



An Orientalist Discovery Effort During the 19th Century through the Eyes of Some European Travelers in Ankara*

Avrupalı Bazı Seyyahların Gözünden 19. Yüzyılda Ankara'da Oryantalist Bir Keşif Çabası

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Abstract

Ankara, located in the center of Asia Minor and founded on an important crossroads, has always been an attraction center for travelers of various religious and national backgrounds. More importantly, it was located on the King's Road which extended from Mesopotamia to Western Anatolia. Undoubtedly, these characteristic features of the city were noticed by Western travelers. The city was first visited by a Western traveler in the 16th century. The number and frequency of these trips increased over time. The 19th century is considered as the peak point in this regard. Correspondingly this article focused on the opinions of five different Western travelers who visited Ankara during the 19th century and whose names came into prominence. Before that, the period from the 16th to the 19th century was examined. In some cases, Ottoman archival documents were used to check the data provided by the travelers' resources.

Keywords: Ankara, Traveler, Traveler Book, 19th Century.

Öz

Küçük Asya'nın merkezinde yer alan ve önemli bir kavşak üzerinde kurulan Ankara, her daim çeşitli dini ve ulusal geçmişe sahip gezginler için bir cazibe merkezi olmuştur. Daha da mühimi şehir, Mezopotamya'dan başlayıp Batı Anadolu'ya uzanan Kral Yolu'nun üzerinde bulunmaktaydı. Kuşkusuz şehrin bu karakteristik özellikleri Batılı gezginler tarafından da fark edilmişti. Kent ilk kez, 16. yüzyılda Batılı bir seyyah tarafından ziyaret edilmişti. Zamanla bu seyahatlerin sayısı ve sıklığı artmıştı. 19. yüzyıl bu konuda zirve noktası olarak kabul edilmektedir. Buna bağlı olarak da bu makale, 19. asırda Ankara'yı ziyaret eden ve adı öne çıkan beş farklı Batılı gezginin şehirle ilgili kanaatlerine odaklanmıştır. Öncesinde ise 16. asırdan 19. yüzyıla kadar olan sürece değinilmiştir. Kimi durumlarda Batılı gezginlerin verdikleri bilginin güvenilirliği açısından Osmanlı arşiv belgeleri de kullanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ankara, Seyyah, Seyahatname, 19. Yüzyıl.

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GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Amaç

Toplumların belleği olma gibi önemli bir rol üstlenen seyahatnamelerin son yıllarda, tarih araştırmacıları için hayli dikkat çekici birincil kaynaklar olarak öne çıktıkları bilinmektedir. Bilhassa da kent tarihi üzerine kaleme alınan akademik çalışmaların sosyal, kültürel, demografik, coğrafi, dini, tarihi ve politik hususlar konusunda zengin bilgiler içeren bu literatürü taramadan kaleme alınmaları ciddi bir eksiklik olarak kabul edilmelidir. Kuşkusuz bu durum, Türkiye kentleri tarihi üzerine yapılacak araştırmalar için de geçerlidir. Bu bağlamda bu makalede de bir grup Avrupalı seyyahın gözünden Ankara şehrinin tasvirinin sunulması amaçlanmaktadır.

Sorun

Çalışmanın temel problemi, köklü bir tarihsel geçmişinin bulunmadığı iddia edilen ve Cumhuriyetin ilanıyla birlikte kendisinden söz edilmeye başlandığı varsayılan Ankara'nın, yaygın kanaatin aksine geçmiş dönemlerde de hayli dikkat çekici bir yerleşim birimi olup olmadığı sorusuna cevap aramaktır. Bu doğrultuda bazı Batılı seyyahların kent hakkındaki izlenimleri değerlendirilerek söz konusu varsayımların mesnetsiz bir iddiaya dayandığı ortaya konulmuş olacaktır.

Mevcut Literatürde Gözlemlenen Eksiklikler

Bugün Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne başkentlik yapan Ankara'nın, Batılılar tarafından kaleme alınan seyahatnamelerde ne derece önemli bir yer işgal ettiğini ortaya koyan Türkçe çalışmaların nicelik açısından yeterli miktara ulaşmamış olması ve sadece birkaç eser ve ansiklopedi maddesi ile sınırlı kalması neticesinde bu çalışmanın kısmen de olsa önemli bir boşluğu doldurarak Ankara üzerine yapılacak araştırmalara kaynaklık teşkil etmesi hedeflenmektedir.

Tasarım ve Yöntem

Bu çalışma, bir tarih araştırmasıdır. Çalışma hazırlanırken öncelikle tarama işlemi gerçekleştirilmiş ve metni oluşturacak kaynak seyahatnameler tespit edilmiştir. Ardından, bu kaynak eserlerin daha anlaşılır kılınması ve Ankara'nın metne konu olan dönemine ışık tutması amacıyla İngilizce veya Türkçe ikincil kaynaklar tespit edilmiş ve yazım aşamasında bu çalışmalardan istifade edilmiştir. Ayrıca kaynaklar sınıflandırılırken kronolojiden ziyade karşılıklı inceleme yöntemi tercih edilmiştir. Böylelikle seyyahların ehemmiyet verdikleri hususlar, ayrıldıkları ve benzer düşündükleri unsurlar, yaklaşım biçimleri ve olayları sentez etme kabiliyetleri daha rahat tespit edilmiştir. Bu yaklaşım aynı zamanda, seyahatnamelerin güvenilirliği konusunda da belirli bir kanaatin hasıl olması sonucunu doğurmuştur.

Sınıflandırmanın ardından kaynak eserlerin tahlil edilmesi gerekmiştir. Tahlil sürecinde ilk olarak, mevcut bilgi ve verilerin yeterliği test edilmiştir. Bu tespiti yapabilmek için sınıflandırılan bilginin mahiyeti değerlendirmeye alınmıştır. Değerlendirme aşamasında özellikle eldeki bilgi ve verilerin nesnel bir ölçüte sahip olup olmadıkları, güvenilirlikleri ve kanıtlanabilirlikleri gibi hususlara dikkat edilmiştir. Zira bilginin sentez edilmesiyle eldeki malzeme kullanıma hazır ve işe yarar hale getirilmiş olacaktır.

