

Urban Parks of Istanbul in the late Ottoman Empire: Constructed Nature for Recreation Aims

Muřtafa Emir K

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Abstract

“Urban Parks of Istanbul in the Late Ottoman Empire: Constructed Nature for Recreation Aims”

Mustafa Emir Küçük, Master’s Candidate at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, 2019

Professor Nadir Özbek, Thesis Advisor

This thesis examines the construction processes and perception of early urban parks of Istanbul in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Parks as constructed natural spaces developed on the international scale in the nineteenth century. The first urban parks of Istanbul, Taksim and Çamlıca Gardens in 1870, Tepebaşı Garden in 1880, and Gülhane Garden in 1913 were constructed.

This thesis tries to show the different features of parks from public gardens known as mesire. Moreover, the motivation for creating these parks and their construction processes will be analyzed. This analysis and memoirs written at that time will demonstrate the profile of park goers. This thesis argues that the profile of park goers in the nineteenth century were cultural and political elites rather than ordinary people.

Furthermore, the prohibition of Muslim women’s entrance into parks is another aspect of this study. While the analysis of regulations on the situations of Muslim women draws a background, the representation of Muslim women in parks in the novels will be discussed to see the perception of parks. This study asserts that parks were perceived as a threat to the morality of society in the late Ottoman Empire.

The documents of Ottoman records, newspapers and journals, memoirs, and novels will be used as primary source in this thesis.

25,000 words

Özet

“Geç Dönem Osmanlı İstanbul’unda Parklar: Dinlence Amaçlı İnşa Edilmiş Doğa”

Mustafa Emir Küçük, Yüksek Lisans Adayı, 2019
Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü

Profesör Nadir Özbek, Tez Danışmanı

Bu tez, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl sonu ile yirminci yüzyıl başında İstanbul’da kurulan ilk parkların inşa süreçlerini ve bu parkların nasıl algılandığını incelemektedir. İnşa edilmiş doğayı barındıran parkların dünyada ortaya çıkması on dokuzuncu yüzyıla denk gelmektedir. İstanbul’un ilk parkları Çamlıca ve Taksim Bahçeleri 1870’de, Tepebaşı Bahçesi 1880’de, Gülhane Park’ı 1913’de kurulmuştur.

Bu tez, öncelikle parkların mesirelerden farkını ortaya koymaya çalışacaktır. Daha sonra, parkların yapılış amaçları ve süreçleri analiz edilecektir. Bu analiz ve o dönemde yazılmış hatıratlar parkların ziyaretçileri hakkında bir profil çizmektedir. Bu çalışma park ziyaretçilerinin dönemin politik ve kültürel elitlerinden oluştuğunu iddia etmektedir.

Müslüman kadınların parka girişlerinin yasaklanması, bu tezin bir diğer konusudur. Müslüman kadınlarla ilgili düzenlemeler genel bir arka plan çizerken, o dönem yazılmış romanlarda kadınların parklarda temsil edilmiş şekilleri parkların nasıl algılandığını göstermektedir. Bu çalışma parkların o dönemde toplum ahlakına bir tehdit olarak görüldüğünü öne sürmektedir.

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25.000 kelime

To my family

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AH	Hijri Calender
BOA	Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (the Presidency Ottoman Archives)
IUMK	Istanbul Üniversitesi Merkez Kütüphanesi (Istanbul University Central Library)
R	Rumi Calender

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It was, of course, a constructed concept of nature that was at work here, and it was fashioned according to very distinctive criteria. Grottoes and waterfalls, lakes and rustic places to dine, restful walks and bowers, were all craftily engineered within these distinctive spaces of the city, emphasizing pastoral and arcadian visions, Gothic designs and romantic conceptions of the restorative powers of access to a pristine, nonthreatening (therefore tamed), but still purifying nature.

– David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity*

Introduction

Gezi Park events in 2013 were one of the most significant protests based on urban policies in the last decades in Turkey. The protests started with an urban plan, which includes demolition of Gezi Park and re-construction of Taksim Barrack as a shopping mall in the field of park. Even though there were many dimensions of the protests, the preservation of Gezi Park was at the center. The lack of greenspaces for recreation in İstanbul and big cities of Turkey has been criticized nowadays by many people from almost all backgrounds. On the presidential election in 2018, one of Erdoğan's election promises was the establishment of new parks, called as "*Millet Bahçesi*" (National Garden). Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said that "you can go to these gardens with your family and children to enjoy."¹ Erdoğan, by referring family and children in the park, imagines a park which is suitable for moral values of society. Parks and public green spaces, in addition to recreation aims, have been used for dating spaces.² So-called moral values of society have been challenged in parks. In the context

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- 1 "Erdoğan'dan park vaadi: Al çocuğunu git, yat, yuvarlan" <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/politika/2018/06/10/erdogandan-park-vaadi-al-cocugunu-git-yat-yuvarlan/> access date 06.01.2019
 - 2 Laura Messner, "Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Mekân İlişkisi Tartışıldı" http://bianet.org/bianet/toplumsal-cinsiyet/201941-toplumsal-cinsiyet-ve-mekan-iliskisi-tartisildi?bia_source=rss Access date March 6, 2019.

of moral values of society, a security guardian of Maçka Park, a park in Şişli, attacked a homosexual couple on May of 2017 since they were kissing.³ In the same park, on July of 2017, a security guardian intervened a young woman's clothes because of inappropriate to moral values of society.⁴

The present study looks the historical development of parks of Istanbul in the nineteenth century and the perception of parks by focusing on the situations of Muslim women rather than contemporary events in Gezi Park and Maçka Park. This thesis, moreover, does not argue a linear relation between contemporary events and parks and their perceptions in the nineteenth century. This thesis focuses on the construction processes and perceptions of Çamlıca, Taksim, Tepebaşı, and Gülhane Gardens within the context of urban modernization of İstanbul.

People have used green spaces for recreation and entertainment aims throughout history, yet the concept of park as a recreation space in the city has developed on the international scale in the nineteenth century. Parks, as they are known today, are “areas of open green space that provide for free and accessible recreational use by the public and are usually owned and maintained by local government.”⁵ Constructed natural space with landscape designs at the center of the city and its popularity from Europe to the Unites States, Mexico to India was an outcome of social and political situations of the nineteenth century.

Regarding İstanbul, the older model of passing time for entertainment and repose in greenspace was known as the *mesire*: it was less structured and generally outside or on the periphery of urban areas. Parks that created in the second half of the nineteenth century had some different features from public

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- 3 “İBB Özel Güvenlik Görevlileri LGBTİ Bireylere Saldırdı” published date May 27, 2017. http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/749194/iBB_ozel_guvenlik_gorevlileri_LGBTi_bireylere_saldirdi.html access date March 6, 2019.
 - 4 “Maçka Parkı'nda ‘Özel Güvenlik’ Skandalı” published date July 31, 2017. <https://www.haber-turk.com/gundem/haber/1580967-macka-parki-nda-kiyafet-gerilimi> access date 06.01.2019
 - 5 Andrzej J. L. Zieleniec, “Parks” in *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies*, ed. Ray Hutchison, (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2010), 582.

gardens known as *mesire*. Firstly, they were constructed as urban modernization projects. Second, they located in the center of city or regions in which urban reforms were carried out. Third, these gardens were constructed with landscape design. They included walking-tracks, park bench, and artificial lakes. Fourth, the entrance was not always free. The distinctive features of İstanbul parks will be described with details in the third chapter.

Early parks of İstanbul were Çamlıca Garden (1870), Taksim Garden (1870), Tepebaşı Garden (1880), and Gülhane Garden (1913). These parks called as municipal garden (*belediye bahçesi*), park, or public garden (*umumi bahçe*). One of the names of these gardens was *millet bahçesi*. Redhouse's Turkish and English Lexicon defined the word of *millet* as "(1) One's belief, faith, religion (2) a nationality, a people; especially, a people united by a common faith; a sect."⁶ In the context of the nineteenth century parks, however, the translation of *millet bahçesi* should be public garden instead of national garden because there was not any reference to nationality in these parks. Moreover, the name of *millet bahçesi* was interchangeable with *umumi bahçe* (public garden), even in the same document. For example, in the agreement between the Sixth Municipal District Office and landowners around Tarlabası, the name of garden consecutively written as *Tarlabası Millet Bahçesi* and (*Tarlabası umumi bahçe*) public garden.⁷ Tarlabası as the name of garden, however, written only in this agreement. Other documents, newspapers, and novels used Tepebaşı instead of Tarlabası. French newspapers generally used *Jardin des Petits-Champs* for Tepebaşı Garden by referring the cemetery of Petits-Champs des Morts (*Küçük Kabristan*). The word of park used for the first time in the Ottoman archives for Gülhane Garden.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, greenspaces used for recreation did not consist of only these four gardens. Public gardens called as *mesire*, were still used.⁸ Moreover, Makriköy (Bakırköy) Municipal Garden

6 Sir James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, new edition, (Beirut: Librairie du Libnan, 1987), 1965.

7 BOA, HR.TO.00476.00040, 28 April 1879, (6 Cemazeyilevvel 1296 AH).

8 Sinan Kunalp (ed.), *Twixt Pera and Therapia. The Constantinople Diaries of Lady Layard*, (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2010), 20.

and Doğancılar Park in Üsküdar were other examples of modern urban parks. The construction date of Makriköy (*Bakırköy*) Municipal Garden was not clear, yet Ahmet Rasim in *Şehir Mektupları* (1890) (Letters from the City) wrote about Makriköy Municipal Garden.⁹ Hence, it was constructed probably before 1890. Doğancılar Park in Üsküdar was constructed by mayor Cemil (Topuzlu) in 1912-14. This thesis, however, does not study Makriköy and Doğancılar Parks. This thesis focuses on Çamlıca, Taksim, Tepebaşı, and Gülhane Gardens rather than all parks of İstanbul in that time. I have limited my study with only these four gardens because of two main reasons. Firstly, the Ottoman State Archive, newspapers, and novels written in that time were related to these four gardens. These sources were not rich about Makriköy and Doğancılar Park. This situation is not merely a struggle for a historian, yet at the same time, it shows that public opinion in that time dealt with these four gardens much more than other gardens and parks. Secondly, memoirs and newspapers at that time compared these gardens. For example, the journal of *Le Moniteur Oriental* compared Taksim and Tepebaşı Gardens in 1884.¹⁰ Cemil Topuzlu, founder mayor of Gülhane Garden, explained the necessity of Gülhane Park by comparing Çamlıca, Taksim, and Tepebaşı Gardens.¹¹ Furthermore, public gardens known as *mesire* are omitted in this thesis because parks and *mesires* are different categories.

Studies on gardens and parks of İstanbul started with Byzantine times. The book of *Byzantine Garden Culture*, composed of essays presented at a colloquium in November 1996 at Dumbarton Oaks, and Henry Maguire's article "Gardens and Parks in Constantinople" are primarily studies in the field of garden culture of İstanbul. Regarding Ottoman era, Gülru Necipoğlu examines "classical Ottoman garden culture as reflected in the suburban landscape of sixteenth century İstanbul" in the article of "The Suburban Landscape of

9 Ahmet Rasim, *Şehir Mektupları*, (İstanbul: Arba, 1992), 8.

10 Mackintosh, "Choses Et Autres" in *Le Moniteur Oriental*, March 1, 1884, Salt Galata Archive

11 Cemil Topuzlu, *İstibdat – Meşrutiyet – Cumhuriyet Devirlerinde 80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, (İstanbul: Güven Basımevi, 1951), 111.

Sixteenth Century İstanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture.”¹² According to Necipoğlu, unlike the Persian gardens known as *chahârbâgh* or the formal gardens of Renaissance, Ottoman gardens were relatively informal and combined the heritage of Byzantine garden culture with Turko-Islamic elements.¹³ Shirine Hamadeh’s *The City’s Pleasures İstanbul in the Eighteenth Century* examines the enhancement of garden culture of İstanbul in the eighteenth century. According to Hamadeh, public gardens known as *mesires* became dominant in visual culture and poetry in the eighteenth century unlike earlier centuries.¹⁴

İstanbul witnessed urban modernization projects during the nineteenth century. Establishment of municipalities, construction of wide roads, and creating boulevards were some applications of the urban modernization. In the field of urban history of the nineteenth century, Zeynep Çelik’s pioneer book, *the Remaking of İstanbul*, explains the construction of Taksim and Tepebaşı gardens in the context of urban modernization of İstanbul. She mentions the popularity of Taksim Garden and entertainment activities in the park. She also points out the prohibition of Muslim women’s entrance into Taksim Garden due to “immorality” of park.¹⁵ Işık Demirakın focuses expropriation of cemeteries in Beyoğlu in the urban modernization of İstanbul in the nineteenth century.¹⁶ She argues that beautification, health, security, and the political agenda, which aims to create a modern and strong central state, were constant themes in the urban modernization of İstanbul. Demirakın’s study includes the construction processes of Taksim and Tepebaşı, which were built in areas

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- 12 Gülru Necipoğlu, “The Suburban Landscpe of Sixteenth Century İstanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture”, in *Gardens of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (New York: E.J. Brille, 1997), 32 – 46.
- 13 Necipoğlu, *ibid*, 45.
- 14 Shirine Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures İstanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 110-114.
- 15 Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of İstanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 69-70.
- 16 N. Işık Demirakın, “Expropriation as a modernizing tool in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire: the case of cemeteries in Beyoğlu,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 18.1/2 (2012), 1-15.

previously occupied by cemeteries. Mehmet Kentel discusses construction of Tepebaşı Garden in his dissertation, *Assembling 'Cosmopolitan' Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman İstanbul*.¹⁷ Kentel argues that transformation of cemetery into a gated garden with entrance fee created a boundary between Pera and Kasımpaşa as well as constituted a new sociability space for 'cosmopolitan' elites in Pera. Oya Şenyurt's recently article "Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında Osmanlı'nın Son Dönemlerinde 'Gezinti'nin Mekânları ve Millet Bahçeleri" focuses on the concept of *millet bahçeleri* (she translated as "national garden"). The separation points of these new recreational spaces from public gardens known as *mesire*, according to Şenyurt, were their locations, functions, construction decisions, and processes.¹⁸

In addition to these studies, architectural historians and urban planners examine public gardens and parks of İstanbul in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by focusing on landscape designs of parks rather than social and political dimensions of parks.¹⁹

The main questions of this thesis are (1) what were the motivations of creating parks in İstanbul? (2) What was the profile of park goers? (3) What was the situation of Muslim women in parks? (4) How were parks described in the novels? Moreover, this description will be analyzed to understand the perception of parks.

I will use records in the Presidential State Archives (*Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivi*), the abbreviation is BOA, in this thesis. These documents are specifically in the catalogues of *Sadaret*, *Irade*, *Meclis-i Vâla*, *Dahiliye*, *Hariciye*, *Şurayı Devlet*, and *Plan-Proje-Kroki*. I will also benefit from the newspapers and journals, especially The Levant Herald, Journal de Salonique, La Turquie, La Moniteur Oriental, and Tanin. Moreover, memoirs give some ideas

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- 17 Koca Mehmet Kentel, "Assembling 'Cosmopolitan' Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman İstanbul" (PhD Diss., University of Washington, 2018).
- 18 Oya Şenyurt, "Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında Osmanlı'nın Son Dönemlerinde 'Gezinti'nin Mekânları ve Millet Bahçeleri," in *Mimarlık ve Yaşam Dergisi*, 3(2), 2018, 143 – 167.
- 19 Emine Atalay Seçen, "Dolmabahçe Sarayı ve Bayıldım Bahçeleri 19. yüzyıl Tasarım İlkeleri ve Bitkisel Restitüsyonu" (PhD diss, Ankara University, 2011); Raşan Demirkaya, "Tarihi Kentlerde Tarihi Park ve Bahçelerin Değerlendirilmesi ve İstanbul Örneği," (MSc Thesis, İstanbul Technical University, 1999); Fikriye Pınar Altınar, "II. Abdülhamid Dönemi'nde İstanbul Bahçeleri (1876-1909)" (MSc Thesis, İstanbul Technical University, 2008).

on people's experiences in the parks. Even though memoirs might be found too subjective, people's remembering the park illustrate meaning attribution into parks. Furthermore, I will also use novels, which were written as fiction, to understand perception of parks. I pay attention to novels because novels provide popular fashion, taste, and perception of contemporaries, which might be difficult to capture from the archives. With the words of Azade Seyhan, "novels shape popular fashion and taste and are shaped by them."²⁰ Moreover, Seyhan argues that novels in the Ottoman time used as pedagogical and political tools.²¹

This thesis composed of five chapters, including introduction and conclusion. The second chapter, "The Concept of Park on the Internationale Scale and the History of Garden Culture of Istanbul" will deal with the emergence of park on the international scale and the history of garden culture in İstanbul. This chapter consists of two subsections. First, I will briefly describe the construction of parks in different countries, including England, France, the United States, Mexico, and India. These examples reveal that parks, as Schenker emphasized, was part of an international phenomenon, "as a product of bourgeois culture, shaped by the big ideas, large cultural narratives, and social movements of the nineteenth century." At the same time, Schenker pays attention the uniqueness of each parks at the local scale.²² Description of parks of the nineteenth century on international scale enables us to compare parks of İstanbul with other examples in the world. Furthermore, examples from different parts of the world clue about the concept of park as a popular social space in the nineteenth century. Second, the legacy of garden culture in İstanbul from Byzantium times to till construction of parks will be described. After summary of garden culture in Byzantium time and Ottoman classical era, I will focus on the eighteenth century and the concept of *mesire*, public gardens. The popularization of public gardens (*mesire*) in the eighteenth century and their situation in the nineteenth century will be studied.

