NEW INTERPRETATIONS OF DOMESTIC SPACE AND LIFE: THE EMERGENCE OF APARTMENT BUILDINGS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY İSTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis attempts to study the architectural and the social changes brought by the multi-story apartment buildings which emerged in the nineteenth century İstanbul, in especially Galata-Pera region. A brief introduction to the modernization attempts of the Ottoman Empire, and also to the traditional dwellings and daily life of the Ottoman households before the nineteenth century constitute the first sections of the study. The architectural and the urban developments such as the new building regulations, architectural styles and building types as well as the social and cultural changes that brought new cultural habits and life styles in the modernization period, are also studied in this context. A group of apartments with different plans, size and locations are chosen as a sample so as to point out and discuss the layout of the constituent spaces like the halls, foyers, corridors, substantial rooms and wet spaces. Respectively the changing meaning of the 'house' and daily life are also pointed out. In relation to these, facade organizations, plans, functional and spatial features and the privacy of spaces in the sample apartment buildings and their flats, and the daily life and the privacy of the apartment residents are studied and discussed in comparison to the traditional Ottoman house and the contemporary Parisian

apartments to present a comparative perspective. Consequently, ‘similarities’, ‘differences’, and ‘innovations’ concerning the nineteenth century İstanbul apartments are discussed and listed at the end of the thesis. Several tables which are designed to contribute to the arguments presented in the study are also added to the thesis.

Key words: Nineteenth century İstanbul, Galata-Pera, apartment buildings, spatial features, privacy.

ÖZ

KONUT MEKANI VE YAŞAMI ÜZERİNE YENİ YORUMLAR: ONDOKUZUNCU YÜZYILDA İSTANBUL'DA APARTMANLARIN ORTAYA ÇIKIŞI

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Bu tez on dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonlarında İstanbul ve özellikle Galata-Pera bölgesinde yapılmaya başlanan apartmanların ortaya çıkardığı mimari ve kültürel değişimleri çalışacaktır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki modernleşme çabaları ve on dokuzuncu yüzyıl öncesi geleneksel Osmanlı evi ve gündelik yaşamı tezin ilk bölümlerini oluşturmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, batılılaşma döneminde geliştirilen yeni imar düzenlemeleri, mimari akımlar ve bina tipolojilerini de içeren mimari ve kentsel düzenlemelerle, yeni kültürel alışkanlıkları ve yaşam tarzlarını kapsayan sosyal ve kültürel değişimler de çalışılmıştır. Değişik plan, boyut ve konumlamalara sahip bir grup apartman binası hol, giriş holleri, koridorlar, 'yaşama' mekanları ve ıslak mekanlar gibi mekanlara dikkat çekmek ve tartışmak için örnek olarak ele alınmıştır. 'Ev' ve gündelik yaşamın değişen anlamları da ayrıca ele alınmıştır. Apartmanlardaki cephe düzenlemeleri, planlar, işlevsel ve mekansal özellikler ve mekanlardaki mahremiyet, ve gündelik yaşam ve oturanların mahremiyeti geleneksel Osmanlı evi ve çağdaş Paris apartmanları ile bir karşılaştırma oluşturacak şekilde çalışılmıştır. Sonuç olarak İstanbul apartmanlarında ortaya çıkan 'benzerlikler',

‘farklılıklar’ ve ‘yenilikler’ tartışılmış ve sıralanmıştır. Ayrıca ileri sürülen tezlere katkı sağlamak amacıyla oluşturulan çeşitli tablolar çalışmanın sonuna eklemiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: On dokuzuncu yüzyıl İstanbul’u, Galata-Pera, apartmanlar, mekansal özellikler, mahremiyet

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The social and political changes influenced the domestic architecture and lifestyle in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. The multi-story apartment building which emerged in this period was a significant development as it became the basic housing model for the next century.

The reform movements in the Ottoman Empire were directed to the West in the beginning of the eighteenth century. However the declaration of the Tanzimat Edict in 1839 is generally accepted as the beginning of the Westernization movements in the Ottoman Empire. The Sultans of the pre-Tanzimat period mostly focused on the innovations in the army and the educational system. The foundation of printing houses, the establishment of new army and navy troops, the translation of scientific books, the foundation of the first conservatory and the first cabinet, the introduction of the first census and the first official newspaper were among the important reforms of the pre-Tanzimat period. Another crucial development was to send ambassadors to European countries, who returned with observations and impressions about the countries in which they stayed. Their reports on the culture, architecture and military forces of those countries were significant in developing and shaping the reform movements.

The Tanzimat Edict declared in 1839 was of great significance because it introduced secular laws as oppose to the Muslim canonical laws and emphasized ‘rights’ in every aspect. Among the many reforms of the Tanzimat and post-Tanzimat periods were the modernization of tax system, printing of paper money, foundation of banks, emergence of the civil code and the introduction of new social and cultural attractions such as theatres, painting, ballet and western music. In the process towards Westernization and secularization, in terms of social and cultural changes, France was the most powerful and influential model for the Ottoman Empire.

New building regulations and building types were introduced in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century as a part of the Westernization attempts. The restrictions about the form and the dimensions of roads, taking necessary measurements to prevent fires, regulations for the use of construction materials were among the new building regulations. In addition in 1857 the 'Sixth Bureau' the first modern municipality was formed to serve the Galata-Pera district in İstanbul.

Many new building types emerged during the nineteenth century. Among the new public buildings introduced for the first time were the governmental buildings, office and bank buildings, hotels and theaters. In the domestic context on the other hand new buildings included the summerhouses, row-houses and the apartment buildings.[1] Summerhouses of the elite began to be built on the shores of Bosphorus from the beginning of the eighteenth century while the row-houses in the nineteenth century. Row-houses however were generally built for the moderate income groups and were smaller compared to the large summerhouses of the elite. Multi-story apartment building which was occupied mostly by the upper-middle classes and allowed for a dense occupation started to be built from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and has become a model for later developments in housing in Turkey.

Many of the social changes started in the Galata-Pera district in İstanbul where most of the population consisted of non-Muslim Ottomans and Europeans. With an increase in its population this quarter continued to develop throughout the nineteenth century. The stone and palatial buildings, different leisure spaces such as theaters, operas, restaurants, and departments stores were first seen in this area. Since imported Western goods also became highly popular (starting first among the upper classes) in the nineteenth century, in time Pera became the shopping district selling European goods. Thus going to Pera and wandering around became a fashion especially after the new transportation means like ferries, trains and tramcars made traveling easier in between different parts of İstanbul. The newly emerging lifestyle of Galata-Pera was gradually absorbed by the non-Muslims and finally attracted the Muslim population into this area as inhabitants of apartment flats. First apartment

[1] These three dwelling types are taken from Yücel (1996).

buildings were built in the Galata-Pera district. Among the various reasons for the emergence of such buildings in this region were the trading activities and the housing need of the tradesmen who were based in Galata-Pera district, the post-fire construction regulations, the close relations with the West and the Westerners and the will to live in a 'modern' and Western style.

Among the other new dwelling types of the period the apartment building is chosen as the focus of this study since it changed the notion of house, gradually replaced the attached or detached single family house and became the dominant dwelling model after the Republican period, and especially after 1950s.

The context of this study is İstanbul, in particular the Galata-Pera district since the changes started from here. The period covered is the one between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A number of scholars, such as Kıray (1979), Denel (1982), Yücel (1996), Bilgin (1996), Sunalp (1999), Kaprol (1999), and Merey Enlil (1999) studied apartment buildings and domestic architecture in the late Ottoman period in different scopes and detail. In addition there are other scholars who briefly studied apartment buildings such as Çelik (1996) and Akın (1998). However architectural studies concerning the plans of early apartment buildings are not many and are generally limited to well-known examples such as *Doğan Apartmanı*. So among the few published plans about less-known apartments those previously studied by Alp Sunalp are taken as a sample since they were already drawn into scale and moreover, exhibit a variety of apartment buildings in terms of size, and location in different parts of Galata-Pera district. The drawings are revised by the author to be able to point out the spaces such as halls, foyers, corridors, rooms and wet spaces and the square meters of the individual spaces.

The nineteenth century developments constitute a significant part of the first section of the study but the improvements in the previous and the later periods were also of great importance and hence are briefly mentioned. In this respect it should also be

noted that the study focuses on the life of the upper-middle class since the social changes were experienced firstly and mostly by this social group.[2]

To be able to trace the changes, innovations and new interpretations in the context of apartment buildings it is essential to present a comparative framework. In this sense the traditional Ottoman house as the contemporary and the dominant dwelling type was introduced so as to compare the development and use of the apartment flats. Respectively it is argued whether the classical plan scheme of the traditional Ottoman house that included rooms and transitional spaces organized around a *sofa* was adopted in the İstanbul apartment flats or not. Likewise, as the European counterpart of the Ottoman apartments, the Parisian apartment buildings and the social life in the nineteenth century Paris are also included for a comparative focus from West, from where the Ottomans adopted several new features in remodeling their public and private institutions. The close political relations with France, the admiration of the Western culture and especially of the French culture by the Ottomans, the similarities between the Parisian and the Ottoman apartment plans, and the common understanding of apartment flat as a fashionable and desirable dwelling type, are emphasized in order to demonstrate how and in which ways the nineteenth century apartments were different or similar in both contexts. In this respect the plan schemes of the Parisian apartments that included similar spatial relationships and that evolved throughout time in its local context are also studied briefly.

Respectively the purpose of this study is to bring forth the new interpretations of spatial layout and lifestyle in the domestic context of early apartments in nineteenth century Galata-Pera region and also to provide a brief comparative framework both with the contemporary apartments in Paris and the earlier traditional Ottoman house scheme. It is hoped that this study will bring together the earlier and the more recent studies on the late nineteenth century Ottoman apartment buildings to be able to demonstrate the new features concerning the architectural and spatial configuration and use of the apartment flats that spread into İstanbul first from Galata-Pera region.

[2] Most of the published studies focus on upper or upper-middle classes since the available sources provide information more on these social groups.

CHAPTER 2

MODERNIZATION OF THE OTTOMAN STATE AND CULTURE

2.1. Reforms for Westernization

From the thirteenth century onwards, Western Europe entered into a process of economical change. In between the thirteenth century and the sixteenth century Western Europe gradually became superior in terms of technology, compared to the other parts of the world following the rise of the national states in the sixteenth century, the emphasis given to individualization in the Renaissance Movement, the destruction of the universal idea of the church with the Reform Movements, the geographical discoveries and the colonization movements caused by economical progress (Kılıçbay, 1985: 147-148). It gained a leading position in spreading its economy and culture to the world. The now powerful Europe influenced and ultimately forced other states to enter into a process of Westernization. Powerful states of the period, like the Ottoman Empire which had political ties with the West, or India and China which had commercial relations with the West, initially resisted to the progress, but soon adapted it in many ways to prevent the apparent recession. Indeed the two treatises signed at the beginning of the eighteenth century already manifested the fact that the Ottoman Empire lost its military superiority, and was no longer a military or an economic rival to Europe (Kılıçbay, 1985: 147-148).

The Ottoman reform movements were directed to the West since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The reform movements in the late eighteenth and in the beginning of the nineteenth centuries were initiated by different sultans, and grand viziers including Ahmed III, Abdülhamid I, Selim III and Mahmud II. Reforms mostly focused on the innovations concerning the army and the educational system. The content and the direction of modernization were initiated according to the educational, military, and political organization of Europe, and ‘democracy’, ‘human rights’, ‘representative system’ and ‘republic’ were accepted as model concepts.

During the reign of Ahmed III (1703-1730), the first printing house was established and books on science, geography and history were published.[3] Ambassadors were also sent to Paris and Vienna in this period. From the 1660s onwards France became the most powerful European country to exert influence on East especially on the Ottoman Empire.[4] This was the result of the close relations established by some French ambassadors and well-educated translators who had political interactions with the Ottoman intelligentsia. On the other hand Ottomans also sent two ambassadors, Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi Mehmet in 1721 and Mehmet Said Efendi in 1740, to Paris to be informed about the politics and also to observe the culture and the new social developments. For Mantran (2001: 264) this was the initial step of opening to the West.

Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi was sent to Paris for social and political reasons; first of all for establishing a friendship between France and the Ottoman Empire, and then for signing an alliance with France against Austria; although he could not succeed in this latter mission. According to his memoirs it took 46 days for him and his entourage of 80 people to get to Paris (Uçman, 1975: 11). He was welcomed with great curiosity and kindness by the King and the French people. He had seen the magnificent palaces and thus was very impressed from the garden organizations, the enormous size of the palaces and the gardens, and the number and spaciousness of rooms (Uçman, 1975: 64-71). He had seen 'two opera plays', 'the surgery room of the Versailles Palace', 'rug and mirror ateliers' and an 'observatory'. He was surprised how French women were respected and were acknowledged by men (Uçman, 1975: 24-25). It is apparent from his notes that he was influenced very much from the culture, the architecture and the new technological developments in Paris[5] (Denel, 1982: 18). His visit and accordingly his notes and opinions on the

[3] The establishment of a publishing house and the printing of books were not approved by the conservatives who claimed that they were damaging the nation's social and religious values (Mantran, 2001: 274).

[4] The second country that acknowledged the new regime in France after the revolution was the Ottoman Empire (Berkes, 2004: 121).

[5] He wrote his memoirs, named *Le Paradis des Infidèles* (*Kafirlerin Cenneti*), Mantran (2001: 269). His notes were influential for the emergence of the new 'royal' architecture of the Tulip period (1718-1730) (Kuban, 1996: 313).

French culture were influential for developing the later reforms of modernization in the Ottoman Empire (Uçman, 1975: 13-14) as stated also in Mantran (2001: 269).

Abdülhamid I (1774-1789) on the other hand worked on military reforms; he consulted foreign technical experts and attempted to reorganize the army by establishing new artillery troops (*topçu sınıfı*). Local industry, especially the textile industry, was also improved during his reign (Mantran, 2001: 274).

In the reign of Selim III (1789-1807) permanent ambassadors were sent to European countries starting from 1793 but only until the end of the eighteenth century.[6] The Ottoman administration began to resent ambassadors to Europe in 1821.[7] Among the renovations in the army and the navy in this period were the newly established janissary corps and the mounted troops, the newly founded *Nizam-ı Cedid*, a new artillery educated in the European way, and a military engineering school. During this period many scientific books were translated into Turkish, and Ottoman writers published books in foreign languages (Kılıçbay, 1985: 149).

Mahmud II (1808-1839) started a wider reform program that led to the Tanzimat Edict. Among the most radical changes were the abolishment of janissary corps and the establishment of a modern army educated by foreign teachers. Permanent ambassadors continued to be sent to European countries and the Ottoman economy opened up to the outside world especially by the diplomats who, with some knowledge of the West and foreign languages, traveled to Europe and kept journals that contained valuable observations, comments and suggestions on military, financial, economic and social issues. The first conservatory (*Müzika-i Hümayun*), the first cabinet (*Heyet-i Vükela*), elementary schools (*sıbyan okulları*), high school (*Rüştiye*), school of politics (*Mülkiye*), military college (*Harbiye*) and medical school (*Tıbbiye*) were also founded in this period. The first census, the first official newspaper, the establishment of a postal office and a new fire brigade were among

[6] Ambassadors were sent first to London than to Berlin, Madrid and Vienna (Berkes, 2004: 99).

[7] Before the reign of Selim III, ambassadors were sent only when it was necessary; for example to inform about the victories, and to renew contracts. However European countries attempted to have permanent embassies in İstanbul after the conquest of the city (Denel, 1982: 6).

the other significant developments (Kaptan, 1993: 163). Social innovations like the introduction of a weekly holiday (Can, 1999: 136), as well as reformations in the clothing like the prohibition of the turban (*sarık*), were also realized in the period of Mahmud II. Mahmud II also made it mandatory for his officers to dress in European clothes (Bareilles, 2003: 75-76).

The Tanzimat Edict was the natural outcome of the reforms of the above mentioned sultans. The reforms of earlier sultans and the relationships with the Western countries inevitably led to wider reforms and official attempts in formalizing a new order. The Tanzimat Edict or *Gülhane Hattı Hümayunu* declared by the grand vizier of the period, Mustafa Reşid Paşa, on 3rd of November in 1839 during the reign of Abdülmecid (1839-1861) was of great significance because of its emphasis on 'rights' in every aspect. The Ottoman Empire had long been shaped according to the Muslim canonical laws. Tanzimat period however, introduced secular laws. Accordingly it was foremost stated that all citizens should be treated equally, should be judged according to laws, and the taxes would be paid in proportion to properties and income.[8] In addition to this, the tax system was westernized, paper money (banknote) was printed, banks were founded, and the system of conscription has changed.

The Tanzimat Edict led to important changes in the society, and the idea of Westernization – modernization, secularization – which would become the significant issue in the Republican period initially came forth in this period. There was a profound change in the cultural habits as well. Literary books such as novels, theatres, painting, ballet and western music were introduced to a wider population after the Tanzimat. The organization of musical shows, theater plays and balls was tolerated by the Sultan, and Abdülaziz personally participated in some of these occasions (Fig. 1). These social changes affected mostly the Ottoman elite but, as a turning point in the Ottoman history, they also accelerated the later reforms.

[8] The Ottoman nobility enthusiastically opposed to the Edict claiming that it was against Islamist beliefs and Ottoman traditions (at the same time endangering their personal possessions) (Mantran, 2001: 278).

The later sultans continued the reforms. In 1856 the Islahat Edict was declared. In contrast to the Tanzimat Edict which was initiated and fulfilled by the Ottoman administration itself, the decreeing of the Islahat Edict was forced by England and France. It not only reemphasized the main principles of the Tanzimat Edict, but also brought developments on individual rights, especially for the minorities. *Mecelle*, the civil code, was put into operation, the first girls' school was founded in 1858, primary education became mandatory in 1869 (Doğan, 2001: 135), Turkish language gained importance with the teaching of it as a profession, and the School of Fine Arts was founded following the Islahat Edict. In 1864 the Faculty of Literature (*Edebiyat Fakültesi*) and the School of Industry for men (*Sanayi Mektebi*), the first official language school for educating officers on foreign languages, and in 1869 the School of Industry for Girls (*Kız Sanayi Mektebi*) were opened.

The sultans of the nineteenth century including Abdülmecid, Abdülaziz and Murat V, were also interested in the western culture and they all learnt French. In 1867 Abdülaziz went to France upon the call of Napoleon III and then to Vienna. Indeed he became the first Ottoman Sultan who visited a Western country.

In 1876 the first constitution called as *Kanuni Esasi* was signed by Abdülhamid II. This was a constitution similar to the ones in the Western countries, and was anticipating a National Assembly, *Meclis-i Mebusan*, and a senate, *Heyet-i Âyan*, whose members were chosen by the sultan. The deputies voted for the acts, and the budget. In 1878 the constitution was suspended by the sultan due to the Russian War that started in 1877. After the suspension of the constitution Abdülhamid II adopted an attitude favoring Ottoman and Islamic roots, but Western influence also continued to diffuse into the Empire. The constitution was again brought into force in 1908. With it the individual rights were taken under guarantee, the censorship of the press came to an end and, the rights for voting were expanded. The rights for the foundation of associations and meetings were also added to the constitution.[9]

[9] See Karal (1962), Kuran (1991), Öztuna (1998), Karal (1999), Quataert (2002) and Berkes (2004) for general information on the eighteenth and nineteenth century reforms and changes in the Ottoman Empire.

2.2. Architectural Program in the Period of Modernization

As in the West, modernization was also manifested in the architectural program of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century during which, new building types and new building regulations were introduced. The new regulations and laws were organized to improve the general architectural and constructional standards and to eliminate the differences between Muslims' and non-Muslims' building activities. In addition to the already existing building types including the military, religious, educational, health and industrial buildings (Batur, 1985a: 1055-1066), new building types were introduced. Among these were governmental buildings, commercial buildings, theatres, hotels and the new dwelling types like the row-houses, summerhouses and the multi-story apartment buildings.

Among the most radical changes during the nineteenth century was the movement of the palace from the city center to the periphery as in the other contemporary Western cities. Moreover more royal residences were built from the eighteenth century onwards. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries many sultans like Ahmed III, Mahmud I, Osman III and Mustafa III, temporarily moved to summer palaces such as *Beşiktaş Sahil Sarayı*, *Tersane Kasrı* or *Sâdâbâd Köşkü*. It was Sultan Abdülmecid who finally abandoned Topkapı Palace and moved to Dolmabahçe Palace in 1856 thus putting an end to the long-established palace life and presence in Sarayburnu area in İstanbul (İrez, 1989: 20) (Fig. 2).

An important characteristic of the nineteenth century Ottoman architecture was its adaptation of Western architectural and decorative trends in a profound way. However the western impacts on the Ottoman architecture can well be observed starting from the beginning of the eighteenth century. During the Tulip Period (1718-1730) for example the building program was shifted from large mosque *külliyes* to secular architecture such as palaces, public and private gardens, and public fountains which displayed certain Western influences (Kuban, 1996: 309).

The Western impacts on architecture became more visible at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These included the introduction of new building types, the use of different building materials other than timber and the use of Western architectural and decorative styles. The stylistic changes and the use of different materials were more evident in the residences of the nobility; in the palaces (*saray*), chalets (*köşk*), pavilions (*kasr*), summerhouses (*yalı*), and mansions (*konak*)[10] (Figs. 3 and 4). In the following decades the same impacts were to be seen in other types of dwellings. After the Tanzimat Edict, Reşit Paşa, the ambassador of London stressed the necessity for the use of brick and stone as building materials, and Sadık Rıfat Paşa, the ambassador of Vienna, stressed the importance of encouraging individual capital accumulation and private building construction. Eventually many European architects were invited to work in İstanbul[11] (Can, 1999: 136).

The ornamentations and decorative trends taken from Europe were not mere additions to the buildings; but they became part of the designs. Architecture and art were integrated not only in the buildings themselves but also in the exteriors and gardens as well. The Baroque and Rococo trends in architecture changed the silhouette of İstanbul starting from the eighteenth century (Kuban, 1998: 32). The gardens of the traditional Ottoman houses were not designed with a formal concern, unlike in the European examples (Kuban, 1995: 158). But water elements, geometrical garden organizations, the use of trees and plants for defining spaces and creating vistas to achieve a flamboyant and monumental affect, like in the West, became very popular in the large mansions starting from the eighteenth century

[10] A brief terminological information is useful in this context. *Konak* (mansion) was a dwelling temporarily granted to the high-status workers of the government during the seventeenth century. It was a large dwelling for temporary use but afterwards it became a permanent residence. *Kasr* (pavilion) which means castle and *château* in Arabic defines the small structures built in Topkapı Palace in the sixteenth century. In later periods different pavilions were used as temporary residences of the later sultans. Some spectacular buildings in Topkapı Palace were called as *köşks* (chalets) such as Bağdat Köşkü and Revan Köşkü. Buildings that were constructed on the ramparts of İstanbul were also named as chalets. However in the nineteenth century chalet was used to denote the two-three storey high upper-class dwellings located in the middle of wide gardens within the open public spaces (*mesire*) around İstanbul (Göyünç, 1996: 264).

[11] Gaspare Fossati from Switzerland, Alexandre Vallaury from France, Guilio Mongeri and Raimondo d'Aranco from Italy were among the prominent architects who worked in İstanbul during the last period of the Ottoman Empire (Cezar, 1991: 199-212).

onwards.[12] For example from 1860s onwards pools with running water and lion and deer statutes started to decorate the gardens in the mansions and palaces of the Ottoman well-to-do.[13]

The western influences were not limited to the usage and adaptation of different landscape assemblages. In the eighteenth century new space and facade organizations were already introduced. From the beginning of the nineteenth century the western eclecticism in architecture and various examples of neoclassic buildings became more and more widespread in İstanbul**.** Classical Greek, neo-Renaissance, neo-Gothic styles and *art nouveau*[14] decorative elements were among the frequently adopted decorative trends used in the architecture of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century (Çelik, 1996: 101, Kaprol, 1999: 311).[15]

2.2.1. New Building Types and Codes

As opposed to the belief in Europe that the Ottoman state was an old and collapsing Empire, the Ottoman officials and Sultans adapted several new measures, mostly Western in origin, in terms of improving architecture and city planning.[16] In the nineteenth century the earlier building codes were reorganized according to new regulations and laws. The former verdicts were mostly organized in favor of Muslims who were given more freedom in terms of construction activities. In contrast, the building activities of the non-Muslims were very limited. For instance they were not allowed to settle or buy a property around mosques, tombs or other places that had

[12] Numerous fountains were built in the city, not only in the districts for cleansing and drinking purposes, but also in the city squares as space defining elements and decoration. Clock towers were also built as decorative elements and symbols of power and modernity (Faroqhi, 2002b: 55).

[13] The buildings and gardens constructed during the Tulip Period were mostly destroyed; few of them are standing today (Kuban, 1998: 34). See Salman Günalp (1999) for more information on the nineteenth century garden organizations.

[14] *Art nouveau* trends probably entered into the Ottoman Empire first by exported objects (Batur, 1985b: 1087).

[15] During the end of the nineteenth century, a new approach called the 'national' architecture came into being to respond to the criticism on the deterioration of the classical Ottoman architecture due to the strong influence of Western architecture (Denel, 1982: 55).

[16] The period of Haussman in Paris for example was taken as an urban model (Faroqhi, 2002a: 273).

spiritual importance to the Muslims and this inequality between the Muslims and the non-Muslims was at least tried to be eliminated in the new codes. The first town-planning regulation was *Ebniye Nizamnamesi* prepared in 1848, according to Moltke's proposals (Kuban, 1996: 352). The new codes also included restrictions about the form and the dimensions of the streets and roads, (and accordingly about widening the narrow roads in İstanbul for vehicular traffic), and those that focused on transportation, travel and fire prevention.[17] Regulations for the usage of stone and brick as construction materials, removing dead ends and creating open vistas to prevent fires were among the other improved issues. In some well-to-do districts, building timber houses was totally forbidden to prevent fires. In some other districts fire walls were built in between the houses. According to the edicts, if ten or more houses were burnt in a fire the district was to be reorganized and divided into new plots (Batur, 1985a: 1053). In 1882 *Ebniye Kanunu*, the first public improvement law in the Ottoman Empire, the division of roads into five categories in terms of their width, elimination of blind-alleys, limitations on the height of buildings, the architectural measures concerning projections in the buildings, and the precautions against fires were set and tied to rules (Tekeli, 1985: 886-887). The strict building regulations that limited the type of construction were also abandoned in favor of building different dwelling types.

These renovation projects inevitably required a new administration system. Before the nineteenth century *kadıs* were responsible from the public works done by today's municipalities. In the middle of the nineteenth century even the streets were not yet named and the doors were not numbered (Denel, 1982: 52). In İstanbul the grand vizier and the other officials who were in charge of the city services were taking care of the work normally related to the municipalities today and there was not a town council that would ensure the participation of the elite citizens. Until 1868 the construction works and supervision of public improvements were done by *Ebniye-yi*

[17] Lady Montagu, the spouse of the English ambassador Edward Wortley Montagu, who stayed in the Ottoman Empire between the summers of 1717 and 1718, wrote in one of her letters to her friends that the fire was a part of daily life in the Ottoman Empire. In the case of a fire people rescued their valuables and sailed with boats and watched the fire from a distance (Sakaoğlu, 1996: 20).

Hassa Müdüriyeti, an organization that was controlled by the Sultan. In 1868 *Şehremaneti* began to serve for the municipality works (Ortaylı, 1985a: 135).

İstanbul was divided into 14 regions in 1855 following the new municipality system inspired from the West. In 1858, the Sixth Bureau began to serve the amenities of modern city services like the construction and illumination of roads initiated first in Pera district. Pera was chosen for the materialization of the first urban reforms so as to make it an example for the other districts (Ortaylı, 1985a: 130)[18] (Fig. 5). The Sixth Bureau was the first modern municipality as we know today. Among the duties of the Bureau was land survey organizations, broadening of streets and roads, supervision of constructions and opening of parks (Çıracı and Dökmeci, 1990: 40). It is the Bureau which also demolished the Galata ramparts to join Galata and Pera districts. The modern techniques of constructing roads were first practiced in this region and the first street in İstanbul that was illuminated with oil lamps was also the *Grand Rue de Pera* (the present day İstiklal Caddesi in Beyoğlu). The modernization and renovation movements started in the district of Pera which had long been chosen as the residential and commercial district by the Westerners resident in İstanbul. It is actually from here that the new urban developments spread into the other quarters of İstanbul in the late nineteenth century.[19]

It is disputable whether the edicts of the pre-Tanzimat period and the regulations of the Tanzimat were successfully carried out or not. But they provided the foundation for executing and supervising the construction works, the construction and repair of roads, controlling the heights of buildings and the width of streets, as well as supervising the selection, use, providence, dimension, quality, and price of construction materials. With the operation of these edicts and regulations, the

[18] In 1870 the Sixth Bureau had its own municipality building in Beyoğlu, Faroqhi, (2002a: 275). In 1913 the Bureau was connected to İstanbul municipality (Kuban, 1996, 353).

[19] See Ergin (1995) on more information about the municipality services in the Ottoman Empire.

building quarters, the buildings and even the spaces within the buildings gradually began to change into new and different urban and architectural schemes.[20]

2.2.2. Public Buildings

During the nineteenth century religious and military buildings were continued to be built with different plan schemes influenced from the stylistic characteristics and formal variations of the period. Schools were now planned and constructed according to a secular system which was introduced after separating the education from the *medrese* (Muslim theological school). The health buildings in the Tanzimat period also received emphasis and in contrast to the period of Selim III which focused mainly on the healthcare services in the navy and the army, the notion of public healthcare gained more importance in this period. Industrial enterprises such as Tophane and Tershane, were already improved in the period of Selim III, but during the Tanzimat period there was a rise in the number of such buildings as well (Batur, 1985a: 1055-1058).

The development of the governmental buildings on the other hand was directly related to the institutionalization of Tanzimat. The first step in this development was the establishment of the government offices, and the second was the foundation of new buildings like justice halls or post offices. Other newly founded institutions like banks, insurance and trade companies gave way to new building types such as office and bank buildings that became important landmarks with their stone and ornamented facades, in the new urban fabric (Merey Enlil, 1999: 307)[21].

Among other public buildings were hotels that indicated the development of new cultural attractions and non-religious ways of entertainment. They were the modern architectural responses to the traditional caravanserais and inns; however the hotels had certain differences. Firstly, they were purely built for accommodation and not for

[20] Outside İstanbul the spatial change began at the end of the nineteenth century, after the first constitution (Denel, 1982: 56).