Bununla birlikte, üzerinde durulan konu hakkında yanlış neticeler üretilmemesi adına mevcut bilgi ve veriler eleştirel bir bakış açısıyla değerlendirilmiştir. Seyyahların hadiseleri farklı bakış açısıyla yorumlaması, idrak etmesi ve aktarması muhtemeldir. Dolayısıyla yazılı kaynakların sıhhati, yazıldığı dönem, yazarı ve ayrıca benzer hadiselerden bahseden farklı kaynaklar arasındaki paralellikler ve çelişkiler bu aşamada değerlendirmeye tabi tutulmuştur.

Yazım sürecinde daha çok karşılıklı inceleme ve betimleyici metotlar tercih edilmiş, konuyla ilgili olarak kim, ne ve neden gibi sorulara cevap aranmıştır. Ayrıca seyyahların dinsel, coğrafi, sosyolojik, ekonomik, ticari, kültürel etkenler (iklim, tabiat olayları, yeryüzü şekilleri, ele alınan toplumun yapısı ve kültür seviyesi, üretim şekilleri, yollar, bilim, sanat, inanç, edebiyat vb.) gibi hususlarla alakalı kanaatleri okuyucuya sunulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Sonuçlar

Çalışmada ulaşılan en çarpıcı sonuç, Ankara'nın çok eski tarihlerden itibaren Batılılar tarafından bilindiği, 16. yüzyıla birlikte seyyahların dikkatini çekmeye başladığı, 19. asırda ise gezgin ziyaretlerinin zirve noktasını yakaladığıdır. Anadolu'nun göbeğinde kurulmuş bir yerleşim birimi olan Ankara'nın stratejik konumu, güçlü ve etkileyici bir hinterlanda sahip olması gibi hususlar, şehrin Avrupalı seyyahlarca mesken edilmesinde önemli faktörlerdendir. Ayrıca Mezopotamya'dan başlayıp sınırları Batı Anadolu'ya uzanan Kral Yolu'nun kent paralelinde dizayn edilmiş olması Ankara'yı, Avrupalı gezginler zaviyesinden mühim kentler arasında zikretmeyi gerektiren ikinci bir unsur olarak öne çıkarmaktadır. Hiç şüphesiz seyyahların dikkatini çeken bir diğer husus da kentteki gayrimüslim nüfustur. Ankara 19. yüzyılda her ne kadar döneminin belli başlı merkezleri kadar olmasa da hatırı sayılır bir Ermeni ve Rum nüfusunu barındırmaktadır. Daha da mühimi kentteki Polonyalıların varlığıdır. Bütün bu

bilgiler Ankara'nın ecnebi cemaatler için önemli bir merkez olma işlevini yerine getirdiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Üstelik seyyahların gözlemlerinden anlaşıldığı kadarıyla, her ne kadar bahse konu olan gayrimüslim nüfusun önemli bir kısmı Osmanlı tebaası olsa da kentte farklı maksatlarla bulunan Frenkler de mevcuttur. Ankara'nın yukarıda zikredilen stratejik konumu ile yün ve tiftik ticaretinde öne çıkması neticesinde özellikle Batılı tacirlerin dikkatini çektiği ve tüccarlar tarafından da ziyaret edildiği görülmüştür.

Kenti 19. yüzyılda ziyaret eden gezginler bağlamında değerlendirildiğinde, Batılı gezginlerin doğu dünyasına yönelik alaycı ve küçümseyici tarzının Ankara için de geçerli olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Onların ifadesiyle Ankara, doğunun gizem ve sırlarını yansıtan aynı zamanda da geri kalmışlığını ortaya koyan tipik bir örnektir. İnsanların taşıdığı merak, cehalet; sergiledikleri tutum ve davranışlar tümüyle bu durumu '*korkunç*' bir şekilde ortaya koymaktadır. Ankara halkını bu durumdan uzaklaştırmanın yegâne yolu ise onları Batı'nın değerleri ve inançları ile tanıştırmaktır. Bu bağlamda en radikal örneğin William J. Hamilton olduğu ifade edilebilir. Seyyah sadece Ankara'nın geri kalmışlığı ve gizemine vurgu yapmamış, aynı zamanda kendince yeni çözüm önerileri ortaya koymuş ve Anadolu'nun yeniden haritalandırılması gerektiğini ifade ederek Türkleri Orta Asya'nın bozkırlarına geri gönderme fikrini ortaya atmıştır. Ankara'daki Türk nüfusuyla alakalı mutedil ve sağduyulu yorumlar yapan yegâne seyyah ise Fred Burnaby'dir. Bahsi geçen gezgin kentte mukim cemaatlerden söz ederken insaf ölçülerini aşmayacak yorumlar yapmış ve diğer seyyahlarla mukayese edildiğinde daha hoşgörülü bir bakış açısı ortaya koymuştur.

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the most important impetuses that constitute the mental, cultural, social, communal, psychological, and historical memory of a city is travel books. Although they are sometimes biased and exaggerated, traveler notes are crucial sources that allow the reader to envision the past of the region and to capture some clues about its future. It is important for travelers to travel across the world in order to satisfy their commercial, scientific, religious, political, and even imaginary interests and expectations. In this way, they will be able to find a chance to compare and analyze their expectations from such a wide perspective. Moreover, their interpretations realized through taking into account their beliefs, values, cultural norms, customs, habits, and manners, contribute not only to the lands they visit but also to their homeland (Thacker, 1963).

On the other hand, the reality that those travelers were important sources of information and news for the period in which they lived should not be ignored. The travelers had an impressive ability about observing and interpreting. Their goals were to gather information and even to record them. As a result of these aims, they were perceived as informants or messengers in the eyes of the people with whom they got in touch. Indeed, English traveler Fred Burnaby (1877, p. 110), who had the opportunity to travel through Anatolia during the 19th century, declared that he was greeted like a postman in every village and town he visited. He had to respond to the curious questions of native people. These questions were not only about England but also about their own country.

Certainly, it should not be overlooked that the studies on travel books contain some threats. The fact they are based primarily on personal impressions may cast a shadow upon the principle of neutrality. Because people's feelings and thoughts, beliefs, and convictions sometimes can contradict what exists in the truth and a completely different perspective may emerge. On the other hand, the difficulty of reaching travel books is a second challenge for researchers. Especially accessibility is the most vital complaint of people who focus on doing research on travel books. The third is the language in which they were written. They have been penned in foreign languages by virtue of they were largely based on observations of foreigners (Bozyiğit, 2002, p. 3; Önal, 2022, p. 117).