20 Azade Seyhan, *Tales of Crossed Destinies: The modern Turkish novel in a comparative context*, (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2009), 11.

21 Ibid, 14.

22 Heath Massey Schenker, *Melodramatic Landscapes: Urban Parks in the Nineteenth Century*, (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 19.

The third chapter focuses on the buildings of early parks of İstanbul, specifically Çamlıca, Taksim, Tepebaşı, and Gülhane gardens. The motivation of creating these parks will be analyzed by using Ottoman archives, newspapers, and maps in that time. According to archival records, written reasons for building parks were the desire to create green spaces for recreation aims at the urban center, public health, beautification of the city, and commercial interests. Moreover, these motivations, the location of these parks, petitions written by lessors of parks in the archive, newspapers, and memoirs give some ideas on the profile of people in the parks. Hence, in this chapter, I will try to find the answers to the motivations of creating parks in İstanbul and the profile of visitors in these parks.

My motivation for writing the fourth chapter is the situation of Muslim women in the parks. Muslim women were not allowed to enter Taksim Garden. Muslim women gained the accessibility to parks with the opening of Gülhane Garden in 1914 after a public debate. In this chapter, firstly I will study the situation of Muslim women in public gardens known as *mesire* and parks by using Ottoman archives and newspapers. After that, I will analyze the description of parks in the novels written in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century to understand the perception of the presence of Muslim women in the parks.

In the conclusion, the findings of the study will be interpreted and the main questions of this thesis will be answered. Moreover, new questions about parks and urbanization of İstanbul in the nineteenth century will be asked for further studies.

The Concept of Park on the International Scale and the History of Garden Culture of İstanbul

Using greenspaces for recreation aims did not start in the nineteenth century, yet the concept of the park as a constructed greenspace for people's recreation has developed and flourished on the international scale in the nineteenth century. The explanation of garden culture in İstanbul before the development of parks and the examples of construction parks in different parts of the world in the nineteenth century could supply a useful background to better comprehend the emergence of parks in İstanbul in the nineteenth century. This chapter consists of two subsections: (1) the emergence of parks on the international scale in the nineteenth century by giving examples from different countries such as England, France, the United States, Mexico, and India and (2) the history of garden culture in İstanbul.

§ 2.1 Parks on the International Scale

The concept of the park as a constructed greenspace for people's recreation in the middle of the city has developed on the international scale in the nineteenth century. The historical origins of public parks could be found in the social, economic, and political situations of the nineteenth century. Even though the motivation for creating parks differed from country to country and one park to another within a country, themes such as industrialization and

rapid urbanization, heavily populated cities, the understanding of public health, bourgeois culture, the image of cities were widespread motivations in the construction of parks. To draw a background on the international aspect of parks, the construction of parks in the world, from European countries to Mexico to India, will be summarized.

The urban parks were invented in Anglo-Saxon countries.¹ Parks defined as “publicly-owned land, dedicated to free public recreation.”² The emergence of parks within the city was connected to rapid urbanization and the conditions of residents, especially workers.³ The understanding of health in the nineteenth century, which emphasized the necessity of environment for human health⁴, played a crucial role in the development of parks. In the early 1840s, Edwin Chadwick, public-health reformer in London, underlined the necessity of open space for public recreation in densely populated areas.⁵ Unlike early English gardens, parks enabled free public access.⁶ Dreher explains the motivations for park creation with four points: public health, moral reform (recreation in open public parks instead of taverns), aesthetic, and economic incentives. Economic incentives were related to increasing value of real estate properties around park rather than entrance fee.⁷ Within this context, in London and other English cities, some royal gardens such as Hyde Park, Regents, Richmond Parks were converted to public parks and the first urban park in England for public usage with free admission, Derby Arboretum, opened in

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- 1 Françoise Choay, *The Modern City: Planning in the 19th Century*, (London: Studio Vista, 1969), 22.
 - 2 Nan Hesse Dreher, “Public Parks in Urban Britain, 1870 – 1920: Creating a New Public Culture” (PhD Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1993), 4.
 - 3 George F. Chadwick, *The Park and The Town: Public Landscape in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1966), 19.
 - 4 Andrew Wear, “Making Sense of Health and the Environment in Early Modern England.” in *Medicine in Society: Historical Essays*, edited by Andrew Wear, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 131.
 - 5 George F. Chadwick, *The Park and The Town: Public Landscape in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1966), 49 – 51.
 - 6 Nan Hesse Dreher, “Public Parks in Urban Britain, 1870 – 1920: Creating a New Public Culture” (PhD Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1993), 4.
 - 7 *Ibid*, 41.

1840.⁸ Public parks opened in almost all British cities till 1870.⁹ Young couples, families, children, and individuals seeking for recreation benefited from these parks. Some behaviours, however, were criticized due to immorality. Boys swimming naked in the lakes and young couples holding hands or lying together on the grass were some of these condemnations.¹⁰

During the Second Empire (1852 – 1870) in France, Paris witnessed urban modernization projects, including the creation of parks, at the hands of urban planner Haussmann. There were many gardens in Paris before the Second Empire, yet they were not open to public. People must be properly dressed or pay entrance fee to enter gardens before the Second Empire.¹¹ Schenker quoted a paragraph from Haussmann’s memoirs to demonstrate his attention to public parks:

The creation of promenades, parks, gardens, squares especially for public use is nearly without example before the second half of this century. Constantly preoccupied with improving life for the classes the least favored by fortune, particularly concerned with conditions of health and the well-being of the urban population.¹²

Haussmann’s emphasis on poor people by the words of “the classes the least favored by fortune” does not mean parks created only for lower classes. Schenker emphasizes the distribution of parks throughout Paris aimed to create a balance among different groups such as bourgeoisie and workers.¹³ Schenker, however, asks what changed in the lives of the working class with the opening

8 Andrzej J.L. Zieleniec, “Parks” in, *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies*, Edited by R. Hutchison, (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2010), doi: 10.4135/9781412971973.n210, 583-586

9 Nan Hesse Dreher, “Public Parks in Urban Britain, 1870 – 1920: Creating a New Public Culture” (PhD Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1993), 2.

10 Ibid, 124.

11 Richard Stephen Hopkins, “Engineering Nature: Public Greenspaces in Nineteenth-Century Paris” (PhD Diss., Arizona State University, 2008), 26.

12 Haussmann, *Mémoires du Baron Haussmann*, Third Volume (Paris, Victor Havard, 1890-1893) quoted in Schenker, *ibid*, 27.

13 Heath Massey Schenker, *Melodramatic Landscapes: Urban Parks in the Nineteenth Century*, (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 39.

of parks in Paris. Even though all people had the rights to go to parks, bourgeois people benefited more than workers due to increasing real-estate values around parks. Moreover, parks which created around regions populated by bourgeois people were more appreciated.¹⁴

Hopkins's approach to parks of the Second Empire differs from Schenker's view. Hopkin argues that the role of ordinary people was important in the shaping of parks. Children, families, irreverent adolescents, women peddlers, bourgeoisie, skaters, prostitutes, workers, homeless, and the indigent poor approached parks from their own perspectives. These people played roles in the shaping of parks not only during construction process but also after the complement of parks by giving petitions.¹⁵

Nicholas Green explained the emergence of public parks in Paris within the context of the commodification and the popularity of nature in the form of picturesque from paintings to landscape designing among French Bourgeois in the nineteenth century.¹⁶

Central Park at New York was constructed as a "public park" in 1858 to provide healthful recreation for people from all classes.¹⁷ The park was planned to resemble a bit rural landscape in a large town.¹⁸ The park was enclosed by a stone wall. Moreover, park keepers were responsible for the order in the park. Some of the rules in parks were not to walk upon the grass, not to pick any flowers, not to publicly use provoking or indecent language.¹⁹ Rules and park keepers in uniform demonstrate that the intention of creating Central Park was not only people's recreation. Schenker argues that the aims of Central Park, in addition to redress social inequality by supplying recreation

14 Ibid, 64.

15 Richard Stephen Hopkins, "Engineering Nature: Public Greenspaces in Nineteenth-Century Paris" (PhD Diss., Arizona State University, 2008), 381.

16 Nicholas Green, *The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth Century France*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1990)

17 Frederick Law Olmsted Association, *The Central Park: Original Drawings; an historic preservation project of the Frederick Law Olmsted Association*, (New York: The Association, 1980), 212.

18 Ibid, 213.

19 ibid, 279.

spaces for all people, were to make social control.²⁰ Frederick Law Olmsted, an American landscape architect and the architect of central park, visited gardens and parks in Europe during the construction process of Central Park to get inspired. These visits and correspondences among Olmsted and other park designers in Europe reveal the international aspect of creating parks in the nineteenth century.

Parks were not established only in Europe and America in the nineteenth century. In 1868, after a disastrous famine in Rajasthan, one of the regions in India, the ruler of India, the Maharaja planned public projects to aid ease the suffering. One of these public projects was to build a new public park to provide people with “light, air, and space for their exercise and recreation.”²¹ Even though the location of park was outside the walls of city, immediate access to the park was suitable because the park juxtaposed to one of the old city gates.²² The first museum in Rajasthan erected within the park in 1887. In addition to museums and walking trails, there were grounds for cricket, football, gymnastics, and a deer park, a zoo, and aviary.²³

In Mexico, during the presidency of Porfirio Diaz, 1876-1911, many urban modernization projects, including parks, were carried out.²⁴ According to Wakild, Porfirian regime established a connection in modernization and urbanization as well as backwardness and countryside.²⁵ Nature, like the society, should be regulated and kept under control.²⁶ Parks, as “modernized” nature

20 Heath Massey Schenker, *Melodramatic Landscapes: Urban Parks in the Nineteenth Century*, (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 118.

21 Patrick Bowe, "A Public Garden in India with English Influence: Ram Niwas, Jaipur." in *Garden History* 39, no. 1 (2011), 99.

22 Ibid, 101.

23 Ibid, 104.

24 Emily Wakild, “Naturalizing Modernity: Urban Parks, Public Gardens and Drainage Projects in Porfirian Mexico City”, *Mexican Studies / Estudios Mexicanos*, Vol.23 No.1, (University of California Press Journals, Winter 2007), 102.

25 Ibid, 117.

26 Ibid, 104.

in the city, were constructed throughout metropolis by Porfirian regime between 1876 – 1911.²⁷ Parks were spaces that remake and control not only nature but also society in Mexico. Parks offered secure and healthy recreation places when comparing to taverns.²⁸ Moreover, reformists thought that people coming from rural areas to city would become modern citizens by going to parks. The parks built by the Porfirian reformists had different visitor profiles. For example, while Chapultepec Park served mostly for aristocratic people, Balbuena Park served for popular classes to pacify and modernize them.²⁹ According to Schenker, Chapultepec Park represented both the ideology of regime (Eurocentrism modernism, and positivism) and its problems (“elitism, conspicuous consumption, and a focus on appearances rather than substantive social change”³⁰).

To conclude, while each country had unique reasons for the creation of parks, some physical features, such as enclosed walls, walking trails, park benches were common. Moreover, public health was a shared motivation for creating parks in all examples. Social control in recreation areas as well as morality and civilization of people in parks followed the issue of public health. Parks, at the same time, were spaces for encountering. Men and women, rich and poor, young and old could see and meet with each other. In other words, social boundaries are challenged in parks. In some cases, parks were designed mostly for one group, for example workers or bourgeoisie. In another instance, these different people could complain each other. The criticism of young couples by old and conservative people in England was a good example for tension arising from encounter of different groups.

27 Ibid, 110.

28 Ibid, 117.

29 Ibid, 116.

30 Heath Massey Schenker, *Melodramatic Landscapes: Urban Parks in the Nineteenth Century*, (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 180.

§ 2.2 The History of Garden Culture in Istanbul

In Byzantium time, some gardens of Istanbul within the city walls and outside it used for recreation aims. While some of these gardens were open to the public, some of them belonged to the dynasty and elites.³¹ This feature of gardens was valid in the Ottoman times. Gardens of Istanbul belonged to the Ottoman dynasty, elites, and urban middle classes. Ottomans used gardens to enjoy prospects while seated rather than taking a stroll in gardens as the European did.³² These gardens had walls which enabled seclusion and privacy for the relaxation in the gardens. One of the main activities in these private gardens was conversation, *sohbet*. Andrews and Kalpaklı define *sohbet* as “in the proper setting, with the right people gathered and the right people excluded, what happens is typical Ottoman *sohbet*.”³³ The reason of this seclusion and privacy was related to the intimate and often erotic contents of conversations.

People who did not have gardens used public gardens known as *mesire* for recreation aims. There were many public gardens in İstanbul. Latîfî, Ottoman poet and bibliographer in the sixteenth century, described Kâğıthane as excursion spot (*teferrüçgâh*) of İstanbul for men and women.³⁴ Evliya Çelebi, an Ottoman traveler in the seventeenth century, mentions public gardens in Eyüp, Kâğıthane, Göksu, Beykoz, Kanlıca, Hisar, Üsküdar, Çamlıca, Kadıköy,

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- 31 Henry Maguire, “Gardens and Parks in Constantinople”, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol.54 (2000), 252.
- 32 Gülru Necipoğlu, “The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture.” in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, edited by Attilio Petruccioli, (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1997), 42.
- 33 Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005), 109.
- 34 Latîfî, *Evsâf-i İstanbul*, editor Nermin Suner Pekin, (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1977), 59 – 61.

Büyükdere.³⁵ Göksu and Kâğıthane were two popular gardens.³⁶ Evliya Çelebi depicted Kağıthane as “the best public garden for enjoyment in the Ottoman Empire.”³⁷ He also mentioned firework displays at nights in Kâğıthane. Evliya Çelebi and his friends went to Kağıthane and set up a tent near to Kağıthane river. They conversed with each other during daylights and nights. They spent time in Kağıthane from the first day of Receb, Hijri month, to the first day of Ramadan (from 28 May 1653 to 26 July 1653). According to Çelebi, all notables of İstanbul and spendthrift youth enjoyed in this garden. Many couples sat in a close embrace in Kâğıthane. Moreover, Janissaries were responsible for the order in Kâğıthane.³⁸

In the eighteenth century, public gardens known as *mesire* flourished. Unlike previous eras, entertainment activities specifically between 1718 and 1730, labelled as Tulip Era, were more often and they were carried out not only in monumental central quarters but also in other parts of the city.³⁹ Moreover, Ottoman poetry in the eighteenth century depicted gardens as a part of city life with such intensity that unseen before.⁴⁰ According to Hamadeh, the popularity of public gardens in the eighteenth century intersected with searching a fresh image of ruling class, new rituals of sociability among the middle class, and concerns about public order.

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- 35 Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, edited by Mustafa Nihat Özön and Nijat Özön, (İstanbul: Kabalıcı, 2012).
- 36 Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005), 67.
- 37 Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, edited by Mustafa Nihat Özön and Nijat Özön, (İstanbul: Kabalıcı, 2012), 329.
- 38 Ibid, 328 – 331.
- 39 Madeline C. Zilfi, “Women and Society in the Tulip Era” in *Women, the family, and divorce laws in Islamic history*, edited by Amira El Azhary Sonbol, (Syracuse, N.Y., Syracuse University Press, 1996), 292.
- 40 Shirine Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures İstanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 111.

The royal entertainments in the eighteenth century, unlike previous centuries, took into consideration ordinary people.⁴¹ Some old royal gardens (*hasbahçe*) opened to the public in the eighteenth century after the establishment of new gardens for Sultan.⁴² During the construction processes of new gardens and after that, people visited these gardens to see the glory of the empire. The private and secluded features of royal gardens in the seventeenth century replaced by transparent and visible gardens in the eighteenth century.⁴³ In other words, ruling class paid attention to the visibility of imperial suburban gardens by public to strength the imperial image. Hence, gardens became the new image of the ruling class.

Hamadeh stresses the wide crowd in public garden, including merchants and artisans, rich and poor, young and old, men and women, people coming from different ethnicities and religions.⁴⁴

While the empire allowed more space to social life, yet at the same time, rulers tried to control social life more strictly. The flourishing of public gardens in the eighteenth century coincided with the decrease in coffeehouses' social status due to popular public discourse in coffeehouses.⁴⁵ In coffeehouses, as one of the most significant socializing space, people, mostly men, met, played games, smoked tobacco, viewed theatrical performances, exchanged information, and told about political issues. Talking about political issues and uncontrollable nature of coffeehouses were perceived as a threat to the social order.⁴⁶ While the popularity of public gardens in the eighteenth century challenged the status of coffeehouses, public gardens offered more

41 Zilfi, *ibid*, 292.

42 Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures İstanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 113.

43 *Ibid*, 70.

44 *Ibid*, 132-133.

45 Cengiz Kırılı, "Coffeehouses: Leisure and sociability in Ottoman İstanbul" in *Leisure Cultures in Urban Europe c.1700 – 1870*, edited by Peter Borsay and Jan Hein Furnée, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2016), 168.