[21] See Kazgan (1999) for information on the banks and commercial enterprises of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

commercial use. The clients were the individuals, mostly non-Muslim and foreign tradesmen, businessmen or travelers, who often traveled alone, that is not with caravans or groups. Moreover, the comforts and decoration offered by the hotels were more luxurious and refined than the inns and the caravanserais. The spaces such as stables and warehouses which were used to store goods and animals were replaced with spacious and decorated lobbies, restaurants, cafes and clubs. Such spaces served also to the public and created the means for public intercourse. As such private enterprise to built and manage hotels was encouraged as oppose to the inns and caravanserais that were under imperial administration (Kayın, 2002: 67). The first prototype of the hotels was the embassy guesthouse, used by the diplomats. During the second half of the nineteenth century, with the expanding economical and social changes not only the diplomatic elite but also other travelers who visited Anatolia and especially İstanbul for various reasons, made frequent use of the hotels that emerged in larger cities such as İstanbul and İzmir. Most of the hotels were located at Tepebaşı in Pera (Kırımtayıf, 2002: 107-108), but of these those in Galata were not as large and comfortable as the ones in Pera (Türker, 2000). Hotels, usually built close to the embassies were named after the European countries or cities such as *Grand Hotel François*, *Hotel de Roma*, *Hotel d'Athenes* and *Hotel Prince of Whales* (Çıracı and Dökmeci, 1990: 37). Apparently, besides a necessity, traveling became a way of entertainment, relaxation and increasing knowledge, experience and cultural interaction in this period. In 1883 the famous rail cruise, the Orient-Express, started to operate in between Paris and İstanbul. Following this, in 1884 Pera Palace, one of the most popular hotels of the time was opened and entertained the guests of the Orient-Express and other customers[22] (Fig. 6). One other important building type introduced for the first time during the nineteenth century was the theater. In time Pera district became a famous social and commercial centre for visitors with its masonry buildings, cafes, restaurants, patisseries, clubs, theaters, confectioneries and luxurious hotels with restaurants (Fig. 7) (Çıracı and Dökmeci, 1990: 38).

[22] See also Kırımtayıf (2002) for the comparison of *Pera Palace Hotel* with its European and American counterparts.

2.2.3. Domestic Architecture

In addition to the already existing 'traditional houses' and the 'traditional houses constructed with new architectural elements and trends', new dwelling types became popular among a group of people with better means in the nineteenth century. The traditional houses built with new architectural elements showed the characteristics of the traditional houses but in addition, they exhibited new elements and were built according to the new regulations and laws. The most significant new dwelling types of the period on the other hand included the summerhouses, the row-houses and the multi-storey apartment blocks which were inserted into the existing urban pattern (Yücel, 1996: 298).

2.2.3.1. Traditional Type of Houses Constructed with New Architectural Elements

The traditional houses, especially those built in the latter part of the nineteenth century, were influenced from the new social developments and cultural changes of the period. Medium or small-scale, new traditional looking houses were gradually added on both sides of the road and the urban fabric underwent a change. These houses showed most of the formal and constructional characteristics of the traditional dwellings, such as the wooden construction system, bay-windows, facade proportions, window arrangements and the like, but they were now constructed according to the new regulations and architectural tendencies (Merey Enlil, 1999: 308), including some western facade designs, such as the placement of windows on the ground floors. The windows in the traditional houses were small and located above the eye level to provide privacy to the house, while in the nineteenth century the ground floor windows became enlarged and made the house more open (Güncan, 1993: 178). Among the new trends were adjacency, location on small and narrow lots, continuity of facade along the road-line, anti-fire type of walls in the common walls, elevated main doors directly facing the street, the opening of the entrance door directly to the street, use of the same window arrangements on both ground and first floors, use of a verandah rather than a courtyard and garden (Akın, 1998: 274), use of

the ground floors as living areas and equal accessibility to the street and the garden (Fig. 8) (Yücel, 1996: 306-307). These qualities represent the transitional stages in private architecture (Figs. 9 and 10). The mansion type, that is, the larger houses on the other hand had kept their traditional plan schemes to a great extent.

The non-Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire who lived like the Muslim Ottomans eventually distinguished their houses as well. In the beginning of the twentieth century it was difficult to distinguish between an Armenian, a Jewish or a Greek house in terms of its architecture. But one could easily distinguish the Muslim house (Tanyeli, 1996a: 467). When possible the non-Muslims avoided to use the traditional plan schemes associated with the Ottomans. The tendency to use symmetrical and compact solutions was favored since they were more Western. There was also a desire to open the house to the street by more articulated facades and the wooden grills on the windows soon disappeared. Instead, balconies facing the street came into existence. Each ethnic group was involved in shaping and creating a new national identity by breaking away from the Ottoman world, thus manifesting what this new identity must not look like.[23]

2.2.3.2. New Housing Types

In addition to the traditional type of houses there emerged new dwelling types in the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a consequence of the new architectural and social developments. Summerhouses, that came into existence as the seasonal houses of the upper classes in the beginning of the eighteenth century; the row-houses that became highly popular among the middle classes starting from the second half of the nineteenth century; and the apartment houses that appealed more to the upper-middle class households starting from the last quarter of the nineteenth century were the new dwelling types.

[23] The first group who rejected the Ottoman housing tradition and wished to apply their own cultural domestic tendencies was the Europeans living in İstanbul. The differentiation of Armenian houses from the Ottoman ones began at the second half of the nineteenth century (Tanyeli, 1996a: 467).

The transformed typology of the traditional house became highly accepted and gave way to another type of dwelling: 'the row house'. These were 'typical' houses with a repeating pattern unlike the traditional Ottoman house that was designed and built as a single entity (Batur, Fersan and Yücel, 1979: 193). Row-houses were generally constructed in the areas where post-fire construction projects or collective reorganizations were developed:

> These houses displayed a concept of urban architecture that met the modernist / reformist / rationalist ideas of the period not only as regards the Western models they imitated, but the typological – morphological unity they formed with the new urban structure they were located on, as well as their arrangement – plan – novelty characteristics (Yücel, 1996: 307).

It was Mustafa Reşid Paşa, the grand vizier of the Tanzimat period, who actually suggested and initiated the idea that the 'British' row-houses should be applied as the new type of housing, since they were more suitable for the social life and privacy requirements of the Ottoman – Muslim customs, compared to the 'French' apartment blocks popular in Paris (Yücel, 1996: 309).

Row-houses shared certain characteristics in terms of plan typology, usage, road – plot – garden relationships, and floor hierarchies. But they were built of different materials, had different stylistic articulations, and displayed different formal appearances due to limitations of road slope and other topographical issues. Apart from the traditional elements such as projections and bay windows, the row-houses also exhibited the characteristic features of western facade organizations such as balcony buttresses, consoles and facade orders (Güncan, 1993: 225).

In the typical layout of these houses there were generally two rooms, one overlooking to the street, the other – the smaller in most cases – to the back, and the transition and service spaces were placed in between. The number of stories changed from two to four. In contrast to the traditional house, the main floor was generally the ground floor. On the front facade of this floor was a narrow bay-window projection that was conceptually different than the projections in the traditional houses, as these bay-windows created a much more direct relationship with the outside (Mantran,

2001: 295).[24] On the second floor, above this bay-window was an open balcony (Fig. 11).

The street-courtyard-*sofa* relation was dissolved in the row-houses and the house was entered direct from the street (Güncan, 1993: 225). The buildings however continued to shape the streets. A radical difference between the row-house and the traditional ottoman houses was the absence of the garden (Batur, Fersan and Yücel, 1979: 193). The *sofa* in the traditional house was transformed into a mere transitional space that contained a staircase no more functioned as the main living space (Soygeniş, 1995: 126). Unlike the almost anonymous rooms in the traditional Ottoman house each room had a specific function in the row-houses (Fig. 12).

The inhabitants also varied; some of these houses were built for the palace bureaucracy and others for the state or the minority groups including Greek, Armenian, Jewish or Latin communities, or for different property owners, or individuals from various professions such as merchants, tradesmen, artists and officers from all religious groups. Mostly however they were inhabited by moderate-income groups. The most well-known example of row-houses, known as Akaretler, was built in between 1861 and 1867 (Ünal, 1979: 74) (Figs. 13 and 14).

Summerhouses and mansions, inhabited by the elite and the families of some foreign ambassadors, began to be built on the shores of Bosphorus from the beginning of the eighteenth century[25] (Fig. 15). In fact they evolved from the chalets that were built along the shores in the pre-eighteenth century (Erdenen, 1993: 8). In the nineteenth century this type of living became more popular following the new transportation systems, and introduced the notion of moving to a 'summer house'. Such houses were built along the distant Anatolian and European shores of the town, the shores of the Bosphorus, and on the islands, especially in the middle of the nineteenth

[24] In contrast to the traditional Ottoman house, projections and bay windows were used on the ground floors and not on the upper stories (Güncan, 1993: 231-232).

[25] Summerhouses were also given to the women of the court at birth or in case of a marriage to an Ottoman dignitary for the first time (Faroqhi, 2002b: 44).

century.[26] The only way to reach to these houses was from the sea, that is by sailing on boats (Kuban, 1998: 35). Summerhouses that were constructed in between 1700 and 1830 were built on the shore line and typical to their facades their bay windows projected towards the sea. In the later examples however the main residential building was retreated more towards the land and as such they looked more like 'villas' in the Italian or French style, designed by the Levantine or Italian architects (Fig. 16).

Summerhouses were located within small or large gardens, sometimes in the midst of small vineyards or woods, with many windows opening to the outside (Fig. 17). These two or three-storey timber houses showed the formal and spatial characteristics of the traditional Ottoman house scheme and its architectural elements to some extent, but at the same time they exhibited a great stylistic variety and thus resembled more the architectural characteristics of the Western vacation houses and mansions (Figs. 18 and 19):

> Architectural elements resulting from this rich variety are evident in these buildings and in the garden pavilions beside them: e.g., towers, tower terraces, decorated and exaggerated balconies supported by columned entrance porticoes, wide windows, shelters, picturesque supplements, greenhouses … (Yücel, 1996: 310).

Summerhouses were generally used as seasonal houses but there were instances when a family used their summerhouse as its primary and permanent residence.[27]

The reforms that were realized during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were crucial for the Ottoman society since they led to important changes in different aspects of life. The reforms on architectural issues were significant for reshaping the cities especially İstanbul. The new codes and edicts not only improved the current

[26] From the period of Fatih Sultan Mehmed onwards living in a house with a sea view became very prestigious. From the eighteenth century onwards it became more popular (Faroqhi, 2002a: 296).

[27] These houses began to be used as primary residences especially after Abdülmecid moved from the Topkapı Palace to Dolmabahçe (Kınay, 1998: 10). In the earlier summerhouses heating was not considered as a primary factor, (Kuban, 1998: 35) probably because they were used as seasonal houses. See Eldem (1994) for more information on summerhouses. See also Belge (1997) for information on the residents of the summerhouses.

conditions but also allowed for the construction of new buildings and planning new settlements. The new dwelling types were the indicators of the important physical and social changes, since new homes gave way to new lifestyles. In this context apartment houses were of great importance since they represent a break from the traditional Ottoman house. The multi-story apartment house was radically different since it was the first dwelling type that accommodated more than one family in a single building. Although criticized at first, the apartment would gradually become the most popular dwelling type in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 3

THE HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: BEFORE AND AFTER MODERNIZATION

A brief introduction to the traditional Ottoman house is essential to understand the developments in the nineteenth century domestic architecture in the Ottoman period in especially İstanbul.[28] The Ottoman house which was developed within the geographical boundaries of the Ottoman Empire lasted for almost five hundred years and developed a characteristic plan scheme with common elements. The form and the layout of the house were mostly similar in all regions, but different climatic conditions, construction materials and local architectural traditions resulted in the formation of variations. Although the Ottoman house is often classified according to its plan[29], it is not possible to make a sharp separation since there are various examples which do not fit into a specific category.

3.1. District[30] and Family

People living in the Ottoman cities considered themselves as members of religious groups rather than the fellow citizens of a city mostly because municipalities as we know today were not established before the nineteenth century.[31] In this respect the

[28] Sedad Hakkı Eldem is the pioneering historian who studied the Ottoman houses and introduced the notion of a generic house called the 'Turkish House'. However there is a whole debate on studying the 'Turkish House' and there is not a consensus about the use of terminology as the 'Turkish' or 'Ottoman House'. In this study 'Ottoman house' is used to refer to the traditional house. See Doğan Kuban (1995) and also Cengiz Bektaş (1996) for more information on the traditional Ottoman house.

[29] The approach that takes the *sofa* as the principal design element and hence classifies the house according to the *sofa* types was first introduced by Eldem (Asatekin, 1994: 67) Accordingly Eldem categorized the Ottoman house into four plan types: 'without a hall', 'with an outer hall', 'with an inner hall' and 'with a middle hall' (Eldem, 1984: 17). As oppose to this there are other approaches that takes the room as the main design element, see Asatekin (1994: 67).

[30] District was used to refer to *mahalle* in this context.

[31] In the Ottoman cities a special city law did not exist (Faroqhi, 2002a: 164). In 1829 *muhtarlık*, that is, the administrative and management unit of smallest settlements (such as of a village or a district) was introduced in İstanbul (Çadırcı, 1996: 260).

public services done by today's municipalities, such as collection of taxes, were done by religious congregations. Henceforth the district was a cultural, social and administrative unit rather than a legal constitution defined by physical and spatial boundaries (Ortaylı, 2000: 23, Çadırcı, 1996: 257).

Although different ethnic groups could live in the same district (Çadırcı, 1996: 257) it was often the case that the people who were affiliated with different religious congregations lived in their own districts. Consequently the district was shaped and distinguished mostly along religious lines. Non-Muslims carried on their lives in the same fashion with Muslims.[32] Although they were not banned from living in a Muslim district they preferred to stay and live in their own districts. Hence districts inhabited by different religious and ethnic groups existed side by side.

The district was a controlled and closed community of residents because the tradesmen or the craftsmen worked outside their residential districts. As they did business in separate commercial quarters, especially in the big cities where inns and stores were owned by different foundations, the districts did not develop into commercial quarters; they generally remained residential. On the other hand though it was not tolerated to have ateliers or workshops in the districts, there were bakeries and shops that sold food, and baths or water carriers to serve the basic cleansing requirements of the residents. Peddlers – who sold commonly consumed foods – also had a role in the local commercial activities in a district. In fact, the peddlers had an important role in carrying information in between the closed district and the outside world since they bought their goods from the villages and gardens around the city or from the wholesale dealers in the city center and sold them in the districts. During shopping, news about droughts, harvests or tax increases for example were spread among the residents in different districts from the peddlers. These daily business

[32] The houses of the non-Muslims were usually similar to the Muslim ones in terms of plan characteristics and use. Nevertheless, for example in the non-Muslim houses of Kayseri, a middle Anatolian city that had two major groups of minorities, the Armenians and the Greeks, the perception of comfort and the architectural solutions for a more comfortable life were different than the Muslims. For example there were little water depots with spigots in the toilets and in the central *sofa* for washing hands (Büyükmıhçı, 1999: 319). It can be suggested that such comforts of the minority houses in Kayseri, could be found in the houses of other minority families living in other cities as well.

relations contributed to the formation of the urban life by bringing together the districts which were in a way smaller city units (Faroqhi, 2002a: 167).

The number of families in a district changed from a few to one hundred, or even more, but in most cases there were thirty or forty families who lived in the same district[33] (Faroqhi, 2002a: 165). Generally close relatives shared the same district which caused a close-knit community (composed of relatives) who stood up for each other.[34] It is also known that, people doing the same job could also settle in the same district (Çadırcı, 1996: 257). Thus the residents had the urge to control their own districts and naturally the strangers were immediately noticed. Within the districts there were many blind alleys that limited access and the streets were usually kept narrow to avoid the passing of cars[35] (Faroqhi, 2002a: 166). Any problem that will disturb the life of the district and that of its residents resulted in a shared reaction. For instance, people who were accused of drinking alcohol or making gossip about the districts' residents were dismissed from their districts due to the sensitivity and solidarity of the residents. Such tight control of the residents made the districts unattractive to bachelors and strangers.

In the district each house was generally similar or identical to each other in terms of conception and consumption. In this sense, the house was first of all designed to suit the daily life of the Ottoman household, which was composed of three generations; the elderly, the children, and the married couple. Indeed, many couples that include the families of brothers and other close relatives as well as the servants and the maids also lived under one roof.[36] The house was a self-sufficient unit which in general

[33] Districts which were close to the Friday mosque, to the shopping districts or to the summer houses were more prestigious than the others. Least wealthy people lived generally in the outskirts of the city (Özbilgen, 2003: 387).

[34] Like in other traditional societies, nepotism – which is favoring relatives or acquaintances – was the natural consequence of such relationships in the Ottoman society regardless of different social and ethnic classes (Ortaylı, 1985b: 93).

[35] The district developed without referring to a set urban plan like the other parts of the city (Kuban, 1996: 339-340).

[36] Young servants were also accepted as family members and their dowries were provided by the family. The older maids as well were respected like the other elderly members of the family (Özbilgen, 2003: 449).

consumed what it produced (Ortaylı, 2000: 127) and this was the case for both the Muslim and the non-Muslim Ottoman households. Every household member had his/her own role in the house. Women were responsible for the care of the household members and the house itself. They were particularly in charge of the care of the elderly and the children. They managed all the housework, including cooking, cleaning and shopping[37] – done either by the lady of the house, or by the maids under her supervision. On the other hand as an individual who has several means to leave his house, men established the connection between the outside and the inside. Elderly people could also be in charge of supervising the family according to the traditional norms. As Ortaylı (1985b: 94) states, "The extended family produced and consumed jointly." Women did the housework, visited neighbors and entertained together, while men worked, shopped, built or repaired together.

The daily life of a family was shaped first in the house and then in the district.[38] As such, the neighborhood and the district acted "as a larger household for all the inhabitants" (Özgenel, 2002: 328). In the Ottoman society the participation of a family to the daily life depended upon how it fulfilled the expected roles within its own district (Işın, 1985: 554-556). The security of the individual in the society was provided by the kinship group – living in the house and in the district – to which he/she was connected to. By this connection a total devotion to one's family was obtained.

3.2. Plan and Spatial Components

In its earlier stages the Ottoman house was believed to have had a single storey in which the floor was generally elevated about one and a half or two meters from the ground level to get light, air and view. The space underneath the main floor –

[37] Apart from cleaning, cooking, tidying up the mattresses, putting them away in the built-in cupboards in the mornings, and laying them again at nights, cutting the wicks of the candles, putting oil to oil-lamps, cleaning their wicks, cleaning the glasses of the lanterns were among the many tasks that the women had to deal with, either by doing the work herself or in the case of upper classes by organizing the work and supervising the maids (Özbilgen, 2003: 385).

[38] Social events like childbirth, circumcisions or weddings were highly significant celebrations first for the family and then for the district (Ortaylı, 1985b: 94).

elevated on posts – was used to avoid moist but in many cases it was covered with walls and used as a storage area. In time other stories were added to the single storey house,[39] but the main storey was always placed on the top floor (Eldem, 1984: 16). In most of the houses a mezzanine floor existed in between the main upper floor and the ground floor. This floor later became a separate story but was always kept low in height than the main floor and was generally used as a living space in wintertime. From the nineteenth century onwards the differences between the mezzanine and the main floors gradually diminished, but the top floor continued to preserve its importance as the main living area (Figs. 20, 21 and 22).

Even though the type of the house changed according to the economic, social or cultural status of its residents, a garden or a courtyard was the common element in the houses of all classes. In the traditional house various annexes could be found in the open areas. Accordingly gardens were used for cultivating vegetables; haylofts, stables and dens were used for breeding animals; woodsheds were used for storing and cutting woods; ovens and hearths were used for cooking, washing clothes and cleaning; cellars and granaries were used for storing food; guesthouses and servants' rooms were used for accommodating servants and guests (Asatekin, 1994: 79, 81). As such the gardens and courtyards were important for the family because almost all the domestic tasks and needs were accomplished in these spaces. These were also the intermediary spaces between the house and the street. Houses that were located in cities generally did not have gardens, but might have had courtyards, planted with trees and plants around which the house was organized.

The service spaces were either located on the ground floor (away from the main living floor) in the house, or were located in the annexes in the courtyard which was enclosed by high and thick walls with few openings to provide privacy for the family. As such the entrance and the service floor were controlled spaces which were not open to the outside. Toilets and baths were generally located at courtyards for sanitary reasons. The baths were most often placed next to the kitchens to benefit

[39] Single story houses were called *beyt*, and two story houses were called *menzil* (Emiroğlu, 2002: 136).

from the hearths in the kitchens. From the nineteenth century onwards toilets and baths started to be included into the main building of the house (Asatekin, 1994: 82).

The privacy of the house and the women was not only achieved through physical boundaries but also by visual ones. The design of the house was made suitable to the Islamic life style. Even in the well-to do Muslim houses the facade and the exterior of the house were plain and not ornamented, and the windows were small and mostly placed higher then the eye level on the ground floor. The rooms which faced the street on the first floor had shutters or wooden cages that prevented unwanted visual intrusion from outside. Hence the house was designed as a close entity to fulfill the operation of the most valued aspect of the family; privacy. However, privacy was operated in terms of providing a physical control, especially of the domestic context, that is, the physical privacy of the house. The privacy of the individual inside and outside of the house was not a concern in the Ottoman Empire like in the European countries (Özgenel, 2002: 328).

The plan of the Ottoman house included rooms, a *sofa* and transition spaces. In some instances rooms are named as *göz* or *hane* in which case the latter can indicate a more private status. The main room in a house was called *başoda*. It was used as a living space for the family and for the reception of the guests, and was generally located at the corner of the main floor and was furnished better than the other rooms. Corner rooms were highly valued because they could get light from different directions and were also located at a distance from the main traffic in the house (Eldem, 1984: 16). The form, the number and the location of rooms were significant for the shaping and placement of a *sofa*.

In the traditional house, sitting, sleeping and eating activities were done in the same room. As a consequence, there were not specific purpose rooms such as dining rooms or bedrooms. Instead every room was a multi – purpose space. If the family needed to enlarge or divide the house, more rooms could be added to the house throughout time (Bektaş, 1996: 105). The form of a room was generally rectangular and was divided into two functional spaces. *Sekialtı* was the entrance to the room that had a

lower ceiling with cupboards or sometimes a fireplace. *Sekiüstü* was reserved as the living area that had low and fixed divans surrounded by windows with a higher ceiling (Kuban, 1995: 106). *Sekialtı* and *sekiüstü* were distinguished with a single step and in some larger houses with a *direklik*; a wooden element of three arches with balustrades in between (Kuban, 1995: 107). Western type of furniture such as tables, chairs or beds were not used. Mattresses, books, oil lamps, boxes and like. were stored mostly in the built-in cupboards or drawers and chests. The mattresses were laid on the floor at night for sleeping. Every morning these were tidied up and stored away in the cupboards. The household used to eat around a low dining table - which is a kind of a tray made of leather, wood or metal - sitting cross-legged and they ate from the same cup. The *divans* placed along the walls in front of the windows were used as sitting places. Two pillows, one for sitting and the other for leaning against the windows were the main upholstery of the *divans*. Pillows were made of and decorated with different fabrics and were significant for exposing the wealth of the family. Carpets were commonly used on the floors and on the *divans*. Prayer rugs, rugs and mats were also among the commonly used decorative fabrics.

The rooms opened up to the *sofa* (Fig. 23). In the oldest schemes the *sofa* was open and covered with a roof standing on posts. In time, to provide protection from wind, cold and rain, blind side walls were built on two sides. For reasons of privacy a wooden screen called *kafes*, and to avoid cold showcases were built in between the posts. In time, these changes were integrated into the building as large windows (Eldem, 1984: 16-17). As well as being the main circulation space, the *sofa* was a common area where various formal and informal social gatherings like weddings and festivities could be organized.[40] As such, it was also a significant leisure space where all the household members could gather. The places for sitting were generally separated from the *sofa* either by creating an open space in between the rooms which was called an *eyvan*, or by adding a projection in front of the hall. *Eyvan* was a relatively more private space because it opened to the *sofa* from only one side, whereas projections called *sekilik* or *taht* were open from two or three sides and were generally oriented to the view. The floor of the *sekilik* or *taht* was generally elevated

[40] In this respect the *sofa* is reminiscent of the Medieval English halls (Eldem, 1984: 17).

from the *sofa* with few steps or sometimes on consoles (Eldem, 1984: 17). In some instances *sekilik* became a private *köşk*, which was distinguished from the rest of the rooms with its large windows and openings. *Köşk* was a spacious space and sometimes had fountains and small pools which provided a cool area within the house (Fig. 24).

The rooms in the Ottoman house were distributed from the *sofa*, and all the rooms had an equal relationship with the *sofa*. Located and oriented similarly, there is not a spatial hierarchy between the rooms (Özgenel, 2002: 330-331). Every room had its own privacy since they only had one door opening to the *sofa*; however as they were designed similarly in terms of usage, location and orientation it is not possible to talk about the individuality of rooms. In some examples passages connected the rooms with the *sofa*. The doors of passages were hidden behind large and wide cupboards. In time such passages became independent corridors. Until the nineteenth century the corridors were generally narrow and dark, but afterwards they were enlarged. Staircases did not affect the plan organization if they were located in the *sofas*. Only at the end of the nineteenth century staircases began to gain a monumental look, and thus were often surrounded with galleries illuminated from the top especially in larger dwellings such as mansions or summerhouses (Fig. 25).

3.3. The Daily Life of Women

The house was an introverted structure to maintain the privacy of the members of the household, especially that of the women. Women were restricted in terms of interacting with men who did not belong to 'the network of kin, family, and household unit' (Dengler, 1978: 231). In only large dwellings like mansions a *harem*, a private part reserved for the use of the women, existed (Fig. 26). In these large residences the wife, the children, female relatives and female servants lived in the *harem*.[41] In the houses the rooms on the first floor had a view of the street and were important spaces for women to spend their time. The bay windows of projections with *kafes* in the rooms allowed them to see the street without being seen by the

[41] All the religious groups irrespective of region used two separate quarters or rooms as *harem* and *selamlık* (it was the quarter reserved for men in the house) (Ortaylı, 2000: 126).

passersby. In the meantime the projections that had windows on three sides allowed women to control the street. Women often shopped from the sellers or talked to their neighbors from those windows (Dengiz, 2001: 40).

The restricted life and public interaction of women generally allowed them to spend most of their time in the gardens in larger houses. Thus many women perpetuated their daily life in their gardens, and accepted the restricted environment of their homes as a security chamber. Hence, the entrance door to the house was a threshold between the outside and the inside, between the public and the private for the traditional Ottoman household.

We know more about the life of well-to-do families and women. Accordingly, except the obligatory instances like shopping,[42] women were expected to go outside of their homes mostly to visit their neighbors and friends.[43] However they should be accompanied by someone, a eunuch (*haremağası*), a female servant (*halayık*), a female friend or at least a child (Amicis, 1993: 202).[44] They could stop by at their neighbors for a morning coffee or had long visits to their friends especially in large towns and cities. They could also gather for eating, listening to music, having a chat or for congrulatory visits for weddings and condolence visits in the case of funerals (Abdülaziz Bey, 2002: 273). Apart from these visits women were able to attend special feasts of weddings, circumcisions, and similar celebrations organized mostly by wealthy families. During these feasts women and men ate the same food but in different spaces and were also entertained in separate rooms (Ortaylı, 2000: 118).[45] A good banquet was followed by musical shows that were important for the lady of the

[42] And however states that women did not often do shopping since shopping was made by a male family member or a servant (And, 1994: 224).

[43] Compared to women, men were much freer to go outside and wander. One popular place to socialize for men of different social classes was the coffeehouse where stories were told and interesting shows were performed. During the seventeenth century the consumption of coffee was frequently prohibited by the sultans. One reason was that the coffeehouses became chat centers that could not be controlled by the officers of the state (Faroqhi, 2002a: 237).

[44] Only old women were allowed to go outside alone (Evren and Girgin Can, 1997: 32).

[45] Children were supposed to be entertained with the female members of the family (Özbilgen, 2003: 481).

house to be able to demonstrate her taste and organizational talent. The same was valid for the men's banquets as well. The Muslims and non-Muslims also visited each other on religious festivals such as *Kurban* or *Ramazan Bayramı* and Christmas or Easter, and brought appropriate food like *baklava* in *bayrams* and eggs in Easter.

Although many women spent most of their time in their houses, they needed to go outside for various reasons. Certainly women had more freedom and comfort for wandering and shopping in their own districts. Apart from the bakeries and alike, there existed embroidery shop(s) and cream seller(s) that were very popular among women in every district (Fig. 27).[46] These shops were actually of great importance for enabling women to participate into street life.

Going outdoors and having a picnic became a very popular way of gathering and spending time for women from the seventeenth century onwards. [47] In and around each city there was often at least one open recreational area (*mesire*) with trees.[48] Most of these areas included the tomb of a local saint and hence in the eighteenth century İstanbul visiting these tombs became an opportunity first for fulfilling a religious will and then for having a leisure time to eat and drink together with friends.[49] Having a day trip for picnicking acquired many preparations; inviting the guests, cooking various kinds of meals, and gathering the necessary items for the excursion. Once women went to the countryside they wandered around, picked up flowers and had their meals with their children playing around. Men were allowed to join women during these excursions. Concubines were left free to act and enjoy like their ladies and even some excursions were organized just for them. Such open spaces did not lose their popularity in the nineteenth century. Beykoz, Kağıthane, Veliefendi meadows and Fener gardens were among the most popular countryside

[46] In the sixteenth century women were prohibited to enter into the shops of cream sellers because they were meeting their lovers in such spaces (Evren and Girgin Can, 1997: 32).

[47] Paintings depicting women in open recreational areas became very popular among Europeans (Faroqhi, 2002a: 122).

[48] Most of the graveyards had such open areas (Kuban, 1996: 342).

[49] The open spaces in the provinces were generally small compared to İstanbul. In addition, in the provinces there could be different cultural habits and, probably a less free environment than the capital (Cerasi, 1999: 206).

recreational areas around İstanbul in the nineteenth century (Abdülaziz Bey, 2002: 293) (Figs. 28, 29 and 30).

Public cleansing was a very common social ritual in the Ottoman society. Women went to baths not just for cleansing but to socialize with other women. Yet even in the baths women were still within a kinship group composed of other female household members (except the male children) (Fig. 31). The gossips of the district were mingled and renewed foremost at baths.[50] The significance of bath visits was evident from the goods women brought with themselves. Some well-off women had their own maids who carried cleansing materials such as hand worked towels or nacre inlayed pattens (*nalın* – used to walk on wet marble without wetting the feet) (Figure 32). Since going to the baths was accepted as a social ritual women could gather in baths also for eating and drinking, listening to music and having a chat. Special occasions like weddings or birth of a child could also be celebrated in the baths (Özbilgen, 2003: 473). Moreover, brides could be spotted and chosen by the mothers-in law in baths as well (Fig. 33).

The status of the women in the society was expected to be evident from their public clothing. From men's point of view the function of women's clothing was to demonstrate their chastity by veiling themselves. The ideal was that no part of the body should be seen[51] (Faroqhi, 2002a: 125). In the Ottoman society although fashion had some influence on clothing, dressing was not in the hands of individual taste but clothing did not also rely on a fixed dress like a uniform; the color, type and quality of the fabric as well as the form of the cloth were generally specialized and were of great importance in reflecting the social hierarchy.[52]

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[50] Gossips about politics, social scandals and marriage arrangements were spread from the baths (Pardoe, 1997: 53).

