain and then Tophane Mosque, the cannon artillery and Nusretiye Mosque. Then Galata Tower is seen from a distance. Next, it is seen closer, from Yüksek Kaldırım Street and finally, a photograph shows only the Tower. Leaving Galata, Pera and Taksim is visited. [Fig. 3.165; Fig. 166]. The album ends with several photographs of Turkish cafés, street vendors, water carriers, dervishes, porters, fire fighters (*tulumbacı*) and two dancing bears and their owners (*ayı oynatıcısı*). [Fig. 3.167; Fig. 3.168; Fig. 3.169]

This untitled album examined presents a topographical sequence as if the viewer visited the city by following his / her guidebook. It is a long tour including most of the touristic places mentioned in travel guides. The compiler prefers to include photographs suggesting spatial experience. Photographs mostly taken from pedestrian eye level also contribute this perception. Except for the first two photographs of Seraglio point, the album does not present Istanbul through a set of panoramic photographs taken from Galata and Seraskerat Towers mapping the city. The most interested building complexes by the compiler are Topkapı Palace, St. Sophia, Sultanahmet Mosque, Süleymaniye Mosque, Dolmabahçe Palace, and Grand Bazaar. Nineteenth century buildings consisted in the album are Dolmabahçe Palace and its clock tower, Yıldız Palace, Hamidiye Mosque, Ortaköy Mosque, Seraskerat Gate, Taksim Artillery Barracks, Sirkeci Train Station, French Embassy, British Embassy, German Embassy, French Hospital in Taksim, Summer Palace Hotel in Therapia and newly built German Fountain. Tiled interiors are also particularly interested. Despite the fact that the album includes photographs from the 1860s and the 1870s, most of the photographs were taken in the 1880s and the 1890s. Accordingly, while presenting nostalgically old photographs of touristic places, the compiler did not ignore the present of the city or people. The album includes spontaneously taken street scenes and modern structures.

It is seen in these six albums that span about twenty years period, each compiler interested in Istanbul's attractions of landscape, history and people in different ways. Their common interest are picturesque views of Bosphorus and the view of Golden Horn from Eyüp cemetery, panoramic views from Galata and Seraskerat Towers. A view of Seraglio from Galata, a view of Galata Bridge, St. Sophia are the most included subjects. Sultan Ahmet Mosque, Süleymaniye Mosque, and Beyazıt Mosque are the most known mosques. Frequently, they were photographed from a high vantage point that the whole mass of the architecture was displayed. Besides, it is observed that different aspects of different buildings are highlighted in the photographs. For instance, the portal of Süleymaniye Mosque, the sultan's lodge and the mimbar of St. Sophia, mihrab of Rüstem Paşa Mosque in photographs while the interior of Sultan Ahmet Mosque is featured with the huge pillars in particular. For Yeni Valide Mosque in Aksaray, mostly its front façade is captured. While Yeni Cami, Nurosmaniye Mosque and Tophane Mosque are depicted together with the vicinity around, most shots of Hamidiye Mosque and Ortaköy Mosque depict the Selamlık ceremony. Ablution fountain of St. Sophia, ablution fountains of Süleymaniye Mosque and the ablution fountain at the courtyard of Beyazıt Mosque are seen often in photographs. Ahmet III Fountain, Küçüksu Fountain, and Tophane Fountain come up frequently. The towered gate of Topkapı Palace (Orta Kapısı), the gate of Bab-i Ali, the gate of St. Sophia, Seraskerat Gate and the gates of Dolmabahçe Palace are also well-liked subjects. Dolmabahçe, Yıldız, Çırağan, Beylerbeyi Palaces and Küçüksu Kiosk naturally come up in albums. Representing the old Seraglio, Baghdad Kiosk is often included. Yüksek Kaldırım Street and a view of Galata Tower are the most included subjects of Galata. The old fortifications, particularly the land walls extending from Marmara Sea to the Golden Horn and more particularly Seven Towers, the Golden Gate on the walls, and Tekfur Palace gather attention. Hippodrome and obelisks are also among the subjects included having most touristic attraction.

Photographs included in the albums examined span almost forty years and depict almost every subject that attracted touristic attention in Istanbul. It is seen that prints from old negatives were produced many times and continued to exist together with newly taken photographs. Moreover, when postcards came into the scene at the turn of the century, almost all photographs of Istanbul in the tourist market were reproduced as

postcards by different editors and continued to be disseminated until World War I. Today, antique postcards that were widely available in antiquarian markets and a variety collections indicate that some images might have been produced in greater number than others because they were the most in demand. Those postcards give an idea about the dissemination and reception of particular images.

Among albums examined, each has its own distinct way of presentation. The first one, *Constantinople 1885*, prefers to view city from a historical and physical distance by not regarding the present of Istanbul. The detached gaze is only interested in several places and groups them into Ottoman buildings and Byzantine past. While people are not seen as inhabitants of the city in streets, they appear at the end of the album as exotic ‘types.’ However, Sebah and Joaillier does not present Istanbul through a temporal separation as the Ottoman and the Byzantine or by ignoring the present condition. The third album *Constantinople 1884* and the fourth album *Turquie* display the city through a categorization of building types rather than geographical or temporal categories. While the first does not include people as ‘types’ as a separate category in the album, the latter one includes a parade of types, professions and women. Mademoiselle Fleury’s album is the most idiosyncratic one among these six albums. She is not interested in St. Sophia, Hippodrome or general views of the city except for the one seen from the cemetery of Eyüp. She is only interested in palaces, preferably those that are on the shores of the Bosphorus, picturesque views of city walls, Rumeli Hisari, cemeteries, palace interiors, ‘Oriental’ types. She also paid particular attention to the archeological museum.



## CHAPTER 4

### CAPTURING CONSTANTINOPLE

The history of travel is at the same time the history of travelers seeking knowledge and pleasure. This was always the case starting from the Grand Tour, a journey made as part of studying classical architecture carried out for both education and leisure, especially by young British noblemen, and can be viewed as the archetype of touristic travel. Proposed for the first time in Richard Lassels's *Voyage of Italy* (1670), this idea of scheduled travel became popular among aristocrats. In the eighteenth century, apart from the wealthy aristocrats, intellectuals and artists who wanted to enrich their knowledge on the ancient world started to travel. In the meantime, the European discovery of nature as a cultural possession paved the way for picturesque travels. Then, such places as Lake Geneva and the Alps gained as much attraction as a Roman Temple.<sup>1</sup>

It was also the time when the idea of connoisseurship, i.e., 'the well trained eye' developed. Thus, people started to travel not only to make scientific expeditions but also to see buildings, works of art and landscapes. In the eighteenth century, when 'scenic tourism' developed in Europe, sightseeing emerged as a new way of seeing. Sightseeing was not a passive but a contemplative look with a certain disengagement from a distance.<sup>2</sup>

At the time when travel proliferated as a new way of seeing the world and acquiring knowledge, photography served travelers as a tool for possessing, ordering and disseminating information acquired through travels. Indeed, before photography, mechanical productions of images had been objects of desire for travelers. As Henry Fox Talbot, the inventor of the negative-positive photography technique, noted in his

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<sup>1</sup> Işın, "The Transformation of Travel Culture from "Grand Tour" to "Levant," 12; Eldem, *Consuming the Orient*, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Urry, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 157.

diary during his travel in Italy, he used camera obscura, but he was disappointed with the result of poor drawings and dreamt “how charming it would be if it were possible to cause these natural images to imprint themselves durably, and remain fixed upon the paper!”<sup>3</sup> Pre-photographic tourists desired something that could capture the fleeting images of the visited places. Thus, photography met travelers’ desire to possess the visited lands through representation. In other words, it transformed sights to possessions. When a sight was photographed, having been extracted from its surrounding and rendered into a two dimensional medium with its minute details, a sight was captured. Delighted at having a daguerreotype of a Venetian palace in his pocket, as John Ruskin says, “[i]t is nearly the same thing as carrying off the palace itself: every chip of stone and stain is there”.<sup>4</sup> Once it was captured, serving the memory, for pleasure and the knowledge of its viewer, the sight became an object to be kept and to be gazed at.

As Peter Galassi argues, photography was not merely a technical achievement but the outcome of an artistic tradition. Photographs were not renderings of scenes captured by mere optics, and photography inherited the artistic discourse that had evolved through centuries of experimentations.<sup>5</sup> However, while it was limited by its mechanical nature of production, it also had advantages over painting and drawing. Having been nurtured by and exploiting existing pictorial conventions and their ways of seeing, photography also transformed them. Therefore, when photography captured and rendered immediate reality, the medium was shaped by the limitations of the technique (i.e. optics, chemistry, craftsmanship, etc.), pictorial conventions of rendering, and the politics of seeing and representing. In the context of tourism, the city was seen as an object of pleasure (visual pleasure) and knowledge. Accordingly, a variety of gazes existed simultaneously and were mirrored in photographs.

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<sup>3</sup> William Henry Fox Talbot. *Pencil of Nature*, [1844 – 1846], Reprint, New York 1969, ii

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Michael Harvey. Michael Harvey, “Ruskin and Photography,” *Oxford Art Journal* 7 (1984), 25-33:25.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Galassi, *Before Photography* (New York: MOMA, 1981)

In this chapter, it is argued that the city was not objectified not just through tourist gaze but also by a set of photographs. When a sight was rendered on a photographic card, it became an object - as an object abstracted from its surrounding and its time, as a precious object having a memory. Thus, by collecting photographs, ordering and displaying them, the compilers established their own displays of Istanbul to visit, contemplate, enjoy and reproduce knowledge about the city.

Two subtitles “the city as an object of a pleasure” and “the city as an object of knowledge” are not intended to compose theoretical categories. Indeed, sometimes, gazes are so intertwined in a photograph that to prioritize one over the other seems pointless. Yet these titles provide a methodical ease to the discussion. Hence, the first subchapter delineates some examples that are obviously composed and/or coded by some pictorial notions. The second subchapter emphasizes the scientific approach that is innate some other photographs. Yet, a border is not drawn between what is pleasurable and what is knowable. On the contrary, within the context of tourism, sights which provided a tourist with knowledge and pleasure are intertwined.

#### **4.1 The city as an object of pleasure**

Tourists chose places to visit and gaze upon because there was the anticipation of pleasure to be found outside their usual environment. Such anticipation was created and maintained by a variety of sources such as photographs, pictures, books, exhibitions, etc.<sup>6</sup> With eyes trained for looking at a particular subject with a particular way of looking, visitors turned their gaze on a landscape or a townscape in Istanbul, which they considered, in a sense, out-of-the-ordinary. Nineteenth century travel accounts, engravings and photographs depicting Istanbul reveal that tourists particularly sought the picturesque, the exotic, and the oriental in the city and thus found them visually pleasurable. Actually, what they found picturesque, exotic or oriental were not too different from each other. At the final stage, what was found exotic was regarded as ‘oriental’; and what was found picturesque and ‘worth making a picture of’ was the ‘oriental’.

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<sup>6</sup> John Urry, *Consuming Places* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 133.

In the first half the nineteenth century, this aesthetic perspective revealed itself in the titles of travel books. The first book of “voyage pittoresques” including Istanbul, *Voyage pittoresque dans l'Empire Ottoman* (1809) published by Choiseul-Gouffier in Paris.<sup>7</sup> The pictures in the book were made by the French artist Jean Baptiste Hilair, who was commissioned by the ambassador Gouffier to accompany him on his travels to Greece and Asia Minor in 1776. Then, *Charles Pertusier's Promenades Pittoresque dans Constantinople* (1817) and Ignace Melling's *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des Rives du Bospore* (1819) appeared. In the following decades as well, publications including picturesque drawings such as *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor* (1838) containing Thomas Allom's drawings and *L'Orient* (1853), which contained pictures of Istanbul by the French painter Eugène Flandin were published. Moreover, travel accounts accompanied by drawings appeared, such as Julia Pardoe's *The Beauties of Bosphorus*, which featured pictures made by William Henry Barlett and Amici's *Constantinople*, which had Cesare Biseo's amusing drawings. Later in the nineteenth century, picturesque features portrayed in these accounts not only affected the production of commercial photographers but also tourists' demand for ‘oriental’ photographs.

In most of the travel writings of nineteenth century Istanbul, the city is praised as extremely picturesque. Not only the landscape but also the architecture of the city was interpreted as picturesque. The word picturesque appeared recurrently in Miss Pardoe's *Beauties of Constantinople* and her account on Istanbul starts with the sentence:

I visited the picturesque capital of Turkey. I had nourished visions as bright and as impalpable as the rainbow. I anticipated I knew not what—adventures as numerous and as romantic as those of the "Thousand and One Nights;" and I dreamt dreams impossible of accomplishment; not caring to inquire too curiously of my reason whether such things would be; but content to inhabit my cloud-land castle, and to look down from the unstable edifice in all the luxury growing out of my self-created images.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Eldem, *Consuming the Orient*, 17.

<sup>8</sup> Pardoe, *Beauties of Constantinople*, 1.

Similarly, Théophile Gautier uses the word many times in his *Constantinople*. In fact, he also explained that the purpose of his travel was “to seize the picturesque physiognomy of a city [Istanbul]”<sup>9</sup> Other travelers including such names as Joseph Méry, Théophile Gautier, Robert Walsh, Edmondo de Amicis, Francis Elliot, and C.E. Clement also praised the picturesque features of the city.

The term picturesque started to be used in the beginning of the century to mean that which what was suitable for a picture.<sup>10</sup> In the eighteenth century, Gilpin simply used the term “to denote such objects, as are proper subjects for painting.”<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, it was also in the eighteenth century that rationalists classified aspects in their surroundings as ‘beautiful’, ‘picturesque’ and ‘sublime.’ Accordingly, the picturesque became a subject of academic debate. Although, the academic debate was complicated, in the dilettante language, the term asserted aesthetic judgement. Briefly, the beautiful was an expression of the ideal state of a system of proportions, and the term sublime was an expression of the quality of greatness or vast magnitude. The term picturesque was the mediating category between the beautiful and the sublime. The picturesque connoted emotional responses rather than appreciating the proportional perfection. It was more evocative than the smooth character of the beautiful and less overwhelming than the sublime.<sup>12</sup> The British found picturesque in the landscapes of Lake District, the Valleys of Wales and Scottish Highlands. At the beginning of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, guidebooks, which were widely available, indicated not only what was seen but also how it was seen. The books instructed readers to look on natural wonders

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<sup>9</sup> Gautier, *Constantinople of to-day*, 362.

<sup>10</sup> "picturesque, adj. and n.". OED Online. September 2015. Oxford University Press. <http://0-www.oed.com.library.metu.edu.tr/view/Entry/143510?rskey=vSo743&result=1&isAdvanced=f> also (accessed October 02, 2015).

<sup>11</sup> William Gilpin. *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty on Picturesque Travel and on Sketching Landscape with a Poem on Landscape Painting*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1808), 36.

<sup>12</sup> Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque as Compared with Sublime and the Beautiful and, on the use of Studying Pictures for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape*, vol. I (London: J. Mawman, 1810), 37; James Ackerman, “The Photographic Picturesque,” *Artibus et Historiae* 24, no. 48 (2003): 79.

as if they were looking at paintings. Travelers were drawn to the sites that were attractive but they were also educated to obey the rules of the seventeenth and eighteenth century pictorial composition. For instance, Gilpin proposed a formula of the picturesque view featuring a major architectural element: a ruin on one side, creating foreground scenes, a descending road providing the perspective, and a plane of water.<sup>13</sup>

In the meantime, Sir Uvendale Price (1747-1829), who was also one of the theorists of the picturesque, defined the term as embracing both qualities of art and nature. Moreover, he contributed to the debate by delineating *variety* and *intricacy* as “two of the most fruitful sources of human pleasure.”<sup>14</sup> He argued that curiosity, which was the “most active principle of pleasure”, is “almost extinguished” if everything is smooth and regular. For instance, Price described a road whose sides were regularly sloped, perfectly planted, and uniformly levelled, and he did not find it picturesque. However, he portrayed another road which was not levelled, designed or artificially planted and found it picturesque because it offered a harmonious blend of variety even comprised ugly features.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, ugliness and deformity blended in a picturesque whole were regarded as useful elements providing a scene with variety and irregularity. Accordingly, the appearance of exotic and strange types such as gypsies, bandits and beggars were also desired because they animated the scene by adding some mystery.<sup>16</sup> In this context of picturesque, ruins, which had been exposed to all of the various destructive effects of time and accidents that had rendered them irregular and irrational, were also regarded as picturesque.<sup>17</sup> Thus, briefly, the picturesque was found in diversity, light and shade, variety of colours, fragments, irregularity, roughness, and

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<sup>13</sup> Ackerman, “The Photographic Picturesque,” 80-82.

<sup>14</sup> Price, *Essays on the Picturesque*, 21.

<sup>15</sup> Price, *Essays on the Picturesque*, 24-27.

<sup>16</sup> Peter Garside, “Picturesque Figure and Landscape: Meg Merilles and the Gypsies” in *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape, and Aesthetics since 1770*, ed. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 145-174, 146.

<sup>17</sup> Price, *Essays on the Picturesque*, 191-199.

asymmetry. Yet, anything that appeared smooth, bright, symmetrical, new, whole, and strong was placed in the categories of the beautiful or the sublime.<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, in the judgement of architecture, regular, symmetrical and smooth façades were not found picturesque. Such architecture became picturesque if the view of façades was veiled by plants and trees. On the other hand, an architectural work was praised as picturesque when it was found to contain some irregularities, or composed of inconsistent elements unified with a good taste.<sup>19</sup>

The European habit of searching for the picturesque caused them to gaze at the city as if they were looking at a picture. Hence, since they looked at the city as in the same way that they looked at pictures they judged the city aesthetically mostly within the category of the picturesque. Yet, this perception meant that visitors tended to ignore the social, political, functional or cultural aspects of the city by turning a blind eye on any subjects they found un-picturesque. Moreover, when the city was perceived as an aesthetic object, i.e., a picture, it was easily associated with the imagery of romantic and orientalist literature and painting.

The nineteenth century witnessed the peak of Orientalism in literature and painting. The European gaze trained for picturesque was saturated with the prejudices and the clichés of the Orientalist painting and literature as well. Accordingly, drawings, photographs, travel accounts, even guidebooks somehow reflect this binary perception of East vs. West. For instance, Murray's Handbook of 1845 quotes David Urquhart's *The Spirit of the East* (1838) and starts by saying, "[n]othing can be more striking than the contrast of customs among the Turks and those of Western Europe", and includes an exhausting list of contrasted customs.<sup>20</sup> It also presented character of the Turks with a quotation from Charles Fellow's journal written during his travels in Asia Minor (1838) by praising their moral excellence yet finding them intellectually and mentally

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<sup>18</sup> Kemp Wolfgang and Joyce Rheuban, "Images of Decay: Photography in the Picturesque Tradition," *October* 54, (Autumn, 1990): 103-107, 104.

<sup>19</sup> Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama*, 142.

<sup>20</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Handbook*, 160.



not much cultivated.<sup>21</sup> When a separate volume of *Constantinople* was published in 1900, the parts on the habits and character of the Turks had been already eliminated, although the guide could not restrain himself from saying that “the Moslems are mostly poor people, and many of them are very lazy” in the part of the book providing information about the “population”<sup>22</sup> Similarly, in the Joannes Guide of 1894, it is claimed that the Turks thought that all work were unworthy of them and were not qualified for commerce and industry.<sup>23</sup>

The European arrogance over Orientals is more apparent in travelogues than in guidebooks. It also seems that the Christian population of Istanbul was somehow excluded from Orientalist claims. For instance, in Amici’s travelogue, while Turks are being presented as lazy and slow-minded, the Christian residents of the city are presented as restless:

For them [Turks] the height of bliss consists in complete inactivity of body and mind. Hence they abandon to the restless Christian all those great industries which require care and thought and travelling about from one place to another, and content themselves with such small trades as can be conducted sitting down in the same spot, and where sight can almost take the place of speech.<sup>24</sup>

Therefore, searching for confirmations, the orientalist gaze armed with such tropes asserting that Turks were lazy, ignorant, or that oriental women were passive erotic objects who were oppressed and prisoned in a harem was exerted on the city and its inhabitants. On the other hand, the orientalist gaze was not a uniform or a systematic notion; it was somehow arbitrary and personal. Even in the same account while one subject was being perceived through the prejudices of the orientalist gaze, another subject also commonly subjected to the negative judgements of the orientalist gaze could be observed more objectively or in a challenging way to those orientalist tropes. For instance, while Amicis was presenting Turks with Orientalist shortcomings

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<sup>21</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Handbook*, 160.

<sup>22</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Handbook*, 6.

<sup>23</sup> Guides Joanne, *De Paris a Constantinople* [1894], 7.

<sup>24</sup> Amicis, *Contantinople*, vol.1 [Philadelphia, 1896], 199.

asserting that they were uncivilized, and even having a cruel spirit under the surface, the same man also presented Turkish women with a relatively unbiased perception by elaborating on a variety of social conditions.<sup>25</sup>

Hence, in the context of tourism, nineteenth century Istanbul was perceived by different gazes. These gazes were also mirrored in photographs and albums. From time to time, photographs depicting Istanbul and its inhabitants in pre-modern conditions were associated with biased orientalist notions. Yet, many photographs depicting people, architecture, and landscape were also produced and consumed free from presumptions and negative judgements.

In the travel accounts, the subjects mostly depicted as visually pleasurable and picturesque were general views, diversity of people, Turkish coffee houses, Turkish neighborhoods, bazaars, local people in groups, the old walls, aqueducts, ruins, cemeteries, palaces on the Bosphorus, fountains, Maiden's Tower, villages on the shores of the Bosphorus, Rumeli and Anadolu Hisarı, promenades of the Sweet Waters of Asia and Sweet Waters of Europe and *kayıks*. They were also the subjects of picturesque drawings circulating in the market. Photographers used similar spots as travellers to render what tourists found picturesque and photographed them 'picturesquely' or in an aesthetically pleasing way as long as the photographic technique and the photographer's skill allowed it. By comparing photographs against the representations in non-photographic sources, this chapter examines some photographs of these subjects included in the albums under three main categories: General views, urban centers, and the built environment as a part of landscape.