46 *Ibid*, 167.

flexible socializing spaces in terms of freely mixture of ages, genders, and social and professional groups.⁴⁷ The meeting of different groups in public gardens was a threat to established social, professional, and religious boundaries in the Ottoman Empire. To control and maintain social order, especially boundaries between different groups, barracks for *bostancı*, gardeners, who were the imperial guards responsible for protection of Sultan's palace and İstanbul, constructed near to public gardens.⁴⁸ As Hamadeh emphasizes, "the rate of enforcement of sumptuary rules" were higher than previous centuries. She argues that "as the sphere of sociability expanded, its regulation intensified." These regulations focused on public attire and garden recreation.⁴⁹ One of the main threats for public order in gardens was the presence of men and women together. The clothing and togetherness of men and women in gardens were criticized and regulated by imperial orders. The gender issue in public gardens and parks will be discussed in the fourth chapter with details.

In the nineteenth century, people continued to use public gardens, even after the construction of parks.⁵⁰ *Tenbihnames*, as a new medium in the nineteenth century, were written and announced via newspapers to announce the regulations on using public gardens based on gender. One of the *tenbihnames* was written in 1268 (AH)/1852. Meclis-i Vâlâ ordered the publication of *tenbihname* on the newspapers of *Takvim-i Vekayi* and *Ceride-i Havadis*.⁵¹ *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 4 Şaban 1268 (May 24, 1852) published this *tenbihname*. In this *tenbihname*, the names of public garden (*mesires*) which gave permission to visit were written.⁵² Moreover, the conditions and visiting days for women and

47 Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures İstanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 129.

48 Ibid, 124.

49 Ibid, 129.

50 Sinan Kunalp (ed.), *Twixt Pera and Therapia. The Constantinople Diaries of Lady Layard*, (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2010), 20.

51 BOA.I.MVL. 00236.008302.003.001, May 6, 1852, (Receb 16, 1268 AH).

52 These gardens were Kâğıthane, Çörekçi, Çırpıcı, Bayrampaşa, Kuyubaşı, Küçük Göksü, Büyük Göksü, Havuzbaşı in Beyoğlu, Çubuklu Hünkar İskelesi in Beylerbeyi, Maslak, Kalender, Arnavutköyü, Çamlıca, Cevizdibi, Moda, Kalamış, Yoğurtçu Çeşmesi, Kurbağaldere, Fen-

the prohibition of sitting together men and women declared. This *tenbihname* was prepared since the season of the beach has come and people who visit public gardens should not behave against morality.⁵³ *Tenbihname* said that going to gardens and promenades was one of the basic needs of people and the Ottoman Empire gave permission to all people to visit these places. The declaration of going to gardens as a basic need of people demonstrates a new understanding of garden culture, which explained with human needs. Yet with this occasion, going out of propriety (*dair-i edebten çıkılması*) and adverse behavior against the order of the state (*nizam-ı devlete mugayir hareketler*) would not be given permission. And visiting days for men and women were determined. In some days, since men and women visitors go to gardens, they cannot stay together. After this introduction, visiting days for men and women for all gardens were written.⁵⁴

Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Efendi described culture of public garden of İstanbul in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the book of *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul* (Once upon a time in İstanbul). This book consists of essays with the title of “Onüçüncü Asrı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı” (The life in İstanbul in the thirteenth Hijri century) in the newspapers of *Peyam Sabah* and *Alemdar* in 1922. Ali Rıza Efendi summarized the garden culture of İstanbul before his era as there had been some rituals for going to public gardens. For example, while people were going to Fenerbahçe, people used to go to Merdivenköy and eat their foods there. At the end of the day, while they were returning from Fenerbahçe, they used to visit Haydarpaşa Çayırı (Haydarpaşa prairie) and Duvardibi *mesiresi* (Duvardibi public garden) in Selimiye.⁵⁵ Ali Rıza Efendi, for his time, told that while Veli Efendi, Çırpıcı, Çörekçi, Bayrampaşa were the oldest gardens of İstanbul and still used by people, Kâğıthane was the

erbahçe, Haydarpaşa Duvardibi, Büyükdere, Hacı Hüseyin Bağı in Beşiktaş, İhlamur in Beşiktaş, Ayazağa, Taksim önü in Beyoğlu, gardens around Balıklı Kilisesi (Church of St. Mary of the Spring in Zeytinburnu). *Takvim-i Vekayi*, May 24, 1852 (4 Şaban 1268 AH).

53 *Takvim-i Vekayi*, May 24, 1852, (4 Şaban 1268 AH).

54 *Takvim-i Vekayi*, May 24, 1852 (4 Şaban 1268 AH).

55 Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Efendi, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul*, edit. Niyazi Ahmet Banoğlu, (İstanbul, Tercüman, 1970), 215.

most popular garden. Ali Efendi explained this popularity with the closeness of Kağıthane to the city and the natural beauty of the garden. The most crowded day of Kağıthane was Fridays in springs. On Sundays, generally, Christians used to go Kağıthane.⁵⁶ People going to Kağıthane used to prepare their foods on previous day. Men and women used to sit separately in Kağıthane. According to Ali Rıza Efendi's narrative, Kağıthane garden was full of people coming from different backgrounds, especially lower and middle class. Abdullah Frères' photo from 1890 (Figure 2.1) shows men and children in Kağıthane River. Rich people and people who followed European fashion, however, did not use to go Kağıthane because they accepted it as uncivilized place.⁵⁷

To conclude, the garden culture of Istanbul, which started in Byzantium times, was part of city life throughout its history. Garden culture of Istanbul had dynamic features. Some gardens lost their popularity or some of them gained prestige with times. For example, while Kağıthane garden in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries depicted as place for middle and upper classes' entertainment activities, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, its perception shifted to uncivilized place in the eyes of upper class.

56 Ibid, 202.

57 Ibid, 207.

EARLY URBAN PARKS OF ISTANBUL



Figure 2.1 Kağıthane River and Promenade (Source: Abdullah Frères, *Eaux Douces d'Europe*, 1890, Salt Research Archive, AHTUR0118)

Early Parks of İstanbul: Recreation Spaces for Elites

The goal of this chapter is to study the motivations of building parks and their developments in the late Ottoman İstanbul within the context of urban modernization of İstanbul. The first parks of İstanbul were Çamlıca Garden (1870), Taksim Garden (1870), Tepebaşı Garden (1880), and Gülhane Garden (1913). Firstly, the location of parks will be analyzed based on urban modernization projects, specifically road constructions around parks. Secondly, the reasons written in the archive, such as public health and income from the entrance fee of parks, will be investigated. In addition to written reasons in the archive and newspapers, some petitions written by the lessors of parks show how these parks run. Thirdly, the location of parks and the motivations of creating parks provide to make argument about the profile of parks goers. The primary sources of this chapter consist of mainly archives, newspapers, maps, and photographs. Memoirs will be also used to see the profile of park visitors.

This chapter consists of five subsections. Recreation spaces at the urban center, the lung of the city: gardens and parks, parks as sterile places from undesirables, the commercial aim in the parks, the profile of park visitors.

§ 3.1 Recreation Spaces at the Urban Center

One of the important themes of urban modernization of İstanbul in the nineteenth century was the construction of wide roads. This situation was parallel to European cities such as Paris and Vienna.¹ *İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu* (the Commission for the Order of the City), which was one of the early institutions responsible for urban reforms established in 1855, advised the improvement of existing roads in İstanbul, Pera, Galata, Tophane, Ortaköy, and Üsküdar.² The appearance of the city, making easier to control city, fire threat, and facilitation of modern transportation were main reasons of construction of wide streets and arteries.³

The development of Çamlıca, Taksim, Tepebaşı, and Gülhane Gardens were parallel with road constructions around parks. One of the early documents about parks in the Ottoman State Archive was a petition about construction of a garden in Beyoğlu, written by Baron de Norman in 1867.⁴ The petition does not imply any specific name for the construction of park. Whether or not this petition, three years before the opening of Taksim Garden, depicted Taksim Garden, this document illuminates the intentions and early plans of a garden around Beyoğlu. It was sent to *Meclis-i Meabir* (The Commission of Bridges and Roads) instead of another commission or municipality. Although Baron de Norman accepted this commission as an authority for the permission for the creating and running a garden, the Commission of Bridges and Roads forwarded this petition to municipality because his demands were not within the duties of the commission. The existence of this

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- 1 For detailed information: Leonardo Benevolo, *The Origins of Modern Town Planning*, translated by Judith Landry, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1967), 85-88. David Harvey, *Paris: Capital of Modernity*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 107 -114.
 - 2 Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of İstanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 44.
 - 3 BOA. İ.DH. 572. 39882, March 14, 1868 (20 Zilkade 1284 AH) and N. Işık Demirakın, “Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire: The Case of Cemeteries in Beyoğlu” in *Int. J. Turkish Studies* Vol.18, Nos. 1&2, (2012), 4.
 - 4 BOA, MVL.00881.008.004.001, June 16, 1867 (4 Haziran 1283 R), (13 Safer 1284 AH).

petition demonstrates the connection between road construction and plans of creating parks.

The date of construction of new roads around Çamlıca region started in 1863,⁵ before the construction of Çamlıca Garden. The document dated 1870 in the Ottoman Archive stated that the construction of a garden around Üsküdar, Tophanelioğlu had been planned, yet the place of the garden was still empty for seven-eight years.⁶ The document requested the completing of the garden. This document reveals that planning of Çamlıca Garden coincided with the construction of new roads around Çamlıca. It should be noted that the first part of this document is about the construction process of Taksim Garden. While there are many documents about Taksim, Tepebaşı, and Gülhane Gardens in the archive, there is only one document, at least I could find, about Çamlıca Garden and it is related to Taksim Garden. Second source about the Çamlıca Garden is Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Efendi's book, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul* (Once upon a time in İstanbul). Ali Rıza Efendi told that Mısırlı Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was closely interested in the construction and design of this garden because his mansion was close to the garden.⁷ Tanpınar also stated the role of Mustafa Fâzıl Pasha in the construction of this garden.⁸ Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, prince of Khedive dynasty and politician in the Ottoman Empire, had been in Paris and supported Young Ottomans and constitutional monarchy.⁹ He had probably witnessed creating parks in Paris and wanted to see similar gardens in İstanbul. The third source about Çamlıca Garden was Rezaizade Mahmud Ekrem's novel of *Araba Sevdası* (The carriage affair), which published serially in *Servet-i Fünûn* (Wealth of Knowledge) in 1896.¹⁰

5 BOA, A.MKT.MHM. 276.081, September 14, 1863, (30 Rabiulevvel 1280 AH).

6 BOA, I.DH.00607.42291, January 27, 1870, (15 KanuniSani 1285 R).

7 Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Efendi, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul*, Niyazi Ahmet Banoğlu (edit), (İstanbul: Tercüman, 1970), 217.

8 Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Abdullah Uçman (edit.), (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları: 2009), 151.

9 Tufan Bozpınar, "Mustafa Fâzıl Paşa" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 2006. <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/mustafa-fazil-pasa> (accessed February 26, 2019).

10 Rezaizade Mahmud Ekrem, *Araba Sevdası*, Ed. Fatih Altuğ, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2014, first publication in 1898), 7.

The novel starts with Çamlıca Garden in 1870. Although it was a fiction, the location of Çamlıca Garden was similar to documents in the Ottoman archive. Recaizade compared the situations of Çamlıca Garden in 1870 and 1890. He described its situation in 1890 as disused.¹¹ After years, Cemil Pasha (Topuzlu) described Çamlıca Garden as an abandoned place.¹² Even though the exact date and its reasons are not clear, Çamlıca Garden lost its popularity with time.

Taksim, one of the regions which experienced urbanization in the second half of nineteenth century,¹³ witnessed road constructions and enlargements. During the road construction between Taksim and Pangaltı, Taksim Garden was planned in 1864.¹⁴ Catholic and Protestant cemeteries (Grands- Champs des Morts) near to Taksim Barrack were moved to Şişli, north of Pera, and Taksim Garden was built in this area (Figure 3.1). The newspaper of *Levant Herald* on 27 May 1869 announced, “the project of a public garden for Pera has been remitted till next year, but as compensation for the delay the Municipality will, it is said, then establish a second such place of resort at Cabatash.”¹⁵ Even though there is no sufficient evidence for the existence of such a place in Cabatash (Kabataş), this intention and its declaration in a newspaper demonstrate the demand of such a place. The document dated January 1870 ordered the completing of Taksim Garden until May in 1870.¹⁶ The archive and newspapers dated around May 1870 did not give information on Taksim Garden. The newspaper of the *Levant Herald* on October 18, 1870 announced the opening of a new garden of Pera, Taksim Garden.¹⁷ This news claimed that many walkers visited Taksim Garden, especially on Sundays. They could benefit from the garden and the café within the garden, which provides chairs and benches in return for the entrance fee.

11 Ibid, 46.

12 Cemil Topuzlu, *İstibdat – Meşrutiyet – Cumhuriyet Devirlerinde 80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, (İstanbul: Güven Basımevi, 1951), 111.

13 Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of İstanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 42.

14 *ibid*, 69.

15 *The Levant Herald*, May 27, 1869, Salt Galata Archive

16 BOA, I.DH.00607.42291, January 27, 1870 (15 KanuniSani 1285 R).

17 *The Levant Herald*, October 18, 1870, Salt Galata Archive

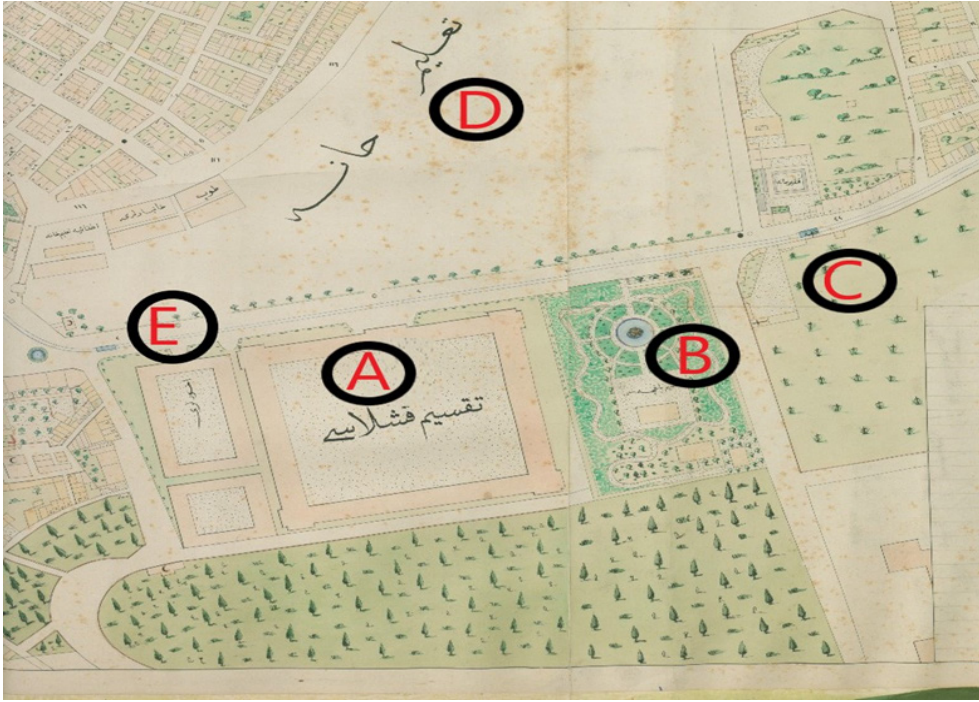


Figure 3.1 Taksim Garden and its surrounding. (A) Taksim Barrack (B) Taksim Garden (C) Armenian Cemetery (D) Military Training Space (Talimhane) (E) Tram Route (Source: IUMK)

The landscape design of garden had “a symmetrical layout that combined formal Beaux-Arts principles in its central part with a looser and more picturesque scheme toward the edges”¹⁸ (Figure 3.2). The landscape of this garden constructed by garden expert M. Droin.¹⁹

18 Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of İstanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 69.

19 Uğur Aktaş, *İstanbul'un 100 Bahçesi*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 2011), 61.

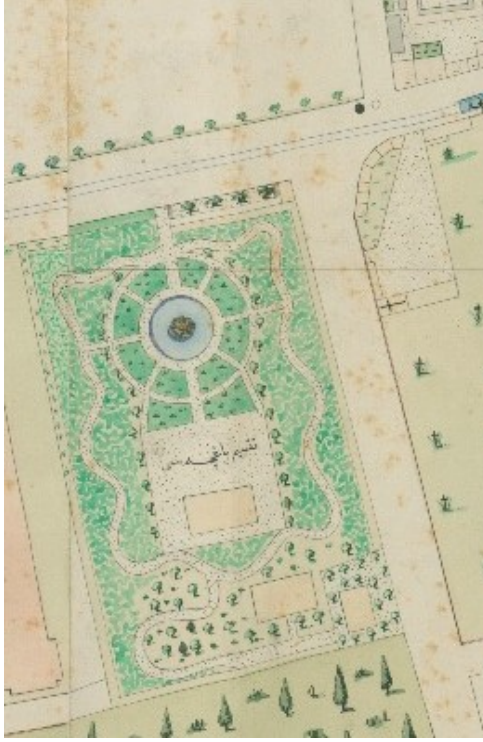


Figure 3.2 Taksim Garden
(Source: IUMK)

There were canteens, ornamental pool, casinos within the garden. The surrounding of the park was afforested.²⁰ Although Taksim Garden constructed during road constructions and urbanization had started in Taksim region around 1870, its centrality was discussed by contemporary journalists. A short column titled with “*Lettre de Constantinople*” (Letter From Constantinople) in the *Journal de Salonique*, a French-language newspaper published in Thessaloniki, on August 18, 1902 describes the surrounding of Taksim Garden that the continuation and the end of the High Street of Pera, marks a clear division between the city and the countryside, between the life of luxury and the half-rustic

life.²¹ The documents about Tepebaşı Garden also emphasized the distance of Taksim Garden.