[51] In between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries women did not cover their face with veils, they just wore a scarf with their face uncovered. It is only after the eighteenth century that women had to cover their faces with veils (Dengiz, 2001: 13-14). See Tuğlacı (1984) for more information on the clothing of İstanbul women.

[52] According to the common laws of Fatih Sultan Mehmet (1451-1481) and Kanuni Sultan Süleyman (1520-1566) non-Muslims should not look like Muslims in terms of clothing; they should not ride a horse, should not use luxurious clothes and should not walk on the pavements. On the other hand, before the declaration of the Tanzimat Edict, Sultan Murad II clearly stated that there would not be

Ottoman statesmen as well gave importance to women's clothing. From time to time edicts were declared that prohibited women wandering in the streets with clothes that were attractive to men and punished the tailors who saw such kinds of clothes. On the other hand women – especially the wealthier ones – wanted their elaborate clothes and ornaments to be seen by people other than their family members. Indeed it can be suggested that woman's clothing was also evaluated in terms of demonstrating chastity, wealth and elegance by other women as well.[53] Non-Muslim women generally dressed like the Muslim women[54] but a distinction between the clothes worn by different religious groups was desired. Different types of caps were generally used by different religious groups and were important markers for exposing the social and the ethnic status of the individual (Abdülaziz Bey, 2002: 223).

3.4. The Change in the Family, House and Daily Life

The house remained to be the domain of women, despite the major changes in her social status during the nineteenth century. Women were still the managers of the house,[55] responsible from the housework and the caring of the household members. However, the process of modernization loosened the tight structure of the traditional family and the socio-cultural changes of the Tanzimat period introduced at least the

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any administrative inequality between Muslims and non-Muslims, by saying: "I recognize a Muslim in a mosque, a Christian in a church, and a Jew in a synagogue; there is not any other difference between them" (Özbilgen, 2003: 424).

[53] There is not any information about how less wealthier women dressed. We know that wealthier women put on cotton or silk shirt and a baggy trouser. On top of it they used to wear a loose rob and a dress. Especially in wintertime they wore a waistcoat called *dolama*. Well-to do women living in cities had velvet or silk dresses. Wearing a crest – *hotoz* – was very common. To make a crest they put on a fez or a kind of cap – *tepelik* –, than an embroidered fabric was needled to it by a pin with a jewelry. They used to cover their faces with a gauze attached to the crest that left only their eyes open while walking in the streets. They wore a kind of a loose coat called *ferace* and put their hands inside the sleeves. Type of veiling differed from one region to another. It was known that jewelry was given as a present to women in marriage, apparently to sell in bad days. Gold, silver and pearl earrings and gold bracelets were highly on demand by Ottoman women (Faroqhi, 2002a: 125).

[54] This was because of the dominance of the Islamic culture and the restrictions of Christianity and Judaism. But the clothing of non-Muslims was sometimes restricted by the state. For instance a special kind of skirt made of angora wool, silk or cotton – which was called *kutni* - for non-Muslim women, was described in detail in the regulations of 1564 (Faroqhi, 2002a: 124).

[55] It was important for a woman to learn how to manage her house at a young age. She was expected to know how to make linens and dining sets that were the major items in her dowry. When a girl was married it was considered a disgrace to buy these things outside home (Abdülaziz Bey, 2002: 102).

upper and middle class women to social life. In wealthier houses the supervision of the house and the household –controlled before by the elderly- started to be shared by other newly introduced members like black nurses, *Çerkes* maids and French or German governesses. In large mansions, husband and wife could live apart, with many servants and relatives, in their own worlds (Işın, 1995: p.114). The relationship between children and their parents could be done by mediators such as nannies (*Arap Bacı*) and governesses.

Maids and governesses shared the burden of the housework with the lady of the house. As such women could find more spare time, both in the public and private domains, to devote time to their appearance or to different social activities[56] which in turn gave way to the individualization of women and to the formation of their own identities in a more liberated domestic domain.[57]

The planning of the houses also changed according to the new lifestyles. Although multi-purpose rooms were still in use, rooms for specific functions could be found especially in the large mansions with many rooms (Figs. 34 and 35). Accordingly the living room used for the daily activities of household members was on the second floor, usually across the staircase and the two corner rooms neatly decorated, and measuring about 150 square meters were used for receptions (Abdülaziz Bey, 2002: 163). In those rooms where divans were placed on three sides important guests were entertained during feasts or other occasions. In later examples furnishing changed. Only one divan was placed in front of the wall across the door in addition to two couches, two armchairs and six chairs which were placed on both sides of the divan. The decoration of two rooms was still similar but the accessories and colors could

[56] In his memoirs, Amicis wrote that, women began to be able to stroll alone in the streets without getting any permission, while beforehand they should have had a companion. They could order their eunuch (*haremağası*) to get the car ready and they could stay outside until it got dark. However it was forbidden for women to go to the inner rooms in the stores; so that they could be seen from the street when they were in the store. Moreover, they should not get on the tramcars just for fun, they should not point out the passerby; they should not stay at a specific place more than a specified time (Amicis, 1993: 236). However it is important to take into consideration the fact that the information in the memoirs of the travelers could be subjective and hence biased. Also see Ellison (2001) for the impressions of an Ottoman woman on the Western culture.

[57] The visible presence of women in the society made some statesmen of the period anxious about the increase in womanizing and immorality (Ortaylı, 1985b: 102).

change. There could be some other new rooms in a big mansion. For example, a coach room used by men to have private conversations with their guests, a fur room for storing different kinds of furs owned by the men, a *mabeyn* room placed in between *selamlık* and *harem* for dressing up, rehearsals for new suits with the tailors and for meeting with some of the household workers, and also a library and a dining room could be found in some opulent mansions (Abdülaziz Bey, 2002: 164-165). Women, in addition to their own bedrooms could use a room next to it for receiving their guests.[58]

Moving to summerhouses during summers became much more popular in the nineteenth century. Both the household and women perpetuated their daily lives in summer houses similar to their lives in city houses. They visited their friends and neighbors, but they had more opportunities for outdoor activities which included spending time in the gardens or sailing with boats in the Bosphorus[59] (Figs. 36, 37 and 38). Private cars or boats especially for the use of women waited in the gardens or docks of these summerhouses (Abdülaziz Bey, 2002: 196). Almost every afternoon during summer it became a custom for women and men to sail separately and enjoy the Bosphorus (Çalıkoğlu and Tezel, 1983: 30). Some of these cruises even included musicians. The large gardens of summerhouses with bowers, brooks, pools, hammocks, trees, plants, flowers and animals such as peacocks, rabbits, ducks, were very attractive both for men and women to spend their idle time. Indeed women defined a new sphere of freedom in summer houses, though it was still limited within the rigid social structure of the traditional city.

From the beginning of the twentieth century, traditional excursions were replaced with *piyasa* as Italians called. *Piyasa* was a highly popular evening stroll, sometimes

[58] It is stated that there was not any western type of furniture in *harem* during the first half of the nineteenth century (Abdülaziz Bey, 2002: 168).

[59] To avoid flirtations, women were not allowed to sail on boats with men, from the conquest of İstanbul in 1453 to the reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909) (Evren and Girgin Can, 1997: 31).

done with cars pulled by horses.[60] Nevertheless in the middle of the nineteenth century, the streets were not still very crowded by women.

3.4.1. Status of Women

Although the statesmen of the Tanzimat period were already aware of the problems within the existing family codes and marriage customs,[61] legal attempts for improving these issues could not be taken immediately because the level of social developments was not yet appropriate. Some decrees and edicts however were organized to redesign the traditional marriage customs: the decision for marriage was left to the free will of daughters who reached the age of marriage, the payment of *başlık* was declared illegal, extravagant weddings were prohibited and the amounts of *mehrs* were determined.[62] In addition having slaves and concubines were prohibited. One other change was the decline of polygamy (which was presented as a requirement of social and economic necessities), at least in the urban centers. In 1858 with the introduction of the land law (*Arazi Kanunu*) daughters received the inheritance rights of their fathers' lands like their brothers. A new decree that allowed women the right to divorce was declared in 1917. Such changes certainly did not have an overnight affect on the traditional customs but they represented a certain progress.

In the nineteenth century, women gained the rights of education although it was still restricted. The woman as the child nurturer was now seen as an individual to be

[60] Cemeteries at both ends of Pera were demolished and parks were built to provide green areas in the city like in other contemporary cities, and they quickly became meeting points for strolls, and showing-off (Çıracı and Dökmeci, 1990: 41).

[61] Islamic modernists came up with the new interpretations of the Muslim canonical law, just like the Ottoman, Near Eastern and Russian authors and thinkers who were campaigning against the traditional type of marriage and family structure and, Azerbaijan authors were criticizing the discriminated presence of women, the patriarchal family setup, and the ignorance faced by female children (Ortaylı, 1985b: 101).

[62] The *mehr* according to Islamic law (paid in two parts, *mehr-i muaccel* and *mehr-i müeccel*) was a payment appropriated by the woman herself to constitute an economic security in the case of divorce or widowhood. Other payments, like *başlık* on the other hand was a tradition rather than a regulation of the Islamic law, Ortaylı (1985b: 95). According to a verdict of 1862, the amounts of the *mehrs* were 100 *kuruş* for the least wealthy people, 500 *kuruş* for the middle-income group, and 1000 *kuruş* for the upper classes (Ortaylı, 1985b: 102).

educated. Similarly the approach to children also changed in the nineteenth century. The education and breeding of future generations became important issues of consideration (Behar and Duben, 1996: 231, 243, 244). One of the most important accomplishments of the Tanzimat period in terms of the education of women was the establishment of *İn'as Rüşdiyeleri* for girls, which were the equivalent of intermediate level schools. Girls who did not attend to *İn'as Rüşdiyeleri* were sent as prentices to a woman master's house to learn housework, and embroidery. Daughters of some of the well-to-do families on the other hand were educated at home. Instead of learning how to make embroideries and how to be good housewives, they were educated as intellectuals. These young ladies tried to establish intellectual environments around themselves, and eventually their houses became gathering spaces for different artists.[63] In 1870 the first teacher's training school for girls (*Dâr'ul-Muallimây*) was founded (Doğan, 2001: 135). Thus in 1873 with the first graduates, a new professional group of female teachers came into being. This was the initial entry of women into the professional working life. Later on, in 1909, a French Girl's School was founded to guide women to become better housewives. Female students were accepted to the İstanbul University (*Darülfünun*) to listen to the lectures and to the Fine Arts School for Girls in 1914. Higher education became composite in 1921 (Doğan, 2001: 138-140).[64]

The edicts about clothing of women and going outdoors became more tolerant (Güzel, 1985: 858). As a sign of independence women began to stroll around with thin veils or even without wearing one (Fig. 39).[65] After the second constitution the presence of women in public life increased more (Fig. 40). *Sade Giyinen Kadınlar Cemiyeti* was founded in 1918. During the first half of the century, Greek and

[63] The education of the sons as well was highly supported by parents; even chemistry or physic laboratories were founded in some mansions (Işın, 1995: 116).

[64] For more information on the education of girls in the nineteenth century see Yaraman (2001).

[65] Before, older women used loose veils but now young women, especially the beautiful ones were dressing in the same manner. However, the other parts of the body were still not to be seen (Amicis, 1993: 197). Men, especially religious officers, reacted harshly to these new clothing trends; Hodjas spitted on women's faces, manhandled when they were alone, or threw stones to phaetons that were carrying unveiled women. In Aydın to avoid the assault on women, talking to a woman in the streets was prohibited for men and according to an edict, in case of such an occasion women were punished with beating (Güzel, 1985: 860).

Armenian women dressed like Turkish women, only their eyes and noses were exposed (Moltke, 1969: 35). From the middle of the century, non-Muslims began to be dressed according to the Paris fashion (Figs. 41 and 42). Women wore *ferace* but did not cover their faces. From 1880 onwards, starting from the palace, Ottoman women of the elite also began to prefer European style clothing and coiffure inside their traditional coats (Figs. 43, 44 and 45).[66] In time, coats and veils were also influenced from the change in fashion (Fig. 46).[67] While wearing *tesettür* was still a tradition for women, veiling became a way of adornment rather than fulfilling a religious norm. Henceforth the demand for dressmakers and designers increased (Figs. 47 and 48) and the notion of 'fashion' started to contribute to the public appearance and existence of women (Fig. 49).

In 1888 the first women's newspaper, *Muhadderat* was published by the *Terakki* newspaper and was followed by other newspapers like, *Vakit*, *Şükûfezar*, *İnsaniyet*, *Âyine*, *Parça Bohçası*, *Aile*, and the most popular, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*. In these papers mainly the role and status of women in the society were discussed (Işın, 1995: 118). Also discussed in the newly published magazines such as *Demet*, *Millet Gazetesi*, *Kadın Mecmuası*, *Mehasin*, *Kadınlar Dünyası*,[68] *Kadın and Mefharet* were feminism and related issues. In addition women organizations were founded; some to protect their own rights, but most as charity organizations. Women who were included in 1882 census were gradually given the right to become members of political parties (Güzel, 1985: 861).

3.4.2. Leisure and Consumption

Daily life went beyond the district in the nineteenth century. The limited scale of the district was no longer able to nourish itself in terms of the economic, cultural and

[66] Knots became popular rather than plaits in the hair design. Women began to spend time for curling their hair with curling irons and shaping it with different kinds of knots (Şeni, 1995: 63).

[67] Two humor magazines, *Çıngıraklı Tatar* and *Hayal*, published during 1870s, made fun of the new hairstyles, the other non-Muslim customs and the 'victims of modernization', and caricaturized how slow was the new transportation vehicles such as tramcars, steamships or trains and how superficial were the new fashions (Şeni, 1995: 64).

[68] For more information about *Kadınlar Dünyası Dergisi*, see Çakır (1996).

social resources. Hence it was the first time that people started walking around, just to look to the shop windows and to show off. The new social space of street characterized with shopping allowed women, especially the well-to-do women to join the daily life outside their homes and hence to show themselves more in the public sphere.

Entertainment was not only limited to taking a promenade in the fashionable shopping streets. Another form of entertainment was introduced around the notion of night life which was quite different than the traditional form of family based entertainments. The new forms of entertainment included theatre plays (Fig. 50) and operas,[69] performed mostly during the winter, and concerts, circuses, magic shows, live music in night-clubs (*gazino*), pantomime shows (Emiroğlu, 2002: 536) and carnivals that took place especially in the summertime. Although these entertainment spaces were generally frequented by non-Muslims and Muslim men, some theaters offered lodges behind cages for Muslim women or in some instances there were shows displayed just for women. In this context, Viennese and Parisian style coffeehouses became frequented more regularly by women.

Among the other kinds of Western type of social gatherings were the feasts or balls organized by the embassies[70] and the house parties where famous artists of the period were invited (Figs. 51 and 52). Like in every other case these new types of entertainments were only gradually accepted by the Muslim households.

With the introduction of new transportation alternatives, such as ferries, trains and tramcars, accessibility in between different areas became easier (Fig. 53). Phaeton became an important symbol of status for the upper-middle class.[71] Having a car; a

[69] The first Turkish opera *Arif'in Hilesi* was staged in *Gedikpaşa Tiyatrosu* in 1872 (Emiroğlu, 2002: 587). It is believed that the first movie show in İstanbul was held in 1896 (Akbayar and Sakaoğlu, 1999: 170).

[70] Diplomats, few Turkish officers, women from the 'high society' and Levantines were the participants of those balls, Duhani (1990: 62). The balls could also be held by different ethnic groups as charity events (Bareilles, 2003: 73).

[71] The lower classes on the other hand used streetcars pulled by horses (Işın, 1985: 557). The first train line came into service in 1871, between Eminönü and Aksaray, Karaköy and Ortaköy. Electrical

koçu (a car pulled by oxes), a *kupa* (a car closed from four sides and pulled by horses), or a phaeton, became an indicator of social status especially for women and hence riding in a car was considered important to show themselves in the public (Figs. 54, 55 and 56).[72] 1895 was the year when the first car was introduced to İstanbul. Thus the pace of daily life changed with the car; 'speed' was introduced and traveling in between different districts and the newly popular areas became a common daily practice. The district and the daily life of the Ottoman society, especially of the upper class became much more extroverted.

Rural residential areas that functioned as retreats for the elite already existed around İstanbul before the eighteenth century. Trips to the countryside were usually centered on functional reasons, such as visiting relatives, doing business, hunting and even going on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Ottomans did not have the tradition of moving to a summerhouse, and using the open spaces as recreational areas until the eighteenth century (Tanyeli, 1996a: 452). Beginning from the Tulip Period, the nature was seen not just as an environment to be protected or coped with but as an aesthetic content, offering opportunities for summerhouses to be built in a physically and visually designed context that included open and pleasant vistas, and gardens with numerous kinds of tulips. The reasons for this change can be related to a different and more individualized understanding of urban life that was unknown before. In this understanding there was an increased concern on finding leisure time which enabled people to spend their idle hours out of town; by relaxing and enjoying the nature.

One other way for spending leisure time in nature became swimming. From the seventeenth century onwards Ottomans are known to have gone to swimming. However in this early period swimming was not a very common practice, and limited to few people, mostly to boatmen and *tulumbacı*, and besides having a sunburned tan

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tramcars were first introduced in 1913 (Ünal, 1979: 76). The train line between İstanbul and İzmit was completed in 1873 (Kuban, 1996: 360).

[72] Even though the passengers could not be seen from the outside, a flashy car carrying women was highly in demand by the nineteenth century photographers and their customers (Faroqhi, 2002a: 273).

was not a very desirable thing.[73] During the nineteenth century on the other hand going to seaside and swimming in 'sea-baths' became widespread (Evren, 2000: 14). Sea-baths were wooden structures built in the sea to allow people to swim in privacy and without any interference. The first sea-baths in İstanbul were built in the second half of the eighteenth century (Evren, 2000: 23). In 1867 there were 62 sea-baths in İstanbul. Most of them were built for men but there were also few examples built for women. In cases where both were present, men's baths were placed far enough from the women's so that their noise could not be heard (Evren, 2000: 25) (Fig. 57). Public sea baths were dismantled at the end of every summer and were rebuilt the next year, while private sea-baths which were built in front of the summerhouses were permanent structures (Figs. 58 and 59). There were dressing rooms, a lifeguard and a sergeant to provide the security of the sea-baths.

New forms and items of luxury, that is, new objects of consumption adorned the shop windows in the nineteenth century. Accordingly the spending habits of the household members became indicative of the wealth of the household and also manifested its 'modernity'. This also explains why luxury consumption – high expenditures on coaches, cafés, restaurants, theaters and clothes- became so popular (Fig. 60). Indeed not only men but also women used luxurious goods as symbols of status among each other. The luxuries which were possessed first by the elite eventually penetrated into the other classes as well. On the other hand, as in many other instances the tendency towards European expenditure was initially considered as extravagant and degenerating by the less-well-to-do and the conservatives.[74]

'Taste' varied according to different status groups. For instance the traditional handcrafted accessories no longer satisfied the newly emerging 'modern' taste and demand, and hence the importation of aesthetic objects from the West started to

[73] Ottomans were not much interested in the sea-related activities in general: they did not have an appetite for eating fish, going to fishing, or any activity that involved a relationship with the sea (Kuban, 1996: 338).

[74] *Alafranga* was used to describe the new and European way of living. It was generally used with a negative connotation. The desire for the European civilization and living was accepted as the main reason for the moral degeneration. The prevalence of new forms of entertainment was accepted as one of the reasons for the destruction of an empire (Doğan, 2001: 86, 87).

replace them. For the upper class households having these objects meant to become different from the other social classes; it meant to become modern. In fact families from lower classes as well became attracted to these objects and from the 1830s onwards there was a fetish of Western artifacts (Tanyeli, 1996b: 288). This interest was directly related with the new marketing methods, the design of shop windows that especially adorned the Galata-Pera district and also with the advertisements on newspapers and magazines; boutiques,[75] watch sellers, jewelers, furniture shops, perfumeries, florists, bookshops and the like, advertised their products in the magazines or gazettes of the period in fancy ways (Figs. 61, 62 and 63) (Akın, 1998: 220-226). Young Ottomans showed a great interest in the new lifestyle and consumer objects. In time stores in Pera was full of European goods, serving clientele from different classes and age groups (İrez, 1989: 18);[76] people came to see and buy what was displayed in the showcases of Pera stores.

One area to observe the consumption of luxury items is furniture. Ottomans knew about the Western furniture well before the nineteenth century. But the western furniture became widespread only after the Tanzimat period. The first datable Western type of furniture in the Ottoman Empire is from 1612. Miss Pardoe and Moltke had seen mirrors, consoles or chairs in the palace during the reign of Mahmud II (İrez, 1989: 75). An armchair for an ambassador and a chair can be seen in two miniatures dating from 1720 and 1744. We also know about lacquer furniture used in the Topkapı palace before they were destroyed in 1754-57 by the command of Osman III, since he considered them as the products of non-Muslim taste. Following the capitulations however, export products entered into the Ottoman Empire in considerable quantities. For example, in 1727 silk draperies from Lyon

[75] Lion Store, selling silk and cotton clothes, umbrellas, gloves and laces was one of the most popular boutiques of the late nineteenth century Pera (Üsdiken, 1999: 252). In *Bon Marchè* which was one of the most famous grand stores of the nineteenth century Pera various kinds of goods were sold, such as leather products, home objects, stationery, hunting goods, cosmetics, jewelry, bronze art objects, toys, optical goods and glasses, photography equipment, medicine, gloves, socks, lingerie, umbrella, cloths, porcelain, crystal, and wine and liquor (Çelik, 1996: 106).

[76] Women of the palace also enjoyed shopping from these stores. They bought clothes, cars, home furnishings, furniture and various objects. Their high expenditures on such goods and on extremely lavish wedding or circumcision ceremonies caused large amount of debts for the Ottoman government, and by some were interpreted as the main reason for the economical decline of the Ottoman Empire (Akyıldız, 1999: 19).

began to be exported although Ottomans had their own silk production. But it was during the nineteenth century that a boom in buying export goods was seen among the palace family and the nobility[77] (Figs. 64 and 65). Not only decorative furniture but also French gardens and accessories became very popular in this period.

Western furniture, new heating and lighting systems as well as kitchen utensils appeared in the newly fashioned houses (Yücel, 1996: 299).[78] Sitting on a *sofa* and cushions was still a tradition, but well-to-do families acquired European furniture such as coaches and armchairs. The change of lifestyle was evident in domestic interiors that now included beds, chairs, tables and wardrobes (Fig. 66). Rooms that contained beds or wardrobes lost their multi-functional quality which was the characteristic of the traditional Ottoman house. Wallpapers adorned the walls especially in hotels and restaurants in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. Old style Ottoman furniture and objects, as well as French, Italian and other antique furniture were now used together in most of the houses. But there was also a mixture of everything; very valuable things could be placed next to invaluable goods.[79] Hence furniture borrowed from the West adorned the Ottoman houses but they were sometimes misused.[80] Elite houses adopted the salon, a lavishly furnished room in the European style, for the reception of visitors. Dining areas and practices in which people sit around a table to eat with fork and knife from separate plates were also

[77] During the construction of Dolmabahçe Palace grandiose objects such as crystal chandeliers weighting four tons, or candlesticks holding 330 candles were exported from Europe. European governments were also enthusiastic in sending precious gifts to the Ottoman palace (İrez, 1989: 34).

[78] In 1895 mechanical fruit presses, and ready-made baby foods by Nestlè were imported (Işın, 1995:125).

[79] For example, unique porcelain vases that were sent as gifts to the palace by the Chinese emperor were placed next to Swiss cuckoo clocks or mousetraps bought by the Ottoman emperor from England or next to cigarette trays made of agate stone and decorated with precious jewels (İrez, 1989: 45).

[80] *Vestiyer* (closets for storing coats) could be found in the salon, although it should be placed at the entrance of the house. Family portraits adorned the salons although it was accepted as a lack of manners in Europe where only paintings that had an artistic value were hanged on the walls. Even bedside tables and chest of drawers could be found in the salons. Desks could also be placed in the salons although they were supposed to be found in the study rooms. Similarly coaches and armchairs were sometimes placed in dining rooms and not in living rooms or salons (Işın, 1995: 126).

adopted rapidly by the well-to-do during the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century[81] (Fig. 67).

One of the symbols of modernity was the piano. The use of piano was not common in the Ottoman Empire as it was in the West. But for those who had one, in most cases for a woman, playing or even just displaying a piano in the living room, demonstrated that she was not only a well-to-do lady but also a refined one. However, this should not be taken to mean that the musical instruments were treated as mere status symbols. Ottoman ladies had practiced music in earlier centuries for their families and female guests, but in the nineteenth century they started to perform music with different instruments (Faroqhi, 2002b: 49-50).

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the non-Muslim population living in Pera was also living like the Muslims; they did not have European furniture in their houses. But starting from the courtiers the upper middle class settled in Pera began importing furniture especially from France (Fig. 68). The built-in furniture was rapidly replaced with the mobile western furniture.[82] In time local craftsmen as well started to manufacture Western type of furniture like chairs, tables and bedside tables. In short it can be said that the Western taste was accepted, in a way, as the superior or the appropriate taste to become modern.

Turkish novels of the period also clearly show the changes in family life, the desire for living in a European way, the changing cultural values, and the deterioration of sexual and spiritual morals. Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil in *Aşk-ı Memnu*, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar in *Şıpsevdi*, Yakup Kadri Karaosmaoğlu in *Kiralık Konak*, Peyami Safa in *Sözde Kızlar*, Halide Edip Adıvar in *Sinekli Bakkal*, and Nahit Sırrı Örik in *Sultan*

[81] These changes were not immediately adopted by every individual, and resulted in creating alienation between the older and the younger generations (Faroqhi, 2002b: 57). In time eating with hands around a *sini* was accepted as something repulsive (Behar and Duben, 1996: 225).

[82] Greeks were the first to accept the Western type of furniture in their houses (Tanyeli, 1996a: 467).

Hamid Düşerken reflected the social changes of the time (Akatlı, 1984: 12-15).[83] Likewise some theatre plays also focused on similar issues.[84]

3.4.3. Pera as the Initiator of Change

Many aspects of daily life changed in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century. Among the main reasons was the growth and change in population. Many Muslim immigrant families from the provinces, where it was no longer safe to live in or from those which were lost by the empire moved to İstanbul.[85] In İstanbul a large number of non-Muslim immigrants had already settled to share the economic advantages together with the Levantines and the Europeans, who long before started benefiting from the commercial profits İstanbul provided.

There also happened an unprecedented expansion in the Ottoman foreign trade and the development in transportation. The number of foreign people who were living in İstanbul increased with the trading contract between the Ottoman Empire and England in 1838 and also during the Crimean War in 1853[86] (Germaner and İnankur, 2002:43). Foreigners who wanted to settle in the Ottoman Empire chose Pera. With the non- Muslim Ottomans and Europeans living in this quarter Pera became the first region to experience the social changes of the nineteenth century.[87] So the changes began in the capital but particularly in the Galata-Pera district which was the center

[83] See Timur (1991) for more information on the Ottoman literature.

[84] See And (1972) for more information on the Ottoman theater.

[85] Previously mostly unmarried men used to move to big towns and often stayed there on a seasonal basis. The migration of entire families began in the nineteenth century (Ortaylı, 1985b: 101). A counter migration was also valid for the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century. 300.000 non-Muslim citizens left the Ottoman Empire and migrated to Russia, Europe and America between 1878 and 1914 (Mantran, 2001: 287). See Karpat (2003) for more information on the migration and population of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century and before.

[86] After the Crimean War, in 1860s, a 'money market' came into existence in Galata. The Ottoman government could not borrow money from Europe in 1866 because of the Prussian-Austrian war and in 1870 because of the Prussian-France war. So the government had to borrow money from the bankers in Galata. As such during 1870s Galata bankers were controlling the Ottoman budget (Türker, 2000: 73).

[87] In the nineteenth century foreigners used the word Pera instead of Beyoğlu. Pera means 'other side', in Greek. The most commonly accepted boundaries of the district include Galata and the vicinity of İstiklâl Caddesi (Cezar, 1991: 11).

of European inhabitants in İstanbul. Between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries Pera was a district with cemeteries, prairies, vineyards and few embassy buildings and was inhabited mostly by the non-Muslims (Figs. 69 and 70). Until the nineteenth century the population was between 3000 and 5000 (Gülersoy, 2003: 21). Among them were diplomats, bankers, sailors, workers and even unemployed men (Çıracı and Dökmeci, 1990: 33).

In 1830s the non-Muslim population in Pera reached to 13.000; half of them were tradesmen whereas the rest were customers, including sailors, captains and alike. The total population in İstanbul is estimated to be around 400.000 in 1840. In 1849 the population of Pera was around 30.000; 1000 French, 6000 Greeks, 1000 Maltase and Ionian, 1600 Austrian, 1000 Russian, and the rest English, Sardinian, Prussian, American and Iranian.[88] During 1844-1880 the non-Muslim population constituted more than %50 of the total population in İstanbul. In 1882 the Muslim population living in Pera was % 20-25 of the total population (Çıracı and Dökmeci, 1990: 48).[89] In 1886 the population of İstanbul was 873.000; %44 Muslims, %17.5 Greeks, %17.1 Armenians, %5.1 Jews and %15.3 foreigners (Mantran, 2001: 286). More than anything else this increasing cosmopolitan population gave way to the formation of a multi-cultural social environment (Fig. 71 and 72). As Gaston Deschamps states at the turn of the twentieth century:

> Pera'da oturan Rum, Ermeni ve Fransızlar, fazlaca keskin farklılıkları törpülemekle beraber her tipe özgü nüanslara el sürmeyen bir müşterek zeminde buluşmuş gibidirler; bütün bu çerçeveler kendine özgü bir millet oluşturur: Peralılar (Gülersoy, 2003: 33).
>
> (Greek, Armenian and French residents of Pera lived in their own environments with their cultural diversities. However they diminished the major differences and hence created a unique society: the Pera people.) (Trans. Gözübüyük Melek)

[88] French was the commonly used language in Pera although the number of French people living here was not very high compared to the other foreign groups (Karpat, 2003:135).

[89] The population of non-Muslims in general started to decrease from 1860s onwards in İstanbul; in 1885 the non-Muslim population was %45 of the total population and in 1900 it decreased to %30 (Karpat, 2003: 122).

Some urban reorganizations were undertaken in İstanbul in this period as well. During the nineteenth century the north of Karaköy was reorganized and the center of Karaköy became a business center. A commercial dock was built on the coastline of Karaköy, Tophane and Kabataş. The hills of Taksim and Maçka were given over to barracks, Dolmabahçe-Beşiktaş line was reserved for the palaces and Pera became the center of cultural facilities, entertainment and shopping (Çelik, 1996: 101-102).