#### 4.1.1. General views of the city

In early drawings, the city was basically viewed from four different areas: the Marmara Sea or Maiden's Tower, Scutari, Eyup, and Galata. However, in photographs, general views of the city mostly taken from Galata and Seraskerat towers were included in the albums. Yet, because of the altitude, photographs obtained from Galata and Seraskerat

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<sup>25</sup> Amicis, *Contantinople*, vol.1 [Philadelphia, 1896], 7-70; 247-268.

Towers acquired the cartographic quality of the bird's-eye view rather than the picturesque quality of the pictorial tradition.

Almost every travel account starts with a depiction of the beauty of the general view of the city as seen from Marmara Sea. Thus, it is hardly surprising that there are picturesque drawings portraying the city from the Marmara Sea. For instance, Melling's and Hilair's drawings are views portraying the silhouette of the south shore of the historical peninsula starting from the Seven Towers continuing with Seraglio Point [Fig. 4. 1; Fig. 4.2] However, photographs depicting the city from Marmara Sea are rare. There are two photographic counterparts of such a view were produced by Sébah and Joallier in the albums examined. The main reason was probably the technical difficulty of obtaining good photographs from the sea. Actually, it was hardly possible before the 1880s due to the inevitable motion of a vessel on the strong waves. Besides, cameras could not render a view with a wide angle as easily rendered in drawings unless the camera stood far enough away from the subject. Therefore, technically, photography was not a suitable device for creating picturesque wide-angle panoramic views of the city from the sea.

Both photographs by Sébah and Joallier depicted part of the historical peninsula by including two canonical landmarks of the city, the Sultan Ahmet Mosque and St. Sophia. [Fig. 4.3; Fig. 4.4] Appearing as an outcome of Sébah and Joallier's technical and artistic skill, they were probably taken in the early 1890s when photographic emulsions became more light-sensitive ever than before. Leaving the western part of the peninsula for the sake of getting a closer view of St. Sophia and Sultan Ahmet Mosque, photographs portray the southeast part of the peninsula. In addition to their technical success, by animating the middle ground with sailing boats, the first photograph also achieved a more aesthetically pleasing quality. Yet, compared to the



**Figure 4.1** “Vue du Chateau des Sept-Tours, et de la Ville de Constantinople” by Melling

Source: M. Melling, *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des Rives du Bospore* (Paris, 1819)



**Figure 4.2** Seven Towers and the Entrance of Constantinople by Jean Baptiste Hilair

Source: Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque Dans L'Empire Ottoman* (Paris: J.P. Aillaud, 1842)



**Figure 4.3** “Mosquées du Sultan Ahmed et de Ste. Sophie: vue prise de la mer”  
Photograph by Sébah and Joaillier

Source: GRI R.14.A21\_01a



**Figure 4.4** “Stambul: Ahmedmoschee, Justizministerium (zeitweilig Parlament), Aya Sofia, vorne Seemauren, rechts oben Mauern des alten Serails”. Photograph by Sébah and Joaillier.

Source: GRI R.14.A30\_014recto

common appearance of panoramic views taken from Galata and Seraskerat Towers, this view occasionally appeared in the albums.

In the same vein, in drawings, the scene including the entrance of the Golden Horn and the Seraglio point and a part of Galata, which was commonly viewed from the sea, was also commonly portrayed. [Fig.4.5; Fig.4.6; Fig.4.7] However, these views did not have many photographic counterparts. Even a far distance camera was not able to include both shores in one frame. Moreover, as of 1845, there was a bridge connecting Galata and Eminönü. Also, by the 1890s, the sea was full of steamers providing domestic transportation between the parts of the city. Therefore, the Oriental romance as depicted in drawings had already left town well before the camera arrived.

The Seraglio Point, Tophane Mosque and fountain, Salacak in Scutari, the Eminönü area, and the shores of the Golden Horn were also portrayed in drawings as if viewed from the sea. However, in the albums, there are not many photographs of these subjects taken from the sea. On the other hand, photographs taken from the sea and depicting the monuments and landscape across the shores of Bosphorus appear frequently. Therefore, although viewing the city from the sea was the most enjoyable and indispensable mode for seeing the city, nineteenth century photographs could not reflect the prevalence of this way of seeing.

Maiden's Tower was the spot from where Melling depicted İstanbul at the end of the eighteenth century. However, as a vantage point for photographing the city, the Maiden Tower did not work for the camera because of the long distance between the parts of the city and the tower. Accordingly, the view which was seen from the sea (from the east of the historical peninsula towards the west) including the historical peninsula, the Golden Horn, and Galata did not appear in photographs, either. On the other hand, Melling depicted not only the wide vista seen but also the progression of the Sultan's boat and vessels of the royal cortege to the one of the mosques of the city for the Friday prayer. [Fig. 4.8] In *Voyage Pittoresque*, the text accompanying the drawing explains that "the Grand Signor dominates the entire scene. The most beautiful shores of the universe, a vast Strait that has never known a storm-everything obeys him, everything comes to flatter his pride and his eyes." This depiction was perhaps one of the last



**Figure 4.5** “The Port of Constantinople” by H. Barlett

Source: Miss Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus* (London: George Virtue, 1838)



**Figure 4.6** Eugene Flandin, “Entree de la Corne D’or.”

Source: Eugene Flandin, *L'Orient* (Paris: Gide et J. Baudry, 1855)





**Figure 4. 7** The entrance of the Golden Horn by Thomas Allom

Source: Robert Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor* (Paris, Fisher and Sons, 1839)

affirmations of an old tradition that defined the landscape in the Sultan's identity. By the end of the nineteenth century, this spectacle, *selamlık*, which was the Sultan's and dignitaries' progression to the mosque for the Friday prayer was not viewed anymore as a revelation of Sultan's assertive power over the visible landscape. Rather it was viewed as one of the oriental entertainments offered by the city. By providing hints to the visitors about the ceremony, all guidebooks listed the *selamlık*, mostly taking place at Hamidiye Mosque near Yıldız Palace, as one of the "must see" attractions.

Scutari, particularly Mount Bulgurlu, was a place praised in travelogues and guidebooks as one of the spots where "a most extensive prospect over the both shores

of the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara embracing city and all its suburbs”.<sup>26</sup> In Miss Pardoe’s book, it was also depicted as “the most favorable point to contemplating Stamboul in all its extent, and fully comprehending its extraordinary magnificence as a whole.”<sup>27</sup> William Barlett’s drawing illustrated the text depicting this scene. [Fig. 4.9] In the drawing, the Marmara Sea, Seraglio Point, Galata, and the Golden Horn were seen in unity. While Stamboul and Galata were depicted as oriental islands of tranquility, local people and a camel were added as oriental figures to contribute to the picturesque scene. By rendering lands closer than they are and distorting dimensions as he wished, Barlett drew a delightful scene. However, such a scene was obviously not found in any photographs. From such a distance since a camera could render the sight flattened and the buildings foreshortened, it would only obtain a dull sketch of the land among the vast greys of the sky and the sea. Although the camera was also deceptive, to manipulate the scene as freely as in drawings was beyond its capacity. Similar to Barlett, J. Pitman was an artist who depicted the city from Mount Bulgurlu. His impressive panorama (31x300cm) portrayed the city starting from the entrance of the Marmara Sea and across the Bosphorus. Yet, this view did not meet its photographic counterpart either.

On the other hand, representations of the view seen from the Eyüp hills present a certain continuity from drawings to photographs. It is apparent that the Eyüp hills overlooking the whole extent of the Golden Horn was one of the ‘observation desks’ of the time for viewing the city. Melling’s detailed drawing portrays the area stretching through the two shores of the Golden Horn to Mount Bulgurlu in Scutari on the horizon. [Fig. 4.10] In the foreground, a group of local women picnicking, camels and sitting men enliven the scene. Melling included people in the scene not only to provide information about the life going on at the place depicted; he also used them because of their exotic looks contributing to the picturesqueness. Although Melling drew them in

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<sup>26</sup> John Murray, *Murray’s Handbook*, 113.

<sup>27</sup> Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus*, 39.



**Figure 4.8** “Vue Genérale de Constantinople. Prise de la Tour de Léandre” by Melling

Source: M. Melling, *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des Rives du Bospore* (Paris, 1819)



**Figure 4.9** “View from Mount Bulgurlu” by H. Barlett

Source: Miss Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosporus* (London: George Virtue, 1838)

an inoffensive way, the accompanying text interpreted their appearance as a display of Oriental laziness.<sup>28</sup> The view as seen in Melling's drawing rarely found its photographic counterpart. Because of the narrower angle of a camera lens, it was not possible to get such a view without adding several successive photographs side by side. It seems that Kargopoulo was the only photographer who went such trouble to make a panorama from this spot. His panorama made in the 1870s, was composed of five successive photographs taken from a height at Eyüp hill.<sup>29</sup>

In the meantime, the hills of Eyüp were one of the large burial grounds in the city. Pardoe also comments that the most interesting feature of Eyüp was its beautifully situated cemetery. Thus, the place was visited not only for the sake of its view but also its cemeteries.<sup>30</sup> Barlett's drawing conveys Pardoe's detailed depiction of the scene:

The view from the cemetery is strikingly fine; on the one hand the city, throned on its seven hills, with a thousand taper minarets glancing towards heaven, stretches along the edge of the harbor, until the line is lost at the abrupt and palace-cumbered point of the ancient Byzantium; beyond which may be descried the termination of the Bosphorus, and the mountain chain of Bulgurlhu [...] On the other side of the land-locked harbor the gently-flowing Barbyzes glides, like a silver thread, through the valley of Kyat Khana [...] stands a small mosque, half buried in trees, insignificant in appearance, and seldom remarked by strangers; which is, however, too historically interesting [...] the new Tershana, or Admiralty, a bright, many coloured, highly-ornamented edifice, in the Russian taste [...] Beyond this mosque, the out buildings of the Imperial arsenal, the dry dock for the construction of shipping [...] a floating bridge, stretching from the pier of Galata [...] while the line of shore in the distance, fringed with the houses and public buildings of Topp-hanné, gently recedes, until it disappears under the stately shadow of Bulgurlhu.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Melling, *Voyage Pittoresque*, 113.

<sup>29</sup> Öztuncay, *Vassilliaki Kargopoulo*, 249.

<sup>30</sup> Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus*, 11.

<sup>31</sup> Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus*, 12-13

Barlett's drawing clearly shows the descending city walls as the border of the antique city and emphasizes the appearance of the seven hills on which the antique city of Byzantium was founded. [Fig. 4.11] Moreover, the cemetery depicted in the foreground associates the view of the Golden Horn and of the city with melancholic notions of death, loss, and the passing of time. Later, photographers produced photographs of the view including the graveyard. However, in photographs, while the angle of view was getting narrower, the emphasis shifted from the silhouette of the city and its historical connotations to the vast expanse of the Golden Horn, the melancholy created by cypresses, and the orientalism of grave stones contributing the picturesque. [Fig. 4.12] Similar to heights of Eyüp, the high grounds of Galata and Pera were also vantage points suitable for viewing the city. The area presented unobstructed vistas of the historical peninsula. It is narrated in several travel writings that the European visitors viewed the opposite shore from Tepebaşı, from the heights of Galata, the Galata Tower, Okmeydanı and Kasımpaşa. Accordingly, the area was preferred by many artists for depictions of the city.

Drawings portraying the city panoramically from some heightened points of Galata have a long history that goes back to Melchior Lorich's sixteenth century panorama of Istanbul.<sup>32</sup> Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Guillaume-Josephus Grelot also drew a panorama showing the Seraglio point and a part of Scutari from Galata. Similarly, Petrus Gyllius' drawing published in his book, *The Antiquities of Constantinople* (1729), depicted the area between the point and St. Sophia by viewing the Seraglio from Galata. Throughout the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, not just Melling, Hilair, Allom, and Barlett but many other artists who visited or worked in Istanbul portrayed the city from this area. When photography arrived in the 1840s, photographers also climbed the heights of Galata and Pera; but undoubtedly, their favorite vantage point was the Galata Tower.

Melling's drawing made from the Embassy of Sweden in Pera presents a view including the part of the historical peninsula between the Seraglio Point and

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<sup>32</sup> Nigel Westbrook, Kenneth Rainsbury Dark and Rene Van Meeuwen, "Constructing Melchior Lorichs's Panorama of Constantinople," JSAH



**Figure 4.10** “Vue Générale du Port de Constantinople. Prise des Hauteurs d’Eyoub” by Melling

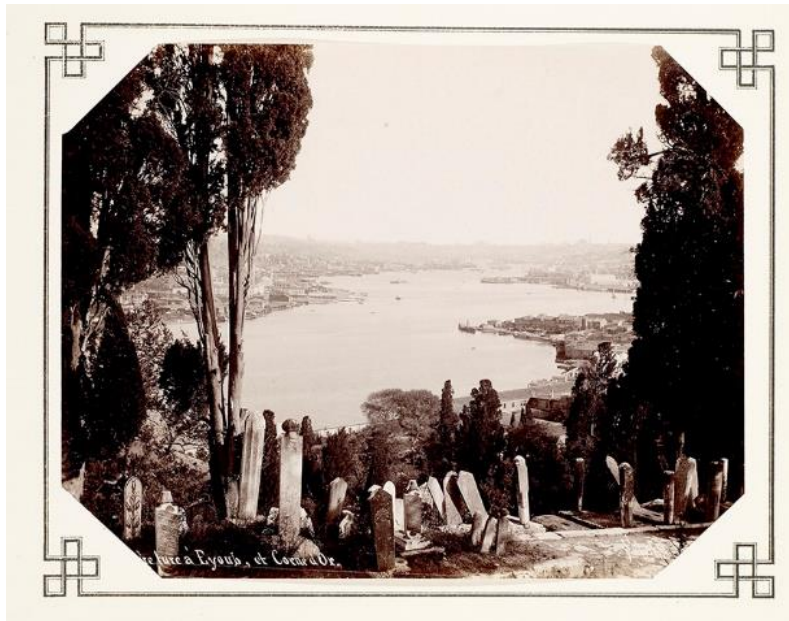
Source: M. Melling, *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des Rives du Bospore* (Paris, 1819)



**Figure 4. 11** “View from Mount Bulgurlu” by H. Barlett

Source: Miss Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosporus* (London: George Virtue, 1838)





**Figure 4.12** [View from Eyüp Cemetery] Photography by Sebah and Joallier,

Source: GRI R.14.A21\_004\_recto



**Figure 4.13** “Vue d’une partie de la ville de Constantinople avec la pointe du Serail” by Melling

Source: M. Melling, *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des Rives du Bospore* (Paris, 1819)



Nurosmaniye Mosque and part of Galata along with wooden houses and the Galata Tower [Fig. 4.13]. However, it was not possible to render places in a single frame with such a wide angle without losing details. Therefore, to obtain such a view by a camera was only possible by adding successive views side by side. For such a production, photographers usually preferred the Galata and Seraskerat Towers. Accordingly, a view similar to Melling's drawing was rarely found among photographs of the city. In fact, photographs taken from the Galata side showing Stamboul do not present a variety of views. Although there are some photographs taken from Pera, most were taken from the Galata Tower. Therefore, although taken by different photographers at different times, they mostly present similar areas from similar angles.

On the other hand, Hilair's drawing depicts the Seraglio point from Karaköy (the shore opposite Galata) from ground level. In the drawing the buildings of Topkapı Palace are seen among the gardens, above the hill. Kiosks and the walls surrounding the point are visible; [Fig. 4.14]. In the foreground, some local people animate the scene. However, taken almost a hundred years later, Sébah and Joallier's photograph shows a different world. Restricted by the modern conditions of the city and the optical truthfulness of the technique, photographs did not produce picturesque general views; instead, they presented bird's-eye panoramic views in which everything was recorded down to the minute detail; [Fig. 4.15].

#### 4.1.2 Urban centers

Among the districts of Istanbul, Stamboul and Scutari were found more interesting because they were more Oriental than the streets of Pera and Galata.<sup>33</sup> Stamboul was visited not only for its historical monuments but also because it exemplified the "Oriental" life of İstanbul. Hippodrome and Seraskerat square were the main open spaces of the city. Yet, the courtyards of the great mosques had urban functions which were more analogous to those of European squares.<sup>34</sup> However, they were not as open

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<sup>33</sup> Crawford, *Constantinople*, 71; Clement, *Constantinople*, 258.

<sup>34</sup> Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama*, 153.



**Figure 4.14** Vue de la Pointe du Serai, Price de Galata by Jean Baptise Hilair  
 Source: Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque Dans L'Empire Ottoman* (Paris: J.P. Aillaud, 1842)



**Figure 4.15** [Seraglio Point from Karaköy] Photography by Sebah and Joallier,  
 Source: GRI R.14.A021\_001\_verso

to Christian visitors as they were to the Muslims. Even, the courtyard of Eyüp Sultan Mosque was totally closed to “infidels” as they were called, because it was a sacred place due to the grave of the Prophet’s friend, Eyüp. Particularly, the courtyards of great mosques were regarded as picturesque spectacles of “Oriental” life. Mostly, they have a fountain for ablution, which was also a subject of curiosity. There were always a variety of local people such as beggars, pilgrim merchants, clerics, vendors, men, women and children coming and going. Among courtyards depicted, the courtyard of Beyazıt Mosque was perhaps the one most frequently portrayed. Because of its ablution fountain in the courtyard surrounded by its legendary pigeons and a huge plane tree providing with a shade, the place was perceived as a garden. Moreover, it was always crowded because it was very close to the bazaars. Both Flandin and Barlett portrayed these characteristics of the place. [Fig. 4.16; Fig 4.17]

Sébah and Joallier’s well-liked photograph also includes all distinguishing elements of the place. Similarly, located in the middle of the hustle and bustle of fish market at the foot of the Galata Bridge, the courtyard of Yeni Valide Mosque was also a vivid place and relatively more open to tourists’ gaze.<sup>35</sup>

As vivid commercial centers, bazaars were also public spaces where tourists enjoyed exoticism. Particularly the Great Bazaar was the bazaar *par excellence*. The place also had imagery similar to that of Aladdin’s cave. As Pardoe writes, “there are many individuals to be found, who almost persist in believing that the Bazars of Stamboul are as sparkling and gorgeous as the enchanted garden of Aladdin.”<sup>36</sup> Yet, she demystified this image by saying that there was “no prettiness in the great commercial mart of the Moslems” and depicting the place as an array of narrow streets that resembles “a small covered town, the roof being supported by arches of solid masonry.”<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, she explains what was admirable:

The interest of the Tcharchi exists in its great extent, its peculiar arrangement, and the picturesque effects constantly produced by the shifting groups who

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<sup>35</sup> See photographs in chapter 3 [Fig. 3.37 ; Fig. 3. 38].

<sup>36</sup> Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus*, 30.

<sup>37</sup> Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus* 30



**Figure 4.16** “Court of the Mosque Bajazet” by H. Barlett

Source: Miss Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus* (London: George Virtue, 1838)



**Figure 4.17** Eugene Flandin, “Cour Interieure de la Mosquée du Sultan Bayazid”

Source: Eugene Flandin, *L'Orient* (Paris: Gide et J. Baudry, 1855)

people it, and whose diversity of costume, countenance, and national character, tends to arouse the admiration and curiosity of every visitor.<sup>38</sup>

About forty years after Miss Pardoe, Amicis perceived the place in a similar way, saying that the picturesque character of the place came from the variety and intricacy of the exotic objects and types:

Every one of them is odd and picturesque in its own way; every shop door is the frame of a picture full of colour and fancy, that fills the mind with stories of adventure and romance.<sup>39</sup>

The Grand Bazaar was most likely to be visited by tourists. It was illustrated by several artists including Allom and Barlett. Barlett's drawing accompanying Pardoe's text portrays a pre-modern space composed of long, dim, arched streets.[Fig. 4.18] The drawing also includes a variety of oriental types, porters, street sellers, merchants, and women. Sébah and Joallier's photograph depicting the bazaar appears as one of most well-received photographs in that it is found in several albums.(Fig. 4.19] The photograph depicts the place in a very different way. The drawing portrays the place in a dimly lit poetic atmosphere, yet, far does not provide any detail about the shops or goods. However, the photograph has nothing with such a medieval romance, it portrays the place more informatively. It depicts a group of merchants and the row of stores where fabrics are sold. Although, the black and white photograph could not depict colors, rows of fabrics in different colors and textures might have been found pleasing. In fact, a nicely colored version of the same photograph was also available. In the photograph, all the merchants are seen lined up in an orderly fashion. They are standing still and looking at the camera. Although the place is quite old, it is clean, maintained and well-lit. The shops are neat and full of goods. The place is historical, traditional and thus oriental; yet, it is in a modern condition of cleanness and order. Therefore, rather than depicting a historical oriental place or pre-modern conditions, the photograph portrays a modern condition embracing the past and tradition.<sup>40</sup> This

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<sup>38</sup> Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus* 30.

<sup>39</sup> Amicis, *Constantinople* [London, 1896], 86.

<sup>40</sup> Michelle L. Woodward, "Between Orientalist Clichés and Images of Modernization.





**Figure 4.18** “The Great Avenue in the Tchartchi” by H. Barlett  
 Source: Miss Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus* (London: George Virtue, 1838)



**Figure 4.19** [Intérieur du Grand Bazar] Photography by Sebah and Joallier,

Source: GRI R.14.A021\_014\_recto<sup>41</sup>

Photographic Practice in the Late Ottoman Era,” *History of Photography* 27, 4 (2003): 363-374, 365.

<sup>41</sup> The same photograph can also be found in 96.R.A30\_019recto.

photograph shows a concession between what tourists wanted to see and what the Ottomans wanted to show. Tourists sought the exotic, romantic, authentic and pleasurable yet what they looked for was not something necessarily pejorative. On the other hand, the Ottomans wanted to challenge misconceptions of the East. They distinguished themselves from the rest of the East as a modernized country.<sup>42</sup> Accordingly, what they wanted to show was the merits of their distinct culture and their contemporary modern position embracing their tradition and history.