A petition dated February 4, 1879, and signed by Edouard Blacque, the president of the Sixth District Municipal Council, and three people advocated the necessity of Tepebaşı Garden.²² One of their arguments was the distance of Taksim Garden. According to this argument, Taksim Municipal Garden was the only garden in the region and it was insufficiency for Pera people’s recreation and rehabilitation because Taksim Garden was far away and the location of the intended area of Tepebaşı Garden was at the most crowded place and very close to many embassies. The column in the *Journal de Salonique* and this petition could not be interpreted as Taksim, north of Pera, was totally

20 Ibid, 61.

21 *Journal de Salonique*, August 18, 1902, gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

22 BOA, I.DH. 783.63659.001, February 4, 1879, (22 Kanuni Sâni 1294 R).

outside of the urban centre. The area of Tepebaşı Garden, however, was more crowded than Taksim and new parks located in more central and crowded areas.

The construction of underground funicular line (*Tünel*) between Galata and Pera played important role in the building of Tepebaşı Garden. Çelik quotes from *the Levant Herald* to demonstrate opening ceremony of *Tünel*. In this quotation, Mr. Albert, the general manager, said that “Sultan Abdülaziz always encouraged the extension and development of roads and railroads, means of communication which were a chief element in the prospertiy of nations.”²³ According to Kentel, dumping the debris of *Tünel* into cemetery was the first attempt of Blacque Bey for the transformation of the cemetery to an organized recreation space.²⁴ The debris coming from the constuction of funicular altered the landscape of cemetery.²⁵ In this newly created terrain, Tepebaşı Garden was built.

The news titled “Inauguration Du Jardin Des Petits-Champs” in the newspaper of *La Turquie* dated July 26, 1880 heralded the opening of Tepebaşı Garden on the last night, July 25 and congratulated Blacque Bey for the building of such a garden with gas lighting, winding paths, many kinds of plants, a lake, an iron bridge, view of the Golden Horn and İstanbul.²⁶

23 Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of İstanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993),97. She quotes from *The Levant Herald* on January 18, 1875.

24 Koca Mehmet Kentel, “Assembling ‘Cosmopolitan’ Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman İstanbul” (PhD Diss., University of Washington, 2018), 141.

25 Ibid, 103.

26 *La Turquie*, July 26, 1880, Salt Galata Archive.



Figure 3.3 (A) Tepebaşı Garden, (B) Italian Embassy, (C) British Embassy (D) Tramway Route (Source: Huber Maps 1887-91, Hrt_005319/04, Istanbul Atatürk Library)

This news emphasized the location of Tepebaşı Garden as a real blessing in the centre of city (Figure 3.3). However, the expensiveness of entrance fee and the quality of beers were criticized in the news.²⁷

The first park inside the city wall of İstanbul (*Suriçi*), Gülhane Garden, was constructed in 1913 by converting from court garden of Topkapı Palace. Cemil Pasha (Topuzlu), mayor of İstanbul in 1912-1914, told that while Gülhane Garden was constructed, the street between Hagia Sophia (Ayasofya) and the gate of Gülhane Park was enlarged from 4-5 meters to 20 meters.²⁸ Cemil Pasha ordered twenty thousand precious trees from Europe for Gülhane Park.²⁹

27 *La Turquie*, July 26, 1880, Salt Galata Archive

28 Cemil Topuzlu, *Eski Şehremini Cemil Topuzlu'nun Başından Geçenler*, (İstanbul: A. Halit Kitabevi, 1939), 71.

29 Cemil Topuzlu, *İstibdat – Meşrutiyet – Cumhuriyet Devirlerinde 80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, (İstanbul: Güven Basımevi, 1951), 134.

The opening ceremony of Gülhane Bahçesi carried out in September 11, 1913³⁰ with the participation of Yusuf İzzeddin Efendi in the name of Sultan Mehmed Reşad.³¹ After the ceremony, people attended tea feast in the park. The newspaper of Tanîn congratulated the İstanbul Municipality on the opening of Gülhane Garden as a public park with an article, titled with “the beginning of a civilized life in İstanbul.”³² With the opening of Gülhane Park, Imperial Museum of İstanbul, which was established in 1891, surrounded by a park like major museums in Europe. Zeynep Çelik emphasizes the relation of Gülhane Park with the Imperial Museum. She claims that museums surrounding by parks combined public health and culture as the main features of modern life.³³



Figure 3.4 Souvenir of opening ceremony of Gülhane Garden (Source: The Municipal Atatürk Library in İstanbul, Krt. 15178)

30 BOA, DH. UMVM.0090.0062.01, September 8, 1913, (25 August 1329 R).

31 Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, 136.

32 *Tanîn*, October 7, 1913.

33 Zeynep Çelik, *Asar-ı Atika: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Arkeoloji Siyaseti*, translated by Ayşen Gür, (İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016), 46.



Figure 3.5 Gülhane Park (Source: The Municipal Atatürk Library in Istanbul, Kr.t12837)



Figure 3.6 Gülhane Park (Source: The Municipal Atatürk Library in İstanbul, Krt.12309)

These four parks located on the route of tram (figure 3.7, figure 3.8, and figure 3.9). Even though tram routes could be constructed after opening of parks, the location of parks had or gained the accessibility to trams, which were main public transportation in the nineteenth century. Trams strengthened the centrality of parks in the city and provided more accesibility for parks.

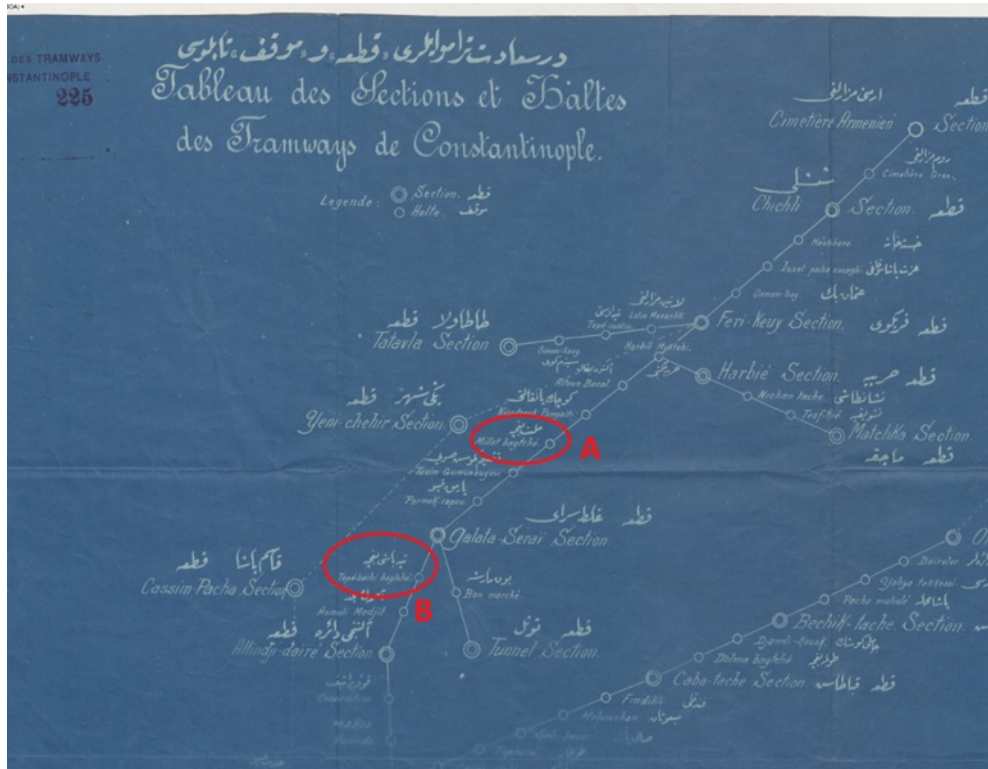


Figure 3.7 The plan shows the stations of trams of İstanbul. (A) Taksim Garden. (B) Tepebaşı Garden. (Source: BOA. PLK. p.6600.0001)

EARLY URBAN PARKS OF ISTANBUL



Figure 3.8 The map shows the route of trams in the early twentieth century. (A) Taksim Garden. (B) Tepebaşı Garden. (C) Gülhane Garden. (Source: BOA.PLK.p.4272.0001)

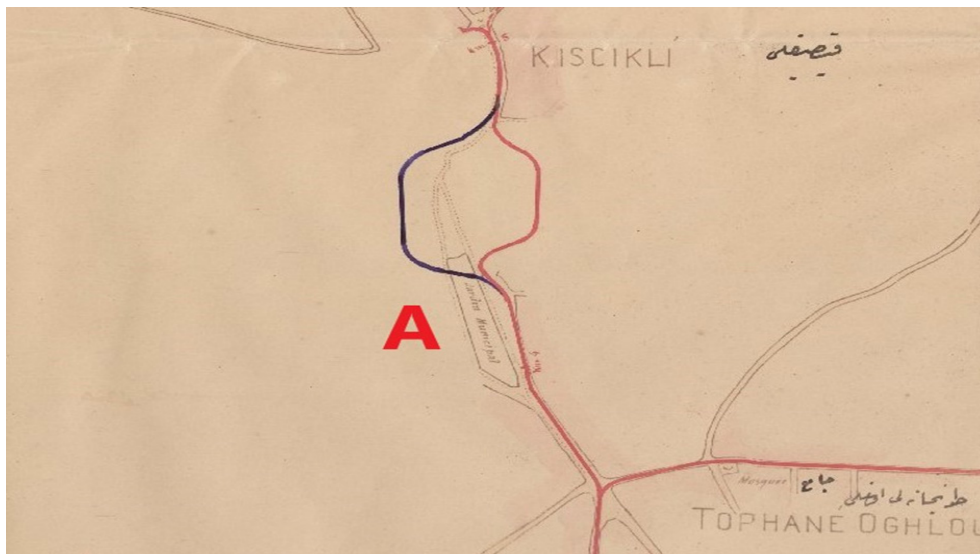


Figure 3.9 Çamlıca Garden (A) and tram routes around Üsküdar (Source: BOA. PLK.p.3364.0003)

Enjoying in greenspaces has been accepted as one the basic needs for people with one of the *tenbihnames* in 1852, which regulated visiting days of public gardens known as *mesire*. This *tenbihname* declared that going to gardens and promenades was one of the basic needs of people and the Ottoman Empire gave permission to all people to visit these places.³⁴ Although this document did not make directly reference to parks, greenspaces were accepted as one of the basic needs of people. The attempts to increase the accessibility of parks could be explained with this understanding. Moreover, walking in greenspaces and circulation of air in the city, according to the understanding of public health in that time, were the necessities of healthy society.³⁵

§ 3.2 The Lung of the City: Gardens and Parks

Scientists started to establish a connection between the human body and the city in the eighteenth century. European cities started to clean the streets in the context of health norms. Enlightened urban planners created wide roads and arteries to circulate freely air in the city.³⁶

In the context of the Ottoman Empire, Besim Ömer (Akalin), a Turkish physician and author, lived 1862 – 1940, described the city with organs of the human body. He associated streets with veins and sewers with intestine organs. He argued that cities, like human, have their own health: they could be ill or fine. This situation inevitable affects health of residents. Hence, the health conditions of the city are crucial for a healthy society. Within this context, Besim Ömer emphasized the worth of greenspaces and trees in the city, which clean the air with leaves and the land with roots.³⁷ More specifically, he advocated the necessity of wide squares and public gardens for a healthy city. Public gardens, similar to ones in Europe, could change and beautify the view of the

34 BOA, I.MVL.00236.008302.003.001, May 6, 1852 (16 Receb 1268 AH) and Takvim-i Vekayi, May 24, 1852, 4 Şaban 1268, no:468.

35 Richard Sennett, *Flesh and stone: the Body and the City in Western Civilization*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), 255-262.

36 Ibid, 263.

37 Besim Ömer, *Nevsâl-i afiyet, salname-i tıbbî*, (İstanbul: 1322 H /1906), 238 – 243.

city. He defined gardens and parks as the lung of the city. According to Besim Ömer, public gardens and afforestation of the city became a necessity after population density increased in İstanbul.³⁸

While Besim Ömer did not refer specifically any garden, the article of “Taksim Municipal Garden” (*Taksim Belediye Bahçesi*), in the Journal of Women’s World (*Kadınlar Dünyası*) dated June 3, 1913 indicated the correlation between health and parks. This article described the physical features of park and entertainment activities of garden by giving reference to men’s words rather than their own observations.³⁹ Writing in each sentence “as we have heard from our men” (*erkeklerimizden işitiyoruz ki*) emphasize the absence of Muslim women in Taksim Garden.⁴⁰ In addition to description of entertainment facilities, the effects of natural beauty of Taksim Garden on people’s mental and physical health were also emphasized. Children and non-Muslim women were benefited from the peaceful atmosphere of Taksim Garden in the mornings by coming to garden with their nannies or mothers.

As the founding mayor of Gülhane Park, Cemil Pasha wrote, “since I was a doctor when I became mayor, I thought to build gardens for people’s fresh air needs, especially children.”⁴¹ Because the land of Gülhane Park belonged to *Hazine-i Hassa* (the Privy Purse), Sultan Mehmed Reşad did not accept to give the garden of Topkapı Palace in the first request. Cemil Pasha, who was at the same time also the court physician of Sultan Mehmed Reşad, convinced Sultan to convert court garden of Gülhane to public park during one of Sultan’s medical experiment by explaining the necessity of this garden with public health.

38 Besim Ömer, *Nevsâl-i afiyet, salname-i tıbbî*, (Istanbul: 1322 H /1906), 351 – 354.

39 Editorial, “Taksim Belediye Bahçesi,” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 142, June 3, 1913 (27 Cemaziyelahir 1331) 2.

40 The police prohibited Muslim women from the entrance of Taksim Park. Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, (University of California Press, 1993), 70. Muslim women gained the accessibility of parks with the opening of Gülhane Park in 1913. For detailed information: Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, 136-137.

41 Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım* 132.

Furthermore, in the context of Taksim and Tepebaşı Gardens, the removal of cemeteries from the urban centre and construction of parks in areas previously occupied by the cemeteries was also related to public health. Cemeteries in the residential areas accepted as one of the sources of typhoid illnesses in the nineteenth century.⁴² Transformation of cemeteries into parks was not unique in the Ottoman Empire. In the nineteenth century, nearly a hundred graveyards were converted into public gardens or playgrounds in London.⁴³

Burials inside the city wall of İstanbul required permission from sultan since the sixteenth century. Because of this, many cemeteries were located outside the city walls.⁴⁴ The surroundings of two extensive cemeteries, Petit Champ des Morts (or Küçük Kabristan) in Tepebaşı (Figure 3.10) and Grand Champ in Taksim (Figure 3.11), experienced intense urban transformation in the nineteenth century. At the same time, graveyards in the residential areas had started discussions in the early 1850s.⁴⁵ The demands for greenspace for recreation and articles about the healthy threats of burials, especially typhoid and cholera, were published in French newspapers of İstanbul.⁴⁶ The first removal of cemetery from Beyoğlu started in 1852.⁴⁷

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- 42 Nuran Yıldırım: “Salgın Afetlerinde İstanbul”, in *Afetlerin Gölgesinde İstanbul*. Ed. Said Öztürk, (İstanbul: İstanbul Kültür AŞ., 2010), 139.
- 43 Peter Thorsheim, “The Corpse in the Garden: Burial, Health, and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century London”, in *Environmental History*, Vol. 16, No.1 (January 2011), 38.
- 44 Masayaki Ueno, “Urban Politics in 19th Century Istanbul: The Case of Armenian Cemetery in Beyoğlu”, in *Human Mobility and Multiethnic Coexistence in Middle Eastern Urban Societies*, ed. Hidemitsu Kuroki (Tokyo: ILCAA, 2015), 86.
- 45 N. Işık Demirakın, “Expropriation as a modernizing tool in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire: the case of cemeteries in Beyoğlu,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 18.1/2 (2012), 10.
- 46 Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, (İstanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık, 1998), 151.
- 47 Demirakın, *Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool*, 5.



Figure 3.10 A view of Golden Horn from Petit Champs (Source: Salt Research: AHISTBEY0100)



Figure 3.11 A view of Bosphorus from Champ des Morts in Taksim (Source: Antoine Ignace Melling, 1819, <http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=50266>)

Taksim Garden was constructed in the place of the Catholic and Protestant cemeteries after they were moved to Şişli.⁴⁸ Although the addition of Armenian cemetery and training space of Taksim barrack into this garden was planned, this proposal was cancelled.⁴⁹ The resistance of Armenian community against the relocation of cemetery played important role in this cancellation.⁵⁰

Tepebaşı Garden was constructed in Muslim cemetery (Petits- Champs des Morts, or Küçük Kabristan) in 1880. Intended area for Tepebaşı Garden was an empty land which was full of rubbles and waste materials, which com-

48 Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 69.

49 BOA, I.DH.00588/040886/01, February 14, 1869, (2 Şubat 1284 R).

50 Masayaki Ueno, "Urban Politics in 19th Century Istanbul," 85-102 and N. Işık Demirakın, "A Study Of Ottoman Modernisation On The City: The Sixth Municipal District Of Istanbul (1858-1877)" MA Thesis (Ankara: Bilkent University, 2006), 87.

ing from the construction of the underground funicular line (Tünel). A photograph from the London Illustrated News (The figure 3.12) shows the situation of intended area for Tepebaşı Garden after dumping the debris of *Tünel*.