The rise in the population changed the conditions of life and dwelling tremendously. Between 1838 and 1847, there had been % 75 increase in land price. The rents were as high as in Paris or London. The quarter where Europeans settled began to expand towards the north of Beyoğlu where Muslim families lived. The non-Muslim families and foreigners occupied the area from Azaplar Kapısı to Beyoğlu and Taksim while the Muslims settled in between Çeşme square and Galata tower. Families who could not afford to pay the high rents had to move to nearby districts or to the other parts of the city thus providing means for new and wealthier settlers.

With the increase in population, foreign postal services, schools, clubs, a stock exchange office and a research institute around the embassies were also founded. Galata-Pera became a center for foreigners, tradesmen, bankers and wealthy people willing to settle down in a cosmopolitan environment and hence to live in the Parisian fashion. As told by Lous Enault:

> Pera sadece bir Avrupa mahallesi değil, aşağı yukarı bir Fransız kenti. Burada sayımız fazla değil, fakat etkimiz fazla. Moda'nın buraya ithal ettiği, kopya ettiği, taklit ettiği, 'biz' iz, ve şu sihirli cümledir: 'Tıpkı Paris'teki gibi!' Bütün mağazalar, bu kurala uyar. Mevsim yeniliklerini görebilmek için, bizim gemilerimiz beklenir. Sanatçılarımız, lükse dayalı bütün endüstri kollarının başında yer alır (Gülersoy, 2003: 29).
>
> (Pera is not just a European district but is almost a French city. We are not very crowded here but we have great impact on fashion. What the fashion imported, copied and imitated here is us and this miracle sentence 'Just like in Paris.' All the stores follow this trend. Our ships are awaited to see the new trends. Our artists are the pioneers of every industry that are related with luxury.) (Trans. Gözübüyük Melek)
>
> Pera'nın yüksek tabakası, Paris modasına uyarak giyinir ve şapkalar takar, piyano çalar, artık iyice Parislileşmiş(tir)….Montmartre'de piyasaya çıkan son şarkıların dizelerini mırıldanır, diplomasinin zorluklarını öğrenmeye

> çalışır, mikroplardan korkar, sosyal reformlara girişir, Batı'nın en kadim milletlerinden aşağı kalır yanı olmayan medeni bir koloniye yakışacak tarzda, daima eğlenir, bazen de sıkılır (Gülersoy, 2003: 33).
>
> (The high class of Pera dresses, wears hats and plays piano according to Parisian fashion. They almost became Parisians. It mumbles the lyrics of the latest songs in Montmarte, tries to learn the tricks of politics, is afraid of microbes, tries to realize social reforms, and as suited to a civilized colony always entertains itself and sometimes gets bored no less than the most advanced Western people.) (Trans. Gözübüyük Melek)

At first 'Pera' lifestyle, with palatial stone buildings, people coming from different ethnic groups and speaking different languages, various spaces of leisure (like numerous restaurants and entertainment places, grand hotels and department stores), embassies, European shops, and different kinds of entertainments for all social classes, remained exclusive to foreigners (Figs. 73 and 74) (Çıracı and Dökmeci, 1990: 32). The cosmopolitan character of the quarter and its new features, inevitably attracted the Muslims as well. In time Pera attracted the Ottoman intellectuals and introduced them to the European culture. New groups, first the local non-Muslims and than the new generation of Ottomans, who worked as officers or trainees in Europe, were accepted in this environment (Fig. 75).

> ….Türk erkekleri berber dükkânlarındaki balmumundan yapılmış bebekleri seyretmek için duruyorlar. Türk kadınları da ağızlarından sular akarak terzi camekânlarının önünde takılıp kalıyorlar; Avrupalı sokağın ortasında yüksek sesle konuşuyor, gülüyor, şakalaşıyor; Müslüman kendisini gurbette görüyor ve başını İstanbul'daki kadar dik tutmuyor (Amicis, 1993: 59).
>
> (Turkish men are stopping by to see the wax mannequins in the barber shops. Turkish women are enthusiastically watching the showcases of tailors. Europeans are talking loud, laughing and joking in the middle of the street while Muslims feel strangers and they are not as proud as they are in İstanbul.) (Trans. Gözübüyük Melek)

The organization of the house and household before modernization were tied to certain social norms. The traditional house had similar formal characteristics in different regions. Likewise the *sofa*, the rooms and the transitional spaces exhibited a similar spatial relationship in different houses. The districts were divided according to ethnic differences rather than economical and social ones but irrespective of wealth both the well-to-do and the more modest families lived in the same district. These households perpetuated their daily lives within the protected and closed

community of the districts. Few occasions, mostly celebrations, visits and shopping enabled especially women to spend time outside their homes and districts.

During the nineteenth century on the other hand the traditional house and the lifestyle changed following the social developments in many other contexts. New dwelling types like row-houses and apartment buildings were introduced. The districts were now separated in terms of economical differences, rather than the religious ones. The new lifestyle was different from the earlier periods when it was based more on accomplishing the basic needs. The daily life in the nineteenth century however was shaped by new concepts such as leisure and consumption that contributed to the participation of household and in particular the women into the street life, in addition to the basic domestic needs such as kitchen shopping or neighbor visiting.

CHAPTER 4

MULTI-STORY APARTMENTS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY İSTANBUL

Apartment buildings started to be built in Europe from the seventeenth century onwards.[90] The rise of population caused by the industrial revolution triggered the construction of multi-story buildings, first for the working class and later for the middle class.[91] France was the first to adopt the middle-class apartments when compared to other western countries. In Paris, apartments later became fashionable also among the elite, and were turned into significant symbols of social mobility starting from the middle of the nineteenth century.

Apartments were introduced into the Ottoman Empire much later, and similar to most of the European cities, first into the capital. Many apartment buildings were constructed first in the Galata-Pera district and then in the Ayazpaşa – Teşvikiye – Şişli – Tatavla regions in İstanbul, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Among the many reasons for the emergence of apartments was the growth in population, especially in the capital. The strategic location of İstanbul for the eastern trade attracted many Western people to İstanbul. Houses constructed to accommodate these tradesmen, their employees and local inhabitants were among the primary factors in the physical re-development of the city and the rise of the apartment-dwellings. One other influential and crucial factor was the increasing influence of Westernization movement in the Ottoman society. It is often noted that (from the writings of travelers and visitors who visited İstanbul during the nineteenth century) the French culture had great impacts on the Ottomans. People admired the

[90] The term 'apartment', was originally used to describe a suite of rooms used by an individual or a group of individuals within a big house or a palace, but today it is used more broadly to denote a set of rooms within a flat in a larger building, that may contain several such flats and is generally designed in multi stories, to accommodate more than one dwelling (Turner, 1996: 216).

[91] Housing the working class was not considered as a problem to be solved until 1920s in the Ottoman Empire in contrast to the European countries which faced the same problem almost a hundred years ago (Bilgin, 1996: 474). This was because the industrialization in the Ottoman Empire started much later when compared to Europe. The first social dwellings, *Harikzedegan Apartmanları*, were constructed in İstanbul in 1922 for the victims of the 1918 fire (Yavuz, 1979: 82).

fashion, the lifestyle and the lavish buildings in France, especially in Paris. Hence the desire to live in similar buildings must also have accelerated the emergence and acceptance of apartment buildings in İstanbul.

However the urge for constructing apartments was not merely related to an imitation of the West, but also to a desire to change the social conditions in the capital with respect to the Western population settled down in Galata-Pera district, to the rise in the number of masonry buildings like the new banks and commercial buildings (Kıray, 1979: 78) (Fig. 76), to the increasing political and economical relations with the West, and to the fires which destroyed the old settlement pattern of the city (Denel, 1982: 53) (Fig. 77). Besides, the foreign staff working in embassies, foreign schools, hospitals and banks were already living in Pera and close to the West in terms of their lifestyle, a fact which accelerated the construction of apartment blocks in the Pera district as well (Ünal, 1979: 72).

After the declaration of the Tanzimat Edict, with the influence of trading contracts between the Ottomans and the French and English traders, the Galata district became a business center with intensive port activities, ship agencies, bankers and various business firms. The Westerners and non-Muslims working in Galata preferred to dwell in a district that was closer to their workspace and which was not as crowded as Galata and which had a lively social life. So they settled in the nearby Pera.

In the middle of the nineteenth century (1864-1865) the ramparts between Galata and Pera were demolished and the area then became suitable for the construction of new buildings (Fig. 78). After the fire in 1870, following the new fire prevention regulations, most of the timber buildings were replaced with brick and stone ones[92]

[92] The fire in 1870 was the biggest fire in Pera: 63 streets, 103 districts and 3500 houses were demolished. 80 people died and 4000 were injured (Çıracı and Dökmeci, 1990: 43). On the other hand according to Amicis, who was not in İstanbul but heard many stories about the fire from the local people, 2000 people died and 9000 houses were demolished in the same fire (Amicis, 1993: 252). After the 1870 fire insurance against fires was firstly introduced to the Ottoman Empire in İstanbul. Various insurance companies were founded. Maps showing the risky fire regions in the urban layout were prepared and became crucial documents for such companies. Goad drew insurance maps of a limited area of İstanbul between 1904 and 1906, see web sources (Güvenç, 2003). In 1922-1945 Jacques Pervititich drew very detailed insurance maps of almost all regions in İstanbul (Tekeli, 2000: 9) except Bakırköy and Yeşilköy (Sabancıoğlu, 2000: 21). The maps drawn by Suat Nirven during the

(Figs. 79 and 80). And after the tunnel that facilitated the transportation in between these two districts came into service in 1875, the business district of Galata was attached to Pera.

The new apartment buildings, similar to those in European cities were arranged regularly on both sides of the roads. In the beginning of the twentieth century, luxurious multi-story buildings flanked the main roads of Pera and Taksim (Çelik, 1996: 109) next to the commercial buildings, hotels and other public buildings. Later on, Şişli and Ayazpaşa quarter near the Taksim square became the site of such multi-story apartment buildings inhabited by wealthy Muslim families (Faroqhi, 2002b: 55). The apartments built in between 1864-1875 however were far from their European counterparts in terms of ventilation, illumination and heating. After a while it was celebrated that a group of French architects who were acknowledged as designers of practical interior spaces and artistic exterior facades, similar to those in Europe, came to town[93] (Çelik, 1996: 108). Between 1880 and 1920 there was an increase and also a demand for constructing apartment buildings especially in Galata-Pera district (and than in the other regions) (Topçu, 2004: 92). In 1910 there were already 350 apartment buildings in İstanbul (while in 1922 the total number of apartment buildings was around 1000).[94] But the apartment buildings did not become widespread among Muslim Ottomans in these early years; possibly because living in an apartment building was not yet considered appropriate within the rooted traditions of the Ottoman family life for many households.[95] The apartment buildings were

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end of 1940s and in 1950s were the continuation of Pervititich maps (Sabancıoğlu, 2000: 22). After the 1870 fire Pera was rebuilt with masonry buildings and according to the new fire regulations. And these rebuilding activities led to important changes in the development of fire insurances, the planning of fire locations, the establishment of fire regulations and the institutionalization of the fire brigade (Güvenç, 2000: 12).

[93] According to Sey (1993: 281) the first apartment building in Galata-Pera was built in 1882.

[94] See web sources (Güvenç, 2003).

[95] We are informed about how the Muslim Ottomans approached the first apartment houses from the novels depicting this period. The palatial apartments with their new forms and new domestic technologies were idealized by some of the Ottomans and the 'old' traditional houses, even mansions, and the lifestyle were seen as old-fashioned (Karaosmanoğlu, 1981: 166). The wide streets, the crowd, telegraph and tramcar wires, automobiles, and advertisements on the walls in districts such as Şişli reminded them of Europe (Karaosmanoğlu, 1981: 168). Even in 1930s and 40s some young people avoid inviting their friends to their houses unless they were living in apartments (Tanyeli, 1995: 16).

more readily accepted by the Muslims after the republican era, especially after the 1950s, when the transition from an agricultural order to an industrial one was put into operation and as a consequence migration and population increased (Ünal, 1979: 71).

4.1. An Overview of the Apartment Blocks

In the multi-story apartments, one or more families could live on each floor. The owners (Denel, 1982: 53) and the residents were generally non-Muslims; Jews, Greeks, Armenians, Italians and French whose occupations varied. According to the Tübitak project directed by Güvenç, Jews mostly lived in Galata, Greeks preferred the central parts of Galata-Pera, Armenians settled in the north of Galata-Pera and foreigners occupied the apartments on the Grand rue de Pera[96] (according to *Annuaire Oriental* dating from 1910).[97] Most of the apartment flats were rented (Barillari and Godoli, 1997: 136) possibly because the ownership of a flat (*kat mülkiyeti*) was not yet introduced. The social and economical status of the residents probably changed from one district to another or from one building to the other when the price, location and the quality of the flats and the apartments are taken into consideration. Accordingly most of the residents were from the upper-middle classes who used to live in the traditional houses like the Muslim Ottomans.[98] However with the introduction of multi-story apartments non-Muslims living in Galata-Pera were among the first to move into these buildings. Of the several apartment buildings of varying size in Pera most were unpretentious, generally with four to six stories, and were built adjacently on rather narrow frontage lots (Fig. 81):

[96] Personal communication with Murat Güvenç, see Güvenç in other sources.

[97] *Annuaire Orientals* are typical city guides similar to the ones prepared for Europe. Publishing such guides began in Western Europe and spread into other countries. They began to be published in the Ottoman Empire around the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In *Annuaire Orientals*, various kinds of information could be found. The guides were organized according to the names of the streets and different building types, such as houses, apartment buildings, offices, schools, tombs or police stations were included. Even the residents of the apartment flats were given by their names and occupations. However these guides are subjective documents as some social classes are insufficiently represented. As such women for example were included only if they were the heads of the household. It is therefore difficult to trace women except the unmarried such as widows, midwifes, tailors or private teachers, see web sources (Güvenç, 2003).

[98] See Stefanos Yerasimos (2004) for his observations on the move of non-Muslims to Galata-Pera, see web sources.

> Although there were some large scale apartment buildings dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries such as 'Cité de Pera', 'Africa Han', 'Botter Han', 'Doğan Apartment', 'Cité de Syrie', 'Apartments du Tunnel', 'Apartments Camondo', the great majority of the apartment houses in Pera were smaller structures (Merey Enlil, 1999: 308).

One of these apartments is *Cité de Pera* built in 1876 on the area of *Naum Tiyatrosu* which was destroyed in the 1870 fire.[99] The ground floor of this apartment, as in some others, was reserved for 21 stores, whereas the upper three floors were used as dwellings. There were 6 flats on each floor, and 5-7 rooms in each flat (Akın, 1998: 218). Running water and illumination with gas were the most important comforts this building offered to its residences. In addition there were also storage rooms for storing wood and coal at the basement floor (Çelik, 1996: 109) (Fig. 82). With its elaborate design and architectural comforts, *Cité de Pera* became the ideal apartment prototype (Colonas, 1999: 376). One other apartment is *Botter Han* built by a prominent tailor of the period, Jean Botter. The architect of this building was the well-known architect of the period; Raimondo d'Aranco.[100] Botter used the ground floor of the building as his atelier and the upper floors as his townhouse during winter (Üsdiken, 1999: 255-256) (Fig. 83). *Botter Han* was the first important example of *art nouveau* architecture in İstanbul. On its facade (11 m. to 42 m.) was a wrought iron balcony on the fifth floor, and rose figures used in various places, such as on the entrance door, side panels, on the horizontally molded plaster bands that differentiated the dwelling floors, and on some of the window moldings (Barillari and Godoli, 1997: 85-86). Another monumental example is *Doğan Apartmanı* which was designed around a U-shaped courtyard[101] with forty nine flats, ranging from 91m² to 196 m² in size (Figs. 84a and 84b). As such it offered a variety of flats to different groups of inhabitants (Fig. 84c). In each flat there was a kitchen, a toilet, town-gas, and water installations. In this fancy apartment the flats facing the courtyard had balconies (Fig. 84d). Although the organization of the flats differed in

[99] The building was owned by the Greek businessman Christaki Efendi Zagraphos. It has 4600 m² of total construction area (Colonas, 1999: 375).

[100] D'Aranco worked as the architect of the Ottoman palace between 1896 and 1908. He designed not only the palace buildings but many mansions and summerhouses in the Bosphorus and apartments in Pera (Çelik, 1996: 117).

[101] The original name of the apartment was *Helbig Apartmanı*, but it was later renamed as *Nahid Bey Apartmanı* and finally as *Citè Yazıcı* (Akın, 1998: 290).

each block there were three or four interconnected rooms in every flat. In every flat there was also a service entrance for easy access to the kitchen in addition to the main entrance. Every flat had rooms for servants both on the attic and the basement floors. Moreover around 1930 a tennis court was built on the empty lot at the north side of the building. In the middle of the twentieth century elevators were added to the building[102] (Meyer-Schlichtmann, 1992: 46, 47-53) (Figs. 83 and 84).

Indeed some of the large scale apartments with different sized-flats were spectacular buildings with tennis courts in their gardens, shared laundries and personnel rooms in their attics, high staircases, elevators, and courtyards (Yücel, 1996: 309). Moreover, as mentioned in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's *Kiralık Konak*, there was even a concierge in some of the apartment houses (Karaosmanoğlu, 1981: 168). Due to the narrow lots most of the apartments had two facades facing the street on both the front and the back, and the living areas were generally located on these facades. Some inner spaces, especially the wet spaces, were illuminated by light wells (Güncan, 1993: 187). On the facades most apartments exhibited neoclassical, revivalist and/or *art nouveau* features like attached Corinthian, Composite or Ionic pilasters with capitals, pediments, elaborate cornices on eaves, wrought iron balustrades on the balconies, horizontal molded bands that separated the floors and flower shaped moldings on top and bottom of the windows (Barkul, 1993: 50). Some apartments had courtyards at the back like the French apartments and some of them, especially the ones built along the main roads such as *Grand Rue de Péra*, also had commercial spaces on the ground floors (Barillari and Godoli, 1997: 136). With elements such as projections, bay windows and long eaves, and half or full building bases, a group of apartments shared some elements of the common vocabulary that shaped the traditional houses. Projections and bay windows were commonly used in the apartments generally on the first, second and third floors. Fourth floors on the other hand generally had a balcony that served as a viewing terrace in case of such occasions like parades and other street celebrations (Barkul, 1993: 47). The balconies

[102] In addition to the above mentioned well-known apartment buildings there are other famous apartments such as *Freige*, *Rizzo* and *Kamondo* apartments. See Barillari and Godoli (1997) and Gülersoy (2003) for more information on *Freige Apartmanı*. See the web page of Beyoğlu A.Ş. Company (www.beyogluas.com) for a short history and for the ongoing restoration works on *Rizzo* and *Kamondo* apartments.

had wrought iron, masonry or both iron and masonry balustrades (Kaprol, 1999: 314-315). Most of the apartments had water, electrical, sewer, and coal gas installations and almost none of them had an elevator (Barkul, 1993: 42).

There are numerous nineteenth century apartment-blocks still used in İstanbul especially in Galata-Pera district.[103] Most of the apartment blocks on both sides of *La Grande Rue de Pera* or the present day *İstiklal Caddesi* are from the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. The type and nature of evidence concerning these apartments vary. Information on the nineteenth century residents is limited and the original plans are scanty. In this chapter the plans of 15 apartment-blocks (24 flats) which are all in Galata-Pera district and are drawn (or redrawn) by Sunalp (1999: 303-307) will be taken into consideration as a sample. The plans taken from Sunalp (1999: 303-307) are revised by the author and the approximate square meters of the individual rooms in the apartment flats are included in the revised plans.

Sofa like inner and central spaces borrowed from the traditional Ottoman house, are seen in all of the sample apartment flats. Within the flats the rooms generally varied in terms of size and location. By looking at the plans it is not possible to assume the function of every room but the room facing the street which corresponded to the bay window and which is larger than the others is almost a continuation of *başoda*, the principal room in the modest traditional houses which functioned both as the main living and reception room and also enjoyed the privilege of extra light and view.

4.2. General Characteristics of the Sample Apartment Buildings in Galata-Pera District

The Goad insurance maps that are drawn between 1904 and 1906 included Beyoğlu Taksim and Tarlabaşı regions in İstanbul.[104] The buildings shown in red are masonry buildings, the ones shown in yellow are wooden buildings, and those shown with both colors probably refer to the buildings constructed with composite construction

[103] See Barkul (1993) for information on the use of apartments in the 1990s.

[104] See web sources (Güvenç, 2003)

systems.[105] The Pervititich insurance maps, drawn between 1922 and 1945, on the other hand categorize the buildings into four according to their construction techniques. One category consisted of the fire-safe masonry buildings constructed with local or foreign construction techniques (shown on the maps in red color); one other category included the buildings that had masonry outer walls, wooden floors and roofs, or galvanized sheet exteriors with wood and metal beneath (shown on the maps in pink). The third category refers to the wooden buildings shown in yellow on the maps. And finally the composite buildings that integrated the masonry and the wooden techniques and are shown in yellow with red frame constitute the last category[106] (Güvenç, 2000: 16). It is evident from these maps that there were several apartment buildings in Galata-Pera district and that most of them were masonry or composite buildings (Appendix A) (Figs. 85 - 100).

Goad maps are useful sources to find out the construction dates of the buildings. 11 of the sample apartments are shown in Goad maps indicating that they are built before 1905.[107] Only four of the sample apartments are not shown in Goad maps, because they are constructed in the areas that are not covered in the maps. One is *Arif Pacha Apartmanı* (Fig. 106); but its construction date is known as 1902 from another source, from Orhan Esen who is one of the residents of the building.[108] A second such apartment is *Jones Apartmanı* and according to its current residents it was built in 1908 (Fig. 102). However the construction dates of the remaining two, *Adil Bey* (Fig. 112) and *Marketto* (Fig. 113) apartments are not known (Appendix B).

[105] Personal communication with Murat Güvenç, see Güvenç in other sources.

[106] The maps were drawn to show even the details like projections, roof systems, walls and windows, number of floors, height of the buildings, width of the streets and alike. The importance of these maps is that every building was numbered (Güvenç, 2000: 16-17).

[107] However it is important to note that the inclusion of *Barnathan* and *Küçük Hendek* apartments in the Goad maps are problematic since the names Barnathan or Filibe (it is called with this name in more recent sources) are not familiar, and also *Küçük Hendek Apartmanı* is not mentioned in any other source than the Nirven maps.

[108] The architect is Constantine P. Pappa who used brick, concrete and steel as construction materials (Almaç, 2003: 33-34).

The 1910 residents of the 13 sample apartment buildings are known from the *Annuaire Orientals*.[109] Among them were lawyers, engineers, pharmacists, musicians, merchants, tailors, doctors and dentists but mostly the employees of various stores, banks and embassies. Some of the owners of the apartment buildings are Muslim Ottomans as is understood from the name of the buildings such as; *Arif Pacha* or *Zeki Pacha* apartments. But most of the proprietors of the apartments are non-Muslims. When the 'ethnic map' of Güvenç is considered it is possible to suggest that *Arif Pacha Apartmanı* located in the north of Galata-Pera, could have been occupied by Armenians, the residents of the two apartments (*Jones* and *Apostolidis* apartments) located at the center of Galata-Pera region by Greeks and the rest of the sample apartments that are in Galata by Jews. In some of the sample buildings the owners also lived in the same apartment. It is noteworthy to mention that not a single Muslim Ottoman name was listed in the *Annuaire Orientals* except '*odabachis*' (odabaşı, means a concierge or a janitor)[110] (Appendix C).

The form of most of the buildings is irregular. This is probably due to the available and already established building lots since the new apartment blocks were generally inserted into the existing building pattern of Galata and Pera. As such their building boundaries were often determined by the adjacent buildings. As a consequence light wells were commonly used to illuminate the interiors. Only three buildings; *Zuhdi Pacha, Zeki Pacha* and *Küçük Hendek* apartments can be called as strictly symmetrical in form (Figs. 101, 103 and 111). Two other buildings; *Marketto* and *Asseo* apartments are almost symmetrical with differences on one or two sides (Figs. 113 and 115). The rest is not regular in form, especially the large blocks that accommodated more than two families on one floor. One of the large apartments, *Arif Pacha Apartmanı* had a U-shaped plan in which a courtyard space was created (Fig. 106). Most of the buildings are five or six stories high. Only two of them have four stories and only one has eight floors. Some of the apartments have shops on the

[109] *Küçük Hendek* and *Adil Bey* apartments are not found in the *Annuaire Orientals* of 1910, probably because they were called with different names or else they were not yet built in this period.

[110] See See the web page of Beyoğlu A.Ş. Company (http://www.beyogluas.com/sakinler.htm) and (http://www.beyogluas.com/kamondosakinleri.htm) for a similar study done on the inhabitants of *Rizzo* and *Kamondo* during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

ground floors at present, but it is not known whether these shops also existed in the original plan as well (Fig. 70).[111] The entrances to the apartments are generally through a narrow entrance hall. The staircases are mostly circular in form and are built within a staircase hall. In none of the sample apartment buildings there are elevators.[112]

The facades of the apartments were generally organized along neoclassical trends borrowed from Greek, Renaissance and other styles. The *art nouveau* ornamentations and moldings however were also widely used. The use of pilasters, the ornaments on window details and French balconies are among the architectural and decorative features that were specifically borrowed from the West.

Nine of the flats have at least one balcony. Balconies are generally very small like the 'French' balconies and they do not exist on every floor. Thus the flats that had balconies could have been more prestigious, when compared to the flats that did not have them. Nearly all of the apartment buildings have projections on the street side and only one of the apartment blocks, *Asseo Apartmanı* has projections in the form of a covered balcony (Fig. 115).

Ten of the apartment-blocks have single flats (Appendix D) (Figs. 101, 102, 103, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112 and 114), three; *Petraki*, *Marketto* and *Asseo* apartments have two flats (Figs. 105, 113 and 115), and only *Zeki Pacha Apartmanı* has four flats (Fig. 104) and *Arif Pacha Apartmanı* has five flats (Fig. 106) on one floor. In terms of the sample considered here, it is not possible to talk about a standard plan. The area of flats differs from 49 m² to 133 m².[113] The average area of the flats is approximately 92 m². Although all the flats include similar spaces, they were planned in different combinations. One type of space that exists in all flats is a

[111] An old photograph of *Büyük Hendek Cadddesi*,shows no stores on this street, (Schiele, 1988: 16). But in *Zeki Pacha Apartmanı* located on the same street there is now a store on the ground floor, which probably was designed also as a dwelling in its original state.

[112] *Tiano Apartmanı* (Apt. 10) which was demolished and rebuilt in 1992 according to the original plan has now an elevator.

[113] The floor area of the apartment flats is approximated from the plans.

room of certain significance, here called as the 'substantial room'. The term substantial room also refers to a room that is reserved as the main living space in the flat.

4.2.1. Substantial Rooms

The number of rooms in one flat varied from 3 to 6. 8 of the flats have 4 rooms, 7 of the flats have 6 rooms, 6 flats have 5 rooms, 2 flats have 3 rooms and 1 flat has 7 rooms. So, most of the flats have more than 3 rooms. 5 flats have very small rooms that might have been used as storage areas[114] (Appendices E and G).

In most houses one or more rooms are more dominant than the others, in terms of its/their form(s), dimension(s) or location(s) and hence more substantial to be used as major living spaces. Other rooms are generally smaller in size, and were located at the back of the house while the substantial rooms were usually placed on the street side. The smaller rooms might have been used as bedrooms or study rooms for the master of the house if the flat had many such rooms.

In the traditional Ottoman house, the rooms were multi-functional. There was not a sharp distinction as a living room or a bedroom. However there was often a *başoda*, which corresponds to the substantial room. Located at the corner, *başoda* was a room where guests were accepted, and festivities such as wedding or circumcision ceremonies were held. In the apartments as well substantial rooms were used as reception rooms and were often called and identified as salons.
Nearly in all of the sample apartments the flats have more than one substantial room. The area of substantial rooms differs from 6 m² to 23 m² (Appendix F). The combination and design of substantial rooms could vary. In our sample, in only two flats, flat 4a and 6a in *Petraki* and *Arif Pacha* apartments (Figs. 104 and 106)[115] there is not a distinguished room in terms of size but this does not mean that there was not

[114] Rooms that are smaller than 4 m² are accepted as storage areas.

[115] In apartment 11, there are four rooms similar in size and form. They were designed as pairs next to each other. But it is possible that the larger two might have been used as substantial rooms.

a substantial room in these flats. View to the street or proximity to the service areas might also be considered as factors in preferring a room as a substantial room. In most of the cases there are two or three substantial rooms in a flat. In five flats two substantial rooms are found side by side and are generally similar in terms of size and form (flats, 1, 5a, 6b and d, and 11) (Figs. 101, 105, 106 and 111). In three flats there is a room space between the two substantial rooms that are similar in size and form (flats 5b, 6c and 10) (Figs. 105, 106 and 110). Moreover in thirteen flats, two or three substantial rooms are connected to each other.[116] In most these flats one room is considerably larger than the other(s) (flats 2, 3, 4 b, c and d, 7, 8, 12, 13 a and b, 14 and 15 a and b) (Figs. 102, 103, 104, 107, 108, 112, 112, 114 and 115) or like in the single case of *Apostolidis Apartmanı* (Fig. 109) two interconnected substantial rooms are planned almost identical in terms of size and form.

Interconnected rooms could have been used as a large single space in the case of festivities, celebrations, receptions and entertainment of crowded guests. Indeed, it is known that there were already separate dining rooms in some of the nineteenth century traditional Ottoman mansions. Thus in a similar fashion the smaller spaces located next to the substantial rooms in the apartments might well have been utilized as dining areas. The use of interconnected rooms, which was not common in the traditional Ottoman house, however, limited the privacy of each room in a flat. In flat 8 in *Friedmann Apartmanı* for example, access to two rooms are through other rooms (Fig. 108), as there is not a separate corridor; respectively the household members or guests had to pass through the first room to be able to reach the other one. This suggests a public or at least a semi-public function and use for such rooms.

4.2.2. Transition and Service Spaces

In the sample apartments there are three transitional spaces; the hall, the foyer and the corridor (Appendices E and H). The hall is reminiscent of the *sofa* in the

[116] A specific flooring system called '*volta* system' was used is used in some apartment buildings. It was constructed by placing bricks so as to form arches in between the beams that limited the openings in the buildings and resulted in small rooms that could not have wide openings. As such, the only way to obtain large living spaces was to connect the small ones (Barkul, 1993: 41).

traditional Ottoman house. The term hall is used in this study to identify the *sofa*-like central spaces in the flats since the term *sofa* is specific to the Ottoman house. The term foyer on the other hand is used to distinguish the entrance halls. The transitional spaces which are usually narrower than the hall and the foyer are called as corridors. The area of halls in the sample apartment flats differs from 6 m² to 29 m², while the area of foyers is between 2.7 m² to 7.26 m². The corridors are considerably smaller than the halls and foyers, ranging from 1.3 m² to 9.4 m² (this last figure is an exception together with another flat that has a corridor area of 8.4 m²) (Appendix F).