If the courtyards of the mosques functioned as public squares, and bazaars were commercial centers, cemeteries functioned as public gardens where people enjoyed open air. Cemeteries which integrated into the fabric of the city were everywhere. As Walsh amusingly observes:

It is remarked by travellers, that the Turks pay more attention to the accommodation of the dead than of the living; and hence the number and extent of the places they provide for their reception. Their city is scarcely approached at any side but through receptacles for the dead. Besides the vast cemetery at Scutari, there are several beyond the walls of Constantinople; and two, of great extent, on the peninsula of Pera. The first object of a Turk's attention, in forming a cemetery, is a beautiful site; hence they all occupy positions commanding the best prospect, either of the Bosphorus or the Golden Horn.<sup>43</sup>

There was no escape from cemeteries because they occupied vastly the most scenic parts of the city. Everything about cemeteries was exotic. Their place in the city, the irregular settlements of graves, gravestones in a variety of shapes, their curious captions, the Arabic inscriptions they bore, the irregularity and deformity of the grave stones, and people walking, sitting, eating, cheating in cemeteries were all found interesting. They were the object of curiosity to a Westerner's gaze, not to mention an 'oriental' space, both of which resulted in making the features of cemeteries widely represented textually and pictorially:

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<sup>42</sup> Ussama Maksidisi, "Ottoman Orientalism." *American Historical View* 107, no.3 (2002): 768-796, 770.

<sup>43</sup> Walsh, *The Seven Churches*, 23.



Cemeteries of Constantinople are so well-situated, and used so much as pleasure-grounds by the people, that there is little of melancholy or sadness connected with them. It is difficult for the Christian to accept this view of a burial-place, but it is distinctly that of the Moslem; and the cypress-tree, which is so numerous in the cemeteries, does not stand as the symbol of death and grief in this land, where it is the ornament of the garden as well as of the city of the dead, and the guardian of the fountain as of the tomb.<sup>44</sup>

In many places the stones, carved with verses of the Koran, have yielded under their own weight; and being carelessly placed in a sandy soil, are overturned or broken. Some of them are decapitated, and their turbans lie at their feet like severed heads. It is said that these truncated tombs are those of the Janissaries, pursued even beyond the grave by the vengeance of the Sultan Mahmoud.<sup>45</sup>

The Turkish women are fond of spending whole days sitting on their carpets in the cemeteries, not from any deep affection for the dead, for the Turk cares little for the body when once buried-the soul, the true being they loved, is safe in Paradise, thought only from the moment that the body is laid in the ground.<sup>46</sup>

In drawings of the early nineteenth century, cemeteries were mostly drawn as a part of a landscape. [Fig. 4.20; Fig. 4.21] Photographs also repeated the picturesque formula of drawings. On the other hand, photographs also responded to the market interest demanding oriental portraits. Hence, cemeteries were not only depicted as foreground elements of a vast scape of the Bosphorus or the Golden Horn, but as backgrounds for portraits of oriental people. [Fig. 4.22; Fig 4.23] Therefore, although in drawings, the main function of these spaces as burial grounds was apparent, this social function was not seen in photographs. No mourners or ceremonies were seen in the photographs. It is likely that this was not an ideological approach but a practical one as well as a moral code, which required a photographer not to disturb a funeral. On the other hand, photographers used to use models to animate scenes theatrically. Yet, photographing cemeteries, they used models as if they were strolling around rather than mourning. This was a scene that was in line with the Islamic tradition explained in travel accounts saying that Turks do not care the body but the spirit. Yet, being different than cemeteries in Western countries, Turkish cemeteries were easily exoticized. Therefore,

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<sup>44</sup> Clement, *Constantinople*, 257.

<sup>45</sup> Gautier, *Constantinople To-Day*, 85.

<sup>46</sup> Mrs. Müller, *Letters From Constantinople*, 38.



**Figure 4.20** “The Petit Champ-des-Morts, Pera” by H. Barlett

Source: Miss Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus* (London: George Virtue, 1838)



**Figure 4.21** “Roumeli Hissar, or, the Castle of Europe” by Thomas Allom

Source: Robert Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor* (Paris, Fisher and Sons, 1839)



**Figure 4.22** “Cimetière turc à Eyoub et groupe de Turcs” Photograph by Sebah and Joallier

Source: GRI, R.14. A28\_061



**Figure 4.23** “Cimetière turc à Scutari” Photograph by Mihran Iranian

Source: GRI, R.14. A28\_092

in the context of tourism, their images were widely consumed as confirmations of one of the most exotic peculiarities of the city.

#### 4.1.3 The built environment as a part of landscape

While before their travels, tourists had a vision of Istanbul including a superb landscape crowned with oriental buildings and ruins of the past, which was imagined as if seen from the hills of the city and/or from the sea. Having an aesthetic perspective to capture the picturesque frames in a landscape, they easily appreciated the landscape. Yet, they couldn't appreciate the architecture as easily as they applauded the landscape. Since, they were far from grasping the architecture with its structural, social, cultural, political or historical complexities, they judged them based on either the stylistic trends of the day or their taste of architecture.

On the other hand, the theory of the picturesque also brought a new emphasis on architecture as part of the landscape. In the eighteenth century, exotic pavilions including some imitations of Islamic architecture were adorned with pleasure gardens. Therefore, they were familiar with the models of exotic architecture that were abstracted from their original function albeit had acquired a new one as a decorative object. Accordingly, by seeing the city, by extracting pictures in it, they enjoyed architecture as part of a picturesque landscape. For instance, seeing fountains and kiosks as aesthetic elements contributing to the picturesque, Gautier gives some credit to the Turks:

The Turks, although they have, properly speaking, "no art," because the Koran condemns, as idolatry, all representations of animated beings, have nevertheless, in a high degree, the sense of the picturesque. Wherever there is, in any locality, a fine vista, or a smiling perspective, there is sure to be, also, a kiosk or a fountain and some Osmalis enjoying kief upon their outspread carpets.<sup>47</sup>

On the other hand, the Bosphorus was well suited to the aesthetic notions of the picturesque landscape. Although they did not find the buildings picturesque, by applying the variety and intricacy formula, they enjoyed architecture as a whole. As Elliot comments:

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<sup>47</sup> Gautier, *Constantinople To-Day*, 337.

Taken as a whole, the Bosphorus, though the slopes never rise to a commanding height, is exquisitely picturesque, but in detail I cannot but criticize, not withstanding picturesque villas here and there, brilliant with flowers, statues, and greenery; the palaces if placed elsewhere would be but shapeless quarries of marble without the sleeping beauties of those hills and broken cypress-planted glens down which the sun slants so lovingly.<sup>48</sup>

By providing the schedule of steamers, Murray's handbook recommended that everyone should take a steamer up to European shore of the Bosphorus as far as Büyükdere then return through Asiatic shores to Scutari.<sup>49</sup> Besides, it promoted the beauty of the scenery:

Nothing can exceed the beauty of the scenery along the banks of the Bosphorus. The slopes either side are clothed with verdure, and studded with palaces, or picturesque wooden houses; and the shores, broken into numerous bays, are washed by swiftly running waters of the deepest blue.<sup>50</sup>

Actually, viewing the shores of from the Bosphorus from a vessel was one of the main enjoyments of the city. Hence, in early drawings shores of the Bosphorus were depicted with monuments as if they were united with hills and the sea. In the eighteenth century, Melling depicted Hatice Sultan Palace from a slightly higher vantage point in perspective. [Fig. 4.24] He drew the palace through a line extending diagonally from the left corner to the right of the frame. Thus, at the top, the line constituted by roofs also extended diagonally. The picture plane was thereby divided in three almost equally. The sky, the palace, and the sea occupied equal places and finally on the horizon, they melted in each other. Three *kayıks* drawn diagonally also enlivened the bottom triangle. In a similar vein, this formula or its variations were applied by different artists to create picturesque scenes in the nineteenth century. The Ottoman photographers also adapted this formula to their photographs when they took photographs of monumental architecture at the Bosphorus. [Fig. 4.25; Fig. 4.26; Fig. 4.27]

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<sup>48</sup> Elliot, *Diary of an Idle Woman*, 381.

<sup>49</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Handbook*, 91.

<sup>50</sup> John Murray, *Murray's Handbook*, 91; John Murray, *A hand book* [1845], 208.





**Figure 4.24** “Vue d’une partie de la ville de Constantinople avec la pointe du Serail” by Melling

Source: M. Melling, *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des Rives du Bospore* (Paris, 1819)



**Figure 4.25** “Perspective du palais de Dolma Bahché” Photograph by Pascal Sebah

Source: Source: GRI, R.14. A9\_023a



**Figure 4.26** “Palais de Dolma Baghtche” Photograph by Gülmez Freres

Source: Source: GRI, R.14. A18\_1\_003recto



**Figure 4.27** “Palais de Dolma Baghtche” Photograph by Vassiliaki Kargopoulo

Source: GRI, R.14. A11\_1\_02\_007recto



## 4.2 The city as an object of knowledge

Traveling to see, and thus, to know was an outcome of the enlightenment. Since the seventeenth century, systematic travel had become a common way of acquiring of knowledge. During the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, not only had Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean or Normandy been systematically explored but explorations had also extended to various geographies. These explorations resulted in visits and investigation of ruins and examples of Greek, Roman and Gothic monuments. Geographical knowledge about the lands visited was recorded by representations. Once it could be recorded exactly, it could be ordered, disseminated and used for further creation of knowledge. Seemingly objective and transparent, photography was easily perceived as a scientific tool for recording and archiving empirical knowledge. Therefore, photographs provided a media to define, elucidate, order and catalogue, and thereby come to know and comprehend the world.<sup>51</sup>

### 4.2.1 Bird's-eye views and panoramas

Roots of panoramic and cartographic drawings of Istanbul can be traced to the early fifteenth century. Christoforo Buondelmonti's map of Istanbul was included in the *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, another view of "Constantinopolis" drawn by Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514) appeared in the world history book *Liber Chronicarum* in Nuremberg in 1493. The oldest picture showing Istanbul after the Conquest is the engraving attributed to Vavassore printed in the early sixteenth century.<sup>52</sup> Technically, three of them are bird's eye views. They were constructed views from a single, imaginary vantage point showing the city from an altitude, which could, in reality, not be experienced until the twentieth century. In these drawings, the outlines of the city were emphasized precisely. Significant sites, monuments, and vernacular buildings were rendered in accordance to their spatial relations to each other. This way of seeing and depicting the city from a single,

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<sup>51</sup> Joan M. Schwartz, "The Geography Lesson: photographs and the construction of imaginative geographies" *Journal of Historical Geography*, 22, 1: (1996) 16–45, 38.

<sup>52</sup> Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/ Istanbul* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009) 143-165.

extremely high vantage point providing cartographical knowledge continued in the following centuries. Later, the Galata Tower and Seraskerat Tower became the spots providing altitude for the bird's-eye view of the city.

On the other hand, in the sixteenth century, Istanbul was also depicted using the profile approach, which was also one of the chorography techniques used during the Renaissance. The other was bird's-eye view (perspective plan).<sup>53</sup> The profile approach was a technique depicting the city from ground level or from a slightly raised view point. In 1553, Pieter Coecke van Aelst depicted panoramic views of Ottoman territories.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, Melchior Lorichs's panorama, which was composed of a succession of scenes of the city from different viewpoints from Pera portrayed the city as seen by the eye.<sup>55</sup>

In the seventeenth century, Guillaume-Joseph Grelot, who was a French artist, came to Istanbul and produced panoramas of Istanbul by applying both of the techniques and printed them in 1680 as a part of his travel account. One of his panoramas titled "*La Ville Et Le Port De Constantinople*" is a bird's-eye view showing the city from the East as it was drawn in Vavassore's map. Another drawing titled "*Veue Du Grand Serail De Constantinople*" was drawn from the hills of Pera using the profile approach. At the end of the century, Cornelius de Bruijn, who was a Dutch artist and traveler, also produced a vast panorama. In the eighteenth century Ferdinand von Gudenus drew almost a three hundred sixty degree panorama of the city from the hills of Pera. In the late eighteenth century, Robert Barker, who invented painted circular representations and erected the first rotunda to display his panoramic paintings, also painted a

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<sup>53</sup> Lucie Nuti, "Mapping Places: Chorography and Vision in the Renaissance," in *Mappings*, ed. D. Cosgrove (London: Reaktion, 1999) 90-109, 98-99.

<sup>54</sup> Coecke, who was sent to Istanbul to make cartoons for a Flemish tapestry company, produced panoramic views of Istanbul and of other territories of the Ottoman Empire also portraying several scenes of Ottoman daily life ranging from funeral and circumcision ceremonies to the Sultan's procession in the Hippodrome. Alain Servantie, "Türkiye'de Satılmayan Brüksel Halılarında 'Türklerin Tavırlarına' ve 'Büyük Türk'ün Sarayının Tarifi'ne," in Harp ve Sulh, ed. Dejanirah Couto, trans. Şirin Tekeli (İstanbul: Kitap, 2010), 268-294.

<sup>55</sup> Nigel Westbrook and others, "Constructing Panorama of Melchor Lorichs's Panorama of Constantinople," *JSAH* 69, 1 (2010): 62-87.

panorama of Istanbul that was displayed in 1801. Barker drew panoramas from two alternative points – the Galata Tower and the Maiden’s Tower.<sup>56</sup>

In 1843, Girault de Prangey, who was one of the first traveler photographers to stop in Istanbul on his way to the East, climbed Seraskerat Tower and made the first photographic panorama of Istanbul.<sup>57</sup> Almost after a decade, James Robertson took the first three hundred sixty degree of panorama of Istanbul from the same spot.<sup>58</sup> In the Sergi-i Umumi Osmani (1863), Pascal Sébah, who was the first indigenous photographer opening a studio in Istanbul, exhibited two ten-piece panoramas of Istanbul taken from Galata and Seraskerat Towers.<sup>59</sup> In 1867, Abdullah Frères’s panorama was composed of six pieces and taken from Beyazıt Tower to be exhibited in the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867.<sup>60</sup> In 1875, Pascal Sébah made another panorama from Galata Tower. Vassillaki Kargopoulo’s three hundred sixty degree panorama of Istanbul from Galata Tower, composed of twelve pieces, was a colossal example of this genre.<sup>61</sup> Then, in 1889, Sébah and Joallier made a panorama from Seraskerat Tower. Swedish Guillaume Berggren and Gülmez Freres also produced impressive panoramas.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, in handbooks, both of the towers were recommended for tourists to climb due to their impressive views. Yet, the descriptions of the views seen from the towers are not commonly found in travelogues. This could be because the view was cartographic and vast but not picturesque. Indeed, Amicis made the climb and likened the view to a map:

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<sup>56</sup> Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama*, 146.

<sup>57</sup> Öztuncay, “İstanbul’da Fotoğrafçılığın Doğuşu,” 78.

<sup>58</sup> Öztuncay, *Dersaadet’in Fotoğrafçıları*, 141-145.

<sup>59</sup> Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 242-243.

<sup>60</sup> Öztuncay, “İstanbul’da Fotoğrafçılığın Doğuşu,” 82.

<sup>61</sup> Öztuncay, “İstanbul’da Fotoğrafçılığın Doğuşu,” 86.



**Figure 4.28** “Unterer Bosphorus: vorne Yeni Dschami.” Photograph by Sebah and Joallier

Source: GRI, R.14. A30\_033verso



**Figure 4.29** “Constantinople Corne D’or” Photographer unknown

Source: GRI, R.14. A25\_062

Constantinople lies spread out before you like a map, and with the turn of an eye the entire extent of the mighty metropolis can be embraced—all the hills and valleys of Stambul from the Castle of the Seven Towers to the cemetery of Eyub; all Galata, all Pera, as though you could drop your sight down into them like a plumb-line; all Skutari as though it lay directly beneath you—three lines of buildings, groves, and shipping, extending as far as the eye can reach along three shores of indescribable beauty, and other stretches of garden and village winding away inland until they fade out of view in the distance.<sup>62</sup>

Amicis was right, because of the extensive height of the towers, the view was a massive display of three parts of the city separated by the city. Because of the vertical distance added to the horizontal distance, only monuments were clearly discernable. Since details melted into the immense texture of the city, a cursory glance made the city appear as a map. Since panoramas were sold separately within their fancy covers, the albums did not include panoramas. [4.28; 4.29] Yet, almost all of the albums included several views taken from both of the towers. Panoramas, as a rule, did not focus a specific building, rather presenting the area as a whole for the comprehension of the viewer.

#### 4.2.2 Architectural representations in photographs

When photography emerged as a new technique of rendering, it immediately faced a demand for architectural photographs motivated by different intentions. Not only the tourist market but also academic and professional circles of architecture demanded architectural photographs, particularly due to their accuracy and ability to render details and various aspects of a building more precisely, more easily and faster than even before. Accordingly, besides photographs conveying notions of picturesque drawings and romantic paintings, photographs adapting existing conventions of architectural representations were also produced. It was also the time of historical revivalism and debates of the perfect style. Accordingly, several publications surveying historical architecture had appeared.<sup>63</sup> The main problem was the accuracy of drawings and

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<sup>62</sup> Amicis, *Constantinople*, vol I, [Philadelphia] 243.

<sup>63</sup> John Britton's *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* was published between 1807 and 1826. Thomas Rickman established a terminology in his *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture* in 1817. Augustus Pugin's *Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* of 1825 brought together many detailed varieties of the Gothic architecture. The first

truthful representations of architecture. Photography responded to this demand for truthful representations by adapting the conventions of architectural drawings.

The plan, the elevation, the transverse section, and the perspective constituted the basic vocabulary of the architectural image.<sup>64</sup> The elevation is a two dimensional representation of an isolated façade depicted from a strictly frontal point of view. On the other hand, the perspective view is the technique of creating a three-dimensional illusion, placing the building diagonally in space and emphasizing depth and texture of the surfaces by using directional lighting. While perspective drawing included contextual indicators and foreground elements conveying the actual experience of seeing, the elevation drawing deliberately avoided indicators of context and aimed for a diagrammatic representation communicating the essential data of the façade with accurate proportions.<sup>65</sup>

The two approaches, elevation and perspective, were quickly implemented by the nineteenth century photographers. In order to produce the photographic equivalent of an elevation drawing, the photograph had to be taken at a height as close as the midpoint of the façade. The viewpoint had to be chosen in such a way that the appearance of the façade would be flattened and the depth indicators would be avoided. On the other hand, to produce a perspective view, the standard practice which was climbing to a mid-height of the façade was also adapted, but this time the viewing point

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part of his *Examples of Gothic Architecture* was published in 1828. The book was organized according to the places from which the examples were taken. In 1830, another book, also written by Pugin, *A Series of Views, Illustrative of the Examples of Gothic Architecture* appeared. In the 1830s, *Architectural Notes on German Churches* by William Whewell and *Remarks on the Architecture of Middle Ages* by Robert Willis were published. See also Barry Bergdoll, *European Architecture. 1750-1890* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 145.

<sup>64</sup>James Ackerman explains convincingly in his *Origins, Imitation and Conventions* that the basic conventions of architectural drawings had already been established in the thirteenth century. Despite the fact that architectural styles have shown a great diversity until today, conventions of architectural drawing have not changed. Ackerman, James S. *Origins, Imitations, Conventions* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: The MIT Press, 2002), 96.

<sup>65</sup> Robinson, Cervin and Joel Herschman. *Architecture Transformed: A History of the Photography of Buildings from 1839 to the Present* (New York, NY: Architectural League of New York; Cambridge, MA : MIT Press, c1987), 4.

was chosen in such a way that the three dimensional form of the structure was emphasized.<sup>66</sup> Since elevation intended to present an objective, informative and undistorted representation of a façade, it was formal and had exact rules. On the other hand, perspective aimed to illustrate the actual experience and addressed a broader public as the most popular way of presenting buildings. Thus, it was not so rigorous and strictly identified.<sup>67</sup> Photographs so successfully adopted the conventions of architectural drawings that within decades they started to be used as illustrations in architectural books.

When traveler photographers, many of whom were educated in art or architecture, headed to the East, they were also aware of conventions of architectural representation. Before the local studios were established in Istanbul, a number of European photographers had been active in Istanbul. The early Ottoman photographers were also educated artisans. Before getting involved in photography, Viçen Abdullah was one of the famous miniature painters of Istanbul. In the 1850s, he worked with German photographer Rabach, after when he took over his studio with his brothers.<sup>68</sup> His brother Kevork Abdullah was educated in the Mourad-Raphaelian School in Venice. Pascal Sébah was a member of the *Société Française de Photographie* and regularly took part in its exhibitions regularly.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, they did not have any difficulty adapting conventions of architectural representations to their photographs.

Basically, photographs depicting exteriors of buildings in Istanbul followed three main approaches. The first was the topographical approach, which portrays a building as a part of a larger urban context or a part of a landscape. The second requires a closer approach and an abstraction of the building from its immediate surrounding, yet it focuses on the mass of the building and the structural organization of the composing parts as a whole. The third approach elaborates on details. The roots of these

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<sup>66</sup> Robinson and Herschman, *Architecture Transformed*, 4.

<sup>67</sup> Robinson and Herschman, *Architecture Transformed*, 6.

<sup>68</sup> Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları*, 179; Özendes, *Abdullah Freres*, 30.

<sup>69</sup> Özendes, *Sebah and Joallier'den*, 177.



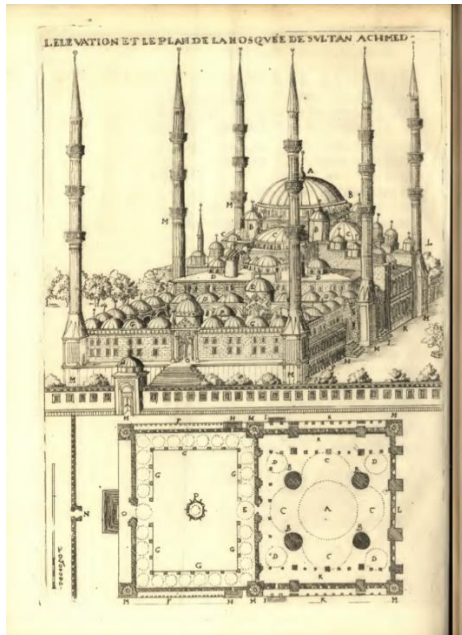
approaches can be found in the graphic sources of architectural representations of İstanbul.