Figure 3.12 The Conference at Constantinople. Hotel at Pera, occupied by Lord Salisbury and his staff (Source: The Illustrated London News, Dec.23, 1876, Salt Research: AHISTBEYO078)

The wastes led to an unpleasant smell and had a potential risk for health problems, especially typhoid illnesses. One of the arguments for the necessity of park in petition signed by mayor Edouard Blacque was public health. This empty land was accused for the spreading of typhoid and two deaths.⁵¹ Moreover, the Municipality argued that the construction of a garden instead of buildings could be more respectful for Muslim cemeteries.⁵²

51 BOA, I.DH. 783-63659-001, February 4, 1879, (22 Kanuni Sâni 1294 R).

52 BOA, I.DH.00783/63659/008, March 17, 1879, (3 Mart 1294 R).

§ 3.3 Parks as Sterile Places from Undesirables

In addition to the burial of the dead, cemeteries were also used for recreation aims.⁵³ Entertainment activities were not limited to picnic in these places. The activities in the cemeteries included some prohibits such as gambling, illicit sex, and selling and drinking wine and *raki* in the cemetery.⁵⁴ The transformation of cemeteries into enclosed parks that had entrance fee prevented these illegal activities in the cemeteries. Hence, removal of cemetery from urban center could provide security, one of the aspects of urban modernization of İstanbul in the nineteenth century.⁵⁵ Moreover, security guardians of parks carried a gun in the garden and this situation led to criticism.⁵⁶

The petition written by İbrahim Fevzi, head officer of Beyoğlu Telegraph Office, on May 29, 1900, complained security guardians of Tepebaşı Garden, who rented by the lessor of garden, because they carried a gun in the garden.

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- 53 Edmondo de Amicis, *Costantinopoli*, (Milano: 1877), 75-79; Reinhold Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 205-209. Cemeteries in London also used as recreation aims. Thorsheim, *The Corpse in the Garden*, 39.
- 54 BOA.A.MKT.NZD.0186-0061, 1855, (1272 AH); Edmondo De Amicis, *Constantinople*, Stephen Parkin (transl.), (London: Hesperus Classics, 2005) (First publication in 1877), p.40 -44. Schiffer *Oriental Panorama*, 208; Demirakin, *Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool*, 9.
- 55 Demirakin, *Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool*, 3.
- 56 The petition written by İbrahim Fevzi, head officer of Beyoğlu Telegraph Office, on May 29, 1900, complained security guardians of Tepebaşı Garden, who rented by the lessor of garden, because they carried a gun in the garden. BOA.Y.PRK.PT.0019.0118, May 29, 1900 (29 Muharrem 1318 AH).



Figure 3.13 A view from Kasımpaşa (Source: Suna and İnan Kıraç Photography Collection, FKA_007443)

Tepebaşı Cemetery, at the same time, enabled pathways between Kasımpaşa and Pera. These two neighbour quarters had different social and economic situations in the nineteenth century. While Kasımpaşa populated by mostly the poor and worker class,⁵⁷ residents of Pera were generally composed of merchants, bankers, and bureaucrats.⁵⁸ (Figure 3.13) and (Figure 3.14) depicted this contrast. While embassies, hotels, and apartments located in Pera, old houses

57 Sennur Sezer, *Kasımpaşa*, (İstanbul: Heyamola Yayınları, 2009), 127.

58 Lorans İzabel Baruh, “The Transformation of the ‘Modern’ Axis of Nineteenth-Century İstanbul Property, Investments and Elites from Taksim Square to Sirkeci Station,” (PhD diss., İstanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2009), 228.

settled in Kasımpaşa. The cemetery and later park was a boundary between these two different quarters. The enclosed gardens with walls and entrance tickets of Tepebaşı Garden hindered this pathway. Kentel rightly claims that, transformation of cemetery into park in Tepebaşı created a boundary between Kasımpaşa and Pera.⁵⁹



Figure 3.14 A photograph from Kasımpaşa towards Pera (Source: Suna and İnan Kırac Photography Collection, FKA_008344)

It should be emphasized that all gardens, Çamlıca, Taksim, Tepebaşı, and Gülhane were enclosed with walls. The construction of walls was emphasized in the documents during both construction processes and after the constructions. For example, a document about the walls of Taksim garden in 1879 stated that only the direction of street (probably the opposite of *talimhane*) enclosed with wall during the design of garden. The other sides enclosed with board fence. Storm and rain damaged board fence. The board fence repaired many times, yet these repairs did not prevent garden from entering of street

59 Koca Mehmet Kentel, “Assembling ‘Cosmopolitan’ Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman İstanbul” (PhD Diss., University of Washington, 2018), 149.

dogs.⁶⁰ Moreover, some people tried to enter the garden from the direction of demolished board fence without entrance fee. The lessor of Taksim Garden demanded to construct walls because the lessor believed that this construction was one of the responsibilities of municipality.⁶¹ By giving importance to the enclosure, it might be argued that Taksim Garden was a place where gave an opportunity to escape urban chaos as well as animals, especially street dogs. Hence, it could be argued that specifically Taksim and Tepebaşı Gardens, which located in Pera, enabled people not only a healthy space but also a sterile constructed space by excluding undesirables.⁶² Kentel discusses the argument of the necessity of greenspaces in the city for creating parks.⁶³ Parks did not mean merely greenspace in that time. Parks, as constructed natural spaces, provided new social and entertainment facilities for the elites by excluding undesirables such as street dogs and the poor.

60 For the situation of street dogs in the late Ottoman İstanbul: Cihangir Gündoğdu, “The state and the stray dogs in late Ottoman Istanbul: from unruly subjects to servile friends”, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, 54:4, 555-574, (2018) DOI: 10.1080/00263206.2018.1432482 (accessed date: February 25, 2019).

61 BOA, ŞD.00691.00033.009, November 4, 1879, (19 Zilkaide 1296 AH).

62 Demirakin, “Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool”, 9. and Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, eds., *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Pres, 2010), 246.

63 Koca Mehmet Kentel, “Assembling ‘Cosmopolitan’ Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman İstanbul” (PhD Diss., University of Washington, 2018), 120 – 123.



Figure 3.15 The gate of Tepebaşı Garden, "Rue des Petits-Champs" (Source: Salt Research, AHISTBEYO004)



Figure 3.16 The Gate of Çamlıca Garden (Source: Rezaizade Mahmud Ekrem, *Araba Sevdası*, Alem Matbaası, 1896)

§ 3.4 The Commercial Aim in the Parks

The entrance tickets not merely prevent the presence of lower classes but also supplied a revenue for both the sixth district and lessors of gardens. Baron de Norman in his petition to the Commission of Bridges and Roads dated 1867, one of the early documents about parks, demanded a permit to establish a company to construct and run a garden in Beyoğlu that includes greenery, a space for animals, music and other entertainment activities. According to this petition, visitors in this garden would pay the entrance fee. Moreover, he also demanded the abolition of the establishment of new similar gardens by other people during fifty years. The Commission of Bridges and Roads, however, did not decide Monsieur de Baron's demand because his requests were related to the public order. Public order was the duty of municipality instead of the Commission of Bridges and Roads.⁶⁴ The meaning of "a space for animals"

64 BOA, MVL.00881.008.004.001, June 16, 1867, (4 Haziran 1283 R).

(...*hayvanata mahsus... bir bahçe*) is not clear. It may be argued that a kind of zoo had been planned. Yet, there is no source about the existence of a zoo within Taksim Garden or any other garden in the 1870s. Why did Monsieur de Baron want to invest for the construction and running a garden? The simple answer to this question is to make a profit. Monsieur de Baron thought that a park, including greenery, animals, and music could be attractive for people. The abolition of the establishment of new similar gardens by other people during fifty years, one of his demands, obviously means eliminating possible competitors in the trade.

A document from the Interior Ministry dated January 28, 1870, is about the grading lands of Taksim Garden and Çamlıca Garden, expenditures of these works and future income of gardens.⁶⁵ It was estimated that the profit of Taksim Garden would be yearly approximately fifty or sixty thousand qurushes. By the virtue of the necessity and future income, 2000 liras for regulation of land; 100.000 qurushes for the construction of buildings in Taksim Garden, were given. In the context of Çamlıca Garden, the place of Çamlıca Garden was empty for approximately eight years. This document ordered to grade the land. Even before the complementation of the garden, there was a demand to rent this garden with yearly 25000 qurushes. Two options were suggested for the cost of Çamlıca Garden. The first was the income of punitive punishment. The second was borrowing money by showing the future income of Çamlıca Garden as guarantee.

Regarding the construction of Tepebaşı Garden, the Ministry of Finance did not accept the transformation of empty land into park in the first demand because it would lead to a deficit for treasury. The Sixth District replied this argument by emphasizing potential income of the park for the municipality.⁶⁶ The land known as Tarlabası Cemetery was given to the Sixth Municipal District Office on condition that its transformation from the cemetery to the garden using for people's relaxation and recreation, with entrance fee.

The agreement made between the Sixth Municipal District Office and landowners around Tarlabası who promise to pay two-thirds of requirement

65 BOA, I.DH.00607.42291, January 27, 1870, (15 KanuniSani 1285 R)

66 BOA, I.DH. 783-63659-001, February 4, 1879, (22 Kanuni Sâni 1294 R)

money for the construction of Tepebaşı Garden. This agreement was signed on April 28, 1879, in the Sixth Municipal District Office, Beyoğlu.⁶⁷ In this agreement, the garden called as Tarlabası Garden instead of Tepebaşı. According to this agreement, grating and afforestation of land, as well as the construction of wall with other expenditures, cannot exceed 8000 Liras.

The motivation of landowners who promise to contribute the construction of the garden was the possibility of increase in the value of properties around the park. This study does not focus on the prices of real estate properties around parks, yet buying and selling properties around parks during construction processes could be followed in the newspapers. For example, Dr. Khorassandji⁶⁸ bought the artillery ground, opposite to Taksim Barack for building sites in 1869.⁶⁹ This selling and its announcement in the newspaper indicate that entrepreneurs were interested in properties around parks.

Moreover, the Sixth Municipal District Office can borrow from the Ottoman Bank and Bankers of Galata to construct Tepebaşı Garden.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Blacque Bey also asked the British Government to contribute the construction of Tepebaşı Garden, yet British government did not accept this plan.⁷¹

The entrance fee of Tepebaşı Garden, according to the agreement between Cemil Pasha as the mayor of Istanbul and Monsieur Leman as the leaseholder of Tepebaşı Garden in 1914, was 40 para.⁷²

67 BOA, HR.TO.00476/00040, (April, 28 1879)

68 The name of Khorassandji was mentioned in “the list of real estate owners and investors in Pera, Galata, and Stamboul between 1868 and 1914” in Baruh’s PhD dissertation. Lorans Tanatar-Baruh, “The Transformation of the ‘modern’ axis of nineteenth-century Istanbul: property, investments and elites from Taksim Square to Sirkeci Station” (PhD Diss., İstanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2009), 357.

69 *The Levant Herald*, October 10, 1869. Salt Galata Archive

70 BOA, HR.TO.00476/00040, (April 28, 1879)

71 Koca Mehmet Kentel, “Assembling ‘Cosmopolitan’ Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman İstanbul” (PhD Diss., University of Washington, 2018), 144.

72 Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i umûr-ı belediye*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1995), 3034. Originally published in Ottoman Turkish: Dersaadet: Arşak Garoyan Matbaası, 1330 [1914 or 1915]-1922.

The construction of walls, pathways, benches, landscape designs of parks as well as the value of park lands within the urban centre commercialized the recreation areas. It should be noted that the Sixth District did not have the necessary financial resources.⁷³ The revenue of the District depended on taxes from the inhabitants in the District, the income of some projects, taking loans from private individuals in the District or the Ottoman Bank. These revenue sources, however, was not enough for the Sixth District. The aim of earning money from the parks should be evaluated in this context. Although the profit from these gardens remained below expectations,⁷⁴ this commercial aim should not be overseen. In the context of Europe and America, almost all parks were free and open to all people. This situation, however, met with opposition and struggles for the space of parks and their funds.⁷⁵

The example of Gülhane Park did not have any entrance fee because the Sultan Mehmet Reşad accepted the conversion of court garden of Topkapı Palace to a public park on the condition that the entrance would be free. After Mehmed Reşad's reign, this rule continued. The document dated June 1921 did not give permission to run a bar (*büfe*) to make a profit in the garden by referring Mehmed Reşad's will.⁷⁶

§ 3.5 The Profile of Park Visitors

The profile of park goers will be analyzed by using demographic studies of residents around parks, newspapers in that time, travelogues, memoirs, and autobiographical novels.

The population of Üsküdar, where Çamlıca Garden was located in, was 95,667 in 1885. The majority of the population at that time was composed of

73 N. Işık Demirakın, "A Study of Ottoman Modernisation On The City: The Sixth Municipal District Of Istanbul (1858-1877)" MA Thesis (Ankara: Bilkent University, 2006), 65 – 76.

74 Demirakın, "Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool" 9.

75 Richard Butsch, *For Fun and Profit: The Transformation of Leisure into Consumption*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 13. and Thorsheim, *The Corpse in the Garden*, 61.

76 BOA. DH. UMVM. 97.043.001 June 1921, (Şevval 10, 1339 AH).

Muslims. Üsküdar, in terms of population, followed the districts of Pera, Bayezit, and Fatih.⁷⁷ In this context, it could be argued that the demography and population density were not determinant factors in the construction of Çamlıca Garden. The role of Mustafa Fazıl Pasha's in the construction of Çamlıca Garden and the closeness of his mansion to the garden show the connection between the political elites and creating parks. Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey described the profile of park visitors. The first group composed of men and women who always wore elegant clothes. These people enjoyed and walked around the garden. The second group was intellectuals and artists at that time. Mustafa Fazıl Pasha generally invited intellectuals into Çamlıca Garden. Furthermore, Namık Kemal (1840 – 1888) and Şinasi (1826 – 1871), who were two significant Ottoman intellectuals, authors, and members of Young Ottomans (a group of intellectuals advocating constitutional monarchy in the empire), visited Çamlıca Garden frequently.⁷⁸ Mustafa Fazıl Pasha, at the same time, supported financially the Young Ottomans. Even though there is not an adequate source to claim the connection between the fall of Young Ottomans from the political power and the loss of the popularity of Çamlıca Garden, this question should be asked.

Taksim and Tepebaşı Gardens serviced for residents in Pera. Pera region hosted many embassies and commercial facilities. The total population of Pera based on 1885 census was 237,293. The most crowded group was the foreigners, 111,545. Muslims were the second group with 51,748 populations. Armenian, Jewish, and Greek Ortadox followed Muslims.⁷⁹ The residents of Pera were mainly the well-off population.⁸⁰

77 Stanford J. Shaw, "The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century" in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 10, No.2 (May, 1979), 268.

78 Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Efendi, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul*, edit. Niyazi Ahmet Banoğlu, (İstanbul, Tercüman, 1970), 217.

79 Stanford J. Shaw, "The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century" in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 10, No.2 (May, 1979), 268.

80 Lorans İzabel Baruh, "The Transformation of the 'Modern' Axis of Nineteenth-Century İstanbul Property, Investments and Elites from Taksim Square to Sirkeci Station," (PhD diss., Boğaziçi University, 2009), 85.

This situation does not mean that all people in Pera enjoyed and were proud of these parks. Teodor Kasap, an Ottoman Armenian journalist, asked the necessity of Taksim Garden when people could not reach basic services in the district.⁸¹ Furthermore, the article written by Mackintosh in the newspaper of *Le Moniteur Oriental* on March 1, 1884 summarized and participated the debate on Blacque Bey and Tepebaşı Garden.⁸² Mackintosh advocated Blacque Bey towards criticisms which written by a journalist, whose name was not explained in this article, were based on negligence of municipal responsibilities, such as paved road, sweep, the liability of municipal budget, and so on. According to Mackintosh, these criticisms actually targeted Tepebaşı Garden. Mackintosh also mentioned an English newspaper, which also dealt with the debate on Blacque Bey. This English newspaper, according to Mackintosh, ironically interpreted this public debate as many Ottoman mayors were jealous of the Mayor of the Sixth District because he was the only man who made a public garden in Turkey. The English newspaper referred the Taksim Garden as the garden built by Server Bey, former mayor of the Sixth District, without noise and borrowing money. The English newspaper emphasized that Server Bey never believed that the construction of a garden sufficed for his glory; he has never been ecstatic about his work. This short article written by Mackintosh demonstrates that the creation of Tepebaşı Garden was not only the source of pride but also the subject of criticisms against the municipality. Moreover, the construction processes of Taksim and Tepebaşı Gardens was compared and discussed, especially in terms of construction expenditures and mayors' emphasizing on these parks. Blacque Bey was criticized because he paid too much attention to the Tepebaşı Garden. It could be argued that people were interested in municipal projects, services and expenditures via newspapers. Some people demanded more basic services, such as roads and sweep, rather than the creation of parks.

81 N. Işık Demirakın, "A Study of Ottoman Modernisation On The City: The Sixth Municipal District Of Istanbul (1858-1877)", MA Thesis (Ankara: Bilkent University, 2006), 87.