Besides, as mentioned before, provided that all these disadvantages are taken into account, if it is available, it is very important to refer to the travel books written about that city. Examining the travel books with rigorous observation is highly crucial to get to know the city, to make inferences, and to analyze it (Eyice, 1972, pp. 67-68). Ankara is a settlement that offers important opportunities in this sense and many travel books have been written about the city especially by foreigners. Even this situation alone is enough to consider the current capital of Turkey as important and to increase the interest of travelers towards the city.

Another point is that information about the cultural, religious, and social life of the non-Muslim population in Ankara is generally based on a limited number of sources. Therefore, if the observations of the Protestant missionaries who pervaded Anatolia during the 19th century were excluded, the most

comprehensive information on the Christian and Jewish minorities in the city is obtained from the traveler notes. Therefore, although their reliability is discussed, travel books regarding Ankara fill an important gap in terms of forming the largest and most permanent kind of source.

In view of all this information, this article is about the travels of Western travelers to Ankara, the current capital of Turkey. The study is predominantly focus on the opinions of travelers who had been in the city during the 19th century and who provided detailed information about Ankara. However, in order to understand the views of these travelers and to evaluate their opinions it is critical to comprehend the previous experiences. Accordingly, in the article firstly the history of the travelers' curiosity towards the city was analyzed. In this respect, the impressions of Western travelers who visited the city in the period up to the 19th century was stated. Travelers who were chosen as samples for the 19th century are the ones who provided the most detailed information about the city.

2. AN ORIENTALIST DISCOVERY EFFORT IN ANKARA UNTIL THE 19TH CENTURY

The acquaintance story of travelers with Ankara goes back to the 16th century and this first rendezvous was the result of diplomatic practice. Author and botanist Ogier Ghiselin De Busbecq, who was appointed as a diplomat by the papacy, first came to Istanbul in 1554 (Çetin ve Genç, 2014, p. 85), and had the opportunity to meet with Suleiman the Magnificent in Amasya and then went on a short trip to Anatolia (Yıldız, 2018, p. 500). Busbecq's impressions about Ankara were tantalizing. He made inferences that the city presented a serious development in the industrial sense. In his words, the success it gained in the mohair trade and the income obtained from this trade brought considerable economic wealth to Ankara (Sülüner, 2014, p. 12). According to the traveler, mohair was the spirit of this city (Forster and Daniel, 1881, p. 137).

Another diplomat who visited the city in the same century was William Harborne. Normally, a merchant, Harborne, was the first British ambassador appointed to Ottoman State. His patience and superior negotiating ability, his success in trade, and his capacity to solve insurmountable problems made him the official representative of Britain's relations with the Ottoman Empire (Horniker, 1942, p. 289). Harborne, who set foot on Istanbul in 1583, served for his country until his death in 1590 (Yalçınkaya and Kurtaran, 2018, p. 181). On the other hand, it is not very difficult to predict the reasons that brought Harborne to Ankara. This visit also revealed the image and richness of the city in the eyes of the Westerners. The Diplomat wanted to examine Ankara's mohair and wool on site, the main reason for the increasing trade volume between the Ottoman Empire and Britain. According to Harborne, if sufficient effort and labor were exerted, all the wool products Britain needed would be procurable from Ankara (French, 1972, pp. 241-242).

Another traveler who visited Ankara during the mentioned century was Hans Dernschwam from Germany (Tunçer, 2001, p. 97). Dernschwam, like many other travelers, reached Anatolia through Izmir and Istanbul. The traveler arrived in Istanbul in 1553 and started his journey to Asia Minor two years later (Şermet, 2017, p. 65). Dernschwam relayed very detailed information relating to the production of mohair and wool in Ankara. Undoubtedly, the traveler's emphasis on the fact that the city was often called Engürü instead of Angora in his letters was due to his discomfort and sadness (Şayık, 2017, pp. 33-35).

The adventure of Western travelers concerning Ankara was severely interrupted in the 17th century and the city was visited only by a traveler. He was a Polish; Tibir Simeon (Tunçer, 2001, 97). He mentioned the devastating effects of the Celali revolts. The chaos and disorder that Asia Minor was in at that time affected Ankara too (Yavuz, 2000, p. 98). On the other hand, in the words of Simeon, there were two hundred Armenian households in Ankara. This was a figure to be deemed important and promising for the Christianization of the city. However, Celali revolts subverted the existing order, and churches suffered serious damage. Another thing that made him happy and surprised was the presence of the Poles in the city (Batur, 1994, p. 262). This situation pleased him so much and caused the Ankara trip to extend (Andreasyan, 1953, p. 276).

In the 18th century, the city was visited by four different travelers. Of these, three were French and one was British. The first of the French travelers mentioned was Joseph Pitton de Tournefort. He was a man who carried out services on behalf of Louis XIV, the king of France, and was a botanist of the royal palace (Kılıçaslan, 2017, p. 419). His purpose in visiting Anatolia was to conduct out activities about the science of botanic and to examine plant species (Dönmez, 2014, p. 2). On the other hand, the first impressions of the traveler who reached Ankara on 22 October 1701 were highly positive. Tournefort (1741, pp. 281-291)

expressed his admiration for the city by expressing that he did not see a second town in the Asia Minor that affected him as much as Ankara. The sad thing was that such a superb city fell into ruin by means of Muslims. At this point, the traveler had imagined that Ankara had become a French city. In his view, this was the recipe for salvation, and it was necessary to enlighten the city as soon as possible. He showed special attention to Christian congregations just like many other travelers. In particular, he kept very detailed records of the Armenians. To say the least, there were five thousand Armenians living in the city, and this community sought peace and tranquility that were witnessed in the previous years (Tournefort, 1741, pp. 41-42).

The second French traveler who visited the city in this century was Aubry de la Mortraye. He arrived in the city in 1703. His view of the Turks was slightly different. It is not known to what extent the influence of being a guest in the home of one of the notable people on this matter. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that Mortraye compared the Greek population with the Muslims, making inferences in favor of the second group and emphasizing the ignorance and rudeness of the Greeks (Eyice, 1972, p. 75). In addition, although the Greeks were few in number, they had three churches, one of which was inside the castle and neglected. Armenians were more fortunate. They had five or six sanctuaries. The Armenians were rich and influential because they were more engaged in trade (Mortraye, 1730, pp. 227-228).