Appearing at the end of the seventeenth century, architectural illustrations with plans of the monuments in Guillaume-Joseph Grelot's *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople* can be seen as one of the earliest samples of architectural drawings of the monuments of İstanbul. Grelot's book included representations of Topkapı Palace, St. Sophia, Süleymaniye Mosque, Sultan Ahmet Mosque and Yeni Valide Mosque. Grelot's drawings reveal a great effort for the accuracy. Even in the second half of the nineteenth century, James Fergusson, who was the author of the first comprehensive history of world architecture in English, published his *Illustrated Handbook of Architecture* in 1855, admired Grelot's drawings as the best account on the mosques of Constantinople that was available, even though "like all works of that class in that age, they are very imperfect." He also regretted that "since then we have nothing but flippant remarks or picturesque sketches, far more likely to mislead than to instruct."<sup>70</sup> In the eighteenth century, Viennese architect Fischer Von Erlach (1656–1723) included drawings of a group of monuments of İstanbul to his *Entwurf einer Historischen Architectur* (1721), which was the first world architectural history book. Included monuments are Sultanahmet Mosque, St. Sophia, Süleymaniye Mosque and an elevated view of the cistern at Hippodrome.

Photographers prioritized the perspective approach over the elevation views. Their vantage point varied from pedestrian eye level to bird's-eye view. Photographs from slightly elevated vantage point provide the viewer with a kind of detachment from the scene and suggest an objective / scientific look. The bird's-eye view renders a building as if it is an architectural model and offers knowledge about the whole mass of the building at one glance. Actually, in both Grelot's and Erlach's drawings, the vantage point is elevated [Fig. 4.30; Fig. 4.31]. Similarly, the elevated vantage point was used

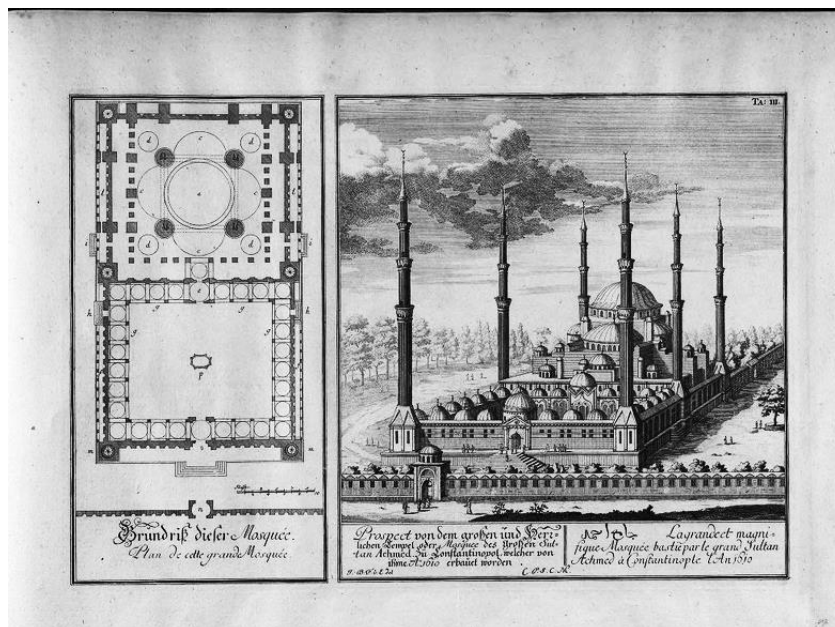
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<sup>70</sup> James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1855), 465-466



**Figure 4.30** Sultanahmet Mosque by Guillaume-Joseph Grelot

Source: Guillaume-Joseph Grelot *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople* (Paris: Pierre Rocolet, 1680)



**Figure 4.31** Sultanahmet Mosque by Fischer von Erlach

Source: Fischer von Erlach. *Entwurf einer Historischen Architectur* (Leipzig, 1725)

for rendering monumental architecture. Sebah and Joallier's photograph of Sultan Ahmed Mosque depicts the building in perspective from a slightly elevated point. [Fig.4.32] It shows the cascading domes, six minarets and the Mosque's spatial relationship with Hippodrome. All of the architectural elements were rendered separately and rhythmically. The cart and children in the foreground enliven the scene and indicate the scale of the monuments. In another photograph of Sébah and Joallier taken by the Seraskerat Tower, the vantage point is similar to Grelot's drawing of Sultan Ahmed Mosque. [Fig.4.33] The entire mass of the mosque and how it towers over the other buildings in the neighborhood with its monumental size is displayed. Yet, in another photograph, Yeni Valide Mosque in Aksaray, the camera is located parallel to the Mosque and at almost the half height of the mosque to ensure an elevation view [Fig.4.34]. With this approach, the front façade was focused and the depth of the building was lost. Moreover, the mosque was abstracted from its immediate surroundings. This view has a similar approach with Grelot's drawing depicting Süleymaniye Mosque [Fig.4.35]. Similarly, in the depiction of other building types, these two scientific methods of architectural documentation were used. Kargopoulo's photograph of Küçüksu Pavilion (in the Sweet Waters of Asia) was rendered slightly in perspective delineating the mass and the façade ornamentation. [Fig.4.36] Three well-dressed men sitting in front of the palace indicated the scale. All the parts were rendered sharp and perfect. There are many more examples to illustrate this. Another photograph is an elevation view of Taksim artillery barracks.[Fig. 4.37] On the other hand, photographs taken from pedestrian eye level involved the viewer in the scene and suggested a bodily experience akin to approaching the building for a visit. However, they do not offer the knowledge about the whole structure of the building.

Thus, when the photograph appeared as a new representation technique, it did not initially only borrow its subjects from earlier graphical representation forms but their conventions as well. Despite the fact that these subjects continued to be represented in traditional ways, new subjects and new ways of representing them were made possible by photography.



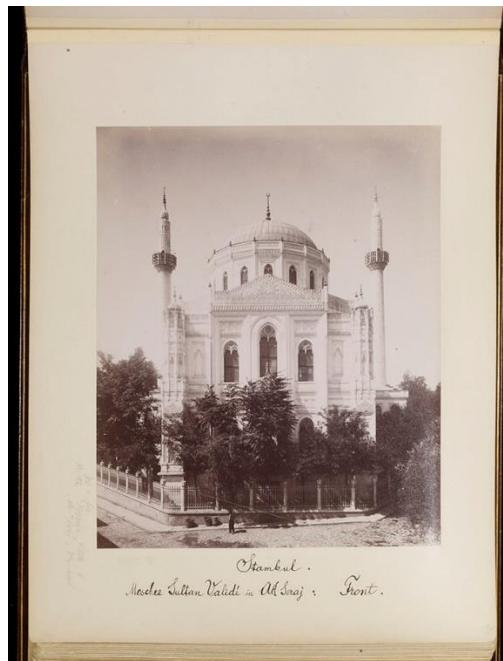
**Figure 4.32** “Mosquée Ahmed et l'Hippodrome” Photograph by Sébah and Joallier

Source: GRI, R.14. A21\_008verso



**Figure 4.33** “Vue panoramique de la mosquée Bayazed” Photograph by Sébah and Joallier

Source: GRI, R.14. A21\_009 recto



**Figure 4.34** “Stambul: Moschee Sultan Validé in Ak Seraj.” Photograph by Sébah & Joaillier

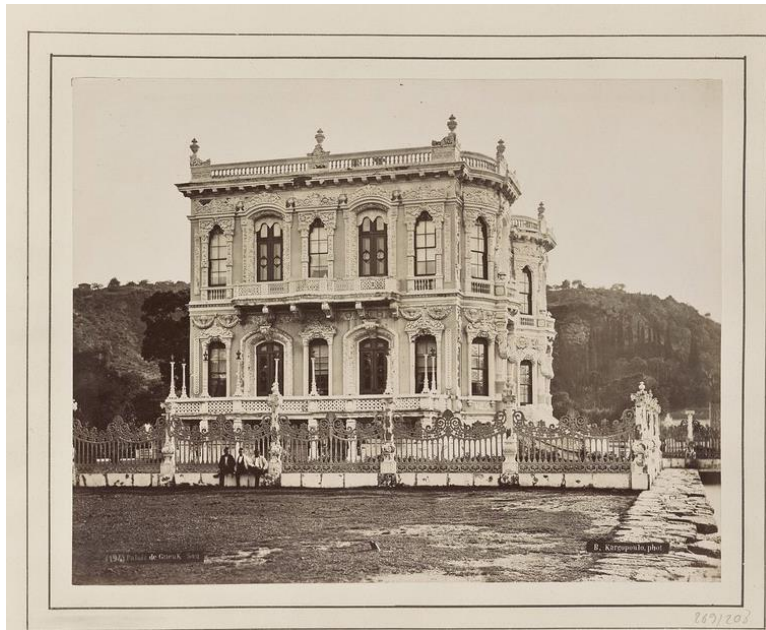
Source: GRI, R.14. A30\_024 recto



**Figure 4.35** Süleymaniye Mosque by Guillaume-Joseph Grelot

Source: Guillaume-Joseph Grelot *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople* (Paris: Pierre Rocolet, 1680)





**Figure 4.36** “Palais de Gueuk-Sou.” Photograph by Vasilliaki Kargopoulo.  
Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A7\_045



**Figure 4.37** “Entrée de la caserne d'artillerie à Taxim, Péra” Photograph by Sébah and Joaillier

Source: GRI, 96.R.14.A30\_56

With photography, subjects of photographed were diversified. Such subjects as Turkish street, Yüksek Kaldırım Street, Grand Rue de Pera, Seraskerat Square, train stations, and so on which were more mundane subjects were also represented.

Moreover, photography diversified the gaze. The same subject could be photographed from different angles, different distances or different heights. Accordingly, architectural details such as interiors, portals, tiles, wood carvings, scripts, ornamentations were also recorded. Besides, particularly after the 1880s, when photography presented greater ability to record movement, life in the streets began to be recorded more spontaneously and therefore more realistic than the previous photographs.

Including photographs spanning ten to twenty years, in fact even fifty years, albums presented not only Istanbul's views as a fragments in time, but also presented different ways of seeing, which changed over time.



## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

When photography arrived, it immediately became a part of travel in two main ways: it was used as a tool for the touristic representation of a scene, and for documentation in relation to its assumed veracity. As Lady Eastlake wrote about photography in the *London Quarterly Review* in 1857, "her business is to give evidence of facts, as minutely and as impartially as, to our shame, only an unreasoning machine can give."<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, since photography was perceived as an objective and accurate representation, seeing through photographs became a substitution for seeing on site. Photography functioned as a substitute for an actual trip with the promise that one could enjoy "the world beyond the doorstep free of dirt or mortal risk."<sup>2</sup> In 1852, Louis de Cormenin promoted Maxime du Camp's Middle East Album:

By a happy coincidence, photography was discovered at the same time as the railways. We need no longer embark on the ships of Cook or Laperouse in order to go perilous voyages: heliography, entrusted to a few intrepid practitioners, will make the world tour on our behalf, without ever having to leave our armchairs.<sup>3</sup>

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, with the widespread use of photographs and the advent of the technologies that made printed pictures commonplace, innumerable photographs of monuments, cityscapes, landscapes, and of ethnic people rendered the world more visible than ever before. And now visible, the world became visually consumable through this reproduction of places such as aesthetic and desirable sights due to photography and tourism. Enabling this consumption in part were travel

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<sup>1</sup> Lady Eastlake, "A Review in London Quarterly Review" in Vicki Goldberg (ed.) *Photography in Print*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988) 88-99, 97.

<sup>2</sup> Osborne. *Travelling Light*, 60.

<sup>3</sup> Osborne quoted from Jean-Claude Lemagny and André Roullié. *A History of Photography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 54; Osborne, *Travelling Light*, 60.

photographs and albums as products of the nineteenth century phenomenon of collecting and organizing photographs of places to grasp the world.

Therefore, tourists not only became familiar with various places through these photographic images before visiting them, but they also brought back photographs as keepsakes and to display images of the sights. The albums examined in this dissertation were produced within the context of tourism and at a time when looking at photographs was considered as an alternative way to learn about and enjoy places by traveling.

Travel albums were the products of a certain period in time and came into existence through mass tourism, which became widespread in the second half of the nineteenth century. Despite their large number, not all these albums were mass productions. The photographs they contained might be so, but the fact remains that each album was made or appropriated for personal use by the travelers themselves. That is why there are no identification or dates, which were unnecessary because the intended audience of the compiler was his or her immediate family and friends. These photographs were not only seen as pleasant memories and conduits for information from and about distant lands. They were also considered by their owners to be such invaluable art and craft objects with high aesthetic and technical value, since they had been created by the city's most successful photographers. Hence, they were made into and kept safe as invaluable books in the form of sturdy albums that bespoke the value their owners placed on them. Actually, these large prints were expensive objects.

This explains the existence of so many city albums from that time in various archives. Most of the numerous albums about Istanbul coincide with the final quarter of the nineteenth century, when travel conditions were relatively improved. The 1900s brought an end to the city photography series, which used to be renewed almost every five years during the preceding period. The last photographer to try his hand at cityscape photography was Nikolas Andriomenos in 1895, at a time when many unknown photographers pirated others' works and sold them cheaply, resulting in extremely harsh, competitive circumstances. Not surprisingly, Andriomenos's own photographs were also soon reproduced and sold on the market. The two final blows to cityscape and monument photography in Istanbul were the popularization of the picture postcard and the widespread use of snapshot cameras enabling everyone to take their

own pictures in the 1900s. Within ten years, the Balkan Wars and the World War I left Istanbul tourist-less. One by one, these albums, each as the product of a certain period in history, the individually created presentation of the perception of the city at that time, disappeared. On the other hand, despite the numerous city photographs in snapshot form, the lack of technique and aesthetic sense made amateur works created in the multitudes without any care or precision; they were only good for ordinary albums or keepsake boxes, never considered invaluable objects in contrast to the professional prints of the preceding era, which may explain why they were rarely kept in special, carefully arranged, organized and preserved, and instead faded into time. While it is possible to find such albums today, there are not so many of them, and the ones that do still exist are not very systematically organized. Those created in scrapbook format feature careful organization, and are thus viewed as a different genre.

Whenever the photographs in the Istanbul albums were considered individually, they were viewed in certain ways: within the context of the photographer, their place in the history of photography, the reflection of a social perception, or products serving an ideology. Thus, until recently, Ottoman photographs were seen within 'orientalist' photography or as a representative tool for Ottoman modernity. In both cases, the ideologies that influenced the production of the photographs were the focus. More recently though, the individual use of the photograph in the Ottoman context is also being discussed, in addition to its institutional uses. This discussion is significant in that it broadens the scope of the issue to include individual uses by people, their use and perception, rather than limiting it to the roles of ideological corporate commercial factors that affect production, famous photographers and government officials.

This dissertation contributes to the discussion by investigating what the city looked like at a certain period in time from the viewpoint of its visitors. Since photographs in the examined albums were commercially produced, the lead actors of the album making process were the photographer and the traveler. Here it can be suggested that there is reconciliation between the view of the photographer and of the compiler or of the owner of the album. While the photographers took ownership of the travelers' gaze and present what they wanted to see, the traveler assumed what the photographers offered.

Viewed together as a whole, although the albums do not all reveal the motivation of the compiler, the compiler appears as the lead actor - the person who chose the photographs, organized the album and arranged the photographs by defining the relationships among the photographs; thereby reinventing the city from his/her own perspective and presenting it. This actor, through the editorial act of choosing and arranging, rendered the context in which the photograph was produced obsolete and established his/her own context. Thus, these albums reveal each traveler's perception about the city through the photographs that have been arranged into his/her own account of the city / presentation of the city. They also reproduce information about the city, preserve it and spread it. The albums each contain a unique perspective of the city and can be compared to each other, which enables the observation of patterns or individual differences.

Tourists look at different scenes and places that are outside their ordinary environment with interest and curiosity, but not with unknowing eyes. They have anticipated what they will see. In other words, they gaze at what they encounter.<sup>4</sup> In the context of tourism, how one gazes at a particular sight is shaped by a set of factors including personal background such as memories, experiences, profession and /or intellectual knowledge of the person on the subject, as well as by circulating images and texts of this and other places. Thus, tourists arrive at a sight with their cultural lenses and mental frames to see the place. This does not mean that there are only agreeably concomitant ways of seeing; there are also contested visual terrains that involve diverse challenging gazes.

Referring back to Istanbul's visitors in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century; a place became a tourist sight if it was regarded as extraordinary by tourists because it was different than their everyday life with its natural, historical or cultural features. The sightseers traveled to visit the 'attractions' that were promoted as unique features of a place, such as old towns, archeological sites, landscapes, historical monuments, and so on. They were commonly advised by travelogues and guidebooks on what was worth seeing. In the practice of sightseeing, the tourist sought out the prescribed 'views.' When more

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<sup>4</sup> Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* 3.0, 2.

comfortable mass-transportation became available in the second half the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the list of attractions in Istanbul had already been created. Guidebooks transformed these lists into a set of itineraries such that tourists could see most of the attractions in a short time.

With the second half of the 19th century, first traveling photographers and then settled photographers took pictures of the views and monuments extolled in the guidebooks. While photography took over the subjects of travel books and engravings within decades it discovered the opportunities presented by its own technique and its subjects, and the way it dealt with the subjects diversified. Because the albums investigated here were those produced after the 1880s, they contain images produced after the 1860s, which is why these albums also offer this diversity of gaze. On the other hand, almost none of these albums contain places or subjects outside the routes suggested in the travel guide books. The photographs in the albums feature details on and different representations of well-known subjects.

Istanbul, before photography came into the picture, was a city frequently described by Western travelers. Through these travelers, information related to the city was produced and disseminated. After the late 18<sup>th</sup> century these descriptions became more focused on visuals and began to reflect the picturesque taste of the era. The search for the 'picturesque' transmitted knowledge not only about the city but the gaze on the city as if it were a picture and the extraction of visual pleasure from the city. A common appreciation had formed about which scene was picturesque, which scene was 'Oriental' and which scene was 'picturesque' precisely because it was 'Oriental'.

The tourists who visited Istanbul were educated, from the middle class or higher, with a 'picturesque' visual taste of the time. They were interested in the subjects they were familiar with thanks to travelogues, the media and orientalist art. Therefore the tourist who traveled to experience pleasure began gazing at the city for that very reason: to experience pleasure. He/She came with the expectation of experiencing firsthand what was described in travel writing and wanted to purchase the proof and memory of this experience in the form of a photograph. Hence, photographs became visual recordings of the information encoded verbally in travel writing, and in the meantime, took over the heritage of engravings. In fact, in the renewed editions of the travelogues, which

had been accompanied by engravings, photographs began replacing engravings. For example, in Gautier's *Constantinople of To-day* (1859), Robertson's photographs were used as illustrations. Amicis's *Constantinople* featured photographs instead of engravings in its 1896 edition. Similarly, the travel accounts written towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Marion Crawford and by Mrs. Max Miller were illustrated with photographs. However, the number of these photographs added into the books rarely exceeded ten to twenty. Quite clichéd photographs were used such as a view of Galata Bridge, panoramic views taken from Galata and Beyazıt Tower, St. Sophia, the Selamlık ceremony, old fortifications, and so on. The description of the city continued with text, and the photographs confirmed the description as well as taking on a secondary function by adding pictures to the account.

In the albums, however, text was limited to the descriptive headings on the album pages and on the photographs negatives, and thus the tale of the city or its presentation was given through the selection and arrangement of the photographs. The photographs produced at first by following the descriptions in the travel guides perpetuated the gaze in the travel accounts but also transformed this gaze by drawing an image of what could only have been imagined until then. For example, the general view of the city was described the way it was seen as one approached the city from the Marmara Sea with the poetic fairytale city image; while the appearance of the minarets, domes, small houses and trees were described, any details that might detract from this dream were left unmentioned. Amicis's description in his travel writing from the 1870s is an example as well. He ignores the Darülfünun building that lies between the St. Sophia and Sultan Ahmed Mosque with its neoclassical facade even though he cites the names of each monument one by one. Not until Sebah and Joallier took a photograph of the historical peninsula from the Marmara Sea in the 1890s did the Darülfünun finally become visible in representations as part of the city's silhouette between the St. Sophia and Sultan Ahmet Mosque. In fact, in the 1896 edition of Amicis's *Constantinople*, the publisher has no qualms about illustrating the section where Amicis describes the historical peninsula during the entrance from Marmara to Istanbul with this photograph of Sebah and Jollier. Likewise, this photograph and another version of this photograph are included in two of the albums studied for this thesis. They were also printed as postcards. Due to photography, the silhouette of the city was re-described; in other

words, the city was gazed upon as praised in the travel writing and as advised by the guidebooks, but the view that was the subject of this gaze was no longer described as a timeless fairytale city. In views of the city, the modern circumstances of the city that cloak the historical city are visible, the Seraskerat buildings mark Beyazıt Hill, and there are three to four story structures piled along the hills. Although photographers and tourists follow the routes in the guidebooks, the view has changed. Similarly, the Galata Bridge is no longer a spectacle where oriental ‘types’ walk about, but embodies the dynamism of a cosmopolitan city. These photographs that reveal the changing face of the city were also accepted by tourists and disseminated.

In the early years of photography, photography not only drew its subjects but also its representational form from the pre-photographic modes of representation, in particular the topographical drawings. Yet, photographs could not reproduce these scenes because of the optical truthfulness of the technique, and could not add people as freely as in engravings. Photographers remedied this by posing models outside coffeehouses, fountains and cemeteries. Scenes difficult to set on the street were set up in studios. Until the mid-1870s, the solutions used were less sensitive to light, which necessitated long exposure times, thereby effectively eliminating the possibility of recording people in motion on film. Hence, the photographs from the early 1860s and 1870s in which the streets were empty were produced for many years. Pictures of various oriental ‘types’ that were to fill the empty streets were included in the albums among cityscapes and architectural photographs, leaving the rest to the imagination. Although these and similar photographs were continuously reprinted from old negatives and kept their place in the market, photos that depicted the streets and places without the construct of ‘orientalist’ descriptions, especially after the 1880s, were produced and also found their way towards albums. Actually, by the 1880s, exposure times had shortened, and people in motion on streets could be photographed spontaneously. Thus, photographs showing fragments of the daily life in the city were produced. Moreover, the subjects of the photographs diversified, with interiors and architectural details entering photographs in a documentary-like style. Architectural details that could previously only be seen by close inspection or sometimes by climbing a ladder or through inaccurate engravings were recorded and disseminated. Moreover, details of traditional art works, room settings, museum items, reliefs and frescos were all documented. Even though not all of the



photographs were necessarily produced for tourists, through their process of dissemination they found a place in the tourist market as souvenirs, such as Abdullah's photographs included in Abdülhamit albums and Sébah and Joaillier's photographs from the Museum's catalogue.