All of the individual flats have at least one hall; often rectangular in form. In only one case, *Zeki Pacha Apartmanı*, the hall is an octagon, similar to some of the nineteenth century traditional large Ottoman mansions (Fig. 103). In *Friedmann Apartmanı* the hall is a trapezoid presumably as a result of the irregular form of the apartment block (Fig. 108). There are two examples that have two halls: *Petraki* and *Apostolidis* apartments. In these apartment flats some of the rooms open into one hall and the others open into the second one thus creating a domestic zoning and division in the flat (Fig. 104 and 109). The two separate halls could have functioned as private and public parts in the house which may have affected the use of rooms as well.

In seven cases the hall is the only transitional space connecting the rooms and the wet spaces in the house. In such instances the plan of an apartment flat is similar to the plan layout of the traditional Ottoman house. In three cases in the sample, *Zuhdi Pacha*, *Barnathan* and *Küçük Hendek* apartments access to all rooms and wet spaces is through the hall which is indeed not different from a typical *sofa* layout (Figs. 101, 105 and 111). In only a single case, *Zeki Pacha Apartmanı*, access to a room is through an octagonal room or through kitchen, which function as intermediary spaces, whereas the other rooms and the wet spaces in the same house open into the hall (Fig. 103). In *Friedmann Apartmanı* access to two rooms is through other rooms (Fig. 108).

The main hall is not the only transitional space that provides access to rooms in the flats. Secondary transitional spaces such as corridors or foyers which were

introduced at the same time with the hall regulated the circulation within the flats. In three cases, in *Barnathan*, *Mavrides* and *Tiano* apartments, there are foyers in addition to the hall (Figs. 105, 107 and 110). Similarly there are corridors in addition to the main hall in three cases; one flat in *Jones* and two flats in *Marketto* apartments (Figs. 102 and 113). In nine examples the three transitional spaces; the hall, the foyer, and the corridor are found together (Figs. 104, 106, 112 and 114). In the flats in *Petraki Apartmanı* a corridor is reserved only for the wet spaces of the toilet and the kitchen (Fig. 104). In some of the corridors there are niches on the walls possibly used to store objects or to receive cupboards.

The *sofa* was the semi-public living space that provided access to the rooms in the traditional Ottoman house. It organized all the circulation within the house. The household members could gather in the *sofa*, and some special events that required celebrations such as weddings, *bayrams* and circumcisions took place in this central space. The places for sitting were generally separated from the *sofa* either by creating an open space in between the rooms, called an *eyvan*, or by adding a projection in front of the *sofa*.

In the apartment flats however, there are not such spaces like *eyvan*, *köşk*, s*ekilik* or *taht*. Yet the *sofa*, or now the hall, continued to be the transitional space since the rooms and the wet spaces opened into it. The addition of secondary transitional spaces like corridors, did not affect the function of the hall as a transition space, because halls are located at the core of the flats. But certainly there are other factors that could make the hall as the main living space such as the size, form, location and view to the street. Güncan (1993: 193) states that the *sofa*-like spaces were used merely as transitional spaces in the Ottoman apartment flats. In this respect, the halls in the sample apartment flats probably were not also used as main living spaces although some are as big as, or even larger than the other rooms; most of the halls are located at the entrance of the flats and hence functioned as foyers, have narrow rectangular forms that limited the use of the space and most importantly did not have a view to the street unlike the salons. As exceptions, the halls in the flats b and c in *Arif Pacha Apartmanı*, could well have been used as main living spaces since they

are located at the street side with a projection and they wide enough to be used as living spaces. The halls in the other apartments could have been furnished with some furniture such as a cupboard or a console and could have been utilized for functions other than sitting or resting.

4.2.3. Wet Spaces

The wet spaces include bathrooms, toilets and kitchens. Thirteen flats are drawn to have only toilets[117] (Figs. 104, 105, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113 and 115). However there must have been bathing facilities in these flats otherwise we can assume that the residents used public baths for cleansing. In two examples, *Zeki Pacha* and *Adil Bey* apartments there are bathrooms, possibly with water closets (Figs. 103 and 112). In nine flats there are both toilets and bathrooms. Nearly all of the toilets are small and similar in size.

In general, bathrooms are much larger than the toilets with an average area of 3.7 m², but in two cases, in *Barnathan* (1.1 m²) and *Arif Pacha* (2.69 m²) apartments the size of the bathrooms are nearly the same with that of the toilets (Figs. 105 and 106). In two cases, *Zeki Pacha* (4.47 m²) and *Adil Bey* (5.28 m²) apartments the bathrooms are as large as the kitchens (Figs. 103 and 112). If the flat contains both a toilet and a bathroom they are generally grouped together in the plan and bathrooms in general are located next to the toilets. If there is a separate corridor in the house toilets and bathrooms are generally found at the back of the house and are reached from the corridors. If the hall is the only transitional space, all the wet spaces, similar to the rooms, are evidently located around the hall.

The kitchens are generally large compared to the size of the flat but there are instances where they are either very small like in *Küçük Hendek* (3.3 m²) *and Adil Bey* (3.7 m²) apartments (Figs. 111 and 112), or very large like in *Jones Apartmanı* (12.6 m²) (Fig. 102) (Appendix F). Although they are not placed at the front facades of the flats the kitchens are still located close to the entrances and the substantial

[117] The functions of spaces are named as such in the plans drawn by Sunalp.

room(s). In a single flat *Zeki Pacha Apartmanı* the kitchen is connected to one of the substantial rooms (Fig. 103). In the case of *Jones Apartmanı* the kitchen is connected to a room that itself is also connected to a substantial room (Fig. 102). In these two flats rooms next to the kitchen could have been utilized as dining rooms and were thus included in the sequence of reception rooms. In some cases the kitchens face the courtyards of the apartments or the gardens of the neighboring lots like those in *Zuhdi Pacha*, *Jones* and *Marketto* apartments (Figs. 92 and 93). In both flats in *Asseo Apartmanı* (Fig. 115) the access to kitchen is from two adjacent rooms. Like the corridors, there are niches on the walls in some of the kitchens. In the traditional Ottoman house as well there were similar niches in the rooms to store different goods. As the multi-functional rooms are no longer the case the niches could well have been transferred to service or transitional spaces.

The kitchens in the traditional Ottoman house are never located on the main living floor. They are found on the ground floor or sometimes located outside the house. As such, in the traditional house there was a sharp distinction between the living and food preparation and cooking areas which in contrast are integrated in the apartment flats.

4.3. Space and Life in the Apartment Flats

Living in an apartment was a radical change in the life of the traditional Ottoman households. The most fundamental change was in the concept and operation of privacy which can be observed in terms of the inside/outside relationship, the newly emerging notion of neighborhood and the new plan layouts of the apartment flats of which the last influenced the spatial and behavioral patterns and use.

Most of the Ottoman households used to live in modest houses which were small in scale although there were larger houses used by the upper-middle classes such as mansions, pavilions or summerhouses located in the middle of gardens, or row-houses that later became popular in the nineteenth century. In all cases a single family lived in the controlled and private environment of its house. With the

introduction of apartment buildings in the nineteenth century however several families started to share a single building. This was a completely new understanding and hence was initially criticized by many for not being appropriate to the Ottoman and Islamic domestic traditions. The life in a traditional single family house was inevitably different from the life in an apartment flat. The traditional house was the place where the life of the family was centered on. Although the life expanded towards the district in the nineteenth century, the house in most cases remained to be the place where the family produced and consumed, and consequently spent most of their time together. A garden or a courtyard was crucial in the use of the traditional house since it was utilized for preparing food, sheltering animals or for spending time and socializing especially for women who were not as free as men to go outside. These open areas also functioned as intermediary spaces in between the house and the street. They were semi-public spaces and they allowed for a gradation and control of privacy. They distanced the house from the street but at the same time established a controlled link. Although there were houses that did not have a garden or a courtyard, the relationship of the house with the outside was still an important consideration as the district was the continuation of the house. Relatives often settled in the same district and shared a common notion of domestic life even outside their homes.

Some apartments also had gardens or courtyards but these areas were for common use. So the household members and especially women who once perpetuated their lives in the open areas or *sofas* in their houses replaced these spaces with the street. Women participated in the public life and hence spend time outside of their homes. The need for open areas was compensated with the shopping avenues, patisseries and cafes for social gatherings which became substitutes to domestic gardens or courtyards. Thus the relationship of the house and the household with the outside has changed. The private and the public were distinguished more clearly in the apartment houses because the expansion of the home life to the outside was more restricted within a flat than in an individual house.

The apartment flat was still a closed entity but living with other families in a single building influenced the home life. The presence of other residents in an apartment affected the privacy of every flat, for example, the noises or odors coming from different flats could mix and disturb the inhabitants. The neighborhood of the traditional houses was composed generally of the relatives and acquaintances. In the apartments they lived together[118] too but the flats were possibly occupied more by similar income-group families. Although the religious groups still shared the same district, not all social classes of an ethnic group lived together in the same district (Tekeli, 1985: 882). This led to the emergence of a new kind of neighborhood not so much in between relatives but rather between friends.

The salon gained importance as the main living space in the apartments. The salons facing the street with numerous windows established the relationship of the home and the street life. In addition to the salon as the main reception and living space there emerged specific-function rooms which also changed the use of home. The flexible multi-purpose rooms specific to the traditional houses were replaced with rooms furnished with Western style furniture and decorative objects according to the functions they housed. Not only specific-function rooms but also new relationships in between the rooms were introduced in the apartment flats. The use of interconnected rooms in the apartment flats defined a new spatial organization which probably affected the use of the home. Hence the families in such flats switched to a life in which they started to live according to the set behavioral and spatial patterns, like their European counterparts, and as such not only a dwelling type but also a life style was gradually adopted from the West.

Most flats were not big enough to accommodate many servants and maids as domestic helpers. However the life of women became relatively easier since the kitchen was integrated into the flat. The kitchens were now located close to the reception and living rooms and not in separate floors as was the case previously. It should be argued that it is the natural outcome of the smaller houses but there was still an effort to relegate only the bathroom and the toilets to the back of the house

[118] See Appendix C for the residents living together with their relatives in the same apartment

and not the kitchen. The modern understanding of the kitchen as a continuation of the living and reception areas possibly started in these early apartments. In this respect the life of women living in the apartments changed from another point of view: the activities related to cooking and serving became means to be displayed and show-off together with the new eating habits; like eating around a dinner table and using forks, knives and cutlery sets.

The concept of domesticity changed with the new understanding of privacy, neighborhood and functional and spatial relations in the apartment flats. Inevitably, among other members of the household, it was women who were more influenced from these changes. Their daily activities, like cooking is one area that changed their lifestyle. However the adoption of a western life pattern possibly also included the activities such as reading books, writing letters and playing piano that were already popular among European women. The bright salon was an ideal space for such activities. There is not any information about the presence of spaces that were reserved only for the use of women such as the *boudoir* in the French homes. But it is not possible also to claim that such spaces did not exist in the Ottoman apartments. For example, interconnected rooms found at the back of some flats might be used by women as their own spaces, perhaps their bedchambers.[119] In *Kiralık Konak* (depicting the period of the second Constitution (1908) and afterwards) one of the characters wanders in the apartment flats and dreams about the use of rooms. He defines a space as the *salle à manger*, the others as salon, *boudoir*, bedroom, second bedroom and *fumoir* (Karaosmanoğlu, 1981: 167-168). This indicates that even Muslim Ottomans knew about and might have included such rooms in their apartment flats. The apartment flats were possibly valued according to their location (in terms of their proximity to the main streets or shopping districts, or in short being in a 'good' area), 'physical attributes' (their architectural and decorative features, or in short their elegance), and the quality and quantity of the furniture and objects they contained. The changing notion of privacy allowed previously secluded spaces such as kitchens to become visible. It is possible that women displayed not only their

[119] There were also all kinds of western furniture suitable to furnish such rooms in *Kiralık Konak* (Karaosmanoğlu, 1981: 169). One of the female characters in *Kiralık Konak* wore silk petticoats (*kombinezon*) while untying her hair like the Parisian ladies (Karaosmanoğlu, 1981: 236).

valuable objects but the house itself to their guests by guiding them in the house to show every space in the flat even including the more private rooms like bathroom, kitchen and the bedrooms (this is still a continuing practise). Briefly, it is possible to suggest that the house became an 'artifact' to be displayed; along with the new western objects it became an important status symbol.[120] Respectively, the lady of the flat could well have been appreciated and acknowledged for her decorative taste. Men, in contrast to women however, kept their old life pattern in the apartment flats. They went to work, spent time outside the home and then came back to join their families around the dining-table.

4.4. The Nineteenth Century Context: The Ottoman and the French Apartment

In France most Parisians began to live in urban apartment houses rather than suburban detached villas in the late eighteenth century. With their palatial street facades along the tree-lined avenues, generous spatial standards, and mechanical conveniences such as central heating systems and elevators, these new apartments became desirable dwelling alternatives for the gentry as well as the bourgeois, the former favoring hitherto the *hôtel particulier* (a commodious townhouse), and the latter the detached suburban villa (Schoenauer, 2000: 312). In the nineteenth century when Paris grew unprecedentedly, the Parisian apartment house also underwent considerable changes and multi-family rental houses constituted the majority of the housing stock in this period.[121] Many of these were tenements (low-rent accommodation units) but there were also several larger and more elaborate apartment buildings. By the end of the nineteenth century the apartment houses were transformed into sophisticated urban multistory buildings that were clearly distinguished from the tenement houses (Schoenauer, 2000: 312). Different social groups used to live together in the Parisian apartments before the second half of the

[120] This is an argument brought forth by Fehim Kennedy (1999: 125-126) to discuss the contemporary apartment buildings. However it is possible to assume that the late Ottoman women behaved similarly and that the Ottoman apartments are also suitable contexts for such interpretations.

[121] In 1846 the urban population in France was 8.6 million and this constituted the 24.4 % of the total population, while in 1896 urban population reached to 15 million making it 39.5 % of the total population (Merriman, 1982: 18).

nineteenth century when the apartments began to be built and inhabited by the well-to-do, the aristocrats and the bourgeoisie.

Apartment living was a new concept in the Ottoman Empire and emerged in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in contrast to the French case where apartments existed and were accepted by the upper classes from the seventeenth century onwards. It was first criticized that living in apartments was not suitable for the Islamic traditions since different families lived in the same building. Not surprisingly then the apartment type of life was accepted first by the non-Muslim population and thus the apartments were inevitably built mostly by and for non-Muslim middle upper classes, generally the officers of foreign companies and the non-Muslims working and living in Galata-Pera. Muslim Ottomans accepted the change to the apartment dwellings later.

There are several reasons for the wide acceptance of apartment houses in France in the nineteenth century. First, the urban plots for individual houses especially for the *hôtel particulier*, which was the multi-story townhouse of a single family and highly preferred by the elite, became very expensive after the redevelopment of Paris by Baron Georges Eugène Haussmann. Second, before the use of the private motor car many wealthy families found the suburban house located too far from the urban core and did not move outside the cities and hence chose to live in apartments. Third and perhaps the most significant factor was the green avenues, boulevards, *rond-points* and promenades that characterized the so-called *beaux quartiers* (Schoenauer, 2000: 312). These spacious and elegant verdant avenues lined with apartments that had large rooms and palatial facades made the apartment not only as an acceptable but also a fashionable living commodity.

On the other hand there were different reasons for the acceptance of the apartment houses in the case of the Ottomans. Among the many reasons for the emergence of apartments in İstanbul was its trading opportunities and the housing needs of tradesmen living in İstanbul, the increase in population, the close relations with the West, the increasing number of masonry buildings, the fires that destroyed the old

pattern of the city, the wish to become ‘modern’ and accordingly the newly emerging lifestyle that included avenues with shops, cafes and restaurants especially in Pera district.

A brief introduction to the Parisian apartments and the social life during the nineteenth century Paris is helpful in evaluating the spatial characteristics of the Ottoman apartments and the social developments which led to their emergence. Although similar social changes are to be found in many countries in the nineteenth century Europe, those in the French and the Ottoman contexts are seemingly profound and related. The interaction in between the two countries started within a political context with the grand viziers or the ambassadors of the Ottoman Empire who visited and stayed in the European countries. These were state officials fascinated especially by France and specifically by Paris. Among them was Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet, the grand vizier of the period, who was sent to France as an ambassador as early as 1720. He was influenced from the architecture and daily life in Paris. He admired the flamboyant rooms, the fountains and the gardens of the palace as well as the lifestyle of the palace notables (Denel, 1982: 18). This fascination seems to have been imported gradually within more than a hundred years later and in the second half of the nineteenth century the influence of Paris fashion and life style in Pera was clearly visible: especially among the non-Muslim Ottomans and in terms of Europeans dressing, entertaining and living in the Parisian style in this part of İstanbul.

In this respect the daily life and the social context in the nineteenth century Paris and İstanbul shared some significant similarities including the education, home life and the participation of women into the street life as well. The *bourgeois* women of France were usually educated in adolescence for preparing them for their future roles as housewives. They learnt how to keep a house, supervise servants, converse with their husbands and raise children. In this respect the ability to play piano established well a child’s reputation and gave public proof of good education, and more

importantly enhanced a woman's chances in the matrimonial market[122] (Fig. 116). Ottoman women were educated along the same principles by their female relatives too, or else they were sent to a woman masters house, first to learn how to prepare their dowries and then to learn the tasks of housework (Abdülaziz Bey, 2002: 100).

One other similarity could be found in the social status and role of women within the family and society. As such in both societies women were the managers of their houses. They supervised the performance of the household tasks to maximize the well-being of the entire family and especially of their husbands. The mistress of the French house was expected to accomplish the idealized notion of 'home', as the secure and the cozy private sphere.[123] Among her duties was organizing daily familial ceremonies such as the dinners eaten by the fireplace (Fig. 117). Women also arranged visits, receptions and other social occasions in their homes. If the lady had an enough number of maids she could be able to finish the housework before noon and spent the rest of the morning by writing and reading mail,[124] playing piano, knitting or sewing since respected French women were not expected to go outside in the morning. On the other hand afternoons were devoted to social duties and activities. Other than house visits to friends and neighbors, women could go to theaters, operas or balls (Fig. 118). However, they were expected to go to public performance spaces such as theaters alone only if they had their own boxes. Otherwise they were expected to be accompanied by a man. They could not leave the box to wander in the theater; yet as if they were in their salon at home, they could receive and entertain friends in their own boxes.

[122] Danièle Pistone found two thousand scenes in nineteenth century novels in which a piano appears. Half of them involved young, single women; one quarter involved married women (Perrot, 1990c: 531).

[123] In the first half of the nineteenth century two different guides for housewives were written by Alida de Savignac; their aim was to guide women to become better housewives. The first one addressing the women living in Paris "*La Juene Maitresse de Maison*" was published in 1836, and the other one addressing the women in countryside "*La Juene Proprietaire*" in 1838. In time the country model disappeared leaving the urban life as the only model. The countryside eventually became a place to go only for vacation (Martin-Fugier, 1990: 268).

[124] The family members continuously wrote letters to each other to keep in touch. After 1900 postcards became an extremely popular means of communication (Perrot, 1990b: 131-132)

Ottoman women too were responsible from the well-being of the house and the household members. Among their duties were taking care of children and elderly, organizing all the housework, and supervising the maids. They also participated in public life as the theater shows, operas and balls also became popular in İstanbul during the nineteenth century. Moreover, there were shows or plays that were specifically organized for the Ottoman female audience.

The notion of fashion also contributed to the change in the appearance of women in both societies but especially in the Ottoman society. As leisure time increased gradually more attention was devoted to appearance by French women. People groomed in private to appear in public. During 1860s fashion prints were already available in almost every rural area in France. Consumption on fashion was more hastened by mail-order purchases, provincial branches of the *Printemps* department store, the establishment of milliner shops[125] in small towns, and the increase in the number of dressmakers at the end of the century. After the second half of the nineteenth century dressing up on Sundays and strolling around with the crowd, that is, showing-off became a common practice for all social classes in French towns (Perrot, 1990c: 488) (Figs. 119 and 120). In time, personal shopping became an obsession and part of daily life (Perrot, 1990c: 491). Likewise in İstanbul stores in Pera became new places of attraction to spend time and money. By sitting in the elegant *cafés*, or shopping from boutiques, perfumeries, furniture shops or bookshops, the Ottoman society found and experienced new ways to spend their idle time. Looking at shop windows and strolling along *Grand Rue de Pera* and other streets around became highly favorable for Ottoman women (Figs. 121 and 122).

4.4.1. From the Early *Hôtel* to the Nineteenth Century Apartment in Paris

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries *hôtel particulier* was the traditional urban residence of the aristocracy in Paris. This was a multistory dwelling which housed a single family and their servants and maids. A vaulted *porte cochere* (the main entrance to the building), a *vestibule* (doorway) and an *escalier d'honneur* (the

[125] Milliner is a person who sells women's hats.

main staircase) were the main spaces found at the entrance of the *hôtels*. The g*rand salon* (Fig. 123 and 124) and the *bibliothèque* (library) which were reserved for the use of the master of the house, the *petit salon* (secondary salon smaller than the *grand salon*) and the *boudoir* (small reception room used by the women) (Fig. 125) that were reserved for the use of the lady of the house, and the *cabinet de travail* (study room), and the *salle à manger* (dining room), were among the significant living spaces in a nineteenth century *hôtel* [126] (Figs. 126 and 127). The most significant characteristic of the French *hôtels,* later used in the apartment houses as well, was the *en-suite* arrangement that allowed connection in between rooms.

The evaluation of the formal, spatial and decorative features and also the concept of privacy in both the French and the Ottoman apartments are crucial for a better understanding of the design and use of the Ottoman apartments. The general characteristics of the buildings, their facades and entrances, the size and layout of the flats, the type, function and furnishings of the rooms, the wet spaces, the new mechanical developments, and the operation of privacy are among the issues to be compared in the Ottoman and French apartment buildings.

In the seventeenth century France the society was obsessed with social hierarchy and public display. The concepts such as privacy and intimacy were not considered as important factors. This understanding influenced the size and distribution of the urban house then called a *hôtel*. In time *hôtels* became larger and more luxurious but the priority was still given to appearance and not to privacy. This was evident from the *en-suite* arrangement that allowed all the traffic, the servants as well as the guests, to pass through every room to get to the next one. The understanding of the concept of privacy changed only after the industrial revolution. Many people no longer lived and worked in the same building: the house became the 'private' sphere

[126] From the 1850s onwards billiard rooms and greenhouses became very popular in *hôtels*. The greenhouse was often lit from the overhead; only the wealthy could afford to sit beneath palms and chat while it was snowing outside. Some apartments imitated the greenhouses with a sort of loggia with stained glass windows (Guerrand, 1990: 378-180). Houses with or without greenhouses had different kinds of plants. Especially during 1880s an extraordinary love for plants was observable; aspidistras, palms, rubber plants and every variety of fern became popular as decorative plants (Lancaster, 1964: 108).

(Rybczynski, 1987: 39). The most important outcome of this new understanding of privacy was a growing sense of intimacy which associated the house exclusively with family life. Hence in the eighteenth century the houses were reorganized to include not only some common spaces but also private rooms for the members of a family:

> Respectively, demarcating the public and private areas into separate floors or areas, distancing the rooms of the servant members of the household into particular locations and grouping them according to gender, as wells as introducing corridors, halls and courtyards and separate rooms for the parents and the children were among the main architectural preferences that enabled more personal privacy (Özgenel, 2002: 329).

A residential apartment block was also developed in Paris next to the *hôtel*,. The earliest residential apartment blocks built in the second half of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth in Paris were often designed to have three residential levels including the attic floor and a row of shops that had mezzanine floors on the ground level, a scheme borrowed from the medieval shopkeepers' dwellings. In the early 1800s a standard spatial organization was adopted from the previous examples in which the ground floor area was used for commercial purposes and the upper floors for living. The buildings were generally constructed upon a vaulted cellar with numerous storage compartments. On the ground floor, fronting the street, there were shops for commercial use except the covered carriageway or *porte cochere* which was the main entrance to the living quarters on this level. It allowed vehicular access to the courtyard at the back, and to the stables and the coach houses at the rear (Schoenauer, 2000: 318). The main entrance was supervised from the lodge or *loge* by a concierge, once found only in the aristocratic *hôtels*. The mezzanine area or *entresol* was used for workshops or was accommodated by the merchants who rented the shops. The ceiling and window heights decreased towards the top of the building and so did the rental value. As a consequence different social groups could rent a flat and live together in the same apartment[127] (Fig. 128). The attic space was divided into numerous bedrooms for the servants of the tenants, generally two for each flat. There were service staircases that

[127] A cross-sectional drawing of an apartment building dating from 1850s reveals that its tenants were socially homogenous (Guerrand, 1990: 360).

linked the attic space to the kitchens, and also to the two compartments reserved for each flat to store wood, coal and wine. The Parisian apartments showed the stylistic characteristics of the nineteenth century architecture with their neoclassical and eclectic facades, and *art nouveau* decorative elements such as the flower motifs placed on top of the windows. The windows in the apartments were similar in terms of form and design and it was not possible to know which spaces laid behind (Figs. 129 and 130).

Porte cochere, *vestibule* and *escalier d'honneur* or the main staircase found in the single family *hôtels*, were also the constituent elements of the nineteenth century Parisian apartment buildings. The *porte cochere* enabled the guests and occupants to enter the building under cover and hence provided protection from bad weather. In these buildings elevators were introduced after the middle of the nineteenth century. But the stair halls were spacious and well lit. The main staircases of the buildings were often curved and monumental similar to the *escalier d'honneur* and the vestibules were lavishly decorated. Another similarity between the early *hôtels* and the later apartments in Paris was to be found in the arrangement of concierge's lodge next to the vestibule and the location of stables and coach houses at the rear (Schoenauer, 2000: 318).

In the early seventeenth century and before, multi-purpose rooms were commonly found in the French *hôtels*. A single room was used for different purposes. After the middle of the seventeenth century however specific purpose rooms were introduced like the dining room (*salle à manger*), or the *chamber* that was reserved for sleeping.

The early Parisian upper-class apartment flats were generally large dwellings with floor areas around 275 m² (Guerrand, 1990: 373-374). However the newer ones built around the middle of the nineteenth century were smaller. In the Parisian apartments every flat had public areas for showing off and social gatherings, private areas for intimate family gatherings, and purely functional service spaces (Guerrand, 1990: 366-367). In this respect, the house was divided into three zones: the social zone including salons and the dining room, the private zone of the bedrooms, the *boudoir*,

the study rooms and the bathrooms, and the service zone which was composed of the pantry, the kitchen and the servants' bedrooms (Figs. 131, 132 and 133). The salons, the master bedrooms and the library were linked to each other on the street side, the dining room was placed on the courtyard side, and the secondary bedrooms with domestic offices and the kitchen and its ancillary units were located towards the rear. The dining room was the only reception room facing the courtyard, presumably because viewing the street was not a favored preference during dining. The *boudoir* or the lady's bedchamber was also placed on the street facade. The *boudoir* was an elegant and intimate small reception room used by women and it was a privilege to be admitted into this room (Schoenauer, 2000: 318). In only the nineteenth century the bedroom became a sacred place that was not permissible for guests to see. The ladies used to spend more time in their chambers, decorated according to their taste. A dressing room facilitated the bedroom's tidiness.

The vital functions related with the body were considered as vulgar and 'dirty' in the nineteenth century West and the architects of the era turned their backs to the kitchen, toilet and bathroom as places to be designed (Guerrand, 1990: 370). The kitchen was placed at the depths of the apartment. It was not until the discoveries of Pasteur which transformed the washing of hands into a social obligation that hygiene became a vital component for health and social relations. The emphasis on cleanliness revolutionized the private life and the social relations; the elite were urged by a desire to distinguish themselves from the 'smelling' populace. These changes gave rise to new hygienic practices and appropriate spaces for toilet functions and bathing.

The most significant characteristic of the Parisian apartment flats was the *en-suite* arrangement that allowed connection in between rooms. There were often doors in between rooms and sometimes there were separate corridors but in many cases the only way to reach a room was through passing from another one. The rooms were located according to a hierarchical order, the largest and the most important was followed by the smaller ones in a sequential order. This limited the privacy of the individual room and its occupants (Rybczynski, 1987: 41).

A small, six story[128] high apartment, intended primarily for the upper-middle class, exhibits most of the characteristics of the Parisian apartments in last decades of the nineteenth century. The ground level was used for commercial purposes and there was an elegant lobby supervised by the concierge and an elevator next to the main staircase. On the ground floor as well as on the upper floors there were two flats with all the principal rooms; the dining room, the salon and the master bedrooms. A hall was placed parallel to the main rooms. Each room could be used independently but the *en-suite* arrangement allowed intercommunication in between them. Smaller bedrooms, kitchen and bathrooms faced the courtyard whereas the ancillary room, the toilets and the dressing rooms were lit and ventilated by light wells. Each flat had a separate service stair close to the kitchen (Fig. 134).

Modern mechanical and sanitary installations were introduced in Parisian apartment buildings starting from the second half of the nineteenth century after which the new apartments were designed for only the well-to-do. The tradition of mixed tenancy, families of different economical and social status living in the same apartment, began to be abandoned although commercial facilities were kept for some more time. From the beginning of the twentieth century until the World War I, it is observed that the commercial activities were excluded from the apartment buildings which were now exclusively designed for the elite (Schoenauer, 2000: 320). The luxurious apartment buildings built along the new prestigious avenues became the favorable residential units of only the upper class families, like the previous *hôtels* of the seventeenth century. The plan layout of the earlier apartments did not change but continued to be used in the new apartments. Salons and master bedrooms continued to face the street while the dining room, secondary bedrooms, and the kitchen and its dependencies, the courtyard (Schoenauer, 2000: 320). The buildings however became much more luxurious and comfortable with the introduction of new mechanical installations that provided running water, electricity and gas.

In the course of the nineteenth century the bourgeois apartments became more and more like antique shops with an increased density of objects and decoration

[128] The regulations allowed construction up to 20 meters (Schoenuer, 2000: 319).

(Guerrand: 1990: 369). Fabrics, hangings, silks and carpets with extreme trimming, occupied every free surface. In this sense accumulation seemed to be the only principle of interior design (Figs. 135 and 136). People became increasingly obsessed with the desire that no wall or floor should be left bare since bare surfaces were interpreted as a mark of poverty and were described as *horror vacui* (Tanyeli, 1995: 18) (Figs. 137 and 138).

The French upper-middle class apartment shared certain similarities, such as plan schemes and spatial organizations with the early aristocratic dwelling type; *hôtel particulier*. Some spaces of the early and late *hotels* such as g*rand salon*, *bibliothèque* and *salle à manger* are found in the apartments as well. As such apartments continued to use the spatial organization borrowed from the *hotels* and became more elaborate and luxurious through time.

4.4.2. A Comparative Look to the General Features of the Ottoman and Parisian Apartments

The nineteenth century İstanbul and Parisian domestic contexts are similar in many ways. Although the date and the reasons of the rise of the multi-story domestic buildings are different in both societies they both emerged as prestigious middle and upper-class residences.