On the other hand, the third French traveler, who was in Ankara in the 18th century, was Paul Lucas. He reached the city on September 26, 1705, nearly two years after Mortraye (Eyice, 1972, pp. 76-78). Lucas pointed out the largeness of the city at that time by saying that Ankara could be wandered around in two hours with a slow-moving horse (Özkan, 2012, p. 263). The most important issue the traveler noted was the public order crimes in the region. The inconvenience caused by bandits and gangs was so threatening that people were unable to travel (Tunçdilek, 1953, p. 195). By extension, the city center was very crowded. The Turks constituted a significant part of the population. However, a considerable number of Armenians and Greeks were living in the city. Like his predecessor, French traveler Lucas stated that the Armenians were more populous, powerful, and influential considering the non-Muslims (Batur, 1994, p. 249).

The last traveler who visited Ankara in the 18th century was the British Richard Pococke (Tunçer, 2001, p. 97). Although there is no exact information on the date of Pococke's arrival in the city, the predictions point to 1739 or a year later (Eyice, 1972, p. 78). The traveler aimed to ignore the labors and efforts of Muslims by claiming that the city gained popularity through the agency of the Galatians and then the Romans. A remarkable life had been witnessed in Ankara in the past. But the city entered a dark age under the rule of Muslims. One of the most exceptional aspects in Ankara, where the Christian and Turkish population lived together, was the presence of nearly a hundred mosques scattered in different parts of the city. Twelve of these were quite large and had high minarets. The others were smaller and without minarets. But constructions belonging to the ancient Christian culture were in ruins, and Muslims were unsusceptible to restore them (Pococke, 1745, pp. 86-88).

As it is seen the most common feature of the travel books written in the period until the 19th century was the disdain and contempt for the Muslims in Ankara. Muslims were almost devils and Christians were angels. Islam was the source of all evils, and there was no peace until it was vitiated and exterminated. It was such a chronic problem that, over time this obsessive thought turned into a motto. At times, there were also travelers who realized that this was not an ordinary situation. The following lines belonging to Emilie Hayacinthe Loyson, who had the opportunity to visit Anatolia in the 19th century, were like a confession:

“In our travels, we constantly encounter the bright face of Islam. Whereas what we were told was very different. It is likely that we imagine the world we want to see. Therefore, we cannot put a foot wrong on the counterfeit owners of these dark lands. I think the truth is very different from what we see, but we don't have the ability to distinguish it” (Kamberidou, 2013, p. 1).

3. THE RECOLLECTION OF ORIENTALISM IN ANKARA: THE MEMORIES OF TRAVELERS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Depending upon Ankara's geographical location, the frequent visits of travelers to the virgin lands of Asia Minor strengthen the hand of researchers and increase their possibilities to have an adequate and rich source of information. This is the greatest chance for historians who carry out studies on Ankara through the eyes of Western travelers. In the subsequent sections, the impressions of five different travelers who visited Ankara in the 19th century and made detailed observations about the city will be touched on.

3.1. A Scottish Army Officer John Macdonald Kinneir

Kinneir (1818, p. 64), who visited the city as early as 1813, stated that Ankara was surrounded by a range of majestic mountains, especially from the east and west, while the city center was established on several small hills. The castle, which was the dominant feature of typical Anatolian cities, was built on high rocks and thus the security of the city was provided. The traveler declared that, just like in Edinburgh, Ankara was closed to the entrance from three sides, but there was a possibility to reach the city from the south. However, the dilapidated and ruined walls of the citadel spirited away the defending feature of the fortress. The castle, which was highly probable built or restored by Sultan Bayezid I before his famous and glorious defeat, has not been repaired since then. For this reason, it lost its characteristic and had to bear the poverty and miserableness of the country (Kinneir, 1818, p. 64).

Kinneir (1818, pp. 64-65) said the houses in the city center were generally two stories and brick or wood. In addition, the roofs of the buildings were single-pitched, and nearly every house had a veranda. Agriculture was an important source by means of existence for the city-dwellers. It could be stated that there was a great success, especially in fruit growing. A very tasty and juicy pear was being produced on a significant part of the agricultural lands in the northwest of Ankara. The traveler's emphasis on agricultural activities is important because Ankara was a city mostly known by the production of wool and mohair in the diaries of Western travelers. However, Kinneir drew attention to this aspect by emphasizing agricultural activities were also a part of economic life to a considerable extent. Şenel (2012, p. 510) acknowledges Kinneir's story about this issue by stating the ones who employed manufacturing trade branches about agriculture in the 19th century constituted almost one-fifth of the working population in occupational groups which shaped Ankara's socio-economical structure.

Traveler's inferences about agricultural activities in Ankara were not limited by this much. In the following sections of his diary, he once again gave place to the agricultural mobility in the city and mentioned the fruit of all kinds produced in the large areas of the city. He also said that animal husbandry attracted attention as an important occupation thanks to meadows, pastures, and vastness terrains. Kinneir (1818, p. 75), who emphasized corn production, stated that this valuable product was grown in Ankara in a certain amount, even if it was not as much as Çankırı, the neighboring province.

The traveler's emphasis, specifically, on corn was, a result of conscious preference because there was a severe shortage of bread in Ankara in that period. The effect of the absence made it almost impossible for Anatolian people to reach the staple food. Wheat had become an invaluable product and correspondingly the production of flour came to a stopping point. So, corn was an important and remarkable alternative for bread production (Kinneir, 1818, pp. 75-76). In an assessment made considering the process that Kinneir visited the city, the wheat, whose bushel was sold from five kurus in 1811, rose to ten kurus in 1815 (Öztürk, 2012, p. 174) and the price increase in two years confirms the traveler's claims. In this context according to Kinneir's (1818, p. 76) claim, the Pasha turned the wheat shortage into an opportunity and monopolized the production of corn. He had usurped all the terrains owned by the farmers and started to sell the corn at the retail price he had set by himself. Although the accuracy of the traveler's claims is disputed, this fluctuation in wheat prices continued until 1845, following an undulant graphic, and this figure by hitting the peak at the said date reached sixty-two and a half kurus (Öztürk, 2012, p. 174). Kinneir completed his story about the economic evolvement of Ankara in 1845. It was probably a conscious choice because 1845 was an important breaking point for the city.

The issue that made the year 1845 important for Ankara was related to the economic recession and especially the crisis caused by the unfavorableness of geographical conditions. As a matter of fact, there was a severe famine in the city that year and the Ankara governor of the time, Vasıf Bey, attributed the problem of the wheat supply to the strong and serious winter conditions (BOA.A.MKT.: 24/81). On the other hand, due to the famine in and around the city, shortage of seed and wheat occurred, and the amount of flour given to the bakers was reduced.