82 Mackintosh, "Choses Et Autres" in *Le Moniteur Oriental*, March 1, 1884, Salt Galata Archive.

The travelogues, memoirs, and autobiographical novels are another significant source to see the profile of visitors. Kesnin Bey's travel writing on Istanbul, which published firstly in 1888, told that the visitors of Tepebaşı Garden were mostly composed of Turks, European residents, the Jews, Greeks, and Armenians. According to Kesnin Bey's narrative, visitors listened to operate while they were drinking beer.⁸³ Gaston Deschamps (1861 – 1931) emphasized the presence of Armenians rather than Turks. Deschamps told that almost all people spoke French and consumed alcohol except a few Turks.⁸⁴ The narrative of travelogues about Taksim and Tepebaşı Gardens were similar to Kesnin Bey and Deschamps' observations. The dominance of Europeans and non-Muslim Ottomans in the gardens, listening operate, and consuming alcohol were common observations in the narrative of travelogues about Taksim and Tepebaşı Gardens.

Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar in his autobiographical novel, *Çamlıcadaki Eniştemiz* (Our Uncle in Çamlıca), compared the profile of visitors of Çamlıca and other recreational spaces of Istanbul in terms of ethnicity and religion. He claimed that Çamlıca Garden was the most national recreation space, in which full of Muslims and Turks.⁸⁵ It should be noted that Hisar wrote this autobiographical novel in 1944 when Turkification and Turkish nationalism were popular. Hence, his narrative might be influenced by this popularity.

Halid Ziya in his memoirs, *Kırk Yıl*, (Forty Years), described difficult conditions of Turkish youth in the Hamidian Era by emphasizing poverty. Turkish youth in that time, according to his narrative, did not have an opportunity to go to Taksim and Tepebaşı gardens. Turkish youth in Pera streets attracted notice.⁸⁶ This description, however, challenged to his own routines. Halid

83 Kesnin Bey, *The Evil of the East or Truth about Turkey*, (London: Forgotten Books, 2015) first publication in 1888, 286.

84 Gaston Deschamps, *A Constantinople*, (Paris: C. Lévy, 1913), 19-20. From gallica.bnf.fr

85 Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, *Çamlıcadaki Eniştemiz*, (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitapevi, 1944), 40.

86 Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, (İstanbul: Özgür Yayınları, 2008), 737 – 738.

Ziya's one of the most valuable memoirs in his youth was in Tepebaşı Garden.⁸⁷ Furthermore, when he was bored with the office issues, he went to Taksim Garden in springs and Tepebaşı Garden in summers.⁸⁸

Both Şinasi Hisar's autobiographical novel, *Çamlıcadaki Eniştemiz* and Halid Ziya's narrative on Taksim Garden in the Hamidian Era stressed the foreignness of parks. In other words, they constructed the profile of park visitors in their own ego documents based on ethnicity and religion. This study, however, argues that the socio-economic situations of people are more determinative than ethnicity and religion.

According to Osman Nuri Ergin, Rıdvan Pasha, mayor of Istanbul in 1890 – 1906, spent most of his time in Tepebaşı Garden instead of his office.⁸⁹

Semih Mümtaz, son of a former mayor of Istanbul, Reşid Mümtaz Pasha,⁹⁰ defined Taksim and Tepebaşı gardens as places for learning good manners and politeness. When he was a child, he went to Taksim and Tepebaşı gardens with his nanny. His nanny did not permit him to whistle, speak loudly, and run in the park. Moreover, according to Semih Mümtaz's narrative, people in these parks talked with friends, consuming alcohol, and taking a walk within the garden.⁹¹

The targeted visitor profile of Gülhane Garden, however, was changed to incorporate groups of people formerly disregarded in parks. Cemil Pasha (Topuzlu) compared Gülhane Garden with Çamlıca, Taksim, and Tepebaşı Garden in terms of accessibility by people. He told that since Taksim and Tepebaşı Gardens had entrance fee, the poor could not benefit from these gardens. The conditions of Çamlıca Garden in Üsküdar was ruin. Flocks of sheep

87 *Ibid*, 770.

88 *Ibid*, 807.

89 Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i umûr-ı belediye*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1995), 1426.

90 İsmail Dervişoğlu, "Ahmet Semih Mümtaz'ın Hayatı ve Hatıralarına Dair" in Ahmet Semih Mümtaz, *Eski İstanbul Konakları*, (İstanbul: Kurtuba Kitap, 2011), 7-8.

91 Semih Mümtaz S., *Tarihimizde Hayal Olmuş Hakikatler*, (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1948), 195 – 197.

rather than people could benefit from this garden.⁹² Moreover, the consumption of alcohol banned in Gülhane Garden, unlike Taksim and tepebaşı Gardens, because the closeness of sacred relics in Topkapı Palace.⁹³ Furthermore, Muslim women could enter to Gülhane Garden after a public debate for the first time.⁹⁴

92 Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım* 111.

93 BOA. DH.ID.070.045, July 29, 1913 (16 July 1329 R).

94 Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, 136-137.

The Perception of Parks: A Threat to the Morality of Society

...zevke ve eğlenceye düşkün gençler ve özellikle böyle eğlenceleri erkeklerden birkaç ziyade aramaya tabiatları mecbur olan hanımlar, belirlenmiş zamanın (Çamlıca Bahçesi'nin açılması) gelmesini bekleyerek...¹

– Rezaizade Mahmud Ekrem, *Araba Sevdası*

The aim of this chapter is to study the perception of parks by focusing on the conditions of Ottoman Muslim women in public gardens known as *mesire* and parks. Firstly, the prohibitions and regulations on Muslim women's presence and clothing in recreational spaces will be studied. The motivation of these regulations give some ideas on the understanding of morality in the

1 The young who are addicted to the enjoyment and women, who are more eager than men in looking for these entertainments due to their characters, looked forward to the opening of Çamlıca Garden. Rezaizade Mahmud Ekrem, *Araba Sevdası*, Fatih Altuğ (edit.), (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014), 45

Ottoman Empire.² After this background, the perception of the parks will be analyzed based on the description of women in Ottoman novels. Novels provide popular fashion, taste, and perception of contemporaries, which might be difficult to capture from the archives. With the words of Azade Seyhan, “novels shape popular fashion and taste and are shaped by them.”³ Furthermore, Seyhan argues that the novels of the late Ottoman period are used as pedagogical and political tools.⁴ Hence, novels as fiction works will be used to understand the perception of parks and authors’ pedagogical and political ideas on parks rather than the realities in the parks.

This chapter consists of four subsections: (1) the presence of Ottoman Muslim women in public space, (2) the conditions of Muslim women in public gardens, (3) Muslim women in the parks: from prohibition to permission, and (4) the description of women in the novels. The first, second, and third parts of this chapter will draw a background to analyze the description of women characters in novels in the fourth part.

§ 4.1 The Presence of Ottoman Muslim Women in Public Space

The experiences of women and men in the city are notably varied. There were many bans, regulations, and rules to determine the boundaries of genders in urban life. This situation was not limited to the Ottoman Empire nor the nineteenth century.⁵ Leslie P. Peirce says that seclusion of women, especially upper

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- 2 The concept of morality (*ahlak*) in the Ottoman Empire had political, cultural, and social dynamics. For detailed information on the concept of morality: Çiğdem Oğuz, “The Struggle Within: “Moral Crisis” on the Ottoman Homefront During the First World War”, PhD Diss., (İstanbul: Boğaziçi University, Leiden: Leiden University, 2018). This chapter focuses on only the gender aspect of morality.
 - 3 Azade Seyhan, *Tales of Crossed Destinies: The modern Turkish novel in a comparative context*, (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2009), 11
 - 4 Seyhan, *ibid*, 14.
 - 5 For detailed information: Mary P. Ryan, *Women in public: between banners and ballots, 1825-1880* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Shirley Ardener (edit.), *Women and space: ground rules and social maps* (Oxford, the UK; Providence, RI, the USA : Berg, 1993.);

and middle class women, existed in the pre-Islamic Near East and the lands of the Christian Byzantine Empire.⁶

In the Ottoman Empire like many other societies, spaces used by people to talk about the common issues of life, death, celebration, and mourning were generally gendered.⁷ As Andrews and Kalpaklı state, public space in Ottoman city was mainly adult-male space, like in Europe and other Middle Eastern cities in the early-modern time.⁸ There were many edicts and regulations for both men's and women's clothing and their presence in public spaces, including public gardens (*mesire*) and parks.

Advocating a definitive claim about the presence of women outside home seems difficult, yet one thing is clear that the conditions of women in public space became the subject of fatwas and edicts. In other words, the Ottoman Empire, with religious and administrative apparatus, tried to control the conditions of women in public space by giving permission or not. Rules and opinions about women's access to public space changed from region to region and from time to time. Moreover, even in the same time and the same place, opinions could be different.⁹ For instance, two contemporary scholars Ebusuud Efendi and Birgivi Mehmed had different opinions. Ebusuud Efendi, famous Sheikh ul-Islam between 1545 – 1574 gave permission for women to be present in public space such as carrying water from fountains, going to bath, wedding,

Elizabeth Wilson, *The sphinx in the city : urban life, the control of disorder, and women* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1992).

6 Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, (New York : Oxford University Press, 1993), 271.

7 Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700 – 1922*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 140.

8 Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European culture and Society*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 51.

9 Edith Gülçin Ambros, Ebru Boyar, Palmira Brummett, Kate Fleet, Svetla Ianeva, "Ottoman Women in Public Space: An Introduction" in *Ottoman Women in Public Space*, Ed. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2018), 13.

and adjacent neighborhoods for an excursion on condition that being in a virtuous manner.¹⁰ Yet Birgivi Mehmed, a Muslim scholar and moralist in the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century, was opposed to women's visiting and praying at tombs. Birgivi, in order to support his own ideas in this issue, quoted a tradition according to which the Prophet cursed women who visited tombs.¹¹ Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, who was an Ottoman chronicler in the sixteenth century, argued that women, due to their nature, are defeated by their desires. If women were not controlled by men, they would lose their honor and modesty and they would become slaves of their desires because they cannot separate the good from the evil. According to Gelibolulu Ali, women should stay and enjoy in ornate rooms in harem instead of going to public gardens.¹² Ebusuud, Birgivi Mehmed, and Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali's ideas, however, do not reflect the applications of these rules and opinions. Peirce gives examples from the study of Ronald Jennings and Haim Gerber in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century court records of the Anatolian cities of Kayseri and Bursa, which show the active participation of ordinary women in legal suits and economic life. Hence, according to Peirce, seclusion of women also closely related to socio-economic situations.¹³ Whatever what happened in the reality of the sixteenth century, this study deal with normative ideas on morality from the perspective of the state and religion, which give some information on the perception of recreational areas.

Some of the regulations and edicts about women dealt with the veiling and clothing of women. It should be noted that in terms of regulation of clothing, women were not the only group. All people's clothing were under the control of the state because clothing symbolized social status and identities of mem-

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- 10 M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ (ed.), *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuûd Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı*, (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1972), no.153-155, p.55.
- 11 Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Oxford University Press), 270.
- 12 Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Mevâ'idü'n-nefâis Fî-kavâ'idî'l-Mecâlis*, Ed. Mehmet Şeker, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997), 115-117 and 364.
- 13 Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 271.

bers of the specific religious, ethnic, and occupational communities in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴ In addition to emphasizing differences among communities in Ottoman society, there were economic, social, moral, and political dimensions of clothing regulations. Throughout the empire, there were many edicts and orders about clothing, yet according to Quataert, from about 1720s to Mahmud II's code in 1826, which unified clothes instead of using a marker of differences among religious groups, cloth regulations intensified.¹⁵ Hamadeh explains this situation with the integration of the janissaries into urban life, which means that janissaries moved to inns and rooms (*bekâr odaları*) in city from barracks.¹⁶ The presence of janissaries, who were young and single men, in the city was a threat for both women and young boys.¹⁷

Even though Mahmud II made reforms in the field of clothing and unified clothes of men regardless of their religion, ethnicity, and socio-economic situations, strict controls on women's cloth remained same. In this context, according to Zilfi, cloth regulations have a gendered aspect¹⁸ and Faroqhi claims that "there was no change in the clothing rules applicable to women, whose transgressions were seen as directly affecting the moral order of the world."¹⁹

The features of disapproved clothes which criticized and banned were generally described as inadequate veiling (thin dress, etc.) in public spaces, imitation of Christian women's clothes for Muslim or vice versa, and following

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- 14 Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol.29, No. 3 (Aug., 1997), Cambridge University Press, 407
- 15 Quataert, *ibid*, 406.
- 16 Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures İstanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 130.
- 17 Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European culture and Society*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 52.
- 18 Madeline Zilfi, "Whose laws? Gendering the Ottoman Sumptuary Regime" in *Ottoman Costumes from Textile to Identity*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, (İstanbul: Eren Publication, 2004), 125-141.
- 19 Suraiya Faroqhi, "Introduction, or why and how one might want to study Ottoman Clothes", in *Ottoman Costumes from Textile to Identity*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, (İstanbul: Eren Publication, 2004), 41.

fashion. Inadequate veiling is closely related to public visibility of women and interpretation of Islamic rules. Imitation of clothes of other groups was connected to boundaries of different groups in Ottoman society. Zilfi explains this situation as “the principle that stable social order depended on a stable social hierarchy, and that a stable social hierarchy was and had to be reinforced by visual compliance.”²⁰ Following fashion was associated with economic reasons. Consumption by women, according to Ottoman administrators, led to bankrupt women’s husbands in order to buy fashion clothes.²¹

A document of İstanbul Religious Court Register, *İstanbul Şeriye Sicili*, dated June 11, 1726 regulated what should be wear and what should not be wear by women. According to this document, because high officials of the state, *devlet ricali*, were in Edirne, some women in İstanbul abused this lack of authority (absence of high officials in İstanbul) by wearing fancy and expensive clothes and hats like foreign women. This situation was harmful to honorable Muslim women and morality of society. This order was also legitimized by social and economic reasons such as waste of money and wealth as well as unaffordability of these clothes by some people.²² Hence, the clothes of women were not only the issue of sharia, but also matter of authority of the state as well as social and economic subjects. Another document from the eighteenth century was an imperial edict dated 1797 and signed by Selim III. Sultan ordered neighborhood imams to control length and color of women’s clothes. Sultan Selim III also himself controlled women’s clothes in markets by keeping his own identity.²³ It could be argued that the state was responsible for the

20 Zilfi, *ibid*, 140.

21 Donald Quataert, “Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol.29, No. 3 (Aug., 1997), Cambridge University Press, 409. and Kate Fleet, “The Powerful Public Presence of the Ottoman Female Consumer” in *Ottoman Women in Public Space*. Ed. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2018), 111.

22 İstanbul Şeriye Sicili d.24, Varak No:12a Hüküm 1, in Ersin Kırca, Kevser Şeker (edt.), *Arşiv Belgelerine Göre Osmanlı’da Kadın*, (İstanbul: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü), 80-82.

23 HAT 191/9273 – AE.SSLM.III,24208. Dr. Ersin Kırca, Kevser Şeker (edt.), *ibid*, 86-87.

morality of society to legitimize its authority. The morality of society was defined with the morality of women, which depends on their presence and clothes in public. This established relation was clearer in Şemseddin Sami's ideas. Şemseddin Sami (1850 – 1904), who was an Ottoman Albanian writer, Albanian nationalist, and supporter of Turkish nationalism, in the book of *Women*, which published in 1879, argued that dissolute women could damage the morale of society when an honorable and decent woman can preserve moral of society.²⁴ Furthermore, Cemal Pasha, an important figure in the Committee of Union and Progress, correlated the safety of women with progress and success of the state. Cemal Pasha, as a military governor of İstanbul after “Raid on the Sublime Porte” known as *Bâb-ı Âlî Baskını* in 1913, told measures taken in İstanbul by himself in memories. He said two important precautions for the order of İstanbul. One of them was regulations and punishment rules for people who insult women.²⁵ Cemal Pasha's emphasis on the safety of women can be read with reference to safety of women and legitimacy of the state, as mentioned above.

The ideas from the sixteenth century to the early twentieth century show normative opinions on morality and women rather than reality. Normative ideas are close to changes. The reactions of normative ideas to changes led to creating more regulations. The intense control on clothing between the 1720s and 1826, as explained, demonstrates the shift in the situation of Janissaries, young and single men in the city. These normative ideas accepted women as people in need of protection. When failing to protect Muslim women from stranger men, the legitimacy of the state was imperiled. Public gardens, as explained in the second chapter, were encountering places for people coming from different ages, genders, professionals. There is no surprise that the state tried to control gender segregation in public gardens.

24 Şemseddin Sâmî, *Kadınlar*, İsmail Doğan (Edt.), (Ankara: Gündoğan, 1996), 14. The date of first publication is 1895, İstanbul.

25 Another precaution carried out against tobacco smuggling. Djemal Pasha, *Memories of a Turkish Statesman*, (London: Forgotten Books, 2015), 18.

§ 4.2 The Conditions of Women in Public Gardens

Public gardens flourished in the eighteenth century by converting some imperial gardens to public gardens by the dynasty, building new gardens by ruling class on waterfront of Bosphorus, etc.²⁶ The rise of gardens as a recreation area in the eighteenth century was also visible in verses and paintings. According to Hamadeh, women and children became more visible in verses and paintings of public gardens in the eighteenth century, unlike earlier depictions.²⁷

Even though men and women could enjoy in public gardens, these places were more important in the daily lives of women than the lives of men because women could not go to coffeehouses, which were a male-dominant popular socializing place. In other words, public gardens were one of the socializing places for women in addition to public baths and surroundings of fountains. Moreover, public gardens gave the opportunity to actively attend entertainment activities for women. Actively attending means women were not only spectator, like in imperial festivals, but also organizer of their own entertainment activities in public gardens.²⁸

26 For the detailed information; Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures İstanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 110-114.