It is known that in some Ottoman apartments there were commercial spaces on the ground floors like the Parisian apartments with shops, but the existence of such spaces in the sample apartments is not a known issue. But it is possible that the ground and the mezzanine floors were used for commercial purposes in at least some examples since there were separate entrances. Some apartments had courtyards for common use at the back. For example it is known that in *Doğan Apartmanı* the attic space was reserved for the servants of the residents. The use and the function of attic floors in the sample apartments however are not clear. We can assume that some could well be used as servants' floors. In *Doğan Apartmanı* there were also separate service stairs that connected the attic floor with the kitchens. As in Karaosmanoğlu's

Kiralık Konak (1981: 168) a concierge could be found in an apartment building. However, the residents in the apartments in general were from the upper-middle classes and hence it is not possible to talk about a socially homogenous resident group.

The facades of most of the apartments in İstanbul were designed in the neoclassical, eclectic or *art nouveau* styles like in Paris. But in the case of İstanbul apartments some features of the traditional Ottoman house such as large eaves, bay windows or projections were also used. The use of pilasters, the ornaments topping the windows and the small French balconies with intricate iron balustrades are among the decorative architectural features seen in İstanbul. Here too the order of windows does not give a clue about the usage of the rooms behind. Elevator was also a latecomer in the Ottoman case; it became widespread only in the Republican period. The staircase on the other hand was often curved like in the French case but the stair halls and entrance vestibules were not spacious and decorated, possibly due to the financial limitations (Barillari and Godoli, 1997: 137) or to a lack of interest in decorating the public spaces within an apartment.

Specific-purpose rooms were introduced only in the nineteenth century apartment buildings in the Ottoman Empire. Before, there were only multi-purpose rooms with similar spatial quality and furnishing; a single room could be used for different activities such as sleeping, eating and relaxing. On the other hand it is known that a coach room, a fur room, a *mabeyn* room, a library and a dining room existed in some large nineteenth century Ottoman mansions (Abdülaziz Bey, 2002: 164-165); in the apartment houses or in small-scale houses however there is not any information about the presence and use of such rooms.

The Ottoman apartment flats are smaller compared to the Parisian ones; most were around 50-130 m². In the Parisian apartments, public, private and service zones are clearly distinguished from each other. In the Ottoman apartments however there was not such a sharp distinction, but in few sample flats, some spaces were differentiated from each other. The substantial rooms and the dining rooms can be considered as

the public zone, and the remaining rooms, probably the bedrooms that were located at the back of the house and the bathrooms the private zone. The kitchen and the storage rooms (if any existed) belonged to the service zone. The rooms that are located on the street side in the sample apartments had a street-oriented location and were used as salons. But it is not plausible to assume that the salons were interconnected with the bedrooms in cases where a salon was connected with another room(s). Though few, the interconnected rooms on the street side could however, be used as dining rooms or as secondary salons. In the traditional Ottoman house interconnected rooms were never used except in few examples in large mansions. In more than the half of the apartment flats examples of such interconnected rooms are seen. In the French apartments the *en-suite* organization could be found in all the rooms within the entire flat, but in the sample apartments the use of interconnected rooms were generally limited to two or at most three rooms within a single flat in only some examples. In the Ottoman apartments the size of the interconnected rooms was usually different. But since the principle of using the interconnected spaces was not applied to the whole apartment flat, there was not a strictly hierarchical order as seen in the Parisian apartments. In only Abdülaziz Bey (2002: 168) there is information about the existence of separate bedchambers for women in large mansions. Yet as oppose to Parisian apartments we are not informed about the existence of such gender-specific spaces in the Ottoman apartments. But in large flats with six or more rooms there could have been rooms or at least a room reserved for the use of the lady.

The wet spaces are sometimes found at the back of the flat in the Ottoman apartments. But due to the presence of the hall in the sample flats they were often located close to the substantial rooms, the reception spaces rather than at the rear. In some instances it can be observed that there was an attempt to locate baths and toilets at the back but the kitchens often remained closer to the substantial rooms or to the salons fronting the street side in the İstanbul apartments. Kitchens were not considered as humble spaces to be made invisible by placing them at the back zones as in the Parisian apartments.

The notion of furnishing was not much different in the Ottoman case where interiors were decorated with export furniture and objects. Various kinds of decorative objects from different styles with different values existed side by side. What was different in the Ottoman society was the way the objects were displayed. Everything, especially export goods, were treated as a valuable commodity and displayed in the salons or other rooms although sometimes inconveniently.

In the Ottoman Empire privacy was always a primary factor in the design of the house. The house was a closed entity that did not allow strangers in. However daily life was a communal act in the house; household members (women and men separately) did the work together. The notion of the house as a private sphere did not change in the nineteenth century but, similar to the French context, individualization became an important issue. This can be observed in the emergence of specific function rooms including the salons and more elaborate cooking spaces. Spaces also gained individual characters, with furniture and decoration.

Parisian and İstanbul apartments are comparable in terms of the reasons of emergence, facade organizations and spatial distribution and use in the flats. The similarities resulted from changing domestic and social contexts in the nineteenth century which started first in Europe and than spread into the Ottoman Empire. The differences on the other hand are related to the consequences of the persistence of local traditions and lifestyles. In the İstanbul apartments a synthesis of Eastern and Western modes of domestic space and life was achieved.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The apartment building introduced into the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century was the consequence of the changes that started in the eighteenth century. The reforms that were initiated from the eighteenth century onwards, the reforms of the Tanzimat and later periods were determinant in shaping the new cultural milieu. The pre-Tanzimat reforms mostly focused on the renovations concerning the military and the educational institutions and were based on Western models. One significant development during this period was sending permanent ambassadors to Europe, who with their personal notes, observations and information on the European culture, were influential in shaping the following reforms. The reforms of the Tanzimat Edict and the later periods however influenced wider issues. In this sense, the renovations continued and were directed towards improving the secular laws and 'rights'. In the nineteenth century a change in the social and cultural life, and habits was also observable. For example, going to live performances (theaters, ballets and musical shows) as in Europe became a favored pastime activity. Concepts such as leisure and consumption also became central issues in shaping the daily life of the nineteenth century Ottomans especially in the capital. One other important field of change was architecture: new building codes and regulations were significant in shaping the nineteenth century architecture and urban planning in İstanbul, where a totally new domestic building type also emerged.

The apartment buildings emerged within a context of social and architectural change in the Ottoman Empire, especially in İstanbul, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. 'Apartment' became one of the most visible signs of 'Westernization' and 'Modernization' in this period. Respectively the early apartments which were built in Galata-Pera region became popular first among the upper-class non-Muslims and later, spread into different districts such as Tatavla, Şişli and Ayazpaşa and were accepted by Muslims as well.

In late nineteenth century the 'house' foremost became a more compact entity: the number of spaces was few and the rooms were located around a single hall within a flat. On the other hand when the plans of the apartment flats are taken into consideration it can be observed that there are certain similarities with two dwelling types in terms of spatial distribution and usage: the traditional Ottoman house and the French apartment flat. The nineteenth century apartment flats borrowed the *sofa* from the traditional Ottoman house and the *en-suite* arrangement from the French apartments. *Sofas* were the main living and transitional spaces in the Ottoman house and they appear in the form of halls in the apartment flats. The continuation of the use of *sofa* in the flats is significant since it shows how the new dwellings made a synthesis of the old and the new elements within a new scheme. Some of the halls in the sample considered here are wide enough to be used as living areas; however the purpose of adopting a *sofa* like space (the hall) might just be an architectural necessity rather than a functional one and hence, most of the halls probably were not used as living spaces in the sample apartment flats studied here. There are now new spaces to be used as living areas such as a 'salon', a substantial room facing the street or a 'dining room'.

Function-specific rooms were introduced. Rooms were now used according to a certain function; such as a dining room for eating or a living room for spending the daytime and this restricted the flexibility found in the rooms of earlier and traditional house schemes. The hall that acted as the center of activity and circulation in the Ottoman house assumed a similar role just for circulation and was supported by other transitional spaces like foyers and corridors.

One of the most visible similarities between the Ottoman and the French apartments is the use of *en-suite* arrangement or the principle of connecting rooms. The use of *en-suite* rooms in the French apartments is generally praised for allowing more flexible and adoptable spaces while it was also criticized for limiting the privacy of an individual room. However it should be noted that in the French and European contexts the concept of privacy in today's understanding, was introduced during the eighteenth century. Only after this century the concept of privacy and the

understanding of home as the private sphere of the family gained primacy. Yet the earlier *hôtels* and the later French apartments kept their *en-suite* arrangements despite the newly emerged 'privacy', and the sequence of interconnected rooms from public to private continued to limit the accessibility options in the house or the flat. On the other hand the sharp distinction between public, private and service zones found in the French apartment flats was not adopted in the Ottoman context.

For Ottomans, 'privacy' especially of home and women was always a valued concept in the domestic context. Home was a closed and secure environment that allowed only friends and relatives to penetrate. In this setting a garden or a courtyard served as a semi-public space and created an intermediary area between the inside and the outside: between the house and the street. However the apartment houses, lacking private gardens and courtyards which were indispensable in the traditional houses, changed the life of the household members especially that of women since they offered no intermediary spaces, that is, a controlled semi-public open space to relax in the privacy of a home environment. The rooms in the apartment flats were individual and private. They were accessed only from the *sofa* which was the only transitional space in the house. The interconnected rooms typical of the French apartments existed in some but these too had connections with the hall or the other transitional spaces in the İstanbul examples.[129] The use of such connected rooms itself also indicates a change in the concept of privacy in the late nineteenth century Ottoman domestic context.

One radical novelty in the Ottoman apartment flats was the re-location of the kitchen. The kitchen was inevitably integrated to the living spaces in the apartments and was now considered as the continuation of the living area. The kitchen that was now located close to the reception and living rooms became a 'domestic space'. Hence the activities related with cooking and eating, became tasks to be perceived as significant and were emphasized with the new dining furniture and table furnishing and cutlery. This definitely also changed the furnishing and the use of the kitchen as well. With

[129] *Friedmann Apartmanı* is an exception in this case. The use of interconnected rooms without a connection to a transitional space was possibly due to the limited building lot.

the newly furnished spaces and the changes in the notion of privacy the house itself became an entity to be displayed.

From the above outlined aspects of late nineteenth century apartments the following conclusive remarks can be listed:

A. On emergence and residents of apartment buildings in Galata-Pera

- Apartment buildings emerged in Galata-Pera region in İstanbul during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The increasing commercial activities, the restriction of land in Pera, the housing needs of the non-Muslims workers and the Westernization movements were among the main reasons.
- One other factor that is influential on the emergence of apartment buildings in Galata-Pera region was the establishment of Sixth Bureau. The services such as the illumination of streets and construction of roads were important for the development of the Pera district as a modern and fashionable region in İstanbul.
- Later apartments were built in the Ayazpaşa, Teşvikiye, Şişli and Tatavla regions in İstanbul.
- The apartment building emerged as an upper-middle class dwelling; they were first inhabited by non-Muslim upper-middle classes and was later adopted by the Muslim population.
- The occupations of the residents in the sample apartments varied. However the employees of Western stores and institutions constituted the majority of the occupants.
- Nearly all of the sample apartments were built before 1910.
- In the sample apartment buildings, mostly one family lived on each floor, although there are other examples that housed more than one family.
- Most of the apartment flats were rented and not owned.

B. On architecture and spatial features

- The sample apartments are modest structures with four to six stories although there are few buildings which were larger and monumental, for example; *Doğan Apartmanı*, *Botter Han* and *Cité de Pera*.
- The sample apartment buildings mostly have irregular forms.
- On the facades they exhibit revivalist and/or *art nouveau* features borrowed from the West, and projections from the traditional Ottoman house.
- Some have balconies, but not on every floor; only some flats had the advantage of opening to the street from a balcony.
- Due to the narrow lots most of the apartments have two facades facing the street on both the front and the back.
- A number of them have courtyards at the back.
- Some apartments have commercial spaces on the ground floors.
- The entrance halls and the staircases are mostly unpretentious. The staircase halls are often circular in form.
- In none of the sample apartment buildings there are elevators.
- The number of flats on one floor differs from 1 to 5.
- The house was now transformed into a single storey flat and foremost, it became a more compact entity.
- The number of rooms differs from 3 to 6 in the sample apartments. One or more rooms that is/are more dominant than the others in terms of its/their form(s), dimension(s) or location(s) are more substantial to be used as living and reception rooms in the flats.
- Single-function rooms that restricted the flexibility of spatial usage are introduced. A salon, or a dining room are among the new such spaces.
- Interconnected rooms that limited the privacy of individual spaces are found in some of the apartment flats.
- There are three transitional spaces in the flats; hall, foyer and corridor. The hall is significant since in terms of its spatial relationship with the rest of the spaces it is a continuation of the *sofa* used in the traditional

Ottoman house. The quality of the *sofa*/hall as the living space is now lost, as there are new living spaces in the house.

- There are three different wet spaces in the flats; toilet, bathroom and kitchen. The kitchen is significant since it is included in the living floor for the first time. With the integration of the kitchen to the living floor the activities related to cooking and serving became means to be displayed.
- Some spaces, especially the wet spaces, are illuminated mostly by light wells. Two sample apartment flats have kitchens facing a rear courtyard.

C. About the comparative issues:

1. Traditional Ottoman house and the nineteenth century Ottoman apartment flat

- Some elements used in the facade arrangements such as bay windows and projections are borrowed from the traditional Ottoman house.
- The *sofa* in the traditional Ottoman house is articulated as a hall in the apartment flats and in general became merely a transition space.
- Specific-function rooms were introduced as oppose to the multi-function rooms in the traditional house.

2. Parisian apartment flat and the nineteenth century Ottoman apartment flat

- Parisian apartments were introduced as upper-middle class dwellings similar to the İstanbul apartments although the date and the reasons were different.
- The facade organizations of the İstanbul and Parisian apartments were similar such as the use of neoclassical trends borrowed from Greek, Renaissance and other styles and the *art nouveau* ornamentations, although in İstanbul apartments traditional facade elements were also used.

- The *en-suite* arrangement borrowed from the Parisian apartment was used in the form of interconnected rooms in some of the İstanbul apartment flats.
- Single-functional rooms were adopted from the French context.
- With the new functions and spatial relationships not only a new dwelling type but also a new life style was adopted from France.

D. On privacy

- Apartment living was a new way of life since several families shared a single building.
- The lack of private gardens or courtyards, which served as semi-public spaces in the traditional Ottoman house, changed the inside-outside relationships and the privacy of the dwelling. The private and the public were distinguished more clearly in the apartment houses because the expansion of the home life to the outside was more restricted within a flat than in an individual house.
- The presence of other resident families in an apartment affected the privacy of every flat, for example noises or odors could disturb the inhabitants.
- The flexible multi-purpose rooms specific to the traditional houses were replaced with rooms furnished according to the functions they housed. This also affected the use and privacy of the rooms. Every room received a degree of privacy according to its function, for example sleeping was reserved only to the 'bedroom'.
- The apartment and the flat became objects to be displayed rather than secluded with the changing notions of privacy.
- Though few, the use of interconnected rooms that defined a new spatial organization in the apartment flats also affected the use and privacy of the home or at least some parts of it.
- Corridors that became common separated and enabled individual access to every room.

The multi-story apartment that represents a rupture from the traditional Ottoman house became very popular not only because it radically changed the notion of home and home life as stated in the conclusive remarks, but also because of its profitability, allowance for dense occupation, and its suitability to be built side by side next to other, new multi-story building types, like the office buildings, and the hotels, within the same urban fabric in the nineteenth century İstanbul. The multi-story apartment buildings played a significant role in re-shaping the panorama of İstanbul as they contributed to the shift from a horizontal expansion to a vertical one. Moreover the multi-story building was also significant because in the twentieth century development of the city and the country it became the basic housing model, as opposed to for example, the row-house that for a long time remained as the specific dwelling type of the second half of the nineteenth century. In this respect this study represents an attempt in understanding and analyzing the architectural and spatial features of multi-story apartment building and their flats as a new dwelling and life model emerged in the pre-Republican era.

FIGURES

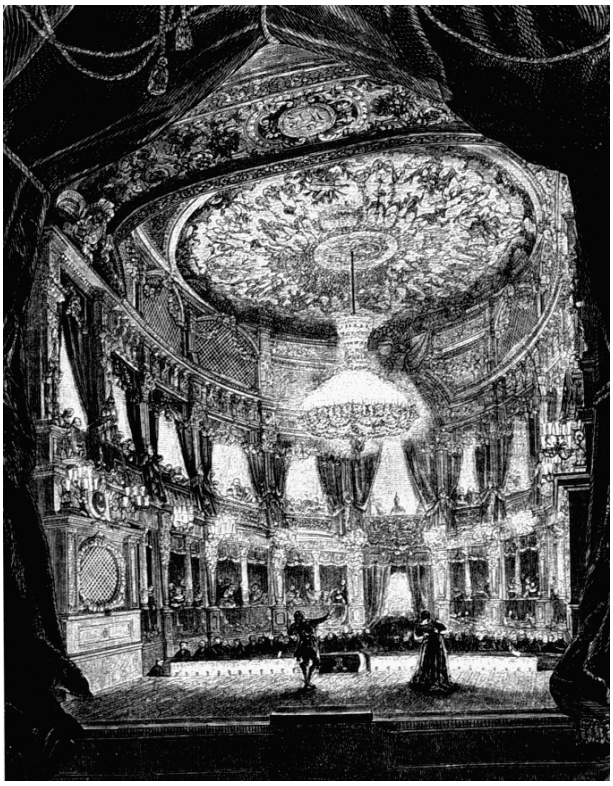

Figure 1 Dolmabahçe Palace, interior of the theater

Figure 2 Dolmabahçe Palace, 1880s

Figure 3 *Çakırağa Konağı* in Birgi, 18th century

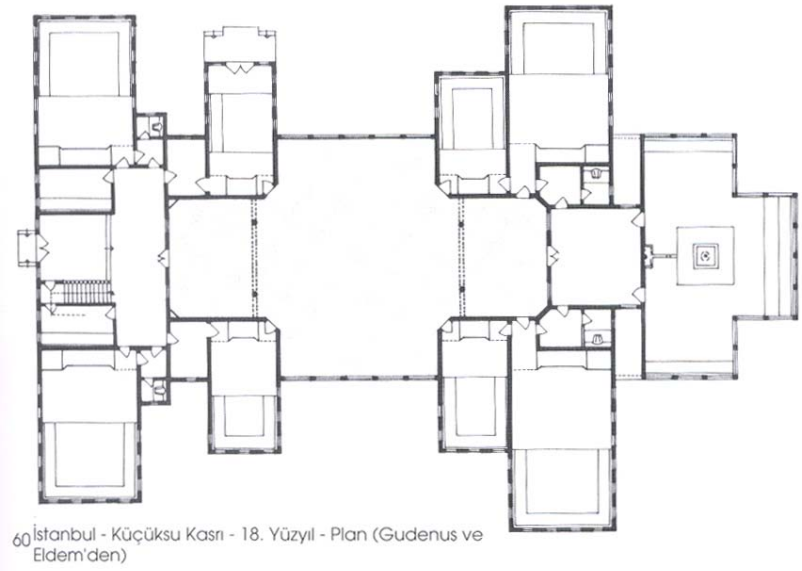

Figure 4 *Küçüksu Kasrı* in İstanbul, plan, 18th century

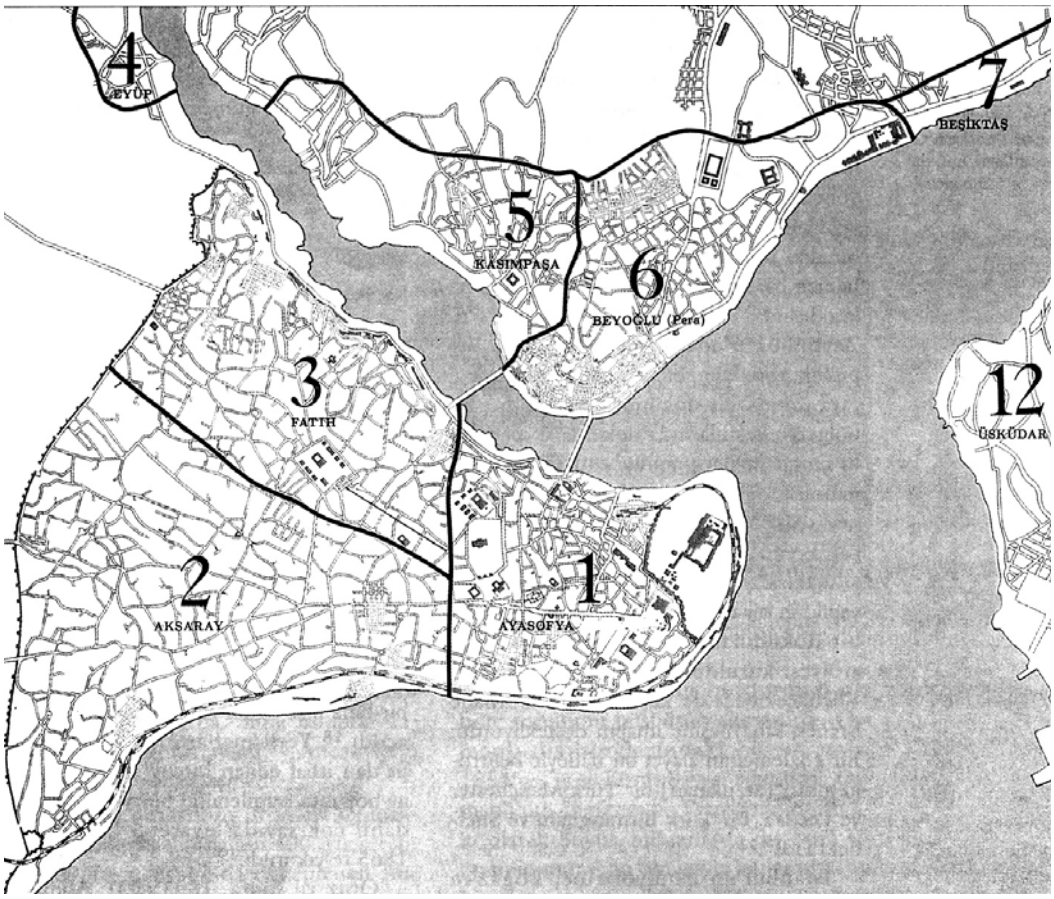

Figure 5 Regions in İstanbul in 1857

Figure 6 *Pera Palace Hotel* and the graveyard at the back

PERA-PALACE

Concert de dimanche 18 déc. de 5 h. à 6 1/2.

PROGRAMME

Marche	*Sigerl*	Wagner
Ouverture	*La Kermesse*	Corbin
Valse	*Puppen*	Bayer
Fantaisie	*L'Africaine*	Meyerbeer
Moment musical		Schubert

—

A 7 heures dîner-concert par petites tables.
(Prix 30 piastres.)
(Admission jusqu'à 8 h.)

PROGRAMME

Marche	*Schützen*	Kirks
Ouverture	*Lustspiel*	Keller-Bela
Valse	*Le beau Danube*	Strauss
Fantaisie	*Lucie*	Donizetti
Barcarolle		Marie
Polka	*Auf der Bastei*	Weiss
Fantaisie	*Le Petit Duc*	Lecoq
Menuet		Boccherini
Galop		L'Amazone

MENU

Potage Parmentier
Poisson
Filet piqué bouquetière
Vol au vent financière
Bécasses rôties à la broche
Salade de saison
Petits-pois à la française
Glace vanille
Fruits.