In addition, the Assembly of Ankara issued a precept against the irregularities and corruption experienced in purchase and sale and emphasized that opportunists should not be allowed (BOA.A.MKT.MHM.: 2/5). Scarcity was so great and effective that although the exact figure is unknown, there were some people who died of starvation in the city. The Patriarchate of Istanbul was involved in this issue. The patriarch had informed the Sublime Porte, that the Christian community in Ankara was desperate and did not know what to do and asked them for help (BOA.A.DVN.MHM.: 2/75).

Undoubtedly, the repercussions of this crisis in the eyes of the people of Ankara were misery, poverty, and deprivation. A series of measures were taken to overcome the troubles and it was aimed to reduce or even eliminate the destructive effects of famine. The first of the measures mentioned was that Vasıf Bey, the governor and the fiscal director opened a bakery and distributed bread free of charge for a few months to people who lived without bread and butter (BOA.A.MKT.: 44/93). In addition, children who became miserable and homeless were put under protection. They were provided with food and clothing (BOA.A.KMT.: 46/24). Both examples are important indicators that reveal the Ottoman consciousness of the social state. However, the insistent demand of the people about the continuation of the aid proceeded later on. Thereupon, local authorities in Ankara asked for information about how to behave from Sublime Porte. The response of the Minister of Finance was that, because of their old debts it would not be appropriate to aid the people who had difficulties due to famine (BOA.A.MKT.: 63/28).

3.2. Ankara from the Views of Henry C. Barkley

Barkley (1891, p. 94) was another traveler who provided information about the physical structure and conditions of Ankara. While describing the view of the city from a high hill, he said that the white houses that are scattered among the large numbers of dark brown unpretentious ones added a pleasant mood to the city. The six feet wide streets in the city center were quite remarkable. At the same time, these meandering and winding streets, almost like a labyrinth, formed the outline of the city, designed in the form of cones, united by steep and tiring acclivities.

The traveler's opinions about the city were not promising. Beyond being a typical Anatolian city in the eyes of Barkley, Ankara looked like an ordinary town, far from civilization and without natural beauties. The traveler so as to strengthen his claims was talking about the Bulgarian, Circassian, and Tatar communities, who had to immigrate to the city because of the settlement policies of the Ottoman State. Barkley (1891, p. 99-100) said that these citizens, whose number would be expressed in hundreds, were disappointed when they reached the city after a difficult journey and damned the people who sent them to Ankara. In fact, it is claimed that many of them preferred to go to the first capital of the Ottoman Empire and settled there, even if they did not receive the consent of the governor of Bursa. The expressions used by the traveler in the relation of immigrants' approach to Ankara were also quite striking. According to him, these miserable migrants were pacing back and forth through the bleak and motionless streets of Ankara like lunatics who had lost their minds as a result of their desperation and frustration. On the other hand, those who migrated to Bursa said nothing, but those who preferred to settle in the villages complained about being deprived of mountains and forests in their new hometown and returned to Ankara with the thought of living at least in the city center (Barkley, 1891, p. 100.)

It was interesting that the traveler referred to the inferences of people from different nations about the city in order to support himself. What was weirder, however, was that the complaints of Bulgarians, Tatars, and Circassians attracted such attention that they were mentioned by a traveler. It is understood that the reproach of these people in Ankara was supposed to be important, and both in the eyes of the administrators and the public got a serious response.

There is brief information about the migration map of the aforesaid Circassian population in the Ottoman archival records. In accordance with it, the Circassians had immigrated to Ankara largely from Velen, which was in the Kuban province (BOA.Y.A.RES.: 64/16). In another document, the number is also stated and it is declared that this was one thousand two hundred and thirty-eight. Furthermore, it is expressed that the migrants mentioned in the document were sent to Izmir first by sea and here from to be dispatched to Ankara (BOA.Y.MTV.: 128/105). It is likely that Ankara was an annoying surprise to the immigrants, who met with the sea, the temperate climate, and the incredible nature of Izmir. In addition, according to the archival records, some Circassian citizens were sent to Ankara via Izmit (BOA.Y.MTV.: 129/22). In fact, it is stated that these people were composed of a group of fifty and to inhabit them with their fellow citizens in Ankara was found appropriate. The reason for such a choice was tribal affiliation. The people mentioned were from the Hanokay tribe, and those who were already resident in Ankara were also from the same tribe (BOA.A.MKT.NZD.: 309/7).

The Tatars, who resided in Ankara, came from the Hamar province (BOA.Y.PRK.M.: 3/45) and Buzağlık sanjak (BOA.HR.İD.: 17/15) of Russia. Towards the end of the century, another two hundred households emigrated from Abazan village of Russia to Ankara. (BOA.HR.TO.: 144/40). Then another group of four hundred and fifty households reached the city (BOA.İ.DH.: 1317/43).

When all the numbers belonging to both Circassians and Tatars are summed up one under the other, a significant amount of the population is reached. More importantly, Circassians carried out unnerving and daunting banditry activities in many cities of Anatolia, especially in Ankara. In this context, it is noteworthy that the new guests of the city were not only complaining about the city but also engaged in illegal activities. On the other hand, the fact that victims were mostly Armenians adds a different dimension and meaning to the incident. The Ottoman State archival records mention the stories of many non-Muslim citizens who were bedeviled by Circassians. Aleksan Delalyan, one of Istanbul's Mahmutpasa notables, who complained about the extortion of his belongings and animals by Circassians on his way to Ankara, was just one of these people (BOA.DH.TMIK.M.: 67/38). Another example is about Mehmet Emin from the regency of Develi, whose cash and belongings were extorted by ten Circassian bandits at Calılıgedik, Kırşehir. He sent an urgent telegram to Ankara and demanded the criminals were immediately apprehended and his belongings returned to him (BOA.BEO.: 321/24070). What are strange and interesting were the measures that were thought to be taken to prevent the Armenians from being provoked by the Circassians and committing similar crimes (BOA.Y.MTV.: 108/30). This matter reveals the possibility that Circassians, like travelers, were engaged in provocative activities against the dhimmis.