27 Hamadeh, *ibid*, pp.111

28 Fatma Tunç Yaşar, "Women in Early Modern İstanbul: The Use of Space" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2004), 113.



Figure 4.1 Women having a picnic in the promenade (Source: Basile Kargopoulo, 1865, Salt Research, AHTURoo88)

Chroniclers and moralists, however, criticized public gardens because of the togetherness of men and women. A part of documents about public gardens and parks in the Ottoman archive is related to patrolling morality, specifically by controlling women.²⁹ Chronicler Şemdanizade (d.1779) accused the architects of the entertainment activities between 1718 – 1730, Sultan Ahmed III and Grand Vizier İbrahim Pasha to undermine the moral values of society by giving permission for the presence of men and women together in public gardens.³⁰

29 This does not mean that men did not become the subjects of regulations. For instance, bachelors and janissaries were controlled by the regulations. Hamadeh, *ibid*, 130.

30 Madeline Zilfi, “Whose laws? Gendering the Ottoman Sumptuary Regime” in *Ottoman Costumes from Textile to Identity*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, (İstanbul: Eren Publication, 2004), 292.

In the eighteenth century, while women gained more accessibility to public gardens, the Ottoman state paid more attention to the presence and clothing of women in public gardens.³¹

The content of regulations about women in the nineteenth century remained almost same as ones in the eighteenth century. One document dated November 5, 1850, stressed gender separation in public gardens with specific names of gardens³² and their specific days for women. Moreover, this document also gives some examples of how men broke rules of gender separation to peep women and measures to control these violations.³³

In addition to edicts and orders, *tenbihnames* were written and announced via newspaper. *Tenbihnames* included general rules about public gardens rather than dependent on some conditions in the eighteenth century. One of the *tenbihnames* was written in 1268/1852. Meclis-i Vâlâ ordered the publication of *tenbihname* on the newspapers of *Takvim-i Vekayi* and *Ceride-i Havadis*.³⁴ *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 4 Şaban 1268 (May 24, 1852) published this *tenbihname*. In this *tenbihname*, the names of public garden (*mesires*) which gave permission to visit were written.³⁵ Moreover, the conditions and visiting days for women and men as well as the prohibition of sitting together men and women declared in *tenbihname*. In some days, since men and women visitors go to gardens, they cannot stay together.³⁶ The second *tenbihname* was published in 1861. Main themes of both *tenbihnames* were similar. The second *tenbihname* was also concerned with the consumption of alcohol in gardens and teasing (*laf atma*) to women in the way and gardens.³⁷

31 Hamadeh, *ibid*, 130.

32 The names of these gardens: Üsküdar, Duvardibi, Çamlıca, Kurbağalıdere, Fenerbahçe, Haydarpaşa, Küçük Göksu, Büyük Göksu, Beylerbeyi, Havuzbaşı, Çubuklu, Hünkâr İskelesi, Şemsi Paşa in Üsküdar, mesires around Dersaadet, Maslak, Kalender, Arnavutköy Akıntısı, Veliefendi, Çörekçi, Çayırıcı, Bayrampaşa, Kuyubaşı, Kâğıthane.

33 BOA.A.DVN. 0064.0058, November 1850, (Zilhicce 1266, AH).

34 BOA.I.MVL. 00236.008302.003.001, May 6, 1852 (Receb 16, 1268 AH).

35 For the names of these gardens, look p.21 in this thesis.

36 *Takvim-i Vekayi*, May 24, 1852 (4 Şaban 1268 AH)

37 Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul*, (İstanbul: Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser), 218-220.

A document, signed by Grand Vizier Avlonyalı Mehmet Ferit Pasha, dated July 4, 1904, and sent to the Ministry of Interior is about inappropriate veiling of women in Kadıköy and Göksu. According to this document, a report written by Chief Inspector, *serkomiser*, Ahmed Bey claimed that some foreigners, who came to Kadıköy and Göksu for excursion, gazed at these women in astonishment and tried to take photographs of them.³⁸

Another document dated July 9, 1906, which sent by Interior Ministry to İstanbul Municipality (*Şehremaneti*) and *Zaptiye Nezareti*, is about the appointment of some gendarmes and two police officers into Alemdağı because dissolute people around Alemdağı behaved against morals of İslam. Appointed officials also had responsibility to warn women to act with morals and rules of İslam.³⁹

Going to public gardens and promenades by women from the Ottoman dynasty was also criticized by Sultan Abdülmecid.⁴⁰ Sultan Abdülmecid condemned and reprimand sons in law of Ottoman Dynasty for their wives' moonlight trips. According to Cevdet Pasha, who was an Ottoman bureaucrat and scholar, Sultan Abdülmecid said that "I do not have any daughter who goes for a walk in the moonlight."⁴¹ The expenditures and borrowing from Galata bankers to follow fashion dress by women Sultans and their attendance in public entertainments, both moonlight trips and public gardens such as Sadabad, highly criticized by some viziers.⁴² According to Cevdet Pasha, with the influence of pashas coming from Egypt to İstanbul and soldiers and officers coming from England and French in the time of Crimean War, pleasure and enjoyment activities increased in İstanbul. Especially elite women from Egypt

38 BOA.DH.MKT.0810.0050.009.0001, July 4, 1904 (20 Rabi' al-awwal 1322 AH).

39 BOA.DH.MKT.0810.0050.012.002, July 9, 1906 (17 Cemaziyelevvel 1324 AH).

40 Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, *Ma'ruzat*, (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1980), 7-9.

41 Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, *ibid*, 13.

42 Cevdet Pasha did not give the names of these viziers. Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, *ibid*, 11.

led to increasing conspicuous consumption among elite Muslim women, including women of Ottoman Palace.⁴³ Cevdet Pasha said that some viziers accused women's consumption for the fiscal crisis.⁴⁴ Cevdet Pasha told these anecdotes in the part of the situation of finance, (*ahâl-i mâliye*). Hence, the participation of imperial women in public entertainments and their cloths read in the context of economy by the contemporary bureaucrats.

To conclude, I emphasize and repeat myself in two issues: Firstly, the Ottoman Empire tried to control the gender separation in public spaces with bureaucratic and religious regulations. These rules mostly controlled the presence of women, yet in some cases men also became the subject of regulations. It should be noted that these rules do not show the reality. They demonstrate the normative ideas in the Ottoman Empire. Secondly, the morality of society mostly depended on the morality of women. The morality of women defined with appropriate clothing and separation from men in public space. The state was responsible to control the morality of women, their clothing and presence in public space because there was an established relation between the legitimacy of state and the clothing and protection of women.

§ 4.3 Muslim Women in the Parks: From Prohibition to Permission

La Turquie dated January 7, 1875, announced the prohibition of Muslim women's entrance into Taksim Garden.⁴⁵ According to news, police had already banned Muslim women from Taksim Garden and walking around it. After this prohibition, however, some Turkish women around Taksim Garden were reported to the police. Because of this report, police reminded former order via newspapers. This news shows the concern of the state on parks, yet at the same time, the possibility of violation of rules by women.

This prohibition was valid only for Muslim women. Non-Muslim women frequently went to Taksim Garden. Said N. Duhanî described non-Muslim

43 Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, *ibid*, 7-9.

44 Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, *ibid*, 11.

45 "Chronique" in *La Turquie*, January 7, 1875. Salt Archive.

duennas and mothers in Taksim Garden. Duhanî told an accident in Taksim Garden:

A dramatic event occurred in Taksim Garden between 1906 and 1908. When an incompetent boy was playing with a toy, which was called *Diabolo* or demon toy (*şeytan oyuncağı*), he could not catch peg top and it fell on a baby. This accident caused the death of this baby. After this dramatic event, governor Reşid Mümtaz Pasha banned this game. However, some duennas of Levanten children did not like this prohibition.⁴⁶

Another source about Taksim Garden was an article, “Taksim Municipal Garden” (*Taksim Belediye Bahçesi*), in the Journal of Women’s World (*Kadınlar Dünyası*) dated June 3, 1913.⁴⁷ This article consists of two separate parts. In the first part, Taksim Garden described with reference to men’s words: “As we have heard from our men, Taksim Municipal Garden ...” According to the storied description of Taksim Garden, Çamlıca Hills and Bosphorus can be seen in Taksim Garden. There was cinematography, swings, performances of the best theatre and opera companies as well as concerts on Friday and Sunday days. In addition to description of entertainment facilities, the effects of natural beauty of Taksim Garden on people’s mental and physical health were also emphasized. Children were also benefited from the peaceful atmosphere of Taksim Garden in the mornings by coming to garden with their nannies or mothers. All of these descriptions about Taksim Garden depended on men’s words instead of women’s observations. Writing in each sentence “as we have heard from our men” (*erkeklerimizden işitiyoruz ki*) emphasize the absence of Muslim women in Taksim Garden. Without a doubt, the underlying of absence Muslim women could read as a criticism towards the ban of Muslim women in Taksim Garden. In the second part, there was not any description or reference to Taksim Garden. This section discussed the flooding and displaced Muslims from the Balkans into İstanbul and the situation of nation.

46 Said N. Duhanî, *Beyoğlu’nun Adı Pera İken*, Nihal Önal (translator), (İstanbul: Çelik Gürsoy Vakfı, 1990), 90.

47 Editorial, “Taksim Belediye Bahçesi,” in *Kadınlar Dünyası* no:142 (27 Cemaziyelahir 1331 AH / 3 June 1913), 2.

This sections, also the article itself, ended with a question which asks how our race would re-gain power like in the past? The author(s) rejected to reply this question because only men could be able to reply to this question. The editorial opinion considered men responsible for the disaster of nation because men were in public service and enjoyed new entertainments and leisure without any obstacle when women were excluded from public service and new entertainments such as Taksim Garden. According to Pelin Başçı, this text could be read in two ways: “with one stressing the exclusion of Muslim women from public life as the root cause of problems that the country faced” and “the other as a call for action, juxtaposing the catastrophic plight of the country and its poor with careless public spending and consumption.”⁴⁸

The primary sources are not enough to claim about the conditions of Ottoman Muslim women in Çamlıca and Tepebaşı Gardens. However, probably there was a similar pattern in these gardens because the permission of Muslim women’s entrance to Gülhane Garden in 1914 created a public debate, which could be followed in state archives, newspapers, and memoirs. Even though some flexibilities and specific examples of the presence of Muslim women in these gardens might be possible, it is hardly difficult to argue that there was no gender segregation in these gardens.

Cemil Pasha (Topuzlu), mayor of Istanbul, attempted to allow the entrance of Muslim women into Gülhane Garden. His attempt led to a public debate and many criticisms. Document written by Directorate of Religious Affairs, *Daire-i Meşihat-i İslam*, to the Ministry of Interior criticized this situation:

Opening of garden within the Topkapı Palace to public damage the life of Islam. And it is obvious that this decision would be criticized. Because of this, at least, Sunday days the entrance of women to Gülhane Park would not be permitted.⁴⁹

48 Pelin Başçı, “Advertising Modernity in Women’s World: Women’s Lifestyle and Leisure in Late Ottoman İstanbul,” in *Hawwa* 2 (2004), 50.

49 BOA.DH.ID.0153.010.0024.001, October 14, 1913, (1 Teşrin-i Evvel 1329 AH)



Figure 4.2 Gülhane parkında gezen Türk kadınları (Turkish women touring in Gülhane Park),(Source: the Atatürk Library (in Istanbul), Krt_013296.)

Moreover, Cemil Topuzlu told that

Yusuf İzzeddin Efendi, in the name of Sultan, attended the opening ceremony of Gülhane Park. Within that day, women and men together walked in the garden. Enver Paşa, who was very bigoted, did not like this situation. The next day, Enver Paşa sent a note to forbid women to enter park. After that, I went to the Ministry of War to talk with Enver Paşa. Enver and Cemal Pashas were together. I informed Enver Paşa that I would not do his order. Cemal Paşa immediately broke into conversation: ‘Whereas Cemil Paşa thinks also women for breathing fresh air, we will determine separate day for women. In the future, we will provide the entrance of men and women together to the park.’ After a

month, Cemal Paşa keeps his word, yet I received many anonymous letters full of invectives from some bigoted people.⁵⁰

The article of “The beginning of a civilized life in Istanbul” (*Istanbul’da medeni bir hayat başlangıcı*) in the newspaper of Tanîn congratulated the Istanbul Municipality for the opening of Gülhane Garden as a public park.⁵¹ This article paid attention to the presence of women and men together in Gülhane Garden. Respect and grace towards women were accepted as the feature of civilized nation. This togetherness, however, was limited and had some pre-conditions: Women should be together with a close male relative or husband. The author obviously directed women readers to go to Gülhane Park with a close male relative or husband. Moreover, in this paragraph, women were described as they would be safe only under the protection of male relatives.

The togetherness of men and women were also described in the visual sources, for example two postcards with the unspecified date in Atatürk Library titled with “Turkish women walk in Gülhane Park” (Figure 4.1) and “Gülhane Park” (Figure 4.2). The first, a photo-postcard, depicts women with veiled faces, some men who are not so far from women yet not together with women, and a child with women. The second, illustrated postcard, depicts a man with a veiled woman, probably his wife, as hand-to-hand. Özen argues that postcards in the Ottoman Empire before World War I were used for propaganda.⁵²

50 Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, (İstanbul: Güven Basım ve Yayınevi, 1951), 136.

51 *Tanîn*, October 7, 1913.

52 Mustafa Özen, “Visual representation and propaganda: Early films and postcards in the Ottoman Empire, 1895–1914”, *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 6:2, (2008), 145-157, DOI: 10.1080/17460650802150408



Figure 4.3 Gülhane Parkı (Gülhane Park), (Source: The Atatürk Library (in Istanbul), Krt_017820)

He says that the selected images represented specific events and expressed authorities' support for these events. Although Özen focuses on political postcards, such as the image of Enver Bey (Enver Pasha), Abdulhamid II, and so on, his argument could be applied to these postcards, which depict women in Gülhane Park. The propaganda of these postcards is the opening of a new park and the presence of women and men in the park, as a sign of modernity.

§ 4.4 The Description of Parks in the Novels

After this background, the description of parks in Ottoman novels written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries will be analyzed to understand the perception of modern parks. I will use the novels of *Intibah* and *Araba Sevdası* to understand the perception of Çamlıca Garden. In the context of Taksim Garden, I will use the novel of *Mai ve Siyah* and autobiographical novel of *Leonis*. While Çamlıca, Taksim, and Tepebaşı gardens became one of the popular places in the novels, Gülhane Garden was not described in any novels in that time. The absence of Gülhane Garden in contemporary novels

was open to discussion, yet this study does not have an argument for this discussion.

4.4.1 *Çamlıca Garden in the Novels of İntibah and Araba Sevdası*

İntibah (literally means “awakening”, “the birth”), written by Namık Kemal in 1876, was one of the earliest Ottoman novels. Even though Namık Kemal was not a moralist, his literature works, according to Tanpınar, always emphasize the values.⁵³

The novel of İntibah starts with description of spring and nature in Çamlıca Garden. Çamlıca Garden as a place in the novel is central in İntibah. Rather than summary of İntibah, events and characters around Çamlıca Garden will be summarized and analyzed.

The main character of İntibah, Ali Bey, is well-educated, well-behaved, and polite. When he is twenty years old, he loses his father. After death of his father, Ali Bey drops into melancholy. Ali Bey’s mother advises him to go Çamlıca Garden to find solace. Although their house is near to Çamlıca Garden, Ali Bey does not like to go Çamlıca Garden. His first tour in Çamlıca Garden occurs after his father death and with his mother’s insistence. After that, Ali Bey makes a habit to go Çamlıca Garden. He likes Çamlıca Garden when there are a few people. Ali Bey does not like crowded days, especially Friday and Sunday. In these crowded days, men and women make signs to each other, which is a kind of dating. One day, with his coworkers’ persistence, he accepts going to Çamlıca Garden on Friday. Ali Bey is embarrassed on making signs by men and women, yet he cannot say anything. Then, he tries to make a sign to a woman in carriage. In the novel, Ali Bey’s this movement is interpreted as “a motion made only for friend’s sake changed his life to a tragedy.”⁵⁴ With the response of woman, Ali Bey falls in love. The name of woman is Mahpeyker, who depicted as opposite to Ali Bey’s character. According to novel, she is a dishonest and lustful woman. After Ali Bey met with Mahpeyker, Ali Bey’s life

53 Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Abdullah Uçman (edt.), (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, Fifth Edition, 2009), 386.