Figure 7 *Pera Palace* Hotel, program and menu, 19th century

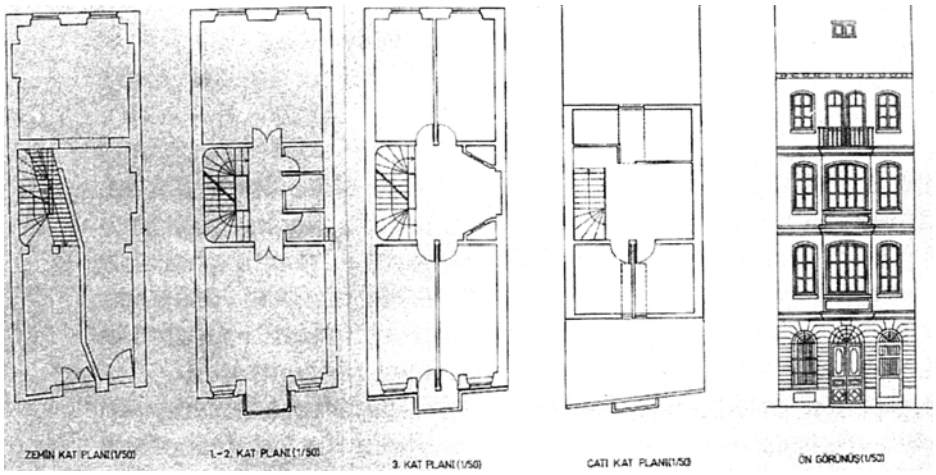

Figure 8 A house in Pera, plan, 19th century

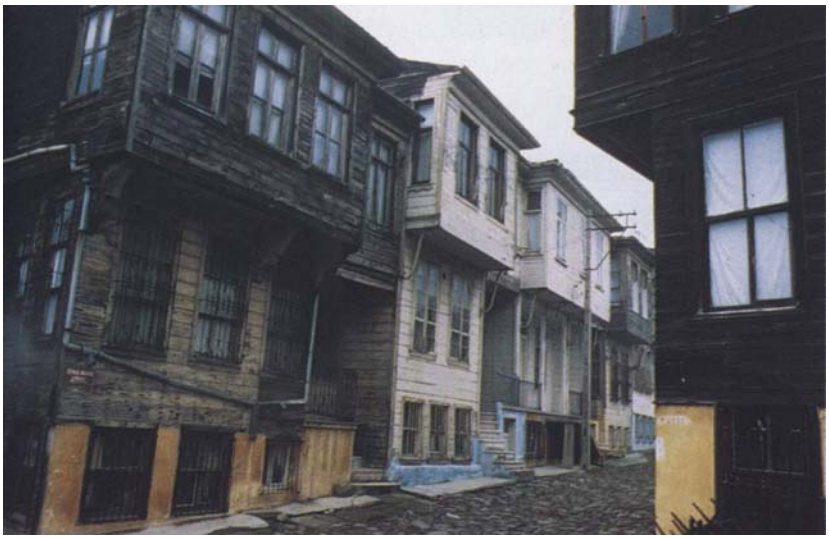

Figure 9 Houses in Vefa Region, İstanbul, late 19th century

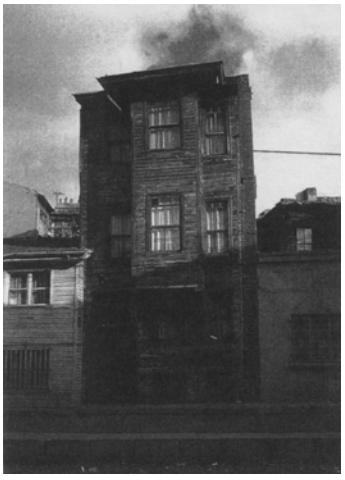

Figure 10 A house in Zeyrek, İstanbul, 19th century

Figure 11 Row-houses in Fener, İstanbul

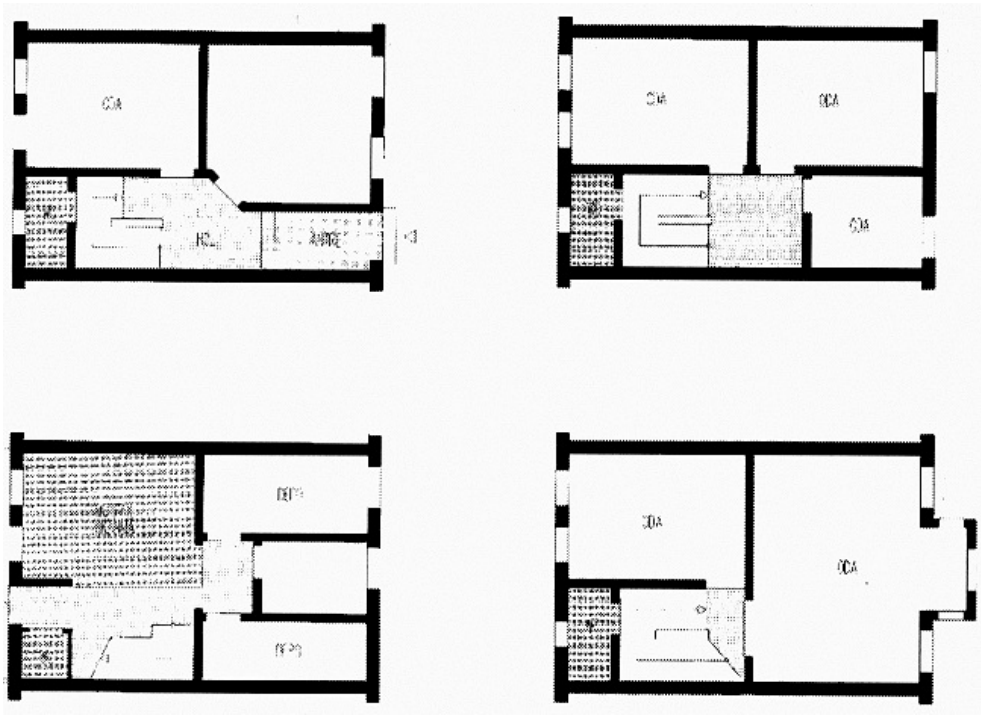

Figure 12 *Surp Agop* row-houses in İstanbul, typical floor plans

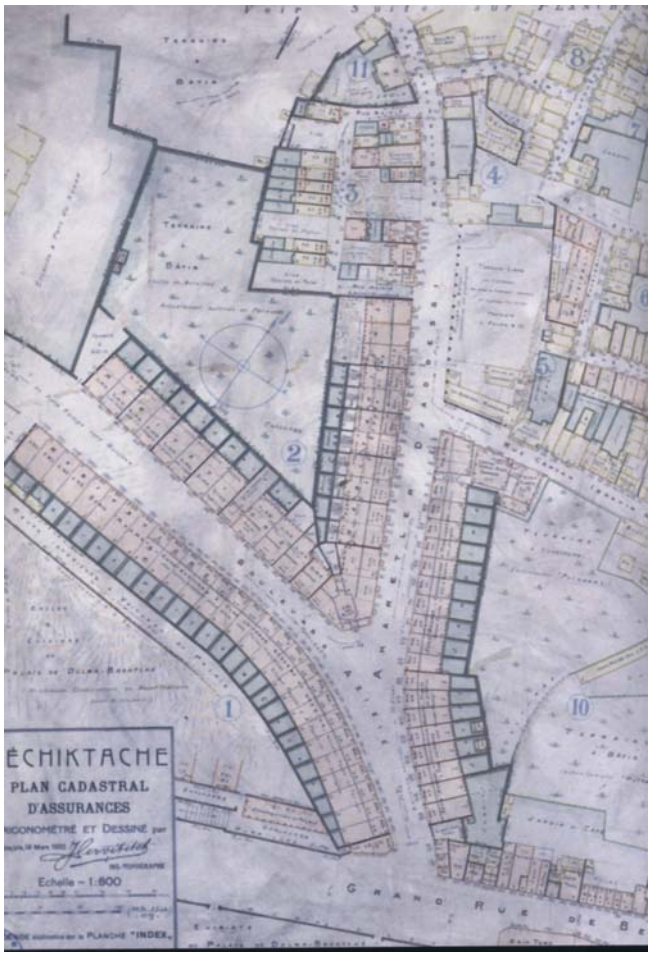

Figure 13 Akaretler shown on 1922 Pervititich Insurance Maps

Figure 14 Akaretler in İstanbul

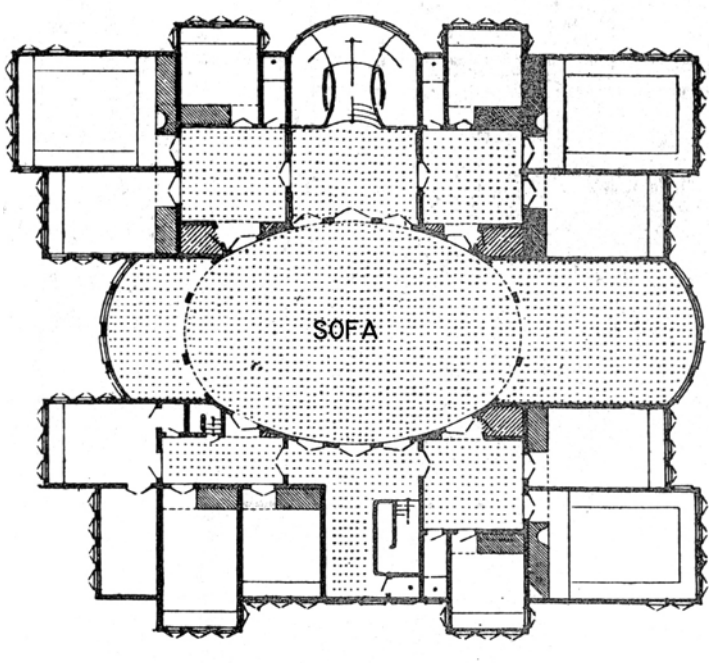

Figure 15 *Beylerbeyi Hasip Paşa Yalısı* in İstanbul, plan

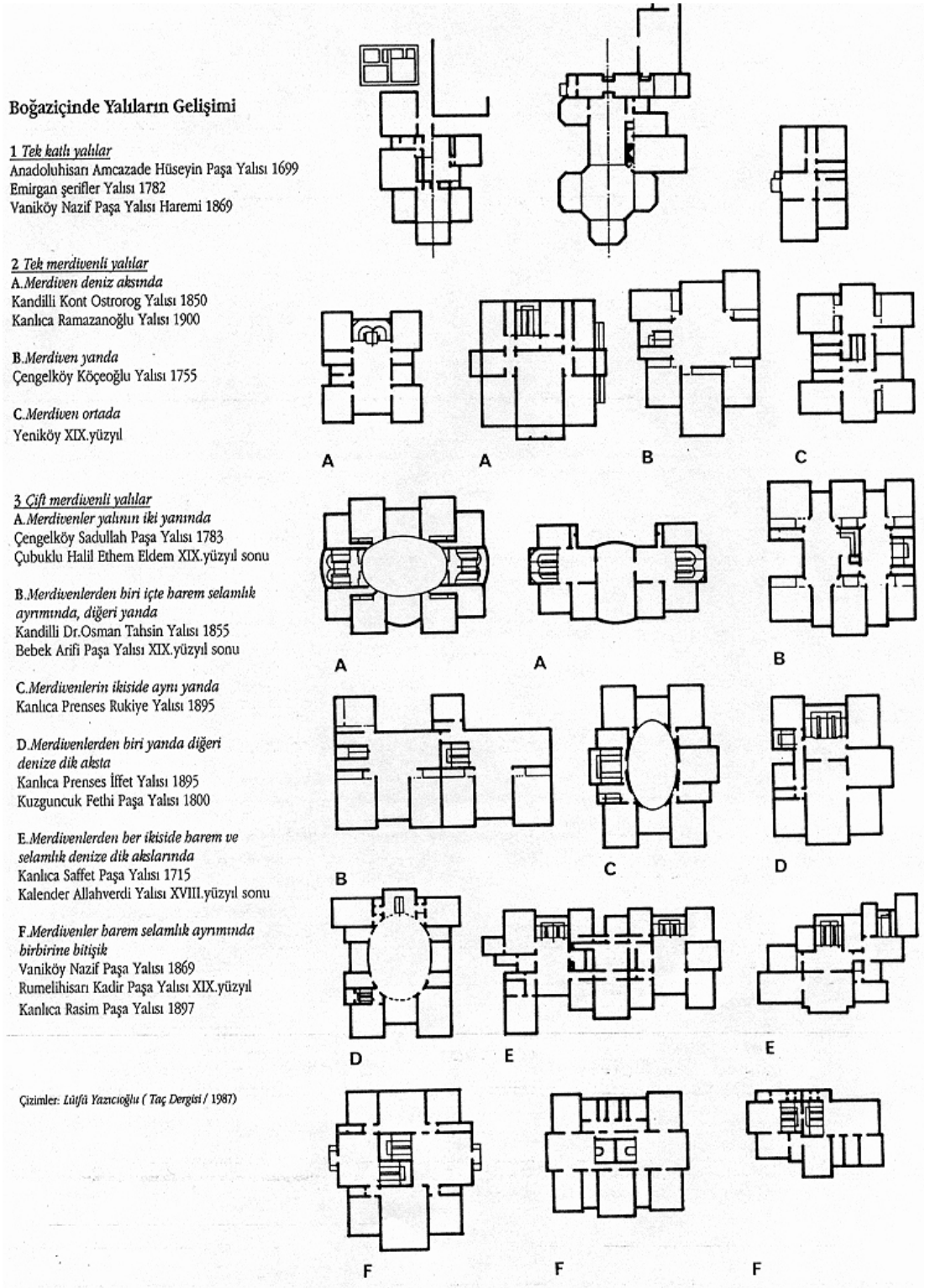

Figure 16 The development of summerhouses in Bosphorus

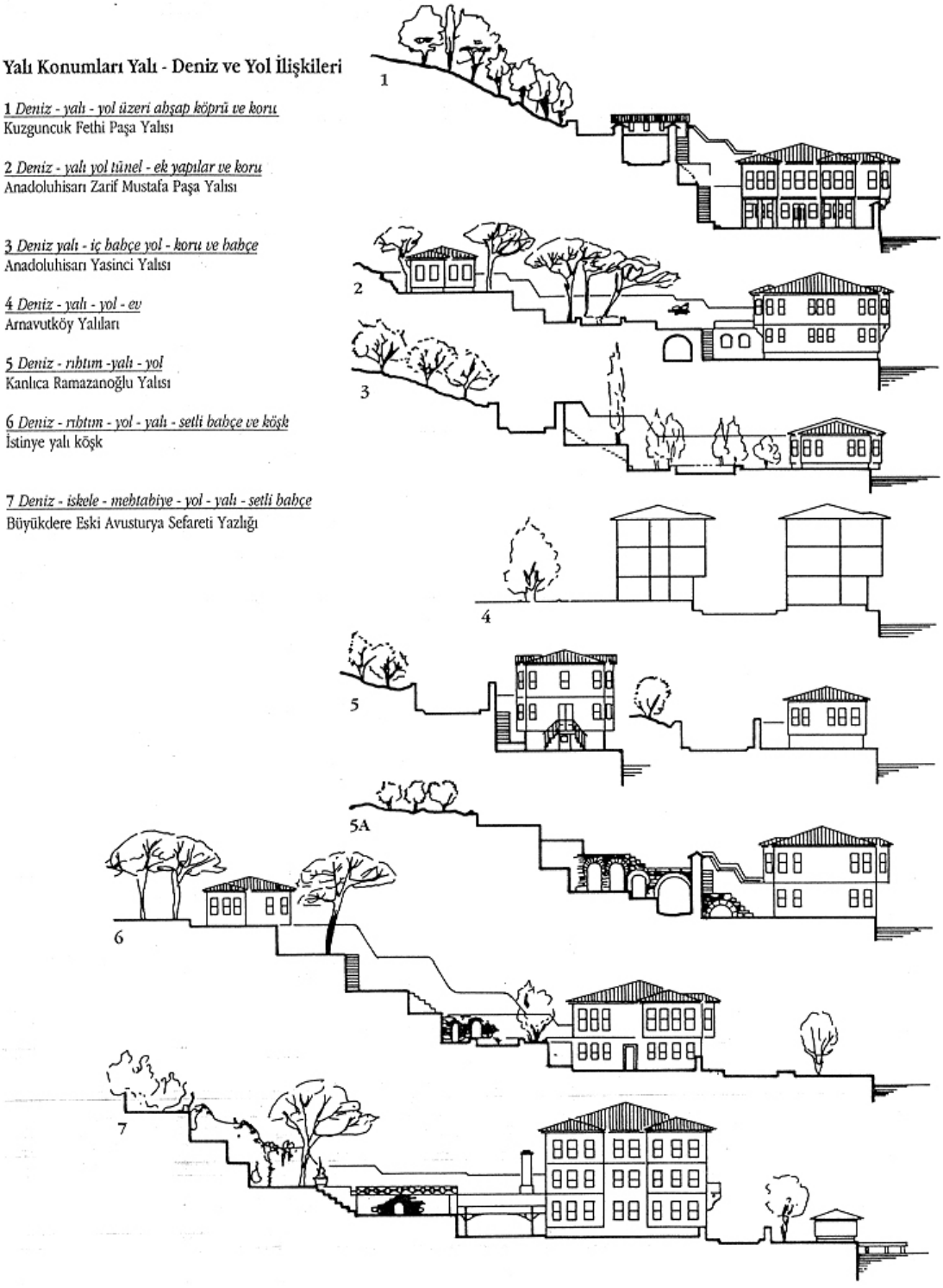

Figure 17 The location of the summerhouses, and house-sea-road relationships

Figure 18 Summerhouses in Büyükdere, İstanbul, 1895

Figure 19 A summerhouse in Tarabya, İstanbul,
beginning of the 20th century

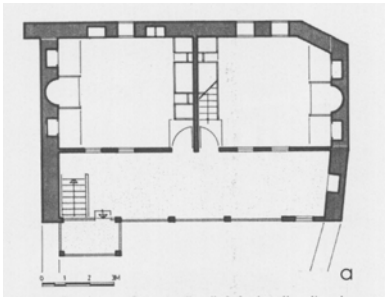

Figure 20 A house in Sarayönü, Bursa, plan, 16th century

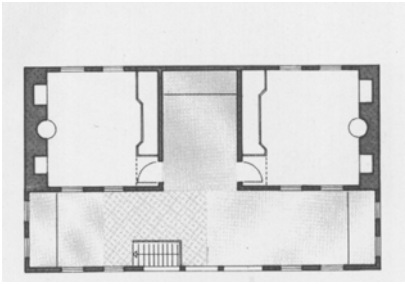

Figure 21 *Halilağa Evi* in Mudanya, plan, 1640

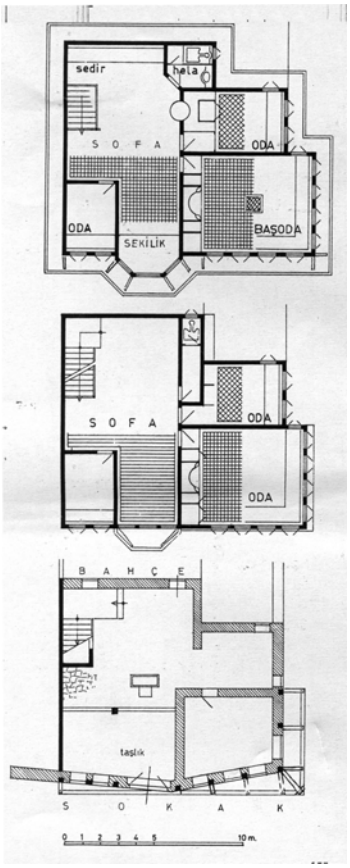

Figure 22 A house in İstanbul, plan, early 18th century

Figure 23 *Sadullah Paşa Yalısı* in İstanbul, the *sofa*

Figure 24 An Ankara house, k*öşk* and *sofa*, 19th century

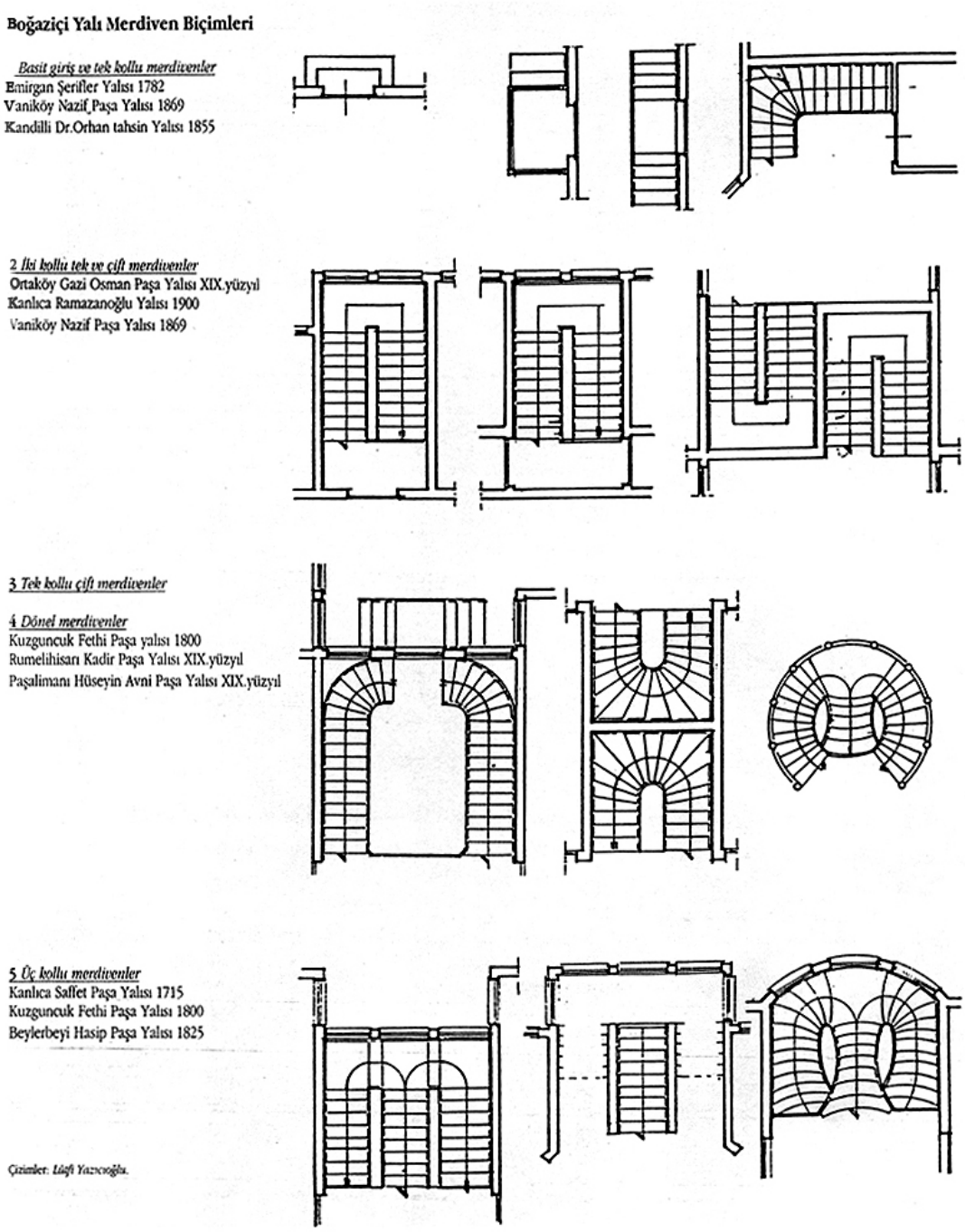

Figure 25 Different forms of staircases in summerhouses

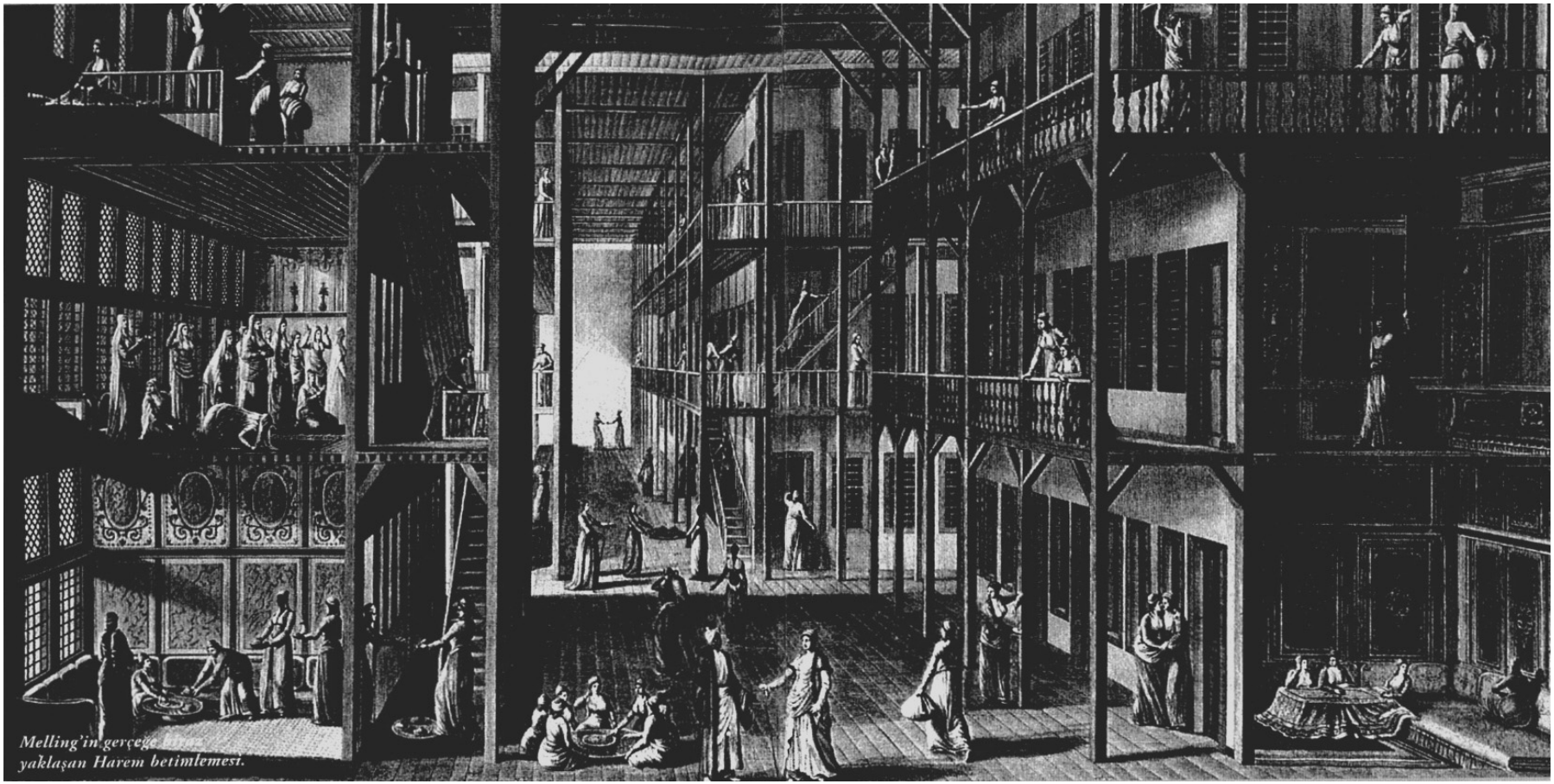

Figure 26　Topkapı Palace in İstanbul, cross-sectional drawing of ‘harem’

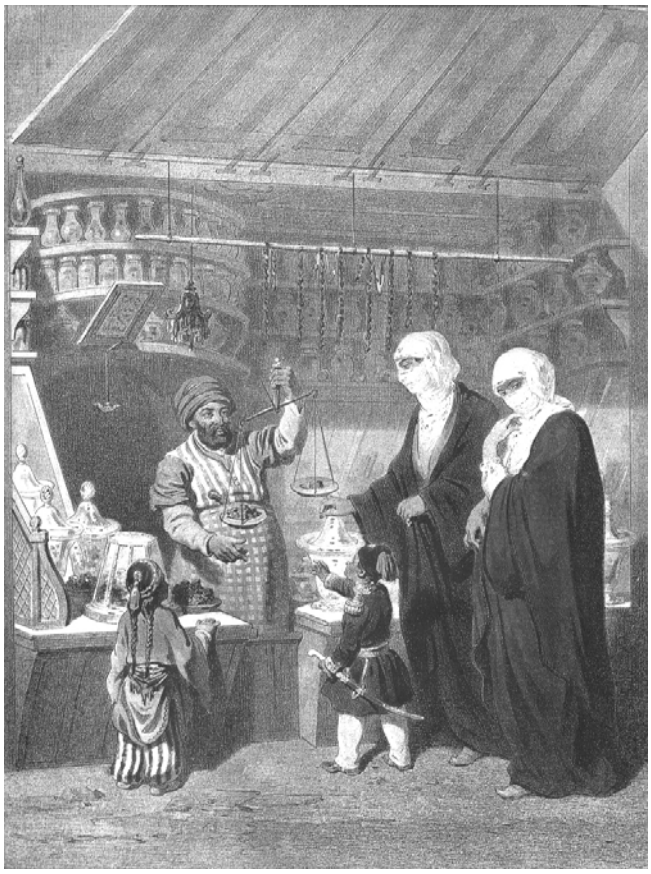

Figure 27　Women shopping from a candy-seller

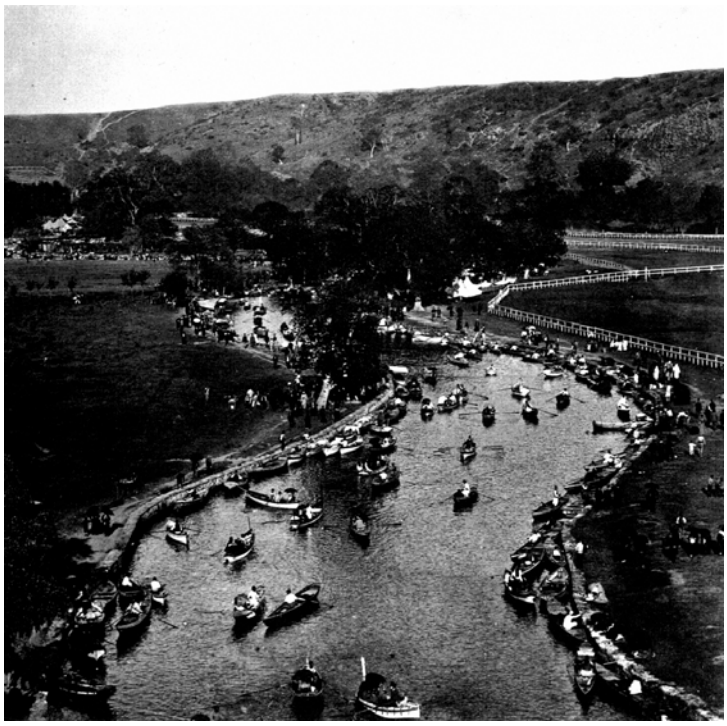

Figure 28　A stream with *kayıks* in İstanbul

Figure 29 *Kağıthane* by Stanislas Chlebowski

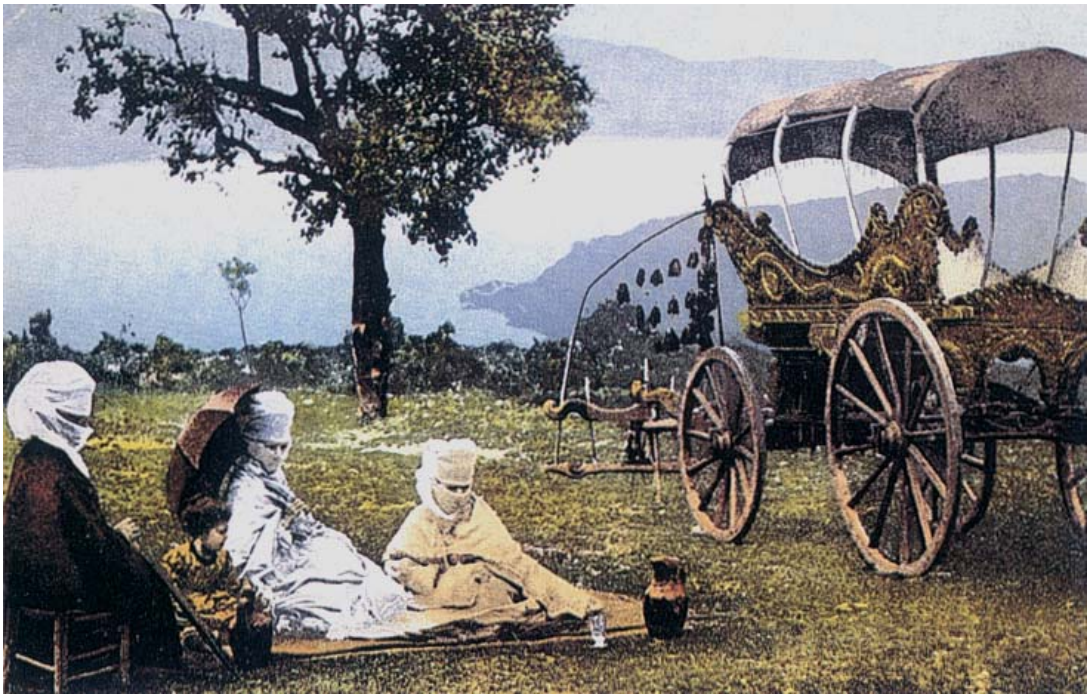

Figure 30 Women resting after a *koçu* ride, İstanbul, 19th century

Figure 31 A miniature showing women going to baths, 16th century

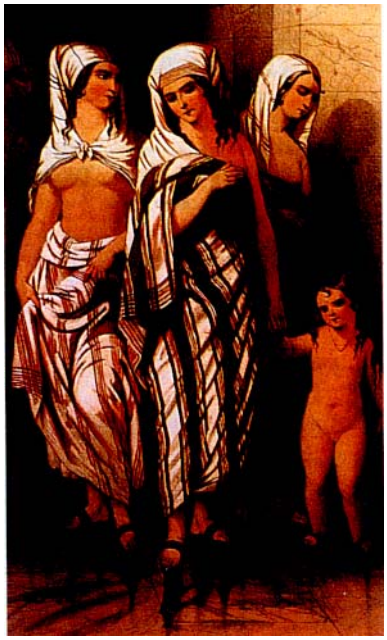

Figure 32 Women in "bathing suits", 19th century

Figure 33　A women's Bath

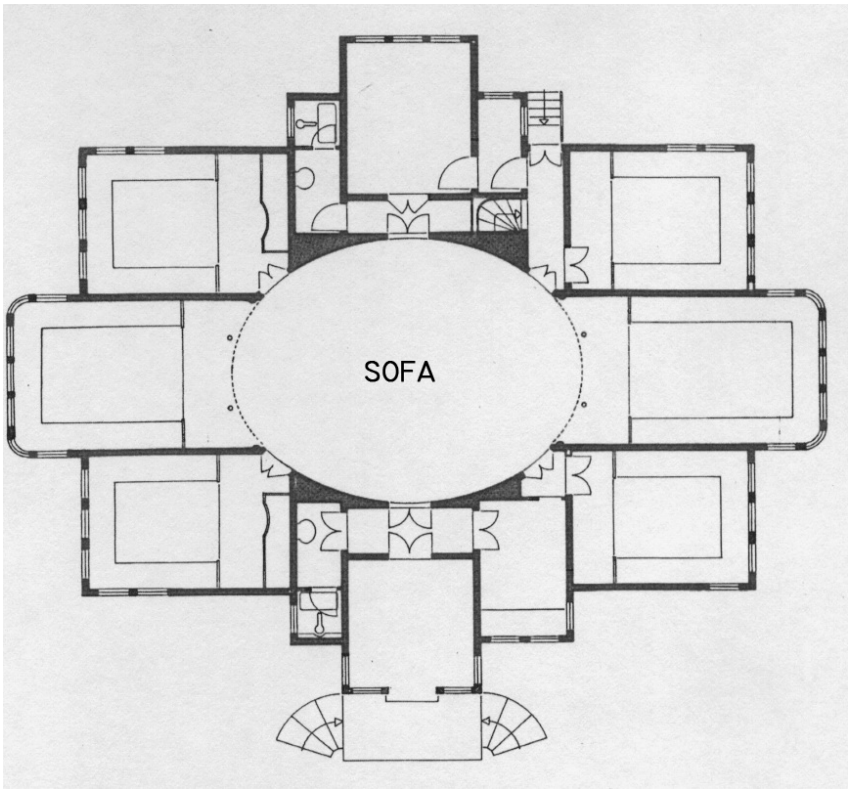

Figure 34 *Nispetiye Köşkü* in İstanbul, plan

Figure 35 *Yeşil Konak* in Sultanahmet, İstanbul

Figure 36 *Boğaz'da Kayıkta* by Albert Mille, 1908

Figure 37 Women sailing with boats in İstanbul, early 20th century

Figure 38 Moonlight excursions in Göksu, 19th century

Figure 39 An Ottoman woman with her thin veil, end of the 19th century

Figure 40 Karaköy Square in İstanbul, beginning of the 20th century

Figure 41 A woman from Pera, İstanbul, late 19th century

Figure 42 A western woman from İstanbul, early 20th century

Resim 1: ''Anasından böyle doğmuş olsaydı acaba ne kadar zahmet çekerdi bozmak için.''

Figure 43 A caricature about the new hair styles, *Çıngıraklı Tatar* magazine, 1873

Resim 4: ''— Hanımefendi daima böyle ferace ve yaşmakla mı gezersiniz?
— Evet Madam bizde sizin gibi açık gezmek günahtır.''

Figure 44 A caricature on dressing of different groups, *Hayal* magazine, 1873-1877

Resim 9: ''Şimdi bunun içine neler saklanmaz!''