The albums that this dissertation examines as case studies are views of the city that were arranged with a touristic gaze to remember the city afterwards and to be displayed. Among them, *Souvenir the Constantinople* was compiled to be sold as a souvenir by Sebah and Joaillier's studio. It contains fewer photographs than albums compiled by travelers. Therefore, it would be expected that the photographs in the albums would be those chosen most frequently by tourists to ensure the most sales. In fact, the photographs in the album were so popular that almost all of them were printed as postcards around the same time. This album could be likened to a quick tour suggested by the travel guides for travelers who were short on time. It is a look at what must absolutely be seen and what is most prominently touristic. The prioritized subjects are general and picturesque scenes, St. Sophia, mosques, fountains, tombs, palaces and such that are found worthy of attention due to how different they seem. The album begins with the photographs of the historical peninsula taken from the Marmara Sea upon entering Istanbul as mentioned above, and contains photographs showing the modern condition of places rather than old photographs. A photograph shows the Galata Bridge and its piers with steamers that operate within the city. A photograph of Seraskerat Square included shows the War Office buildings and its monumental gate built in the 1860s and depicts the courtyard and horse-drawn carriages going back-and-forth to the entrance of the ministry on the road surrounded on either side by trees. Then, the album describes the entire mass and architectural aspects of St. Sophia, Sultan Ahmet and Beyazid mosques and Ahmed III. Fountain. It shows the courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque as also described in the travel writings. The city walls, the cemeteries, the dervishes, and Turkish coffee house, the Grand Bazaar, the tomb of Mahmud II and the Turkish woman are also represented in the album. As can be seen, the album involves various gazes at the city. The Turkish coffee house, women at the cemetery and the street vendors around Yeni Cami signal the daily life unique to the 'East' and increase the touristic attraction of the city. A photograph of the tomb of Mahmut II is included as one of the most interesting spaces of the Moslem lifestyle to

Western eyes. St. Sophia and Sultan Ahmet Mosque, Süleymaniye and Beyazıt Mosque photographs focus on the architecture of the structures while pointing to the architectural wealth of the city. Photographs of the Galata Bridge, Tophane Mosque Street and Seraskerat Square present a modernized city image. Picturesque rides on the Bosphorus enrich this touristic representation.

The other albums examined are the ones that travelers have arranged from their own selections. These selections do not underline all of the city's touristic aspects the way that Sebah and Joaillier's album does, but instead they are detailed according to the specific interests of the traveler, with subjects chosen using a more personal approach.

The album that includes the most panoramic photographs among the albums that has been investigated was *Constantinople 1885*, which contains photographs taken in the 1870s by Pascal Sébah. These pictures taken from the Beyazıt and Galata Towers have been arranged in an order as if to map out the city at the beginning of the album. They contain a perspective different than the panoramas that comprise pictures taken from a one hundred eighty or three hundred sixty degree angle from a single vantage point and then added side-by-side. With the perspective alternating between Beyazıt and Galata Towers, the album presents the city with a cartographic approach. After a grasp of the city as a whole, the perspective of the photographs in the album lowers and adds details to the subjects it is concerned with. Its first subject is the St. Sophia. The interior space is shown in great detail. After a glance at Sultan Ahmet Mosque, Süleymaniye Mosque, and Hamidiye Mosque as examples of Ottoman architecture, the album continues with the Hippodrome and shows the obelisks and reliefs on the four sides of the pedestal of the Column of Theodosius. It shows the Burnt Column but it does not show the interior of the tomb of Mahmut II right next to it. It adds photographs of the fortification walls and the Tekfur Palace. It glances at the Grande Rue de Pera, Yüksekaldırım Street, then takes the album viewer on a tour of the Bosphorus, after Galata and Stamboul. It shows the Friday ceremony at Ortaköy Mosque, and with a photograph of the cemetery at Scutari, it completes its tour. The order of the photographs in the album adheres to the order suggested in the guidebooks for seeing the city: a general overview, monuments inside the walls, Galata, a ride on the Bosphorus and Scutari.

The order of the photographs in the untitled album that carries Sultan Abdulhamit's insignia on the cover also shows a similarity to the routes drawn in guidebooks, in particular the Baedeker. In contrast to the previous album, it contains few panoramic photographs. It does not attempt to see the city as a whole by adding panoramic photographs to one another; rather it uses the general appearance of the area it will discover representationally. For example, it shows the Seraglio Point from the distance, and then it starts a tour from that particular location and presents some interesting subjects there from pedestrian eye level as if following a route. This album contains the largest number of photographs among all of the albums investigated, and is also the richest in terms of diversity of subject. In addition to subjects that come up in most albums such as St. Sophia, Sultan Ahmet Mosque, the Hippodrome, Sublime Porte, Dolmabahçe Palace, Yıldız Palace, Küçüksu Kiosk, Galata Tower, Galata Bridge, it also contains photographs of modern structures such as Embassy Buildings, the Taksim Artillery Barracks, the newly built German Fountain, Sirkeci Train Station and the French Hospital.

Another album, *Turquie*, is striking in terms of the interior space photographs it contains. This album presents its subjects in categories such as monuments and picturesque views as well as categorizing monuments according to building types, such as mosques, palaces and fountains. In contrast to the other albums, it displays the interior details of mosques and palaces, and particular ceramics. Photographs of the ostentatious ambassador reception hall of the Dolmabahçe Palace, the two colored arches of Çırağan Palace, the circumcision room at Topkapı Palace and the Baghdad Kiosk, Sultanahmet Mosque, Yeni Mosque, Rüstem Paşa Mosque interiors, and the details on the walls covered in ceramic, two room settings of a Turkish house, details showing woodworking are included.

The only album the name of whose compiler we know is Mademoiselle Fleury's album, which limits its presentation of Istanbul to the Archaeology Museum and its collection, picturesque views, palaces, and 'Oriental' daily life scenes, mostly colored by hand or produced in photochrome prints. The fact that she was a painter by profession brings to mind the possibility that she might have been collecting visuals to paint later. This album also contains two interior space photographs of the Dolmabahçe Palace.

*Album Vue de Constantinople 1884* is another album that focuses on palace photographs and picturesque scenes made by Vasilliaki Kargopoulo. He was the palace photographer at the

time and used this advantage to take photographs of the palaces and mansions. Composed completely Kargopoulo's photographs, it displays this privilege he possessed. The photographs were taken in adherence to the conventions of architectural representation, with an eye to describing the entire mass and architectural qualities of the palaces. This album in particular is noteworthy for the technical and aesthetic quality of each and every one of its photographs. In each image the control that the photographer has over all of the elements of the photograph is striking. Each one is as carefully composed as a painting. There are no random human figures standing around the monuments. All of the people in the photographs have been purposefully placed there by the photographer himself as part of a scene or to denote scale. The clouds in the photographs have been added after the photo shoot in a dark room. Even though Kargopoulo was an outstanding photographer, the person who made these selections from his portfolio must also have had a very discerning eye. Therefore, these photographs may not have been purchased simply for the subjects they contained, but also for their technical and aesthetic quality.

In conclusion, the albums examined in this dissertation all contain photographs of the most prominent must-see touristic places usually suggested in guidebooks for tourists short on time. Among them, especially the one by Sebah and Joaillier is a touristic presentation of the city's most popular tourist sights as if a touristic advertisement of the city. On the other hand, the photographs in an album chosen by a traveler in addition to those presenting touristic places imply subjects of special interest. Thus, choosing photographs from a large array of photographs spanning almost forty years, the compilers of the examined albums presented Istanbul in their albums in accordance with their individual perceptions negotiating their preconceptions shaped by existing imagery and knowledge of the city. It seems there is more to the albums than just the presentation of Istanbul as a picturesque city existing in the timeless Orient. They present a palimpsest of its past, combining history, legends and traditional practices of daily life, continuously erased and rewritten by the present.

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**Documentary Film:**

Aydın Bağardı. *The man collecting Istanbul: Pierre de Gigord*, documentary directed by Aydın Bağardı (1994).

## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A




**Table A.1** Travel albums in Pierre de Gigord Collection of photographs of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey in Getty Research Institute Library in Los Angeles (Accession no: GRI 96R.14)

GRI 96R.14	Title	Thumbnail photo of the cover	Size	Description	Content	Size of phot. (largest)	Year of photo	Photographers	Compiler / owner	Comp. year	Themes	Additions
Lot A1	Photographies Constantinople		34.5 x 48 cm	Detached brown skin cover embossed in gold; leaves disbound and loose	12 calotypes	17 x 22 cm	1852	Caranza, Ernest de	?	1852	İstanbul Eyüp Fountain, Beyoğlu (landscape), dwellings, ablution fountain of St. Sophia, Eyüp, Tomb of Sultan Süleyman, Ağa Cami (Pera), Süleymaniye Mosque, Arnavutköy, the portal of Dolmabahçe Palace, Küçüksu Fountain	On verso of front cover, stamped notes read "Discarded" and "Tercüman Gazetesi Kitaplığı."
Lot A3	Vues du Bosphore		31.3 x 47.7 cm.	Embossed brown cloth boards	23 albumen prints	17 x 22 cm	1868  (Date from collector's inventory)	Berggren, Guillaume	?	1868 (Date from collector's inventory)	İstanbul Garden of Beykoz Kiosk, British Embassy in Therapia, Russian Embassy in Büyükdere, Godefroy de Bouillon Tree, Mansions in Büyükdere, dwellings, a panorama of Büyükdere	Captions inked on leaves in calligraphic hand
Lot A4	[Views Constantinople Bosphore, Brousse]		?	Disbound leaves, binding absent	57 albumen prints	26 x 34 cm	1868 (Date from collector's inventory)	Sébah, Pascal	?	1868 (Date from collector's inventory)	İstanbul Panoramic views from towers, Rumeli Hisarı, landscape (Beykoz), Arnavutköy, Anadolu Hisarı, Büyükdere, Dolmabahçe Palace, Sweet Waters of Asia, Küçüksu Pavilion, Ahmet II Fountain, Tophane Fountain, ablution fountain of St. Sophia, Fountain in Eyüp, Beylerbeyi Palace, Sultanahmet Mosque, St. Sophia, Hippodrome, Selamlık, obelisks, Mahmut II. Tomb, Turkish cemetery in Kasımpaşa, Sweet Waters of Europe, Turkish district, Palace of Belisarius, Seven Towers, old walls and gates.	Separated from "European" binding by seller.

**Table A.1** (Continued)

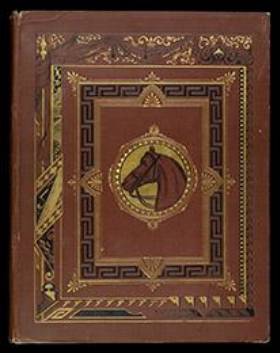
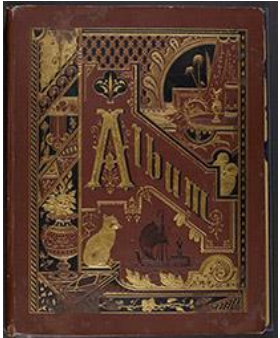

Lot A5	Constantinople et le Bosphore		49.5 x 42 cm	Half-bound red morocco with marbled boards gilt- lettered spine title	62 albu- men prints	26 x 34 cm  20 x 25 cm  31 x 42 cm	?	Sébah, Pascal Kargopoulo, Vassilaki Lorent,Jacob	?	1870  (Date from collector's inventory)	Wien St. Stephan Cathedral, a church, Graben Street, Belvedere Palace, Schönbrunn (a view of Gloriette)  İstanbul Maiden's Tower, portal of Topkapı Palace, St. Irene, portal of the second courtyard of Topkapı Palace, Topkapı palace, Ahmed III Fountain, panoramic view from Beyazıt Tower, St. Sophia, ablution mosque of St. Sophia, Süleymaniye Mosque, Tophane Fountain, Mahmut II Tomb, Seraskerat Tower, Galata Tower, Dolmabahçe Palace, Selamlık, Küçüksu Pavillion, Sweet Waters of Asia, Arnavutköy, Rumeli Hisarı, Beylerbeyi Palace, Therapia, Büyükdere, Palace of Belisarius, cemetery in Scutari, Turkish district İzmir Greek Church in Mount Pagus,cemeteries, churches, caravans.	With bookplate: "Ex Libris Henry Blackmer."
Lot A6	Souvenir de Turquie Alphonse Saum Constantinople		41.5 x 33.5 cm	Red percaline boards with title in gold lettering	29 albu- men prints	20 x 26 cm	1865- 1870  (Date from collector's inventory)	Sébah, Pascal ( Even though no signature on photographs, there is a cold stamp on back of pages  "Photographie P. Sebah Constanti- nople")	Adolphe Saum	1870  (Date from collector's inventory)	İstanbul The portal of second courtyard of Topkapı Palace, Seven Towers, Rumeli Hisarı, Turkish district, obelisk in Hippodrome, cemetery in Kasımpaşa, St. Sophia, Jewish cemetery, Dolmabahçe Mosque, Palace of Belisarius, old walls, wooden bridge in Kasımpaşa, Dolmabahçe Palace, St. Sophia, fountain in Eyüp, Rumeli Hisarı, Sweet Waters of Asia. Bursa Landscape, Ulu Cami, Mehmet Çelebi Tomb A portrait of Prince Michel of Serbia and his entourage	Captioned in pencil on verso of mounts
Lot A7	Album Vue de Constantinople 1884		32 x 42.5 cm	Black percaline boards with title in gold lettering	44 albu- men prints	21 x 27 cm	1865- 1875  Dates from pencilled annotation on first leaf.	Kargopoulo, Vassillaki	?	1884	İstanbul Sultanahmet Mosque, Sultan Beyazıt Mosque, Tophane Mosque, St. Sophia, Ahmet III Fountain, Küçüksu Fountain, Mahmut II Tomb, Seraskerat Gate and Tower, Galata Tower, Çinili Köşk, Seven Towers, cemetery in Scutari, Kağıthane Mosque, panoramic views, Dolmabahçe Palace, Therapia, Büyükdere, Anadolu Kavağı, Sweet Waters of Europe, interior of Dolmabahçe Palace, Beylerbeyi Palace, Küçüksu Pavillion, Beykoz Pavillion, İhlamur Pavillion, Yıldız Palace.	Dates penciled on first leaf and also some numbers on pages

**Table A.1** (Continued)

Lot A8	Türkei		25.5 x 34.5 cm	Embossed red percaline boards	53 albu- men prints	22 x 28 cm	?	Berggren, Guillaume	?	1875  (Date from collector's inventory)	İstanbul Cannon foundry, Ortaköy Mosque, Ahmet II Fountain, Galata Bridge, Burnt Column, portal of Dolmabahçe Mosque, refugees in Adrinople, St. Sophia, Küçüksu Pavilion, portal of St. Sophia, Palace of Belisarius, old walls, Süleymaniye Mosque, Grand Rue de Pera, Turkish street, Sweet Waters of Asia, Rumeli Hisar, Seven Towers, St. Sophia, Arnavutköy, Şehzade Mosque, Mahmud II Mosque, panoramic views, Galata Tower, Sultan Ahmet Mosque, dervishes, St. Sophia, cemetery in Scutari, porters, Çerkezköy train station, Dolmabahçe Palace, Hamidiye Mosque and Yıldız Palace, Grand Rue de Pera, Turkish woman Seraskerat Square, Silivri Gate on the old walls, fountain ablution of St. Sophia.	Pencil sign (x) on some pages
Lot A9	Constantinople 1885		35.5 x 43.5 cm	Full-bound reddish- brown morocco title embossed in gold lettering	68 albu- men prints	26 x 34 cm		Sébah, Pascal	?	1885	İstanbul Bridge, panoramic views, St. Sophia, ablution fountain of St. Sophia, Sultanahmet Mosque, Süleymaniye Mosque, Dolmabahçe Mosque, Hippodrome, obelisks, old walls, seven towers, Serakerat Tower, Sublime Porte, Rumeli Hisarı, Anadolu Hisarı, Kadıköy, Dolmabahçe Place, Selamlık in Ortaköy Mosque, Grand Rue de Pera, cemeteries  Panoramic view of Bursa, vendors, Turkish woman, Ahmed III Fountain, Seven Towers.	English captions in ink in a calligraphic hand
Lot A10	[Views and People of Turkey]		36 x 49 cm	Full-bound brown morocco with initials O.H. embossed in green and gold on front cover	74 albu- men prints	24 x 30 cm	1865- 1880  (Date from collector's inventory)	Abdullah Frères  C.J. Fettel  Félix Bonfils.	O.H.	1880  (Date from collector's inventory)	İstanbul Bosporus, Büyükdere,, Beykoz, Sweet Waters of Asia, Rumeli Hisarı, Seven Towers, Beykoz, Galata Bridge, panoramic views, St. Sophia, portal of St. Sophia, ablution fountain of St. Sophia, Dolmabahçe Palace, Portal of Dolmabahçe, Yeni Mosque, Sultanahmet Mosque, Ahmet III Fountain, cemetery, old walls, professor, Turkish family, ethnic types. Bursa Yeni Kaplıca, Mehmet Çelebi Tomb, Orhan Gazi Tomb, Yeşil Cami İzmir General views.	Captions in ink in a calligraphic hand





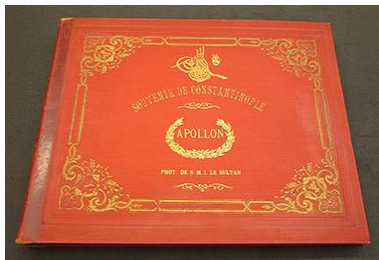

**Table A.1** (Continued)

Lot A11 Vol. I	[Views ]		41 x 32 cm	Reddish- brown percaline embossed in black and gold with horse design	34 albu- men prints	27 x 21 cm	1875  (Date from collector's inventory)	Kargopoulo, Vassilaki	?	1875  (Date from collector's inventory)	Dolmabahçe Mosque, interior of Adrinopole Palace, gate of Dolmabahçe Palace, Beyazıt Mosque, obelisks, St. Sophia, cemetery of Eyup, Galata Tower, Ahmed III Fountain, Hamidiye Mosque, courtyard of Yeni Cami, Beykoz, Int. Beykoz Palace, Büyükdere, gate of Küçüksu Pavillion, Beylerbeyi Palace, interior of Beylerbeyi Palace, interior Dolmabahçe Palace, Sweet Waters of Asia, Topkapı Palace	
Lot A11 Vol. II	[Views ]		41 x 32 cm	Reddish- brown percaline embossed in black and gold, ornately ornamented.	34 albu- men prints	27 x 21 cm	1875  (Date from collector's inventory)	Kargopoulo, Vassilaki	?	1875  (Date from collector's inventory)	Turkish women, Sweet waters of Asia, Int. Dolmabahçe Palace, Aksaray Yeni Valide Mosque, panoramic views, Dolmabahçe Palace, view of Prince Islands, Küçüksu Pavillion, St. Sophia, gate of Dolmabahçe Palace, Seraskerat Gate, ablution fountains of Valide Mosque in Aksaray, fortifications, Sepentine column, Beykoz Kiosk, ablution fountains St. Sophia, Seven Towers, Küçüksu Kiosk, Sultanahmet Mosque, Kağıthane Mosque, Ortaköy Mosque, Nurosmaniye Mosque, Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, ablution fountain of Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, St. Sophia, Palace of Belisarius, interior of Sultan Mehmet Tomb.	
Lot A12	[Vues Constantinople Bosphore]		41 x 32 cm	Black morocco cover embossed with gilt star and crescent, detached and stored separately, disbound album, original order uncertain	70 albu- men prints	27 x 21 cm	1875	Berggren, Guillaume	?	1875  (Date from collector's inventory)	Panoramic views, Prince Islands, St. Sophia, porter, Yeni Mosque, Mahmud II Tomb, Rumeli Hisarı, Ahmed III Fountain, Süleymaniye Mosque, Sultanahmet Mosque, Selimiye Barrack, Anadolu Kavağı, Godefroy de Boullion tree in Büyükdere, lighthouse in Fenerbahçe, Kadıköy, firemen, view from Fıdıklı, old walls, Beylerbeyi Palace, Bağdat Pavillion in Topkapı Palace, aqueduct Valens, Seraskerat Square, St. Sophie, Place of Belisarius, Turkish cemetery, inauguration of Sirkeci Train Station, Haydar Pasha Station, Ortaköy Mosque, dervishes, simit seller, dogs, bazars, Thereapia, Rumelihisarı, Maiden Tower, Arabian musician, Kandilli, Sweet Waters of Asia, German Embassy in Therapia., Yıldız Palace, Seven Towers, Galata Bridge, Kağıthane.	