3.3. A City Expert: Walter Hawley

Walter Hawley (1918, pp. 286-287) was another traveler who made a series of inferences about Ankara's urban structure, the non-Muslim elements, and the Muslim population in short but simple terms. He said that, like Barkley, one of the most remarkable things in the city was the rugged and uphill streets. The traveler said that the topographic structure of the city was caused by the fact that it was founded on a hill in the middle of two different streams coming out of the Sakarya River. Just like the emigrants mentioned above, the lack of trees and greenery were other things that disturbed and surprised him. But what is interesting, sidewalks had not been built for the comfort of pedestrians. In his words, the masters of the city were horse carriages. The noise emitted by carts passing through cobbled streets was as bad and discordant as musicals in different amateur theatres of Europe. Moreover, the fact that a good part of the streets was only a few feet wide, made the houses which were oppositely lined up, so close to each other that, it was possible to pass from balcony to balcony and barged in through the open windows on the upper floors. This situation caused negativity. It was unlikely that streets and houses would see the sun and get enough light, especially during the winter months (Hawley, 1918, pp. 286-287).

As can be understood from what has been narrated so far, the plain, unpretentious, and barren state of the city had been the general impression of the people who visited Ankara and the people from all walks of life who lived in the city. However, the thing set apart Hawley from the others was that the traveler also made inferences about the general appearance of the population living in the city. In his words, the Greeks occupied important places in business life. Those who were connected to this congregation were easily noticed by avoiding mingling with the crowd with their high collar stylish redingotes and frock coats. The Muslims, on the other hand, had the opposite appearance and were clearly demonstrating their ignorance. They wore strange clothes regardless of befitted or not. This was a symbol of the poverty of the east. In this manner, Muslims wandered around without knowing what they were doing, like a flock of sheep scattered in all directions (Hawley, 1918, p. 287).

First of all, the fact the traveler did not mention about the Armenians, reinforces the possibility that he made instantaneous inferences and wrote down what came to his mind at that moment. On the other hand, his insulting and biased perspective towards Muslims was nothing more than a manifestation of a struggle that went back a long way. This was the manifestation of Westerners' negative viewpoint and prejudices that are constantly present in their subconscious towards the Easterners.

The traveler also stated that the main boulevard in the middle of the city, which stretched forth from a southeast to a northwest direction, was about a mile long. This was also the measure of the widest distance between the fortification walls surrounding Ankara. Because the said boulevard intersected with the walls from the deepest and widest point in parallel (Hawley, 1918, p. 292).

3.4. A Muslim Sympathizer: Fred Burnaby

The travel books had made various inferences about similarities or differences between non-Muslims residing in Ankara and the Muslim Turkish population. These included a wide range of aspects, from the

weaknesses and strengths of both communities to their positive or negative behaviors and from clothing to eating and drinking habits. The general view was that non-Muslim elements were in a much better condition by comparison with Muslims. However, in some cases, travelers could stand with Muslims against Christians.

Considering Ankara, the most typical example was probably Fred Burnaby. The traveler referred to the region including Ankara as Armenia. He also said that the reasons for the Turks not accepting Armenians into their homes had finally dawned upon him. To him, it was the appropriate decision. However, he added that well-mannered and tender-hearted Muslims sometimes contravened the principles and hosted the poor Armenians in their homes (Burnaby, 1877, p. 132). Burnaby (1877, p. 132) stated that in similar cases, the hosts carefully and meticulously covered the mattresses and sofas on which they would sit their guests, with different clothes and fabrics. Because the traveler claimed that the Armenians were as filthy as to be disgusted. Also, they were spreading a terrible smell and both their clothes and their houses were impenetrable from vermin and germs. The Turks, on the contrary, were quite clean and they had become famous for bathing. At this point, the traveler could not hide his admiration for Muslims because they were hosting those who had dehumanized because of the dirt and filth patiently and sincerely. Indeed, as an English gentleman, if he endured the same situation and hosted these poor 'skunks' in his house, he would throw away or destroy whatever they had touched after sent off his guests.

Burnaby's opinions were unusual and far from expected. So, they were remarkable. Moreover, the traveler's interest and eulogies towards the Turks were not limited to this much. In his words, although the Muslim women of Ankara lived without respecting the Turkish manners and apart from the traditional Turkish customs, the men were very helpful and hospitable. The traveler also shared a story he heard with his readers to strengthen his claim. Accordingly, an evangelist missionary named Thompson who traveled from Black Sea Region to Ankara reached a town on the road quite late, and when he found out that the only inn, he could accommodate was full, he laid out his coat over the ground and spent the night in the garden of the inn under the stars and in the open air. He had not even fallen asleep yet and felt a hand gently touching his shoulder, opened his eyes, and saw an old Turk leaning over him. When the man asked him with great kindness why he was sleeping there, the missionary explained the reason and could not hide his astonishment in the face of the answer he received. Because the old man called out to him thus and so: "*No way! This is not true. You are more than welcome. Surely, you're God's gift to us.*" After these words, Thompson was hosted in the old man's home, and he was not charged a fee for the clean bed offered to him that night and the breakfast in the next morning (Burnaby, 1877, p. 147).

This interest and respect that a Muslim showed him greatly excited and amazed Burnaby. The traveler, while reviewing this incident, in the exact opposite situation, that is, in his own country, he thought what would happen if a similar event was encountered and came to the following conclusion: "*No Englishman would show this kindness, and would not host a Muslim in his house. This opportunity would not even be enabled to Christians*" (Burnaby, 1877, p. 148).

Similarly, Hamilton (1842, p. 423) said, he was hosted very well during his visit to Ankara. He stated that he did not encounter any issues that might require to complain about the hospitality of Turks or Armenians. On the contrary, he expressed that especially Armenians showed an interest in the books that he brought with him, and they were very proud to welcome him in their homes. Although it is not clear what kind of books the traveler was carrying, it was very likely these were religious works that referred to the teachings and principles of Christianity.