54 Namık Kemal, *İntibah: Sergüzeşt-i Ali Bey*, Mustafa Nihat Özön (edit.), (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1971), 48-49. (First publication of the novel was in 1876).

dramatically changes. He starts to go Çamlıca Garden on crowded days to see Mahpeyker. He lies to his mother for the first time in his life to hide frequent visits on Çamlıca Garden and his love to Mahpeyker. With following events, Ali Bey became dissipated man. He spent his wealth coming from his father. Hence, the alteration of Ali Bey's character from well-behaved, polite to alcoholic, gambler, lavish started with going to Çamlıca Garden and falling in love with Mahpeyker in this garden. In this context, Çamlıca Garden was a place that corrupt decent people. Moreover, Mahpeyker as a frequent woman visitor in Çamlıca Garden, depicted as a dishonest and lustful woman.⁵⁵

The novel of *Araba Sevdası* (A Carriage Affair) was serialized by Rezaizade Mahmud Ekrem in the journal of *Servet-i Fünûn* (the Wealth of Science) in 1896. According to Parla, his language did not make any reference to the reality.⁵⁶ Parla argues that Rezaizade Ekrem used a parody language in this novel to criticize epistemological problems of Ottoman intellectuals in that time arising from the imitation of the West.⁵⁷ Moreover, Tanpınar said that the novel of *Araba Sevdası* was similar to fiction anecdotes, which criticize the imitation of Westernization in that time.⁵⁸

Araba Sevdası started with the description of Çamlıca garden. The plot of the novel starts in 1870, yet the author compared the situation of the garden in 1870 with the conditions of it in 1896. According to novel, Çamlıca Garden was only a fashion in 1870s and it lost its popularity with time. When the news of opening a new promenade in Çamlıca disseminated, people of İstanbul were excited. Pleasure-seeking youth and women were especially got excited. Women, according to novel, were more eager than men in looking for these entertainments due to their characters.⁵⁹ This description of women in the

-
- 55 For detailed information on the character of Mahpeyker: Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), 87-99.
- 56 Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), 133.
- 57 Ibid, 129 – 153.
- 58 Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Abdullah Uçman (edt.), (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, Fifth Edition, 2009), 441.
- 59 Rezaizade Mahmud Ekrem, *Araba Sevdası*, Fatih Altuğ (edit.), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014), 45.

novel contributes the argument that public gardens are gendered spaces. Re-caizade Ekrem described the crowd in Çamlıca Garden as the majority of crowd – women and men still separated- in threes fives walk in the garden.⁶⁰

Bihruz Bey, the hero of *Araba Sevdası*, was described as Westernized fob.⁶¹ He is the son of an Ottoman bureaucrat. After his father died, he spends inheritance of his father. He is addicted to carriages and he likes making a tour at Çamlıca Garden by walking or with a carriage. He falls in love with Periveş Hanım, who met in this park. In the first conversation between Bihruz Bey and Periveş Hanım, Bihruz Bey compliments her as “every people have right to walk around all parts of the garden. Yet such rustic spaces pertain to houris and nymphs like you.”⁶² He frequently goes to this park due to the possibility of encountering with Periveş Hanım. Bihruz Bey depicted as a member of leisure class. He spends his own time in Çamlıca garden rather than in his own office. Throughout the novel, he tries to understand French poems by using dictionaries, yet generally, he misunderstands. At the same time, he could not comprehend some Turkish words. Moreover, one of the interesting points of *Araba Sevdası* in terms of public gardens, Bihruz Bey imagined Hyde Park in London. In his imagination at Hyde Park, Bihruz Bey is walking with his platonic lover. To sum up, Bihruz Bey’s purpose of frequent visits to Çamlıca Garden is to see Periveş Hanım. Hence, according to the narrative of *Araba Sevdası*, women have opportunity to making tour and dating with men in Çamlıca Garden. The second issue is about the description of women, Periveş Hanım and Çengi Hanım, in Çamlıca Garden. Periveş Hanım had had honest father and husband, yet she lost both. After their death, she became close with Çengi Hanım, who described as trickster, hileci and dalavereci. Then, while the reputation of her beauty and elegance were getting around, she lost almost

60 *Ibid*, 47.

61 Şerif Mardin, *Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century*, (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 406. Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış*, (İstanbul: İletişim Publication, 6st Edition, 1997), 57-66, Nurdan Gürbilek, “Dandies and Originals: Authenticity, Belatedness, and the Turkish Novel”, in *South Atlantic Quarterly* 102, no.2/3 (2003): 599 - 628. Downloaded from https://read.dukeupress.edu/south-atlantic-quarterly/article-pdf/102/2-3/599/469263/SAQ102_2-3_18.pdf Accessed 09 March 2018

62 Re-caizade Mahmud Ekrem, *Araba Sevdası*, Fatih Altuğ (edit.), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayın-ları, 2014), 67.

all virtue. Hence, portraits of these two women were prone to breaking “social and moral values of society.”

To conclude, in two novels, there is a love story in Çamlıca Garden. Women in Çamlıca Garden are described as corrupted in terms of morality. Main male characters in novels, Bihruz and Ali Beys, start to degenerate after they make a habit of going Çamlıca Garden.

4.4.2 *Taksim Garden in the Novels of Mai ve Siyah and Leonis*

The novel of *Mai ve Siyah* (Blue and Black), which was written by Halit Ziya in 1889, tells the stories of Ottoman individuals rather than social changes. This feature of Halit Ziya’s novels is different from the novels of *Araba Sevdası* and *Intibah*. According to Zeynep Uysal, the characters in Halit Ziya’s novels show the examples of the combination of Western mentality and locality into Ottoman individuals rather the dichotomy of the West and the East.⁶³ In this context, the characters in Taksim Garden (and in Tepebaşı Garden) are not Westernized snob unlike characters in Çamlıca Garden. However, this differentiation is related to different paradigms of authors instead of the features of gardens.

Taksim Garden was depicted as a landscape, which sights the scene of Bosphorus. Çamlıca hill and Üsküdar seaside can be seen. Two characters, Ahmet Cemil and Hüseyin Nazmi, go in to Taksim garden to read Edmond Harcourt’s poems, “L’ame Nue.” Ahmet Cemil’s another visit to Taksim Garden is on the month of May. Uysal describes Ahmet Cemil in the second visit to Taksim Garden as “flaneur.”⁶⁴ He lonely goes into Taksim Garden, but before entering to the garden, he encounters Lamia, who is sister of Hüseyin Nazmi and platonic lover of Ahmet Cemil. After short dialogues, he enters to garden. The garden is not crowded. There is an English duenna, an old man reading newspaper, and two little girls who are playing game. Zeynep Kerman argued

63 Zeynep Uysal, *Metruk Ev: Halit Ziya Romanında Modern Osmanlı Bireyi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014), 302.

64 *Ibid*, 223.

that the clothes of these little girls are European styles.⁶⁵ Ahmet Cemil, in this garden, imagines Lamia.

Firstly, in these descriptions, there were not any Muslim women in the park. There were only English and Levanten ladies as women. Secondly, Ahmet Cemil encounters with Lamia in front of Taksim Garden, yet Lamia did not enter into the garden. Thirdly, similar to *Araba Sevdası*, male characters imagined lovers in public gardens.

The second and richer source about Taksim garden is Yorgos Theotokas's *Leonis- İstanbul Souvenir 1914-1922*. Yorgos Theotokas was born in 1905, and his autobiographical novel about Taksim garden was during his children, 1914-1922. In Yoros's autobiographical novel, there are different non-Muslim groups, yet Muslim people, especially Muslim women are absent.

In Yorgos Theotokas' narrative, there were nannies and duennas in Taksim Garden, similar to the novel *Mai ve Siyah*. According to Theotokas, on the right and left, there were official alleys in the garden. These ways went to main square by uniting with each other. Nannies, duennas, and well-behave children walked in these alleys.⁶⁶

Theotokas's narrative provides an insight on the history of children. Children played many games in the garden. Each game had own rules, and all children knew them. In some games, such as *esircilik*, -prisonerness, girls and boys played together.⁶⁷

On the right side of the garden, a place that was darker, unclean, full of wild shrubbery existed. Nor adults nor well-behaved children went to this place. Big boys brought girls and kiss them in this darker place.⁶⁸ Moreover, watchers in Taksim Garden, according to narrator, did not go to this side of garden. Hence, it could be said that love in Taksim Garden was allowed in the darker side of garden.

65 Zeynep Kerman, *Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil'in Romanlarında Batılı Yaşayış Tarzı ile İlgili Unuslar*, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1995), 196.

66 Yorgos Theotokas, *Leonis: İstanbul Hatırası 1914 – 1922*, (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2008), 35.

67 Ibid, 37.

68 Ibid, 40.

4.4.3 *Tepebaşı Garden in the Novel of Hayal İçinde*

Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın's novel *Hayâl İçinde*, (Within the Imagination) written in 1901.⁶⁹ The novel starts with description of Tepebaşı Garden on Sunday. There are nannies, children, Hungarian singers in the garden. Nezh, seventeen years old high school student, is the main character in *Hayâl İçinde*. He goes to Tepebaşı Garden first time with friends in the beginning of novel. While he carefully views on Tepebaşı Garden, he gazed dirty clothes of a fat loose woman. His observations about Tepebaşı Garden are games of well-behaved children, young and beautiful girls, women which confused his mind and feelings. Nezh is not unaccustomed to these scenes in Fatih, quarter of his home in İstanbul. The plot of novel revolves around a platonic love story between Nezh and Alis (İzmaro), a Greek girl. Alis is one of three Diypulo sisters. Diypulo sisters hike with their duenna in Tepebaşı Garden. There are many men and high school boys around them. Diypulo sisters are sassy. They burst into laughter and behave coquettishly in Tepebaşı Garden. Nezh and his friends encounter with them in Tepebaşı Garden. They sit near to Diypulo sisters with coincidence. After this meeting, Nezh starts to frequently go in Tepebaşı Garden to see Alis. Nezh's frequent visits on Tepebaşı Garden has adverse effect on his lessons and financial situation.⁷⁰ Nezh cannot make any venture for saying his love to Alis, yet he dreams walking with Alis in Tepebaşı Garden.⁷¹ Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın told an anecdote in his memoirs on literature. According to this anecdote, Hüseyin Cahit and friends in the third year of high school, they went to Tepebaşı Garden in one evening. A group of young girls sat near to their table. The name of these girls was Sevastopulo, yet Hüseyin Cahit replaced it with Diypulo in the novel. Hüseyin Cahit said that novel of *Hayâl İçinde* starts with this anecdote.⁷²

To sum up, Hüseyin Cahit's novel *Hayâl İçinde* describes Tepebaşı Garden with a love story. Frequent visiting parks could affect corruption of decent people (Ali in *Intibah*, Bihruz in *Araba Sevdası*, and Nezh in *Hayal İçinde*).

69 Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Hayâl İçinde*, (Ankara: Orion Kitabevi, 2012).

70 Ibid, 146 and 149.

71 Ibid, 110.

72 Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Edebiyat Anıları*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Publishing, 1975), 125.

The narrative of novels is parallel to the messages of archives and fatwas: Parks pose a threat to the morality of society because men and women could encounter in these places.

Conclusion

Parks, which are parts of our daily life today, developed as a product of social situations of the world in the nineteenth century. While all countries had different intentions for the building of parks, some points, such as public health, social control, the civilization of park goers were common motivations for creating parks in the nineteenth century. Moreover, enclosed walls, walking paths, park banks were shared features in parks. Furthermore, parks were meeting places for people coming from different classes, ages, and genders. The international aspect of parks in the nineteenth century was not limited to these similarities in terms of motivations and physical features. Park planners, urban policymakers, and people who traveled in the world compared and contrasted parks in different countries. The international aspect of parks was not merely a determinant factor in creating parks. The construction processes of parks, at the same time, depended on social, political, and economic situations of each country. Ideas such as public health could be shared features all around the world in the development of parks, yet regional features of each country decided people who benefited from these projects.

Parks, as constructed natural spaces in the center of the city, were different recreational category from public gardens known as *mesire*. While public gardens located outside or periphery in the city, parks constructed on the routes of trams, near to embassy buildings and commercial centers of the city. Parks

built as a part of urban modernization projects. Moreover, these parks contained walking-paths, artificial lakes, and park benches. Entrance fee of parks, except Gülhane Park, was another distinguished feature of parks from public gardens.

Even though the using words of *millet*, *umumi* (public), and *belediye bahçesi* (municipal garden) for garden names and the motivation of public health in building parks might be connected to the idea that a recreation space designed for all people rather than a specific group, this thesis argues that the location of parks and the existence of entrance fee in the parks demonstrate that the targeted visitors were not all people. The memoirs also supported this argument. The described park goers in memoirs are composed of elites. The targeted visitor profile of Gülhane Garden, however, was changed to incorporate groups of people formerly disregarded in parks.

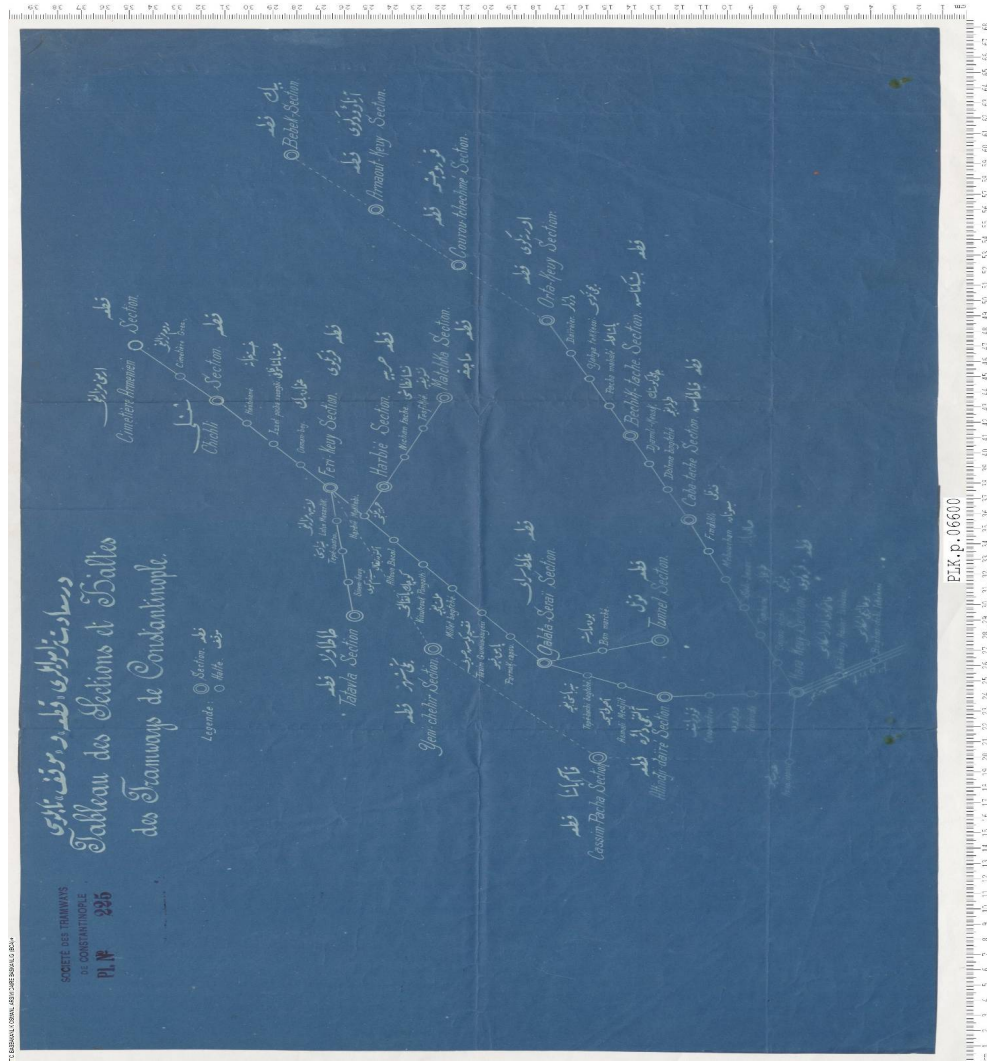
The situations of Muslim women in public space, or outside homes, were regulated by administrative and religious apparatuses of the empire due to Islamic, social, economic, and political reasons in the Ottoman Empire. This study notes that the presence of Muslim women in public space attached to the morality of society. Moreover, the morality of society was connected to the authority and legitimacy of the state in the Ottoman Empire. In this context, the debate and prohibition of Muslim women's entrance into parks are not a big surprise. I want to emphasize that the documents about gardens and parks in the archive mostly deal with the conditions of women. Hence, the perspective of the state towards public gardens and parks are mostly connected to the perception of Muslim women in public space. It is clear that the Empire had worried about the presence of Muslim women in parks. Moreover, novels written at that time generally described parks with corrupted women characters in terms of morality. The degeneration of male characters in the novels began when they made a habit of going to parks. While archives show the concerns of the Empire, novels provide popular opinion about parks in that time. Hence, this thesis argues that parks in the Ottoman Empire were perceived as a threat to morality of society.

The commercial aim in building parks was studied by referring to the entrance fee, yet the value of real estates around parks was not studied in this

thesis. It would be another chapter that focuses on changes in the values of properties around parks after the construction of parks.

Parks, specifically Taksim and Tepebaşı Gardens, hosted new entertainment facilities, such as theatre and operate. The empire tried to control these activities. The playlists of theatres and the intervention of the state would provide another perspective to the parks.

Appendix A The Stations of Trams in İstanbul



The plan shows the stations of trams of İstanbul

SOURCEBOA. PLK. p.6600.0001

Appendix C The Plan of Electric Tramway around Usküdar



SOURCEBOA. Plk.p.3364

Appendix E Tepebaşı Garden and Theatre



Tepebaşı Garden and Theatre

SOURCE Suna and İnan Kiraç Photography Collection, FKA_005412

Appendix F The horse-drawn tram, crossing marching band and the wall of Tepebaşı Garden



SOURCE Suna and İnan Kırac Foundation Photography Collection FKA_003663

Appendix G Engraving of Tepebaşı Garden



IL PALAZZO DELL'AMBASCIATA ITALIANA A COSTANTINOPOLI (Vedi l'articolo a pagina 531).

SOURCE Tepebaşı engraving, Suna and İnan Kiraç Photography Collection

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