**Table A.1** (Continued)


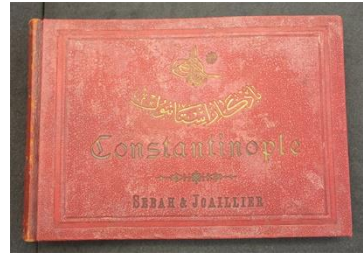

A18 Vol I	Souvenir de Constantinople		32 x 43 cm	Red percaline boards, embossed in gold	30 gelatin silver prints	20 x 25 cm		Gülmez Frères	?	1890  (Date from collector's inventory)	Yıldız Palace, Selamlık in Hamidiye Mosque, gate of Dolmabahçe Palace, Dolmabahçe Palace, Çırağan Palace, interior of Dolmabahçe Palace, Selamlık in Ortaköy Mosque, interior of Çırağan Palace, St. Sophia, interior St. Sophia, interior of Eyüp Mosque, courtyard of Eyüp Mosque, Sultanahmed Mosque, interior of Sultanahmed Mosque, Ahmet III Fountain, Yeni Cami, Sublime Porte, Tomb of Sultan Selim, Tomb of Mahmud II, Tomb of Selim III, Tomb of Sultan Murad, interior of Yeni Cami, fainces.	
A18 Vol II	Souvenir de Constantinople		32 x 43 cm	Red percaline boards, embossed in gold	30 gelatin silver prints	20 x 25 cm	1890  (Date from collector's inventory)	Gülmez Frères	?	1890  (Date from collector's inventory)	Galata Bridge, Serakerat Gate, Seraskerat Tower, Seraglio point, Maiden's Tower, aqueduct Valens, Galata Bridge, panoramic view, Aqueduct Justinien, Seven Towers, Sweet Waters of Asia, cemetery in Scutari, view of the Golden Horn, Rumeli Hisarı, Bosphorus, Büyükdere, dervishes, Janissaries Tree.	
A21	Souvenir de Constantinople		29 x 37 cm	Red percaline boards with gold- embossed title	40 albu- men prints.	21 x 27 cm	1890  (Date from collector's inventory)	Sébah & Joaillier	?	1890s  (Date from collector's inventory)	İstanbul Panoramic views, Sweet Waters of Europe, cemetery of Eyüp, Sweet Waters of Asia, Bosphorus (Arnavutköy), Rumeli Hisarı, Tophane Mosque, courtyard of Yeni Cami, Prince Islands, St. Sophia, Sultanamet Mosque, Beyazit Mosque, Dolmabahçe Palace, Seraskerat Gate, Sublime Porte, Ahmet III Fountain, Galata Tower, Yüksek Kaldırım, Mahmud II Tomb, Tombs in Yeni Cami, Şehzade Fountain, interior Grand Bazar, shoe makers, Seven Towers, dervishes, cemetery in Scutari, Turkish café, Turkish woman, Kahire Mosque Bursa General view, Gemlik, Ulu Cami, bazars	
A26	[Views of Turkey, Egypt and India]		33 x 45 cm	European binding; brown percaline with "Photos" printed in gold.	120 albu- men prints	21 x 27 cm		Sébah & Joaillier  Rubellin et Fils  Hippolyte Arnoux  G. Lekegian, and Zangaki.	?	1890  (Date from collector's inventory)	İstanbul Panoramic views, Süleymaniye Mosque and dwellings, Dolmabahçe Palace, Seven Towers, Yeni Cami, Ahmet III Fountain, St. Sophia, Mahmud II Tomb, Valide Mosque in Aksaray, panoramic view of Tophane, Galata Bridge, Hippodrome, Seraskerat Gate, Café Turc  Bursa Mudanya, Ulu Cami, Tombs of Orhan and Osman Gazi İzmir General views, caravans, aqueduct, ports, Baths of Diana  Egypt Port Said, street views, Suez Kanal, Alexandria, Cairo India Bombay	Dutch captions inked on mounts.

**Table A.1** (Continued)

A27	Souvenir de Constantinople et d'Egypte		32 x 46 cm	European binding; full-bound brown morocco title printed in gold with gilt ornamentation.	58 albumen prints	21 x 27 cm		Sébah & Joaillier  Phébus (Studio)  Abdullah Frères  G. Lekegian	?	1890  (Date from collector's inventory)	Istanbul Old walls, Seven Towers, Mevlevihane Gate, Edirne Kapı, Ayvansaray, dervishes, street seller, women, porters, melon seller, beggars, Turkish bath, Sarcophagi Alexandria, Weeping Women Sarcophagus, sculptures, mihrab in a mosque, one thousand one columns cistern.  Egypt Palms, landscapes, dwellings, Muhammed Ali Mosque, Mosque Sultan Hasan, Mosque of Amr Ibn al-As, Mosque Kait-bay, Mameluke Tombs, Karnak, Pyramids, sculptures, Luksor Temple	
A28	Constantinople musée, types; Scutari, Brousse, avril 1905		28 x 41 cm	European binding; half-bound red morocco	124 images albumen, gelatin silver, and hand-colored	21 x 27 cm		Sébah & Joaillier; Photoglob Co.; G. Berggren; Pascal Sébah; Abdullah Frères, M. Iranian; Gülmez Freres	Mademoiselle Fleury	1905	Archeological Museum, Çinili Köşk, sculptures, vases, sarcophaguses, cemeteries, Sweet Waters of Europe, lighthouse, old walls, Selamlık in Ortaköy Mosque, Beylerbeyi Palace, Küçüksu Pavillion, gate of Küçüksu Pavillion, palace interiors, Rumeli Hisar, Terapia, Arnavutköy, chef eunuch, prayer positions, porters, ethnicities, Turkish café, Turkish women, dogs, professions.	An Ottoman identification document for a Mademoiselle Fleury is pasted inside.
A29	Souvenir de Constantinople		38 x 25 cm	Ottoman binding; red percaline boards gilt lettering and ornamentation, with imperial tuğra and legend: "Phot. de S.M.I. le Sultan"	24 hand-colored gelatin silver prints.	21 x 26 cm		Gülmez Frères Guillaume Berggren; Sébah & Joaillier; James Robertson; and Abdullah Frères.	?	1900  (Date from collector's inventory)	St. Sophia, Sultanahmed Mosque, Hippodrome, interior of Sultanahmet Mosque, Yeni Cami, panoramic views, Dolmabahçe Palace, Yıldız Palace, Mahmud II Tomb, interior of Grand Bazar, Bosphorus, Rumeli Hisarı, dogs,	Several are stamped on verso: "Photographie Apollon / Gülmez Frères photographes [...]"
A30	[Constantinople and Bosphorus: Views and People]			Ottoman binding; full-bound brown calfskin with gilt, green and red ornamentation	119 albumen prints.	21 x 26 cm	1853-1909  Date from collector's inventory	Guillaume Berggren; Sébah & Joaillier; Abdullah Frères; James Robertson; and Apollon	?	1901-1909  Date from collector's inventory	General views, Topkapı Palace, St. Sophia, tomb of Sultan Selim, Hippodrome, Sultanahmet Mosque, Galata Bridge, Sublime Porte, Searkerat, burnt column, court of Beyazit Mosque, Egyptian Bazar, Grand Bazar, Süleymaniye Mosque, old walls, Eyüp, arsenal, aqueduct Valens, Belisarius Palace, Sirkeci Station, Maiden Tower, Anadolu Hisarı, Küçüksu Fountain, Terapia, Kağıthane, Belgrade aqueduct, Scutari, Tophane, Nusretiye Mosque, German Embassy, Taksim Artillery Barracks, Turkish café, dervishes, professions.	



**Table A.1** (Continued)

A37	Constantinople		36 x 56 cm	European binding; brown percaline boards title embossed in gold, with gilt spine ornamentation	30 albumen prints	32 x 25 cm		Abdullah Frères		1875  (Date from collector's inventory)	Interior of Süleymaniye, interior of St. Sophia, Şehzade Fountain, portal of Topkapı Palace, Seraskerat Gate, Tophane Mosque, obelisks in Hippodrome, burnt column, ethnographic types.	Titles from captions on mounts; negative numbers penciled on most photographs.
AD4	Souvenir de Constantinople		25 x 19 cm	Brown embossed leather album with Souvenir de Constantinople par Sébah & Joaillier, on front cover	40 albumen prints.			Sebah and Joaillier	?	After 1883  (Date from collector's inventory)	Panoramic views, cemeteries, Selamlık, St. Sophia, Sultanahmet Mosque, Hippodrome, interior of St. Sophia, interior of Sultanahmet Mosque, Mahmud II Tomb, Eyüp, Turkish women	
AD3	Constantinople		24 x 16 cm.	Red percaline album with title, "Constantinople," with studio name and imperial tuğra.	40 albumen prints.	18 x 12.5 cm		Sebah and Joaillier	?	After 1883  (Date from collector's inventory)	Panoramic view of Prince Islands, Galata Köprüsü, Dolmabahçe Palace, Selamlık, Büyükdere, Küçüksu Pavilion, obelisk, Yüksek Kaldırım, Mahmud II Tomb, Turkish district, dervishes	



## APPENDIX B

### CURRICULUM VITAE

#### Sibel Acar

Address: Rafet Canitez Cad. Elif Naci Sok. No:11/22 06450 Oran/Ankara/Turkey

Phone: +90 312 491 10 52 +90 533 320 51 68

Email: [sbl\\_acar@yahoo.com](mailto:sbl_acar@yahoo.com)

#### EDUCATION:

2009 September - Ph.D. candidate, Architectural History, Middle East Technical University, Ankara / Turkey

2009 September M.A. in Architectural History, Middle East Technical University, Ankara / Turkey

Thesis: *Intersections: Photography and Architecture in Nineteenth Century Britain* (supervisor: Asst. Prof. Sevil Enginsoy Ekinci)

1995 June B.S. in Civil Engineering, Middle East Technical University, Ankara/Turkey

#### AWARDS:

2015 May “Modern Güzeldir” Photographic Competition Award by Architects Association 1927, Ankara

2010 May “Türkiye Mimarisi?” Photographic Competition Award by Architects Association 1927, Ankara

2007-2008 Graduate Courses Performance Award, METU Graduate School of Social Sciences

## PUBLICATIONS:

### **International –Book Chapter**

2013, "Intersecting Routes of Architectural Travel, Photography, and Survey Books in the Nineteenth Century" in *Nineteenth-Century Photographs and Architecture. Documenting History, Charting Progress, and Exploring the World*. Edited by Micheline Nilsen, Surrey, UK; Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate, 75-92

### **National Publications – Journal Articles**

2014-March, "Olga Chernysheva," *Kontrast* 40, 60-65  
2014- January, "Jak Baruh," *Kontrast* 39, 32-37  
2013- November, "Oscar Gustave Rejlander," *Kontrast* 38, 42-45  
2013-September, "Adnan Veli Kuvanklık," *Kontrast* 37, 62-65  
2013-July, "Michael Wolf," *Kontrast* 36, 50-54  
2013-May, "Seyit Ali Ak," *Kontrast* 35, 34-36  
2013-March, "Jaroslav Rössler," *Kontrast* 34, 4-5  
2012-September, "Eugene Atget," *Kontrast* 31, 2-3  
2012-July, "Roger Fenton," *Kontrast* 30, 4-5  
2012-May, "Modern Mimarlığın Fotoğrafla İnşası," *Kontrast* 29, 23-25  
2012-March, "Bir Mimari Fotoğraf Neyi Gösterir?" *Kontrast* 28, 19-23

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES:

2014-June, "A Souvenir of Constantinople (1919)," paper presented at EAHN Urban Photography, Film and Video Workshop, EAHN Third International Meeting, Turin

2012-November, "Intersecting Routes of Architectural Photography, Travel and Survey Books in the Nineteenth Century," paper presented at NOMAD Seminar, Narratives of Travel Writing and Architectural History, Middle East Technical University, Ankara

2010-October, "Intersecting Routes of Architectural Photography, Travel and Survey Books in the Nineteenth Century," paper presented at Documenting History, Charting Progress, Exploring the World: Nineteenth Century Photographs of Architecture, International Symposium organized by Micheline Nilsen, Indiana University and University of Notre Dame, South Bend

## RESEARCH INTERESTS:

Visuality Studies in Architectural History: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries  
History of Architectural Photography/Nineteenth Century Architectural Photography  
Historiography of the Nineteenth Century Architecture

Historiography of the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Architecture  
Critical Theories of Photography

WORK EXPERIENCE:

1995- Civil Engineer, Hasel Construction Company

EXHIBITIONS:

2014-June	Annual Exhibition of Photography Artists' Association of Ankara (AFSAD), Ankara
2014- May	"Sun Print Techniques" Exhibition of Photography Artists' Association of Ankara, Ankara
2014- March	"(in)visible" Abstract Photography Workshop Exhibition, Ankara
2013- June	Annual Exhibition of Photography Artists' Association of Ankara, Ankara
2012- November	"Chaos" Exhibition of Photography Artists' Association of Ankara, Ankara
2012 - September	Annual Exhibition of Photography Artists' Association of Ankara, Ankara
2012- May	"From the Castle to the Tower" Photography Exhibition, Architects' Association, Ankara
2011- June	Room size camera obscura installation. Point / Line / Surface Exhibition of ARCH 524, <i>Architecture and Different Modes of Representation</i> METU, Faculty of Architecture, Ankara
2010 -May	Turkish Architecture. Photography Competition Award and Exhibition by Architects' Association, Ankara
2009- December	"Spaces/Times/Peoples," Exhibition by METU Graduate Program in Architectural History, Ankara
2009- November	"Stones and Costumes of Venice," Solo Exhibit, Ankara



## APPENDIX C

### TURKISH SUMMARY

#### *CONSTANTINOPLE’U KAYDETMEK: SEYAHAT ALBÜMLERİ (1884-1910)*

Bu tez, Los Angeles Getty Araştırma Enstitüsü Kütüphanesi Pierre de Gigord, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Fotoğrafları Koleksiyonu’nda bulunan, 1884 ve 1910 yılları arasında üretilmiş altı seyahat albümünü inceler. Her bir albümü İstanbul’un bir ondokuzuncu yüzyıl sunumu olarak ele alır. Fotoğrafçı ve gezgini bu albümleri üreten aktörler olarak kabul eder. Ondokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısında fotoğrafçılığın ve turizmin eşzamanlı olarak gelişmesi bu albümlerin ortaya çıkış nedenidir ve albümlerdeki İstanbul sunumunu biçimlendirmiştir. Bu çalışma, albümlerin incelenmesinde içeriklerinin yanı sıra malzeme özellikleri, sayfa düzenleri, başlıklar, fotoğrafların sıralamaları gibi unsurları da gözönünde bulundurur. Fotoğrafçıyı ve gezgini albümleri üreten aktörler olarak görür. Albümlerin ve fotoğrafların oluşturulduğu ve kullanıldığı zamanın bakış açısını anlayabilmek için dönemin seyahatname ve gezi rehberlerinden faydalanır. Albümlerdeki fotoğrafların konuları ve betimleme yaklaşımlarıyla dönemin gezi yazıları ve İstanbul temsilleri arasındaki paralellikleri araştırır, karşılaştırmalar yapar. Ayrıca albümlerin içeriklerini karşılaştırarak benzerlikleri ve farklılıkları tespit etmeye çalışır. Bu tespitlere dayanarak paylaşılan ve genel olan yaklaşımları tespit eder. Albümlerde yer alan İstanbul kenti ve mimarisinin ondokuzuncu yüzyılda üretilmiş fotoğraflarını, fotoğraf öncesi temsillerle olan ilişkisini de araştırarak tartışır.

Ondokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısında profesyonel fotoğrafçılığın yaygınlaşması, turizmin Avrupa’da bir iş sektörü olarak yaygınlaşmasıyla çakışır. Dolayısıyla İstanbul

artan sayıda ziyaretçiyi ağırlamaya başlar. Gezinlerin sayısı arttıkça, İstanbul manzaralarının da üretimi ve satışı artar, doğal olarak İstanbul fotoğrafları içeren çok sayıda seyahat albümü üretilir. Bu albümler 1850’lerde ortaya çıkmaya başlasalar da yaygınlaşmaları yüzyılın son çeyreğini bulur. Albümler farklı şekillerde oluşturulabilirdi. Gezinler kentin tanınmış fotoğrafçıların stüdyolarına giderek hazır yapılmış albümleri alabilir ya da katalogdan istedikleri fotoğrafları seçerek kendi albümlerini sipariş verebilir ya da fotoğrafları istedikleri yerlerden satın alıp daha sonra albüm haline getirebilirlerdi. Genellikle kentin genel görüntülerini, anıtların fotoğraflarını, manzaraları ve farklı etnik kökene sahip insanların ve geleneksel mesleklerin fotoğraflarını içeriyorlardı. Belirtmek gerekir ki üstünkörü bir bakış bile albümlerin içeriklerinin benzerlikler gösterdiği fark eder. Farklı kişiler tarafından derlenmiş bu albümlerin benzerlik göstermesi kente dair paylaşılan bir algının, bilginin ve zevkin varlığına işaret eder. Bu tez farklı albümlerin içeriklerindeki benzerliklere bakarak turizmin kente dair ortak bir bakış oluşturduğunu gözlemler.

Fotoğraflar ticari olarak üretildikleri için, fotoğrafların arzı talebin az veya çok oluşuyla bağlantılıydı. Gezinlerin İstanbul ile ilgili algısı, bilgisi ve beklentisi okudukları seyahat yazıları, gördükleri resimler aracılığıyla daha İstanbul’a gelmeden önce oluşmaktaydı. İstanbul’a gelen gezginler nereleri nasıl görecekleri bilgisiyle ve seyahat yazıları ve rehberlerde bahsedildiği şekilde kenti deneyimleme beklentisiyle geliyorlardı. Dahası bu deneyimin hem anısı hem de görsel kanıtı olan fotoğraflarına sahip olmak istiyorlardı. Dolayısıyla, profesyonel fotoğrafçılar gezi yazılarında ve rehber kitaplarda gezginlere önerilen yolları takip ederek, görmeye değer bulunan anıtların ve manzaraların fotoğraflarını çektiler. Bu fotoğrafların gerek konuları gerek kompozisyonları birbirine benzese de zaman içinde fotoğraflardaki konular ve temsil yaklaşımları çeşitlendi. Yüzyılın sonlarına gelindiğinde eski negatiflerden üretilen fotoğraflara yenilerinin eklenmesiyle İstanbul fotoğrafları içeren geniş bir fotoğraflar havuzu oluşmuştu. Satılmakta olan yüzlerce fotoğraf arasından gezgin, dilediğini seçip yine dilediğince sıralayıp kendi İstanbul albümünü oluşturuyordu. Bu nedenledir ki gezginin derlediği bir albüm, döneminde kentin o gezgin tarafından nasıl görüldüğünü, neyin bilindiğini, neyin beğenildiğini, neyin merak uyandırdığını, neyin olumsuz olarak addedildiğini gösterebilir. Öte yandan albümün açık ettiği bu görme biçimlerinin genel ve paylaşılan bir bakış mı yoksa daha kişiye özel bir tercih mi olduğu da anlaşılabilir.

Burada fotoğrafçının bakışı ile albümü derleyen ya da kendine mal edenin bakışı arasında bir uzlaşma olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Fotoğrafçılar gezginin bakışını sahiplenip onların görmek istediklerini sunarken, gezgin de fotoğrafçının sunduğunu kendine mal eder.

Profesyoneller tarafından ticari amaçla seri olarak üretilmiş fotoğrafları içeriyor olsalar da bu albümlerin hepsi seri üretim değildirler. Fotoğraf stüdyoları tarafından hazırlanarak satışa sunulanlar dışındakilerin çoğu gezginler tarafından özel olarak üretiliyorlardı. Gezilip görülen yerlerin hatırasını ve bilgisini muhafza etmenin yanı sıra kentin tanınan fotoğrafçılarından imzasını taşıyan büyük boy baskıları ve şık ciltleri ile bu pahalı albümlerin bir prestij objesi olarak da işlevleri vardı. Gezginler tarafından kendi kullanımları ve yakın çevreleriyle paylaşılacak üzere özel olarak üretildikleri için albümü derleyen / sahibinin adı ve üretildiği yer gibi bilgilerin yazılmasına gerek duyulmaz. Bu nedenle sahipleri unutulduktan sonra sağlam ciltleri, şık görünümleri ve değerli içerikleri sayesinde yok olmaktan kurtulmuş olsalar da bu albümlerin çoğunun nerede ve kim tarafından üretildiğini tespit edebilmek neredeyse imkansızdır.

İncelenen albümlerin tamamının kim tarafından üretildiği ya da satın alındığı bilinmediğinden bu tez bu albümleri üretenlerin bugün sosyolojik olarak tanımlanan anlamda turist olduklarını iddia etmez onun yerine daha kapsayıcı bir kavram olarak gezgin kelimesini kullanır. Öte yandan albümleri derleyenler ve satın alanlar turist olsun ya da olmasınlar turizmin kente bakışı ve dolayısıyla bu albümlerdeki kent sunumlarını da etkilediğini ve standartlaştırdığını savunur.

Böyle bir araştırma tekrar eden temaların ve temsil yaklaşımlarının tespit edilebilmesi için bir grup albümün bir arada incelenmesini gerektirir. Bu dönemde İstanbul fotoğrafları içeren pek çok seyahat albümü üretilmiş olmalıdır. Bu albümlerden bugün bildiklerimiz, dünyanın değişik bölgelerine dağılmış halde özel ve kurumsal koleksiyonlarda bulunmaktadır. Öte yandan bu dönemde ne gibi bir sayıda albüm üretildi, bunların ne kadarı günümüze ulaştı, günümüze ulaşanlar ulaşmayanları da temsil edebilir mi başka bir deyişle içerik olarak benzeşiyorlar mıydı bilinmiyor. Ayrıca, ne bugüne kalmış tüm albümleri tespit etmek ne de tespit edilenlerin herbirini incelemek mümkündür. Dolayısıyla bu tür bir malzemeye çalışan araştırmacı

oluşturacağı örnekler grubunun kaçınılmaz olarak şu ya da bu nedenle rastlantısal olduğunu ve bütünü temsil edemeyeceğini aklında bulundurması gerekir. Bu nedenle böyle bir çalışmanın verdiği sonuçlar kendi numuneleri için geçerli olacağından genellemelerde bulunamaz, ancak, daha sonra farklı albümler üzerine yapılacak yeni araştırmalar ve bulgularla ele alınan malzemeye dair bilgi dağarcığının genişletilmesine olanak verir.

Bu çalışma bu satırların yazarının Ocak 2014 ve Haziran 2014 tarihlerinde Los Angeles Getty Araştırma Enstitüsü'nde yaptığı araştırmaya dayanmaktadır. İncelenen albümler, 1996 yılında Getty Araştırma Enstitüsü tarafından sanat tarihi, mimarlık ve arkeoloji odaklı görsel koleksiyonunu genişletmek amacıyla Fransız koleksiyoner Pierre de Gigord'dan satın alınan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemine ve Türkiye Cumhuriyetin erken dönemlerine ait farklı formatta görsel malzeme içeren koleksiyonun bir parçasıdır. Bu koleksiyon farklı ebat ve özelliklerde altmış dört adet albüm içermektedir. Yazar, bunların yirmi dört tanesinin ondokuzuncu yüzyıl İstanbul fotoğrafları içeren seyahat albümleri olduklarını tespit etmiştir. Bu albümlerin genel bir incelenmesi sonucunda altı tanesi seçilmiş ve bu araştırmanın kapsamında yakından incelenmiştir.