The travelers also made observations about the home life and habits of the communities in Ankara, especially the Turks and Armenians, and wrote their opinions and thoughts. Perhaps the travel book which was penned by Burnaby revealed the most satisfying and detailed information about Ankara's social history from the perspective of a Westerner. In this context, what the traveler saw at the dinner invitation given by a Turk in his honor was quite remarkable. The traveler said they were hosted in the most garish part of the house, in the guest room, specially designed for visitors. One of the most common habits of Turks was to share the most valuable of what they had with their guests. This matter was relapsed once again on the issue of hospitality. In the room, the musicians were waiting for their guests with banjo-like musical instruments in their hands. The guest of honor was a Westerner, and the event expected at such a worthy banquet was soon realized. As soon as the traveler entered the hall, curious glances turned towards him. The only thing that made Burnaby happy in the room, where the smell of cigarette smoke and hookah reached terrifying dimensions, was that the attention was tending entirely at him. The first person who contacted with the guest

of honor was the Pasha's son. This situation revealed the fact that he was the most competent and respected Turk in the room. The young man declared to his guest that he felt apprehension about whether the music he would listen to would suit his taste. He also added Turkish music had different tones and melodies than a Westerner was accustomed to. The traveler thought the same about it, but what excited him was the wooziness and inferiority complex of the son of the most competent person in the city. Burnaby felt this psychological mood from the man's attitude. This was nothing more than an expression of the pitiful situation that many easterners, with or without intellectual depth, felt towards the western world. The traveler said that this music which had a strange ferocity and pitiful tones, resonated dolefully and correspondingly and the guests had to stop their conversation involuntarily. He thought that the instruments emitted a strange sound. These sounds were evoking a large explosion or noise caused by an eerie collision. All the more interesting was the audience's reaction to the music. Namely, those who were excited tune by the tune they were listening to in Europe showed their admiration by hitting the ground with their feet. In this small but impressive Muslim town, a similar mood took the form of swinging heads from right to left (Burnaby, 1877, p. 140).

Burnaby had other things to say about that night. The dinner time of the night, which the traveler tried to depict based on rich inferences and analyses, was also very interesting. He started his words by stating the Turkish cuisine was at least as surprising as Turkish folk music. Because the orchestra had reached a tempo that was almost racing from a semi-slow tone, and in doing so, as if it wanted to put people to sleep, was touching the wires of the instruments silently. In the same way, the people in the kitchen first served a meal which was as sweet as honey to their guests, and then they had upset their stomachs with a sour sauce that would not better than vinegar. Then a strange fish dish was served to the guests in the consistency of jelly or custard. It tasted strange because, despite being seafood, the fish had soaked into a sweet sauce. Soup and pastry were served after fish. The other varieties of dinner were meatballs, fruit, raisins, cream, different types of salads, a bowl of rice, and red wine (Burnaby, 1877, pp. 141-142).

The list presented by the traveler did not exactly reflect the traditional Turkish cuisine. It was not usual for wine and similar alcoholic beverages to be found on the table openly. The trueness of this information is debatable. If it was true, the fact that the guest was a respected Westerner strengthened the possibility of bringing the wine to the table. However, there were also oddities about the arrangement of the menu. The fish which could be only a main course was soaked in a sweet sauce and the soup served after the main course was not related to the customs and habits of the Turkish people (Önal, 2022, pp. 37-49). Probably the hosts had prepared a menu that they thought was more suited to Westerners than their own style. In this way, while they wanted to make the traveler happy and fascinating him, on the contrary, they were ridiculed.

Burnaby also made different types of inferences about what he witnessed during and after the meal. Primarily the number of servants was greater than the guests. It was a kind of show of strength. It was also an attempt to prove that an Easterner was at least as rich and powerful as a Westerner. All of the servants, twenty in number, lined up in one row. They were waiting for instructions to be delivered to them. When the host pointed to the head maid, the action was taken and the plates were moved from hand to hand with great order and regularity to reach the table. The rhythmic movements of the guests, who sat on chairs around a high and wide table, were also admirable. In accordance with Turkish customs and traditions, meals were eaten by hand without spoons and forks. The Italian doctor and the British Vice-Consul having the advantage of being in Ankara for a long time had easily performed this habit peculiar to East. Burnaby, on the other hand, had some difficulties in obeying the rules. Besides, there was an obligation to follow the hierarchy while eating. Namely, the kadi should not have plunged his fingers into the plate before the pasha. Also, a captain should know his place and be sensitive not to act before his colonel. After the meal, the maids poured water into the guests' hands, and this ritual was performed in turn, taking into account the rank and social position (Burnaby, 1877, p. 142).

3.5. A Different Perspective, An Important Figure: William Hamilton

It is not surprising that the 19th century travelers provided detailed and satisfying information about Ankara's social history and social structure. However, travelers also paid attention to religious matters and made contact with the public in this sense. They sometimes expressed an opinion on political issues and tried to guide and motivate missionaries who were struggling for the sake of evangelism. One of the most prominent examples in this regard was Hamilton. He pointed to a very important issue in the Ankara section

of his trip diary, which he wrote as a result of his Asia Minor voyage, and revealed a practice that was common in the Armenian population and presented a serious danger. He claimed that the Turks were arbitrarily detaching Armenian children from their families. In addition, these children were denying their religion by virtue of horror and anxiety. He, in particular, said that an unnamed imam was taking the lead in this connection and that he perceived it as a jihadist movement. Undoubtedly, the boys were more preferable. He also declared that the Muslims did not give any information about the fate of the children, whom they had taken away from their families with great violence and brutality. Parents in tears, on the other hand, were looking forward to their children's arrival. According to him, two of the boys had been circumcised. Hamilton stated that the imam, in the vanguard of this brutal attitude, did not stop himself although he was afraid of what might happen in the face of the prospect of the central government was aware of what was going on. No doubt, as a result of this situation, this man who was miserable, despicable, and devoid of any moral values would lose everything he had, and would be drowned in the darkness he was trapped in (Hamilton, 1842, pp. 428-429).

On the other hand, it was quite evident that the traveler bore positive feelings about the central government, and he believed if the Sublime Porte was aware of the events; it would take a position in favor of the Christian minorities. This can be comprehended by the fact that the Ottoman Empire tried to be neutral in general, especially in the conflicts between the non-Muslim elements and Muslims. There was a general belief among Western travelers that the Ottoman Empire was trying to synthesize events fairly and impartially. It is conceivable that Hamilton had similar feelings and expressed his beliefs involuntarily. Nevertheless, the following lines, which reveal the traveler's political stance and his desire to re-map the Anatolian lands, do not escape from the attention of readers:

“Every incident that happened to me, every experience I gained, showed me the fact that for humanity, civilization and economic evolution, the rule of this country by the Russians instead of the Turks would produce much more preferable results. However, other European powers were going to be troubled with this development, which would give Russia exaggerated strength and influence. But in this age, I mean, in the 19th century, is there another way to prevent the existence of the Turks in Europe and get rid of this infamous community, which meant nothing but a disgrace to all Christian nations? It's high time to drive Muslims back to the natural borders that they deserve and to confine all Muhammad's followers to the geography of Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Iran, and Tatarstan. Thus, the Rumelia region and the reputation of Istanbul would be returned and the said territories were going to become Greek lands once more. The Greeks, who are unable to stand today, will be saved by such a magnificent reform movement from being the rodents of a country that was plunged into darkness and lost its humanitarian values. By this means, they will rule one of the world's most precious capitals in a sort of way worthy of their name. This will also give them the opportunity to dominate the western coasts and islands of Asia Minor. At the same time, the possibility of the formation of an Armenian kingdom that will keep equipoise between Europeans and Muslims will be enabled. By extension, relations between Europeans and Muslims will be partially normalized. The fact that Armenians are Christians and adopted the traditions and habits unique to Asians will give them, unlimited opportunities and advantages playing a part in conciliation. This kingdom will rule over wide geography that included the regions of Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Phrygia. When the influence and energy of the Armenians in the field of trade is combined with the rich underground resources of Anatolia, a remarkable result will emerge. These opportunities offered to mankind will bring peace to the West and save this unfortunate geography of the earth from being ruined in the hands of the East. On the other hand, if this wonderful dream is turned into reality, the Turks will be the other winner of this incredible success. The Turks, who will return to their homeland Tatarstan, will perhaps be freed from the infirmity, moral breakdown, and corruption they have been caught in. Moreover, having a healthier and more responsive mood will remind them of the mistakes they made in the past. Probably, these unfortunate sons of the East will reach the prescription of salvation and melt in the pot of Christianity, who knows?” (Hamilton, 1842, p. 429).

These lines, penned by Hamilton in the first half of the 19th century, give insight into the Western world's dreams of the future of the Ottoman Empire. With these statements, Hamilton tried to reflect in the most understandable way the desire of Anatolia to be redesigned, in other words, to be shaped in a different direction by the powerful and influential countries of the West. These sentences also reveal that travelers

who visit Asia Minor frequently may have different aims other than to travel. In this context, the East is actually valuable. However, the Muslims, who invaded the Asia Minor, tried to instill an old mentality in this region that has made it worthless and reduced it to a despicable position. There is no doubt that Westerners will develop, nurture, and grow this perception. The borders of all the states that will own these lands in the future have been drawn from today. Accordingly, the future fate of Turkey was tried to be determined.

4. CONCLUSION

Travel books are indispensable and essential sources of reference on the history of countries and cities. The fact that they based solely on observations and were written in plain language increased their readability. It is also possible to capture many overlooked details through travel books. In this respect, Ankara, like other important cities of the Ottoman Empire, was frequently visited by Western travelers. The city has attracted the attention of travelers throughout history. This point reveals another fact. As it is claimed, Ankara has not been a poor town in the middle of Anatolia from past to present. On the contrary, Ankara has always been a prominent city economically, militarily, and culturally. From this point of view, it is useful to look at travel books to get to know Ankara and to find answers to a number of questions that occur in minds. Researchers can benefit from the travel books for issues such as recognizing the conditions of the city and understanding how it has developed over time. In this article, the Western travelers who visited Ankara from the 16th to the 19th century were briefly touched on. Then, the inferences of five important travelers visiting the city in the 19th century related to Ankara were mentioned.

For centuries, the opportunities offered by the Anatolian lands home to the Muslim Turkish population, have been remarkably attractive for different states and societies throughout history. Especially during the period of Ottoman rule, it can be said that this interest reached its peak. The greatest pressure, however, originated from the Western world, which had a completely different mental construct and perception of the Ottoman state and society. It is undeniable that Westerners, or more accurately Europeans, have shown great curiosity towards anything they perceived as different from their own, and have developed a highly sensitive approach to understanding. Their greatest enthusiasm in this regard has been towards uncovering the secrets of the Ottoman Empire, which is quite understandable and reasonable. Indeed, with its ability to seamlessly bring together not only Muslim elements but also, for centuries, those who were different from itself in terms of religious understanding, belief, culture, and traditional norms, without largely marginalizing them, a state like the Ottoman Empire naturally arouses curiosity.

On the other hand, another factor that fuels this interest and excitement is the psychology of belonging. For a Westerner, both today and certainly throughout history, the lands inhabited by the Muslim Turkish population have never belonged to them and never will. The aim to send back a community that originated from the steppes and plains of Central Asia, no matter how lofty its ideals and how unshakeable its empires, to its ancient homeland, also constitutes one of the main veins of Orientalism. The fact that such an irrational conception of the East, implanted in Western minds through an imaginative and fictional construction process, produces such a result is also a highly understandable situation.

Especially in 19th-century Western literature, numerous examples can be found regarding the literature of belonging. However, it can easily be stated that the most important source feeding this literature is travel books. In various types of works penned sometimes by clandestine diplomats, sometimes by ordinary researchers, occasionally by missionaries, and sometimes by travelers with no other purpose than exploration, one can witness countless examples of this trauma, which almost turns into a Western obsession. After the stages of recognition and belonging, the phase of competition and influence begins. Through this process, Western researchers observed every detail of the Ottoman Empire with great meticulousness and seriousness, documenting their findings in detail and reaching a rich corpus of written sources.

The cynical and condescending style of Western travelers towards the Eastern world is the common trait of the travel writings and books penned about Ankara in the 19th century. For them, Ankara is a typical example reflecting the mystery and backwardness of the East. The curiosity, ignorance, attitudes, and behaviors of the people reveal this situation frightfully. The only way to tear people away from this situation is to acquaint them with the values and beliefs of the West.

It can be assumed that the most radical example in this regard is William J. Hamilton. He did not only mention Ankara's backwardness and misery. At the same time, he made inferences about the fate of the city by producing different solutions. His ideas were very assertive. Hamilton had very big dreams. He had

presented a proposal that would determine the fate of the whole of Asia Minor. The goal was to re-map Anatolia. On the other hand, there was also an opposite example. Fred Burnaby had made inferences in favor of Muslims against non-Muslims in Ankara many times. The traveler's comments about the Turks were more moderate and tolerant. However, nothing could prevent the prejudices of the travel books towards Ankara, especially the Muslim population.

As a result, the reality that the travel books, which are of utmost importance to shed light on a city's past, were penned by a biased perspective should never be ignored. In this article, the situation of Ankara in the 19th century was tried to be evaluated through the eyes of some Western travelers by taking into consideration the missing and flawed aspects.



This study does not necessitate approval from an ethics committee.

Notes on the Article

The article has been meticulously crafted in adherence to the principles of research and publication ethics.

The entire process of the research was carried out by the sole declared author of the article.

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