Pierre de Gigord, koleksiyonunun büyük bir kısmını 1980'li yıllarda ağırlıklı olarak Paris müzayedelerinden ve Avrupa'daki sahaflardan topladığını belirtir. Albümlerin Pierre de Gigord'un Koleksiyon'unda bir araya getirilmelerinden önceki hikayelerini bilmiyoruz. İncelenen albümlerden bir tanesi hariç ilk sahipleri ya da derleyenlerinin kim olduğuna dair bilgimiz de mevcut değil. Bu çalışma her bir albümü döneminin bakışını muhafaza ederek bugüne kadar getiren bir sunum olarak ele aldığından dolayı incelenen albümler, içeriği tam olarak ve fotoğrafların sırası değişmeden bugüne kadar gelebilmiş olanların arasından seçilmiştir. İncelenmek için derlenme tarihleri birbirlerine yakın olan albümlerin seçilmesine dikkat edilmiştir. Daha çeşitli konular ve temsil yaklaşımları içerdikleri göz önünde bulundurularak, yüzyılın son yirmi yılı içerisinde üretilen albümler tercih edildi. Koleksiyondaki albümlerin pek çoğunun tarihleri kesin olarak saptanamadığından derlenme tarihleri kesin olanlar öncelikli olarak ele alındı. Ayrıca içinde albümü derleyen kişiye, satıldığı ya da yapıldığı yere dair ipuçları taşıyanlar araştırıldı. Bunlara ilave olarak içerdikleri fotoğraflar ve

sıralamaları itibarıyla açıklanabilir bir mantıkla biraraya getirilmiş olmaları gözönünde bulunduruldu.

İstanbul albümlerine dair araştırmalar ve ikincil kaynaklar çok sınırlıdır. Bu nedenle bu tez boyunca devam eden tartışma ağırlıklı olarak, ele alınan albümlerin birincil kaynaklardan elde edilen bilgiler ışığında incelenmesine dayanmaktadır. Bu amaçla dönemin seyahatnamelerine, gazetelerine, rehber kitaplarına, gravürlere, ticaret yıllıklarına, ve kartpostallara, başvurur.

Ele alınan albümlerin hepsi ticari olarak seri-üretilmiş fotoğrafları içermektedir. Ancak sadece bir tanesi *Souvenir de Constantinople* albümü, Sebah and Joaillier firması tarafından hatıra albümü olarak seri üretilmiştir. Diğer beş albümün herbiri bir kişi tarafından özel olarak üretilmiş albümlerdir. Bunlardan iki tanesi tek bir fotoğrafçının fotoğraflarını içerirler ve kapaklarında derlenme tarihleri albüm başlığı olarak basılmıştır. Tamamı Pascal Sébah'ın fotoğraflarından oluşan *Constantinople 1885* ve Vasilliaki Kargopoulo'nun fotoğraflarını içeren *Constantinople 1884* albümlerinin kapak ve cilt tasarımlarından anlaşıldığı üzere bu albümler İstanbul'da fotoğrafçılar tarafından üretilmiş ve satışa sunulmuş albümler değil, gezginler tarafından derlenmiş albümlerdir. Benzer şekilde incelenen diğer üç albümün de malzeme özellikleri İstanbul dışında üretildiklerini göstermektedir. Bu gruptaki albümler, tek bir fotoğrafçının fotoğraflarını içeren diğer üç albümden daha fazla sayıda fotoğraf içerirler. İçlerinden tek bir albümün içinde yer alan mürur tezkiresinden derleyeninin adı, mesleği ve seyahat tarihi ile ilgili bilgileri bulmaktayız.

Bu tez beş bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölümde tezin incelediği malzeme, araştırdığı konular ve kullandığı yöntem sunulmuş, konuyla ilgili varolan literatür ve ele alınan malzenin incelenmesine yardımcı olacak ikincil kaynaklar tanıtılmış, albümler üzerine şimdiye kadar yapılmış farklı çalışmalar ve yaklaşımları kısaca özetlenmiştir. İkinci bölüm, albümlerin üretilmesini mümkün kılan iki olguya ondokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısında İstanbul'da fotoğrafçılığa ve turizme genel bir bakış sunar aynı zamanda bu albümlerin içeriğini etkileyen 'turist bakışının' oluşumunu da dönemin seyahatname ve seyahat rehberlerine bakarak araştırır. Üçüncü bölüm, ele aldığı altı albümü malzeme özelliklerini inceleyerek, fotoğrafların içeriklerine ve

dizilişlerine bakarak araştırır ve karşılaştırır. Albümlerin içerdikleri fotoğraflardaki konuların neler olduklarına, nasıl temsil edildiklerinde, benzer konuların veya aynı fotoğrafların diğer albümlerde yer alıp almadıklarını araştırır, albümlerdeki konunun tasvirleriyle seyahatnamelerdeki tasvirler arasındaki benzerlikleri tespit eder. Ayrıca seyahat rehberlerinde tavsiye edilen kenti görme biçimleriyle albümlerdeki kent sunumlarını karşılaştırır. Dördüncü bölüm ise fotoğraflarla, fotoğraf dışı görsel temsillerin yaklaşım ve konvansiyonları arasındaki sürekliliği / süreksizliği araştırır ve tartışır. Beşinci bölüm tezin genel bir değerlendirilmesidir.

Ondokuzuncu yüzyılın ilk yarısıyla birlikte artan, ucuzlayan ve daha rahat ve kısa sürede ulaşım olanağı tanıyan seyahat vasıtalarının gelişmesi, eğlenmek ve yeni yerler tanımak amacıyla seyahat eden insanların sayısında bir artış meydana getirdi. Dolayısıyla, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl boyunca İstanbul'a gelen gezgin sayısı da on yıllar içinde arttı. Yüzyılın son çeyreğine gelindiğinde İstanbul'a hem deniz yoluyla hem de demir yoluyla ulaşım kolaylaşır. 1888 yılında İstanbul'dan Viyana'ya kadar uzanan demiryolu tamamlanır. İstanbul'dan Paris'e doğrudan ulaşım sağlayan Şark Ekspresiyle yaklaşık yetmiş saatte İstanbul'a ulaşmak mümkün olur. Uzun mesafelere seyahatin geçmişe göre daha kısa daha konforlu ve daha ucuz hale gelmiş olması, daha çok insanın seyahat edebilmesine olanak sağlar. Artan turist sayısı ile birlikte konforlu konaklama imkanı sunan oteller, seyahat acentaları ve rehber kitaplar da ortaya çıkar.

İstanbul, yüzyıllardır Avrupa ile iletişim halinde olan ve gezginler tarafından bilinmekte olan bir kenttir. Dolayısıyla İstanbul ile ilgili yazılmış olan pek çok gezi yazısı bulunmaktaydı. Çoğu tanınmış bürokratlar, sanatçılar ve entellektüeller tarafından kaleme alınmış bu yazılar çoğunlukla İstanbul'u hiç görmemiş kişilere kenti anlatmak amacıyla izlenimci bir üslupla yazılmışlardı, şiirsel betimlemeler, hikayeler, çizimler içermektedirler. Bu seyahatnamelere yüzyıl boyunca yenileri eklendi kimileri birden fazla ülkede birden fazla defa basılarak diğerlerinden daha fazla okundular. Julia Pardoe'nin *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (1838), Théophile Gautier'in *Constantinople To- Day* (1853), Edmondo Amicis'in *Costantinople* (1877), Francis Elliot'un *Diary of an Idle Woman in Constantinople* (1893), Mrs. Max Müller'in *Letters From Constantinople* (1897), Clara Erskine Clement'in *Constantinople. The City of the Sultans* (1895), Marion Crawford'un *Constantinople* (1895) isimli seyahat yazıları bu

tezin albümlerin içeriklerini araştırırken başvurduğu seyahatnamelerdir. Bu metinlerin yazarları İstanbul hakkında kendilerinden önce yazılmış olan seyahatnamelerden, tarih ve araştırma yazılarından çoğunlukla haberdardır ve onlara atıfta bulunurlar. Yüzyılın ikinci yarısında gezi rehberleri farklı bir tür olarak ortaya çıktıklarında seyahat yazılarından faydalandılar.

Nerelerin gezilmesi gerektiği, hangi konuların görülmeğe değer olduğu konusundaki tercih ve öncelikleri varolan seyahatnamelerden devralmış olsalar da gezi rehberleri seyahatnamelerden çok farklı kaynaklardır. Tanıtılan yerlere hiç seyahat etmemiş kimselere hayali bir gezi sunmak amacıyla değil, söz konusu coğrafyada bulunan ya da seyahat planlayan gezginlere yol göstermek ve kolaylık sağlamak amacıyla yazılmışlardır. Gezilip görülecek yerlerin tarihi, mimarisi gibi bilgiler dışında ulaşım, konaklama, konuşulan dil, bölgenin iklimi gibi konuları da kapsayan seyahatin pratiğine dair bilgiler ve öneriler içerirler. Rehber kitapların yönlendirmesi sayesinde seyahatnamelerde öne çıkan yerler, daha fazla kişi tarafından görülür. Böylelikle zaman içinde kimi konular ve güzergahlar öne çıkarken kimi yapılar diğerlerinden daha fazla ziyaret edilir. Dolayısıyla kentte neyin görülmeğe değer olduğu nasıl görüleceği konusunda standarlaşan bir bakış oluşagelir.

Dönemin seyahatname ve rehber kitaplarından anlaşıldığı üzere, İstanbul coğrafi olarak eşsiz konumu ve bu konumun sağladığı doğal güzellikler, eski Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun başkenti olması nedeniyle barındırdığı tarihi zenginlik, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun tarihiyle ilişkilendirilen mekanları, ve bir İslam kenti olması nedeniyle ilgi çekmektedir.

On dokuzuncu yüzyılın başlarında Miss Julia Pardeo'nun seyahatnamesindeki konular, İstanbul'da nelerin neden görülmeğe değer olduğunun bir dökümü gibidir. Yüzyılın ikinci yarısında gezi rehberleri ortaya çıktığında Miss Pardeo'nün kitabında yer alan yerlerin neredeyse tamamı rehberlerde yerini alır. Murray'in İstanbul rehberi kentin bütün cazip mekanlarının görülmesinin en az iki üç hafta alacağını belirtir ama zamanı dar olan turistler için üç günlük ve altı günlük güzergahlar çizerek en önemlilerinin en kısa zamanda görülmesi konusunda rehberliğini sunar. Bütün rehberler, Galata Kulesinden kente bakılmasını önerir. Güzergahlar genellikle Eyüp sırtlarından kente

bakışı, Boğaz boyunca pitoresk bir gezintiyi, surların içindeki anıtların ve çarşıların gezilmesini, kara surları boyunca bir gezintiyi, Asya ve Avrupa Tatlı Suları'na bir gezintiyi, Cuma Selamlığı'nın ve dervişlerin görülmesini, Üsküdar'da Türk mezarlığına ziyareti ve Türk mahallesine bakışı içermektedir. Zamanı olanlara Adalar, Bursa ve İzmit gezileri önerilmektedir. Öte yandan gezi rehberlerinde çizilen güzergahlarda bahsi geçen anıtların hepsine ulaşmayı azmetmiş bir turistin üç beş günlük programı o kadar sıkışık olmak zorundadır ki, anıtları uzaktan görmeğe zamanı ancak yetecektir. Dolayısıyla, kente ayrılan zamanın azalmasıyla birlikte kenti gezmek rehber kitapta listelenen mekanların görülmesine indirgenir.

İstanbul'a gelen gezginler çoğunlukla orta ve üstü sınıfa mensup, eğitilmiş dolayısıyla dönemin pitoresk zevkine sahiptirler. Gezi yazılarından ve gravürlerden tanıdık oldukları pitoresk İstanbul'u görmek beklentisiyle geliyorlardı. Bir estetik perspektif olarak pitoresk onsekizinci yüzyılın sonları ondokuzuncu yüzyılın başlarında ortaya çıkar. Zaman içinde resmedilmeye değer güzellikte olan anlamında bir estetik yargı belirtmek için kullanılır. Pitoresk olanı aramak ve bulmak öğrenilmiş bir görme biçimidir. Dolayısıyla pitoresk olanı aramak kente resme bakar gibi bakmayı ve estetik bir yargıyı da beraberinde getirir. Hemen hemen tüm seyahatnamelerde İstanbul uzaktan bakıldığında çok pitoresk bir kent olarak tasvir edilir. Öte yandan kentin içinden kente bakış çoğunlukla pitoresk bulunmamakta düş kırıklığı yaratmaktadır.

İstanbul'daki mekanlar başlıca üç nedenden dolayı turistik cazibe merkezi haline gelirler. Ya pitoresk arayışına cevap veriyorlardır, ya bilinegelen tarihi olaylarla ve efsanelerle ilişkilendiriliyorlardır ya geleneksel pratiklerin ya da İslami yaşantının mekanları oldukları için ilginç bulunurlar. Bir yer, kendisiyle ilişkilendirilen tarihi olaylar ya da efsaneler nedeniyle sıradışı olarak addedildiğinde turistik hale gelir. Bu addedilen sıradışılık hayal gücünü tetikler. İstanbul'a gelmeden önce İstanbul hakkında çok farklı kaynaklardan bilgi edinen turist, hakkında beklenti sahibi olduğu yerleri görmek ister. Ancak kente dair ön bilgi farklı kaynaklardan edinildiğinden çoğunlukla da abartılmış ve saptırılmış olduğundan gerçek hayal kırıklığı yaratmaktadır. Örneğin Topkapı Sarayı'nı Elhamra Sarayı gibi İstanbul sokaklarını da Bin bir Gece Masalları'ndaki gibi hayal eden turist gördüklerini tatmin edici bulmaz.



Murray’ın gezi rehberi de İstanbul’un turistik cazibesini üç başlık altında özetler: Tarihi, coğrafi pozisyonu ve nüfusun çeşitliliği. Gerçekten de bu üç başlık, gezi albümlerindeki başlıca konuların gruplandırması gibidir. Manzaralar, anıtlar ve insanlar.

Fotoğrafın 1839 yılında iki ayrı teknik olarak duyurulmasını takip eden bir yıl içinde İstanbul’un fotoğrafları gezgin fotoğrafçılar tarafından çekilir. Fotoğrafın ilk on yılı tekniğin geliştirildiği ve olanaklarının araştırıldığı bir süreçtir, 1850’lerin başında bir işkolu haline gelir. Avrupa’yla eş zamanlı olarak İstanbul’da fotoğrafçılık faaliyetleri başlar ve gelişir. 1850’lerin başından itibaren İstanbul’da uzun süre faaliyet gösterecek olan fotoğraf stüdyoları birbiri ardına açılmaya başlar. Darphane-i Amire’de çalışan İngiliz hakkak James Robertson 1850’lerin başında İstanbul serileri üretir. Robertson’un İstanbul fotoğraflarının gravür yöntemiyle basıldığı *Souvenirs de Constantinople* albümü 1855 yılında Avusturya denizcilik firması Lloyd tarafından basılır. Robertson 1858 yılından sonra yeni İstanbul serileri üretmez. Vassilaki Kargopoulo, Pascal Sébah, Abdullah Biraderler (Frères) gibi İstanbul fotoğrafının tanınmış isimleri bu yıllarda stüdyo açarlar ve İstanbul fotoğrafları üretmeye başlarlar. Osmanlı Sarayı ve sultanları fotoğrafa icadından itibaren ilgi göstermiştir. Abdullah Biraderler, 1863 yılında Sultan’ın fotoğrafçısı olarak atanırlar. 1863 yılında gerçekleşen Sergi-i Umumi-i Osmani’de çok sayıda fotoğrafları sergilenir. 1867 Paris Sergisinde Seraskerat Kulesinden çekmiş oldukları panorama, Sultan Abdülaziz’in bir portesi ve diğer ileri gelenlerin portleri sergilenir. 1878 yılında bu ünvanlarını bir süreliğine kaybederler ve onların yerine Vassilaki Kargopoulo saray fotoğrafçısı olarak atanır. Abdullah Biraderler 1892 yılında kaybettikleri ünvanlarını geri alırlar. II. Abdülhamit tarafından hazırlattırılıp British Library ve Library of Congress’e hediye edilen ve Abdülhamid Koleksiyonnu diye bilinen albümler için çok sayıda fotoğraf üretirler. 1900 yılında stüdyolarını negatifleriyle beraber Sébah ve Joaillier’e satarak stüdyolarını kapatırlar. Vassilaki Kargopoulo 1870’lerden itibaren sistematik şekilde İstanbul anıtlarının ve manzaralarının fotoğraflarını üretir. Saray fotoğrafçısı ünvanını aldıktan sonra da sarayların içlerini fotoğraflar. Bir diğer tanınmış Osmanlı fotoğrafçı, Pascal Sébah 1857 yılında ilk stüdyosunu açar ve 1883 yılında geçirdiği rahatsızlığa kadar olan dönemde pek çok İstanbul fotoğrafı üretir. Sergi-i Osmani-i Umumiye’de Pascal Sébah’ın da Galata ve Seraskerat Kulelerinden çekmiş olduğu iki panoraması

sergilenir. 1873 Viyana Sergisi için hazırlanan *Elbise-i Osmaniye* albümünün de fotoğraflarını çeker. Vefatından sonra Pascal Sébah'ın oğlu, Polycarpe Joaillier ile ortaklık kurar ve firma Sébah and Joaillier adı altında devam eder. Bu isimlerle birlikte yüzyılın son çeyreğinde İstanbul'da aktif olan ve çalışmaları incelenen albümlerde yer alan fotoğrafçılar, Guillaume Berggren, Bogos Tarkulyan ve Gülmez Biraderlerdir. Berggren ilk İstanbul serilerini 1875 civarında üretmeye başlar ve takip eden on yirmi yıl içinde farklı konularda İstanbul fotoğrafları üretir. Gülmez Biraderler 1893 Şikago Sergisine Abdullah Frères ile birlikte katılırlar ve Sultan'ın fotoğrafçısı ünvanını alırlar. Yukarıda bahsi geçen fotoğrafçılar anıtlar, panoramalar ve kostüm serileri içeren İstanbul fotoğrafları üretmiş ve Pera Caddesi üzerindeki stüdyolarında satmışlardır. Dönemin ticaret yıllıklarında ve seyahat rehberlerinde isimleri ve adresleri yer alır.

Yirminci yüzyıl başlarına gelindiğinde ise fotoğrafçılık alanında koşullar değişir. makinelerin küçülerek elde taşınabilir ve üç ayak kullanmadan çekim yapılabilir hale gelmesi, hazır makara negatiflerin kullanılabilmesi fotoğraf üretimini profesyonellerin tekelinden çıkarır. Yüzyılın som on yılına gelindiğinde stüdyolar amatörler için negatif banyo etme ve baskı yapma hizmeti sunmaya başlamışlardır bile. Ayrıca resimli kartpostalların yaygınlaşması sayesinde son elli yılda üretilen İstanbul görüntüleri kartpostal olarak her yerde satılır. Dolayısıyla artık gezginler kendi fotoğraflarını üretebiliyor ve çok sayıda resimli kartpostala ucuza sahip olabiliyorlardı ayrıca fotoğrafın daha kolay üretilabilir olması ünlü fotoğrafçıların binbir emekle ürettikleri fotoğrafların da korsan olarak üretilip, ucuza piyasaya sürülmeleri sonucunu beraberinde getirmişti. Bu nedenlerden dolayı yüzyılın sonuna gelindiğinde profesyonel fotoğrafçılar tarafından üretilen İstanbul serilerinin de sonu gelir. Yirminci yüzyılın ilk beş on yılında derlendiği tahmin edilen albümlere rastlamak mümkün olsa da 1910'dan sonra bu albümlerin devri kapanmış görünmektedir. Öte yandan Balkan Savaşlarını takip eden I. Dünya Savaşı İstanbul'a gelecek turist de bırakmamıştır. Profesyonel fotoğrafçılar tarafından üretilen fotoğrafların estetik ve teknik kalitesine sahip olmayan çok sayıda ve küçük boyutlarda amatörler tarafından üretilen fotoğraflardan ancak bilinen şahsiyetler tarafından gezi defteri olarak metin, çizim ve fotoğraf içerir şekilde oluşturulanlar dışında bugüne albüm bütünlüğü içinde ulaşanların sayısı sınırlıdır. Gezi defterlerini bir önceki dönemin albümlerinden farklı bir tür olarak görmek gerekir.

Bu tezin incelediği ilk albüm, *Constantinople 1885* başlığından anlaşıldığı üzere 1885 yılında derlenmiştir ve içeriğinin tamamı Pascal Sébah'ın fotoğraflarından oluşmaktadır. Albümün gösterişli ebadı, içindeki büyük fotoğraflar, kapağında firma adının ve reklamının olmayışı, cildin dönemin Avrupa ciltleriyle benzerliği, fotoğrafların altına elyazısıyla atılmış olan başlıklar, fotoğrafların gezgin tarafından İstanbul'dan alınıp Avrupa'da ciltlendiği kanaatini güçlendirmektedir. Bu albüm peş peşe sayfalara yapıştırılmış yedi adet panoramik fotoğrafla açılmaktadır. Bu fotoğraflar Galata ve Seraskerat Kulelerinden çekilmişlerdir ve birbirlerini tamamlayan görüntülerdir. Bir arada değerlendirildiklerinde kentin bir nevi haritasını oluşturur gibidirler. Kenti bir bütün olarak algıladıktan sonra albümdeki fotoğraflarda bakış alçalır ve ilgilendiği konuları detaylandırır. İlk olarak Galata Köprüsünü gösterir. Galata Köprüsü seyahatnamelerde çeşit çeşit kıyafetler içinde çeşit çeşit milletten adamın ve doğuya özgü 'tiplerin' gelip geçişini izlemek için önerilen bir seyirliktir. Galata Köprüsünü takip eden dokuz fotoğraf Ayasofya'yı göstermektedir. Albüm Ayasofyanın iç mekanını detaylandıran fotoğraflar da içerir. Galata Köprüsü gibi Ayasofya da hemen hemen bütün albümlerde fotoğrafı bulunan bir konudur. Özellikle ikinci kat galeriden ana kubbenin altındaki devasa hacmi gösterir fotoğrafa hemen hemen tüm albümlerde rastlanır. Albüm Sultan Ahmet Cami'yi gösteren iki fotoğrafla devam eder. Sultan Ahmet Cami yüksek bir bakış açısından ve caminin tüm kütlesi ve altı minaresi görünecek şekilde gösterilmiştir ancak hemen yakınında bulunan dikilitaş kadraj dışında bırakılmıştır. Sultan Ahmet Cami'nin altı minaresi seyahat yazılarında ve rehberlerde özellikle vurgulanır ve altıncı minare ile ilgili öykü mutlaka anlatılır. Albümde yer alan bir diğer cami Süleymaniye'dir. Süleymaniye Cami, rehberlerde Kanuni Sultan Süleyman ve Mimar Sinan'dan bahsedilerek İstanbul'un en önemli mimari yapısı olarak vurgulanır, dolayısıyla albümlerde sıklıkla karşımıza çıkan bir diğer yapıdır. Osmanlı mimarisinin örnekleri olarak Sultanahmet Cami, Süleymaniye ve Hamidiye Camilerini gösterdikten sonra Hipodrom'a tekrar döner ve sırayla İstanbul'daki dikilitaşları gösterir, özellikle Theodosius sütunun kaidesinin dört bir yanındaki kabartmaları gösterir fotoğrafları dahil eder. Çemberlitaşı gösterir ama hemen yanıbaşındaki II. Mahmut türbesinin içini göstermez. Surları ve Tekfur Sarayı'nın fotoğraflarını ilave eder. Kent surları yıkılmış halleriyle turistler tarafından cazip bulunmakta ve rehber kitaplarda surlar boyunca bir gezinti programına dahil

edimektedir. Yedi Kuleler de albümlerde ve seyahatnamelerde sık karşılaşılan bir konudur. Özellikle tarihiyle ilgili dehşet verici olaylardan bahsedilir. Bu fotoğrafların ardından, albümü derleyen gezgin Büyük Pera Caddesine ve Yüksekaldırım Caddesine bir göz atar. Daha sonra tıpkı rehber kitaplarda tavsiye edildiği gibi albüm izleyicisini Dolmabahçe kıyılarından başlayarak Boğaz kıyısında pitoresk bir gezintiye çıkarır. Etnik portreler, satıcılar, dervişler, mezar taşları, Türk kadını fotoğrafıyla albüm sonlanır. Albümdeki fotoğrafların sıralaması seyahat rehberlerinde önerilen kenti gezme sıralamasına uymaktadır: Genel bakış, surların içi, Galata, Boğaz'da gezinti ve Üsküdar.

*Souvenir de Constantinople* albümü Sébah and Joaillier firması tarafından souvenir olarak satılmak üzere tasarlanmış bir albümdür (29x37cm). Herbiri önlü arkalı olarak yapıştırılmış kırk adet fotoğraf içerir. Her biri büyük boy olarak basılmış (21x 27 cm) bu pahalı albümün satılabilmesi için fotoğrafların turistlerin en çok satın aldıkları fotoğrafların arasından seçilmiş olması beklenir. Turistik olarak öne çıkan mutlaka görülmesi gerekenlere bir bakıştır. Öncelikli konular, genel ve piktoresk manzaralar, Ayasofya, camiler, çeşmeler, türbeler, köşkler ve farklı olduğu için dikkate değer bulunanlardır. Seyahat rehberlerinde zamanı kısıtlı turistler için önerilen hızlı bir tura benzetilebilir. Getty Kataloğu albümün tarihini 1890'lar olarak belirtmektedir. Albüm tarihi yarımadanın Marmara'dan çekilmiş bir fotoğrafıyla açılır. Bir sonraki fotoğraf Sarayburnunu Karaköy'den gösterir ve hemen hemen bütün albümlerin ilk sayfalarında yer alır. Galata Köprüsü'nü gösterir bir fotoğrafa bu albüm de yer verir. Yüksek bir bakış açısından çekilmiş Galata Köprüsü fotoğrafı oldukça güncel bir fotoğraftır, vapur iskelelerini ve deniz trafiğinin yoğunluğunu gösterir. Galata ve Seraskerat Kulelerinden çekilmiş fotoğraflar, Eyüp mezarlığından Haliç manzarası, Yeni Cami önünde sokak satıcıları, Beyazıt Cami avlusu, Ayasofya, Beyazıt Cami, Seraskerat Meydanı, Bab-ı Ali Kapısı, Şehzade Sebili albümde yer alan diğer konulardan bazılarıdır. Bu albümde yer alan fotoğrafların hemen hemen hepsinin diğer albümlerde de sık sık karşımıza çıkması, renklendirilmiş baskılarının bulunması ve defalarca kartpostal olarak basılmış olmaları bu imajların kentin turistik temsilleri olarak kabul görmüş ve oldukça tüketilmiş olduklarını göstermektedir. Görüldüğü üzere fotoğraflar tek bir fotoğrafçı tarafından üretilmiş oldukları halde kente farklı zamanlarda farklı bakışlar içerirler.

Türk kahvesi, mezarlıktaki kadınlar, Yeni Cami civarındaki sokak satıcıları kentteki doğuya özgü günlük yaşantıya işaret ederek kentin turistik cazibesini artırır. II. Mahmut türbesinin içi İslami yaşantının ilgi çekici mekanlarından biri olarak albümde yerini alır. Ayasofya, Sultan Ahmet Cami, Süleymaniye ve Beyazıt Cami fotoğrafları bu yapıların mimarisine odaklanırken kentin mimari zenginliğine işaret ederler. Albümün içerdiği mimari odaklı tek iç mekan fotoğrafı Ayasofya'dır. Galata Köprüsündeki vapurlar, Tophane Cami sokağı, Seraskerat Meydanı modernleşmiş bir kent imgesi sunar, Boğaz manzaraları da bu turistik sunumu zenginleştirir.

*Album Vues de Constantinople 1884* Vassilliaki Kargopoulo tarafından çekilmiş kırk dört fotoğraf içermektedir. Albüm cildinin yerli üretim olmayışı, albüm kapağında Kargopoulo'nun isminin ve saray fotoğrafçısı olduğuna dair ünvanının yer almayışı albümün fotoğrafçı tarafından değil fotoğrafları satın alan gezgin tarafından derlenmiş olduğunu gösterir. Albüm Sultanahmet Cami, Beyazıt Cami ve Ayasofya fotoğraflarıyla açılır. Ayasofya Şadırvanı ve Küçüksu Çeşmesi, Sultan Mahmut türbesi fotoğraflarıyla devam eder. Tarihi yarımada'nın iki panoramik görüntüsü, Seraskerat Meydanı, Çinili Köşk, Eyüp'ten Haliç manzarası, Boğaz manzaraları ve saraylar albümün içerdiği diğer konulardır. Bütün fotoğraflardaki teknik mükemmellik ve fotoğrafçının model kullanımı dikkat çekicidir. Özellikle sarayların fotoğrafları ve Boğaz manzaraları ağırlıklıdır. Saray fotoğrafçısı olan Kargopoulo bu avantajı kullanarak sarayların ve kasırları fotoğraflar. Sarayların herbirini yapıların kütle bütünlüğünü ve mimari özelliklerini betimleyecek şekilde mimari temsillerin konvansiyonellerine uygun şekilde fotoğraflanmıştır. Özellikle bu albüm içerdiği bütün fotoğrafların istinasız teknik ve estetik kalitesiyle öne çıkmaktadır. Fotoğrafların herbirinde fotoğrafçının fotoğrafın bütün unsurları üzerindeki kontrolü dikkat çekmektedir. Herbiri çok dikkatli bir şekilde resim yaparcasına özenle üretilmiş fotoğraflardır. Kargopoulo çok iyi bir fotoğrafçı olsa dahi onun portfolyosu içinden bu seçkiyi hazırlayan kişi de çok seçici bir göze sahip olmuştur olmalıdır. Dolayısıyla bu fotoğraflar sadece konularının cazibesi nedeniyle değil içerdikleri teknik ve estetik kalite açısından da iddialı çalışmalar oldukları için satın alınmış olabilirler.

*Turquie* Album farklı fotoğrafçıların çekmiş olduğu fotoğraflardan derlenmiş yüz otuz yedi fotoğraf içeren bir albümdür. Getty Kataloğuna göre albüm 1890'larda derlenmiş

olmalıdır. Albüm anıtların fotoğraflarıyla açılır ve yapı tiplerine göre gruplandırılır. Sultanahmet Cami albümdeki ilk fotoğraftır. Saraylar, türbeler, kuleler, surlar, panoramik ve pitoresk manzaralar ve portreler olarak devam eder. Albüm içerdiği iç mekan ve mimari detay fotoğrafları nedeniyle dikkat çekicidir. Albümde yer alan Üsküdar Valide Cami kapısı, Yeni Cami sultan mahfili ve seramikleri, sedef kakma kapı detayları gibi diğer albümlerde sıklıkla karşımıza çıkmayan konulara dairdir. Buradan albümü derleyen Osmanlı mimarisine ve geleneksel el sanatlarına karşı özel bir ilgi gösterdiği görülmektedir. Öte yandan fotoğraf altındaki yazıların yanlış yazılmış olması, Küçüksu Kasrı'nın Dolmabahçe Sarayı olarak not edilmesi gibi bir hatanın olması derleyen kenti çok iyi bilmeyen biri olduğunu dolayısıyla kentte uzun süre kalmamış olduğunu düşündürür. Buna rağmen çok sayıda fotoğraf toplayarak kente dair görsel bilgi toplamış ve albüm haline getirerek nuhafaza etmiştir.

*Constantinople. Musée, Types, Scutari, Brousse* başlıklı albüm kapağındaki başlıktan ve içindeki seyahat belgesinden anlaşıldığı üzere Matmazel Mari Fleury ismindeki bir Fransız hanım tarafından 1905 yılında İstanbul ve Bursa'ya yapmış olduğu seyahatin neticesinde düzenlenmiştir. Albümün içindeki kırtasiye etiketinden albümün Paris'te ciltlenmiş olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Albüm farklı fotoğrafçılara ait ve farklı teknikle üretilmiş yüz yirmi dört fotoğraf içermektedir. Albüm Müze-i Hümayun ve Çinili Köşk fotoğraflarıyla açılır ve çok sayıda arkeolojik eser fotoğrafı içerir. Bu fotoğraflar imzasız olmalarına rağmen Sébah and Joaillier firmasının müze kataloğu için ürettikleri fotoğraf serisine dahildirler. Matmazel Fleury kentin anıtlarıyla ilgilenmez. Eyüp mezarlığından Haliç görüntüsü, Ortaköy Cami'nde Cuma selamlığı, Yıldız ve Dolmabahçe Sarayları ve 'Doğu'ya' özgü yaşantıyı betimleyen fotoğrafları albümüne dahil eder. Mesleğinin ressam oluşu, daha sonra resmetmek için görüntüler topluyor olabileceğini akla getirmektedir.

Bu tezin incelediği son albüm Almanca fotoğraf altı yazılarıyla yüz ondokuz fotoğraf içeren albümdür. Albüm kapağında Abdülhamid tuğrası bulunmaktadır. İçindeki Alman Çeşmesi fotoğrafına ve kapağındaki tuğraya bakılarak 1901 ve 1908 yılları arasında bir tarihte üretilmiş olduğu tahmin edilir. Albüm Sarayburnunu ve Galata Köprüsünü gösteren bir panoramik fotoğrafla açılır, ikinci fotoğraf Sarayburnunun daha yakın bir görüntüsüdür. Daha sonra bakış alçalır ve uzaktan baktığı bölgede bir

gezinti sunar. Başlangıç noktası III. Ahmet Çeşmesidir. Üç farklı fotoğrafla çeşmeyi üç farklı açıdan göstererek çeşmenin civarındaki yapıları tanımlar. Üçüncü fotoğrafta çeşmenin saçağı altından Topkapı Sarayı birinci avlu kapısı görülür. Bundan sonra takip edilen güzergah tıpkı Baedeker rehberinde önerildiği gibidir. Albümdeki bakış birinci avluya girer Aya İrini ve meşhur Yeniçeri Ağacını görür. Sırasıyla ikinci avlu ve üçüncü avludan geçerek Topkapı Sarayını ziyaret eder, çıkışta Ayasofya ve Hipodroma gelir, Sultan Ahmet Cami ziyaret eder ve turunu tamamlar. Bir sonraki tur Beyazıt bölgesini, daha sonra da Beyazıt'dan surlara kadar olan bölgeyi kapsar. Boğaz'da bir gezinti sunar, albümdeki bakış Küçüksu'ya uğrayarak Karaköy'e döner. Tophane'yi görür, Galata'ya geçer. Pera'da elçilik binalarını ve Fransız hastanesini, Taksim'de topçu kışlasını görür. Sakalar, tulumbacılar, kahvehane, ayı oynatıcı fotoğraflarıyla albüm tamamlanır. Albüm izleyicisine kenti gezdirir, bu gezi oldukça kapsayıcıdır ve sokak seviyesinden çekilmiş fotoğrafların tercih edilmiş olması bu sanal gezinti algısını kuvvetlendirmektedir.

Fotoğraftan önce İstanbul halihazırda Batılı gezginler tarafından sıklıkla betimlenmiş bir kent idi. Bu betimlemeler aracılığıyla kente dair bilgi üretiliyor ve yayılıyordu. On sekizinci yüzyılın sonundan itibaren bu betimlemeler görsel ağırlıklı bir hal almaya başlamıştı ve dönemin pitoresk zevkini yansıtmaktaydı. Pitoresk arayışla birlikte sadece kentin bilgisi değil kente resim gibi olanın, kente resme bakar gibi bakmanın, kentten görsel zevkler damıtmanın bilgisi de aktarılmaya başlandı. Hangi manzaranın pitoresk hangi sahnenin 'oryantal' ve 'oryantal' olduğu için pitoresk olduğu konusunda ortak bir beğeni oluşmuştu. Dolayısıyla zevk almak için seyahat eden turist kente zevk almak için bakmaya başladı. Seyahatnamelerde anlatılanları birinci elden deneyimlemek beklentisiyle geliyor ve bu deneyimin kanıtı ve hatırası olan fotoğrafı satın almak istiyordu. Dolayısıyla fotoğraf seyahatnamelerle sözel olarak kodlanan bilgiyi görsel olarak kaydediyor bunu yaparken de gravürün mirasını sahipleniyordu. Gerçekten de başlangıçta gravürlerin eşlik ettiği seyahatnamelerin yenilenen baskılarında gravürlerin yerini fotoğraflar almaya başladı. Örneğin Gautier'in *Constantinople of To-day* (1859) Robertson'un fotoğraflarından gravür haline getirilmiş resimler içermekteydi. Amicis'in Constantinople'unun 1896 yılında baskısında gravürlerin yerini fotoğraflar almıştır. Benzer şekilde ondokuzuncu yüzyılın sonuna doğru yazılan seyahatnameler, fotoğraflarla resimlendirilmişlerdi. Ancak

kitaplara eklenen bu fotoğrafların sayısı çoğunlukla on yirmi taneyi geçmiyordu. Galata Köprüsü, tarihi yarımada ve boğazın genel manzarası, Türk kahvesi gibi oldukça klişe fotoğraflar kullanılıyordu. Kent anlatısı metin üzerinden devam ediyor, fotoğraflar anlatıyı doğruluyor, anlatının görselleştirilmesine yardımcı olmak gibi ikincil bir görev üstleniyorlardı.

Albümlerde ise yazı sadece fotoğraf negatiflerinin üzerindeki ve albüm sayfalarındaki tanımlayıcı başlıklara indirgeniyor, kent anlatısı / sunumu fotoğrafların seçimi ve dizilişi ile sağlanır hale geliyordu. Başlangıçta seyahatnamelerdeki betimlemelerin izinden gidilerek üretilen fotoğraflar bu seyahatnamelerdeki bakışı sürdürürken o zamana kadar sadece hayal edilebilir olanı resmederek aynı zamanda bu bakışı dönüştürdüler. Başka bir deyişle, kent seyahatnamelerde methedildiği ve rehberlerde tavsiye edildiği şekilde seyredilse de artık bu seyrin konusu olan manzara zamansız bir masal kenti olarak tasvir edilmemektedir. Kent manzaralarında tarihi kentin üzerine giydirilmiş kentin modern durumu görünmektedir, Beyazıt Tepesi üzerinde Seraskerat binaları, sahil boyunca sıralanmış ve tepeler boyunca istiflenmiş üç dört katlı yapılar görünmektedir. Fotoğrafçılar ve turistler, rehber kitaplardaki rotaları izleseler de manzara değişmiştir. Fotoğraflarda görünen Galata Köprüsü artık oryantal tiplerin geçit yaptığı bir seyirliği değil, kozmopolit bir kentin hareketliliğini göstermektedir Kentin değişen çehresini gösteren bu fotoğraflar da kabul görmüş ve yaygınlaşmıştır.

Bunlarla beraber, fotoğrafın üretilmesini etkileyen optik ve kimyasal olanaklarda, fotoğraflardaki temsilleri etkilemiştir. Fotoğraf başlangıçta konularını gravürlerden almış olsa da gravürler kadar konuyu idealize etmek lüksüne sahip değildi, kameranın önündeki gerçekliğe sadakati fotoğrafçının elini kolunu bağlamakta idi. İstanbul’u resmeden, seyahatnamelerde pitoresk İstanbul’u betimleyen çizimler yerel halkın yaşantılarını anlatan sahneler yer veriyorlardı. Fotoğraf, manzaraları kaydetse de insanları gravürlerdeki gibi manzaraya ekleyemiyordu. Çareyi kahvehanelerde, çeşme önünde, mezarlıklarda modellere poz verdirmekte buldular. Sokakta kurgulaması zor olan sahneleri ise stüdyoda kurguladılar. Ayrıca yüzyılın son çeyreğine kadar, ışığa duyarlı kimyasalların poz süreleri saniyeleri gerektirdiğinden sokaklarda hareket halinde olan insanlar ve araçlar kaydedilemiyordu. Bu nedenle anıtlar etraflarındaki günlük yaşantıdan soyutlanmış bir halde ve fotoğrafçının yerleştirdiği ve yönlendirdiği



modeller kullanılarak sahneler üretiliyordu. Sokakta görüntülenmesi uygun olmayan sahneler ve portreler stüdyolarda fotoğraflandı ve kent manzaralarının ve anıt fotoğraflarının arasında albümlerde yerini aldılar. Öte yandan 1880'lerden sonra kısalan poz süreleriyle birlikte anlık sokak görüntüleri de havanın durumuna bağlı kalınsızın kolaylıkla üretilmeye başlandı ve kent yaşantısını gerçekçi ve belgesel bir yaklaşımla gösterdiler. Öte yandan fotoğraf sadece gravürlerdeki kent manzaralarının konularını ve temsil yaklaşımlarını ödünç almaz, mimari çizimlerdeki konvansiyonelleri de kendine adapte eder ve kentin anıtsal mimarisinin representasyonlarını üretmekte kullanır.

Sonuç olarak görülmüştür ki fotoğraf seyahatname ve gravürlerin konularını devralmış olsa da on yıllar içinde kendi tekniğinin imkanlarını keşfeder, hem konular hem de konuları ele alış biçimi çeşitlenerek varolan konulara eklenmiş, iç mekanlar, mimari detaylar, anlık sokak görüntüleri fotoğrafın konusu olmaya ve albümlerde yer almaya başlamıştır. Bu çalışmada incelenen albümler 1884 yılı ve sonrasında üretildikleri için 1860'lardan itibaren üretilmiş görüntü dağıtıcısının içinden seçimler yapmışlardır. Dolayısıyla yukarıda bahsi geçen farklı dönemlere ait ve farklı temsil yaklaşımları içeren fotoğraflara tek bir albüm içinde rastlanır.

Murray'ın gezi rehberinde zamanı sınırlı turist için önerilen üç günlük turda listelenen yerlerin fotoğrafları incelenen albümlerde çoğunlukla yer almaktadır. Dolayısıyla buraların kentin mutlaka görülmesi gereken en turistik yerleri olduğunu düşünebiliriz. İncelenen albümler içinde Sebah and Joaillier'in souvenir olarak satışa sunduğu albümü bir kaç konuya odaklanmak yerine kentte turistler tarafında görülmeye değer bulunan tüm konulara yer vermeye çalışır. Öte yandan diğer albümlerde gezginin seçtiği fotoğraflardan gezginin özellikle ilgilendiği konular farkedilir. Fotoğrafların arasında çok bilinen olanların yanısıra daha az bulunanlara da rastlamak mümkündür. Albümlerde yer alan fotoğrafların tümü turistler hedeflenerek çekilmiş fotoğraflar değildir. Farklı amaçlarla üretilmiş olmalarına rağmen albümlerde gezgin tarafından farklı anlamlarla ilişkilendirilenlere rastlanır. Öte yandan bu albümlerin hiç birinde gezi rehberlerinde önerilen güzergahların dışındaki yerlere ve konulara neredeyse hiç rastlanmaz. Albümlerdeki fotoğraflar bilinen konuların detayları ve farklı temsilleridir.

İncelenen albümlerin içerisinde birbirinden çok farklı konuların farklı zamanlarda üretilmiş farklı temsil stratejilerine sahip fotoğraflar olması gezginlerin kenti tek ve değişmez bir bakış açısıyla değil birbiri içine geçmiş katmanlardan kesitler halinde algıladıklarını göstermektedir.

## APPENDIX D

### TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

#### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

#### YAZARIN

Soyadı : ACAR  
Adı : SİBEL  
Bölümü : MİMARLIK TARİHİ

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) : CAPTURING CONSTANTINOPLE:  
TRAVEL ALBUMS(1884-1910)

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ☒

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☒
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☒

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**