Figure 45 A caricature ridiculing new fashions, *Hayal* magazine, 1873-1877

Figure 46 An Ottoman woman, early 20th century

Figure 47 Western type of dresses which were sewed for the palace women, İstanbul, 1873-1874

Figure 48 Western style wedding dresses, last years of the Ottoman Empire

Figure 49 Women with western clothes in Büyükada, İstanbul, early 20th century

Figure 50 An advertisement of a theater show from 1850s

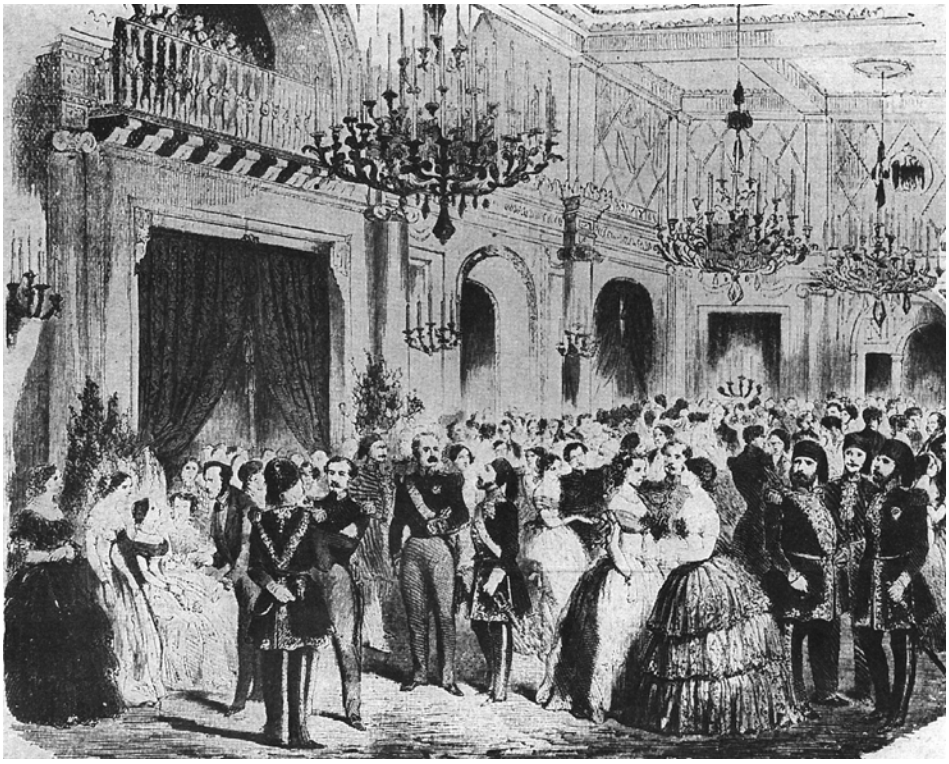

Figure 51 A ball organized in the French Embassy in İstanbul in 1854

Figure 52 A ball organized in the Ottoman Embassy in Paris in 1850

COMPAGNIE ROYALE NEERLANDAISE
DE NAVIGATION A VAPEUR
AVIS
Départs pour la Hollande,

Le vapeur hollandais, JASON, *capitaine* BOLS, *de 1800 tonnes, attendu fin de ce mois, partira aussitôt après son déchargement pour la Hollande voie de Smyrne.*

Ce vapeur accepte des marchandises pour tous les ports et l'intérieur de la **Hollande, de la Belgique, de la Norvège, de la Suède, de tout le littoral de la mer Baltique, et l'intérieur de l'Allemagne, St-Pétersbourg, Kieff, Moscou, Nijni-Novgorod, etc.,etc.**

Le frêt pour toutes ces destinations est fixé ici d'avance et des connaissements directs seront délivrés, la susdite Compagnie s'engageant d'opérer en Hollande le transbordement des marchandises et leur réexpédition par vapeur ou par chemin de fer, jusqu'à leur destination.

Le JASON *accepte des marchandises et des passagers pour Smyrne.*

Pour plus amples renseignements s'adresser à L'AGENT
François Frederici.
Glavany Khan N° 11.

Constantinople, 15 mars 1880.

SERVIZIO POSTALE

Figure 53 An advertisement of voyages organized to Europe by ferries

Figure 54 Coaches waiting for customers in Eminönü, İstanbul

Figure 55 Palace women in their coaches, İstanbul, 19th century

Figure 56 Women in their *koçu*, İstanbul

Figure 57 Interior of a women's sea-bath

Figure 58 A public sea-bath for men in Salacak, İstanbul

Figure 59 A private sea-bath in Büyükdere, İstanbul

Maisons recommandées de Constantinople,

Renseignements utiles.

Aux Villes de France. LÉGEROT et MESSENER modes et confection, soieries, rubans, dentelles, velours, gants de Paris, haute nouveauté. Rue de Péra N° 261.	**Casin de Péra.** Restaurant à la mode, déjeûners et dîners à la table d'hôte la plus recherchée; service particulièrement soigné. Grande-Rue de Péra.	**Bonneterie et Tricots.** MEIFFRE FRÈRES, Lingerie, Corsets, Chemises, Mouchoirs, Layettes au crochet, Bas et Flanelles, Entrepôt de Parapluies et réparations. Rue de Péra, [illegible], près Ste-Marie.	**Hôtel de Londres.** Au centre de Péra, appartements meublés à louer, table d'hôte; prix modérés. Rue Hamal-Bachi N° 8.	**Maison de Gros.** MEIFFRE FRÈRES, Quincaillerie, Fer battu, Articles de Paris, Chaussures, Foulard, Armes, Miroiterie, Fournitures de Bureau, Malles de voyage. Rue Kirerdji, [illegible], à Galata.
Café du Luxembourg. BOSSY et BRUN, grand salon de consommation, salons particuliers, billards, appartements à louer. Rue de Péra N° 491.	**Nouveautés.** DEMILLEVILLE, étoffes en tout genre, grand choix de rubans, dentelles, etc., gants de Paris. Rue de Péra, N° 264.	**Au Gant d'Or.** Maison VÉRÉNA ISLER Spécialité de corsets sur mesure, modes, coiffures, ganterie Jouvin, parfumerie objets de Paris. Passage du palais de Holl. galerie de l'horloge N° [illegible].	**Hôtel d'Europe.** M. J. DESTUNIANI, appartements richement meublés, service intelligent et empressé, table très confortable, vue magnifique. — Descente des Quatre-Rues.	**Ferronnerie et Quincaillerie.** PERRIN, beaux-frères, limes et outils, serrurerie de France, articles de ménage, cuivrerie. Rue de Péra N° 181, près du Théâtre.
Librairie Française. EUMÈBE, maison spéciale pour livres français, dernières nouveautés, — livres de science et de littérature. Vis-à-vis de Galata Séraï.	**Chapeaux.** BERTRAND, chapellerie parisienne feutre et soie, casquettes de fantaisie. Au Téké de Péra.	**Confiserie.** VALLAURY et Comp. confiseur de Sa Majesté le Sultan, fruits glacés, confitures, sirops, gateaux et glaces. Rue de Péra.	**Meubles.** PERPIGNANI, fabrication de Paris et de Vienne, élégance et solidité. Descente du Téké.	**Tentures.** UROSCH, étoffes à tous prix pour rideaux et garnitures, grand assortiment de tapisseries à grand rabais, passementeries, tapis. Rue de Péra.
Musique. COMMENDINGER, facteur de pianos, musique nouvelle. Echange, location et nouveautés en pianos. Rue de Péra, N° 149. Vis-à-vis du Palais des fleurs.	**A La Tricoteuse.** ZIEM et HUGUES, bonneteries, modes, rubans, confection, haute nouveauté de Paris. A Péra, et succursale au Téké.	**Hôtel de Bysance.** Chambres et appartements richement meublés, table d'hôte, service irréprochable. Rue de Péra.	**Droguerie et Pharmacie.** VELITS et Cie., droguers, produits chimiques, spécialités d'eaux minérales. Dépôt de vins de Hongrie de première qualité. Galata, Rue Juksek Kalderim, N° [illegible].	**Huile à Brûler.** Huile-de-Colza épurée pour lampes, huile d'olive, vins, liqueurs. Rue Timani, en face du palais de Russie.
Magasin Holas. Grosse quincaillerie, tuyaux en fer et autres métaux, lampes au gaz et leurs accessoires. Prix modérés; solidité. Rue Yenni-Giamy, No 50, Galata.	**Confiserie et Patisserie.** LEBON, cette maison se recommande par ses qualités supérieures en dragées et bonbons de France; cartonnages, etc. Rue de Péra N° 184.	**Horlogerie Suisse.** MÉLANJOIE et KAUFMANN, montres et bijoux, pendules, chronomètres, orfèvrerie. Rue de Péra.	**Confiserie.** BALTZER, patisserie anglaise, glaces, gâteaux, dragées et confitures. Rue de Péra. Vis-à-vis de l'église de Ste-Marie.	**Voitures à Louer.** Calèches couvertes et découvertes, phaétons, cabriolets de remise. MASSE, carrossier français. Au Taxim de Péra No 2.

Figure 60 A recommendation list of stores, cafes and hotels in İstanbul published in a newspaper in 1850s

Figure 61 An advertisement of *Psalty* furniture store in İstanbul

Figure 62 An advertisement of beauty products

Figure 63 An advertisement of a perfumery

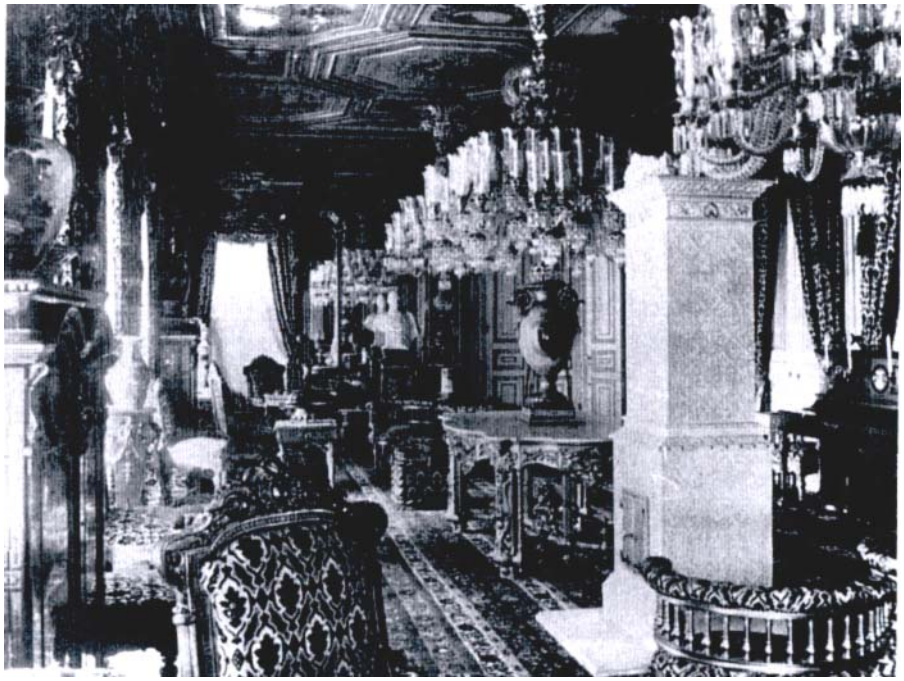

Figure 64　A reception room in Dolmabahçe Palace, İstanbul

Figure 65　A bedroom in Dolmabahçe Palace, İstanbul

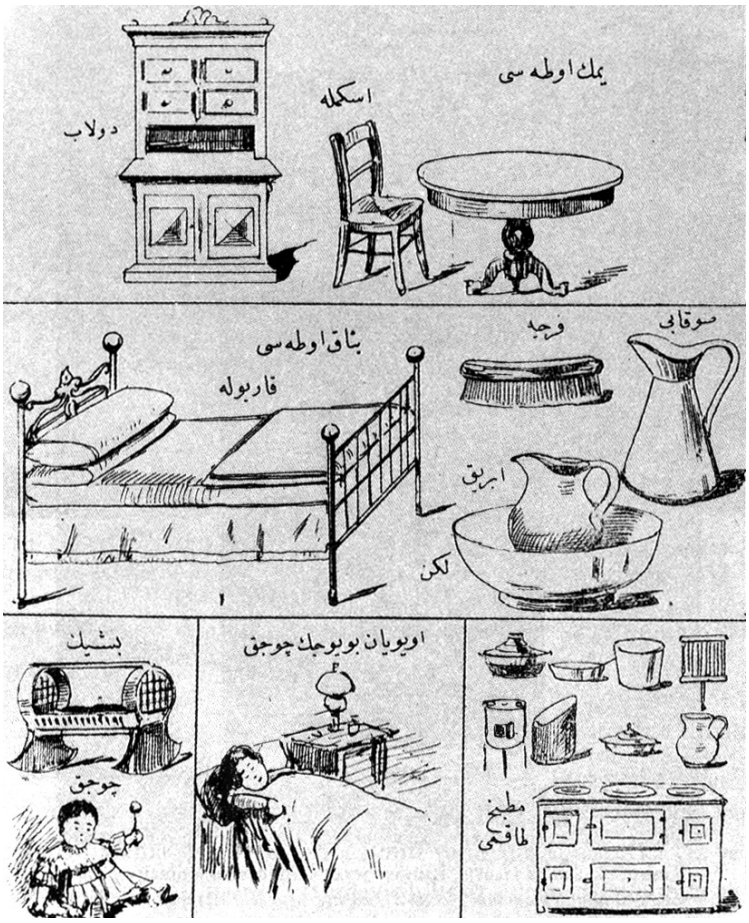

Figure 66　Pictures of home furniture in a children's book, 1909

Figure 67　Family sitting around a table, 1909

Figure 68 a. A family in front of their summerhouse in Bosphorus, İstanbul, early 20th century

Figure 68 b. Interior of the summerhouse of the family/ladies shown in picture 68a

Figure 68 c. Interior of the summerhouse of the family/ladies shown in picture 68a

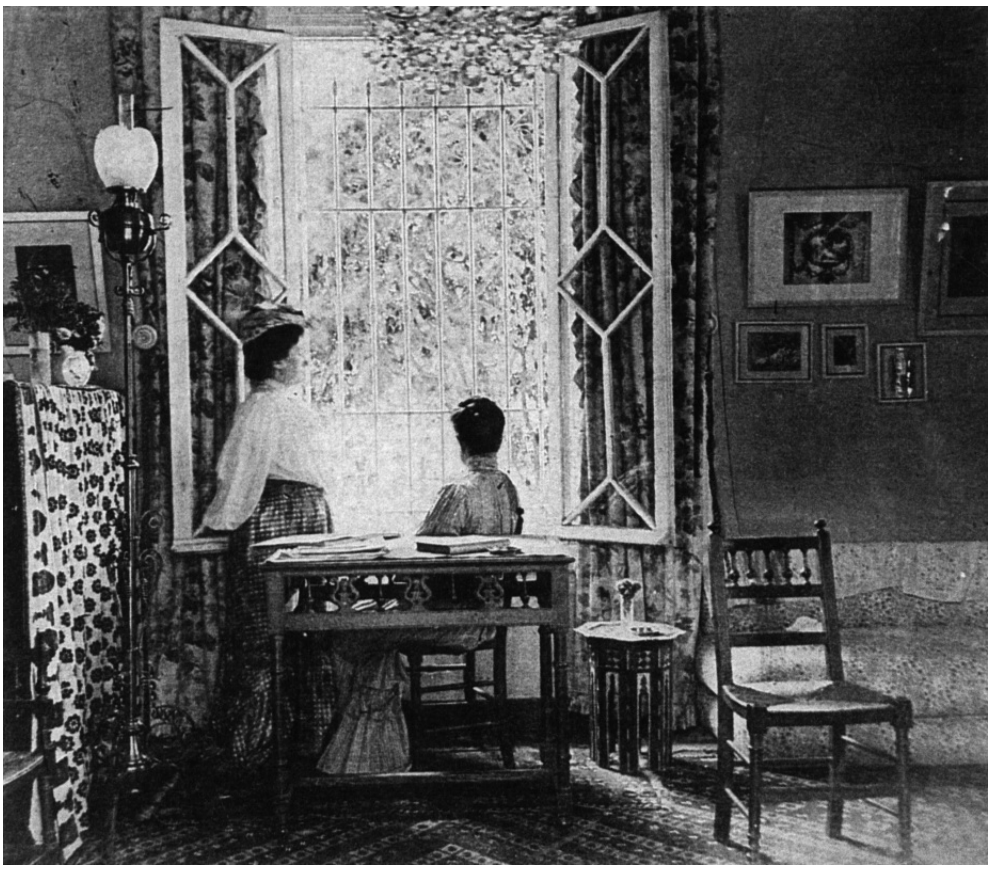

Figure 68 d. Interior of the summerhouse of the family/ladies shown in picture 68a

Figure 69 *Büyük Hendek* Street and the graveyards in Pera, İstanbul, 1813

Figure 70 Büyük Hendek street in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

Figure 71 a. Galata Bridge in İstanbul, 1900

Figure 71 b. View of Galata, İstanbul, 1900

Figure 71　c. Galata Bridge in İstanbul, around 1900

Figure 72　An announcement of a theater play in Turkish, French, Greek, Armenian and Hebrew

Figure 73 *Yüksek Kaldırım* in İstanbul with various stores and hotels

Figure 74 Galatasaray corner in Pera, İstanbul, 1895

Figure 75 Non-Muslims sipping their beers, Tepebaşı, İstanbul, 1903

Figure 76 Deutsche-Orient Bank in İstanbul

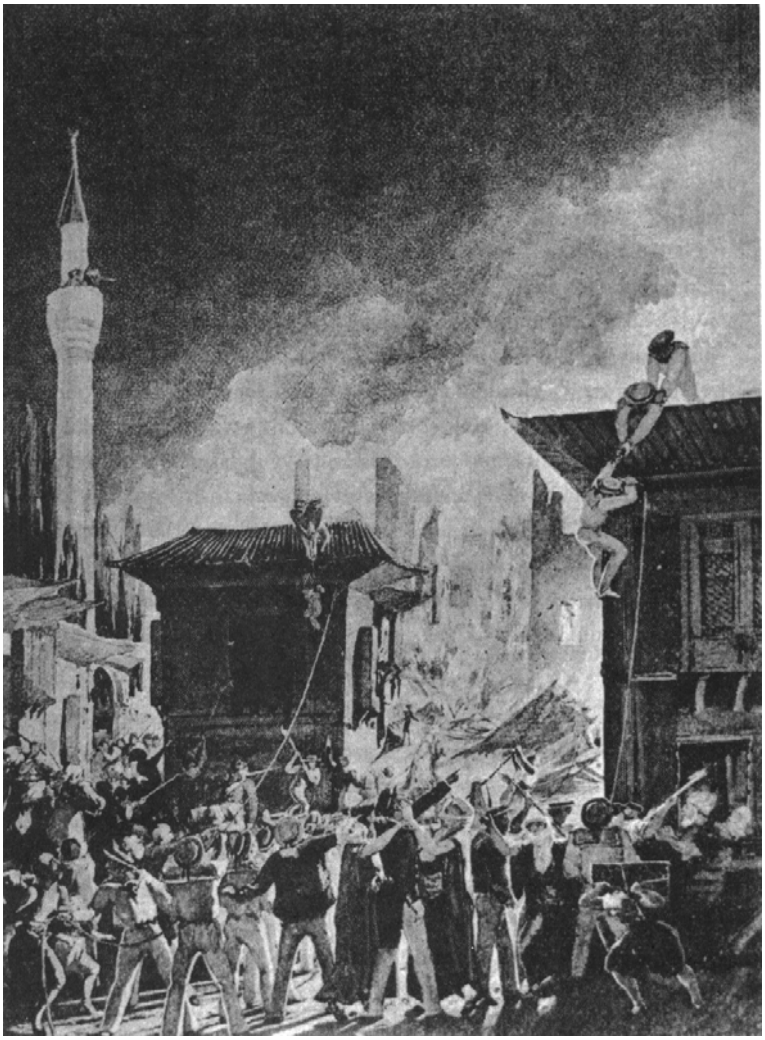

Figure 77 a. An illustration of a fire in Pera, İstanbul

Figure 77 b. An illustration of the 1870 fire in Pera, İstanbul

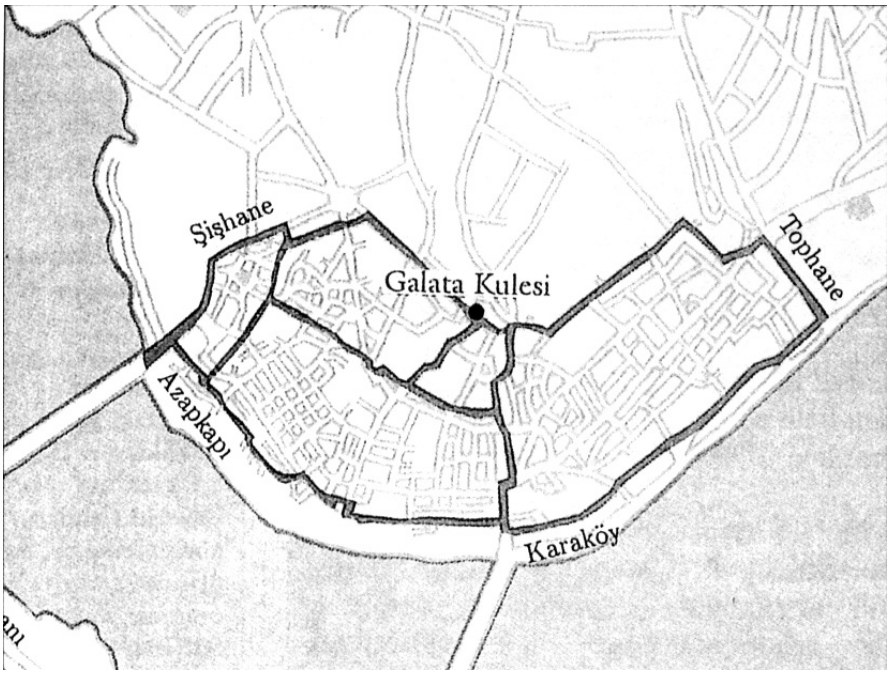

Figure 78 Ramparts of Galata, İstanbul

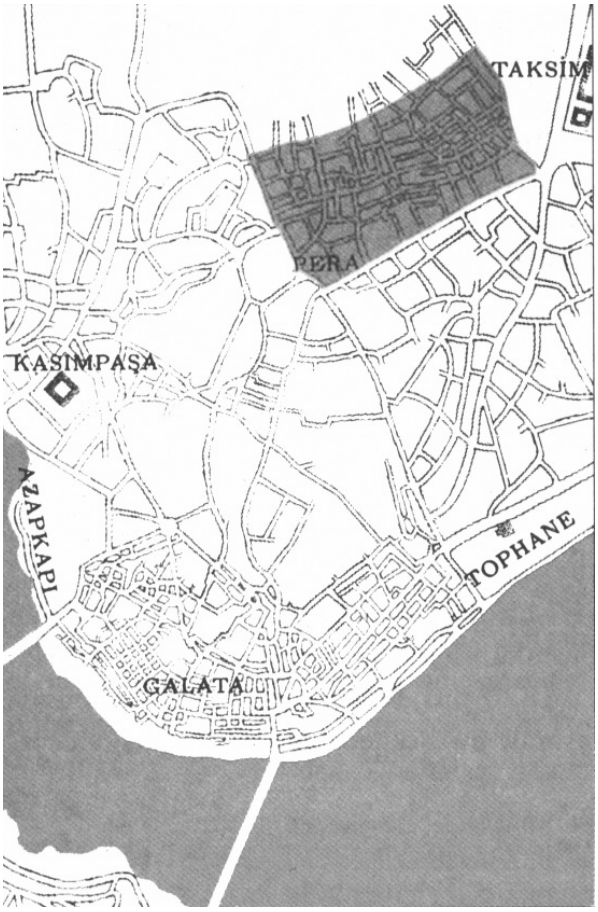

Figure 79 Map showing the area destroyed by the 1870 fire, İstanbul

Figure 80　Masonry buildings in Galata, İstanbul

Figure 81　The silhouette from *Kurdela Street* in Pera, İstanbul

Figure 82 *Citè de Pera*, İstanbul

Figure 83 *Botter Apartmanı*, İstanbul

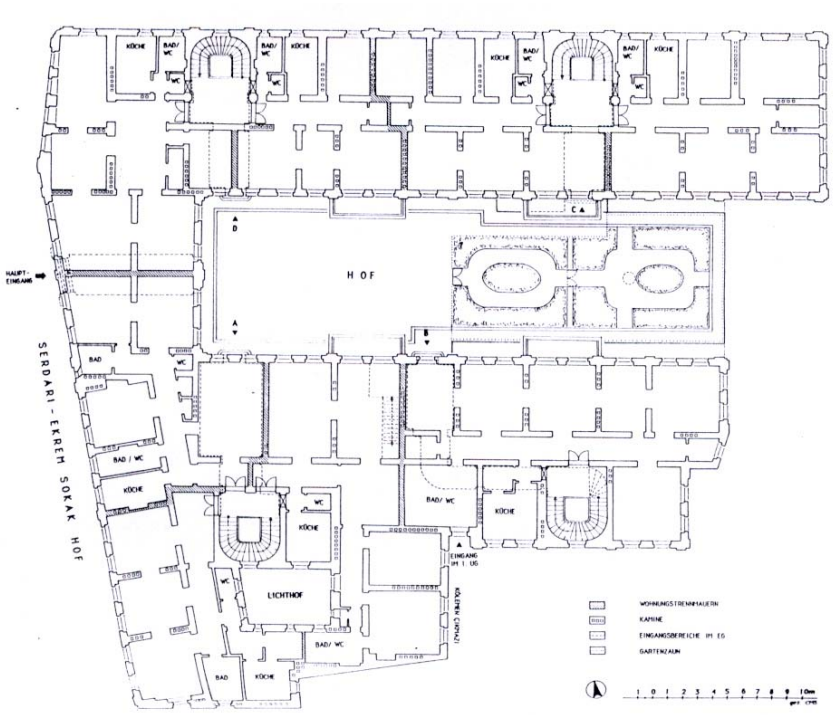

Figure 84 a. *Doğan Apartmanı*, typical floor plan, İstanbul

Figure 84 b. *Doğan Apartmanı*, İstanbul

Figure 84 c. *Doğan Apartmanı*, entrance of one of the flats, İstanbul

Figure 84 d. *Doğan Apartmanı*, courtyard and sea view from one of the flats, İstanbul

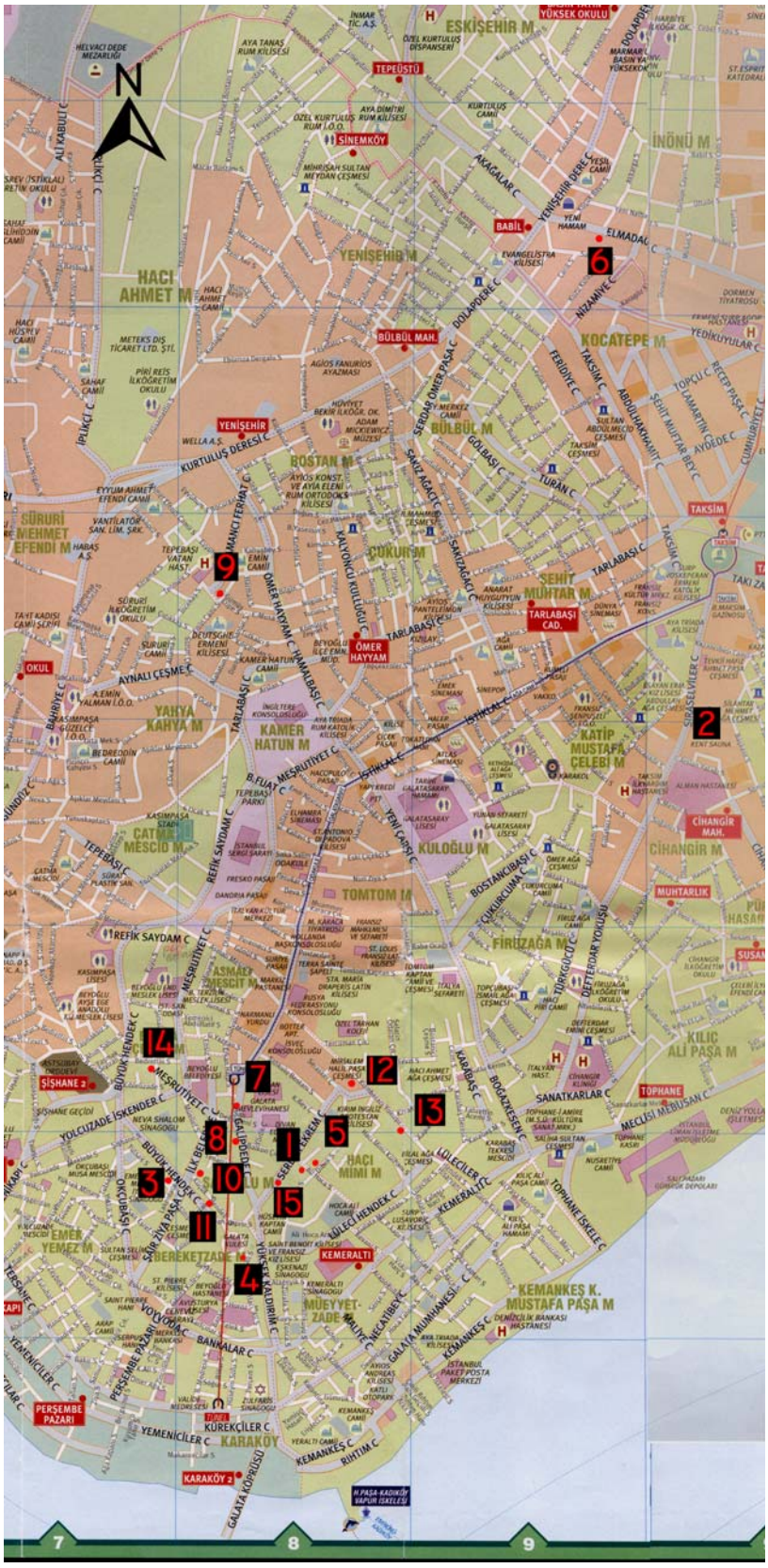

Figure 85 Location of the sample apartments on the map of Beyoğlu

Figure 86 The map showing the area covered in Goad insurance maps, 1905

Figure 87 a. The insurance map of Goad, nr: 35, Galata and Pera, İstanbul, 1905

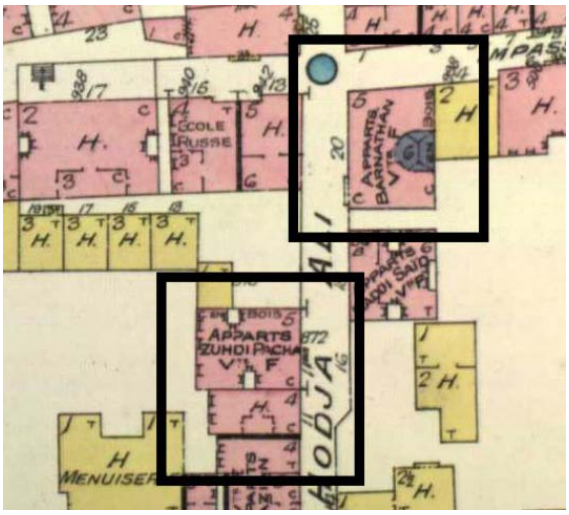

Figure 87 b. *Zuhdi Pacha* and *Barnathan* apartments

Figure 87 c. *Mavrides* and *Friedmann* apartments

Figure 87 d. *Asseo Apartmanı*

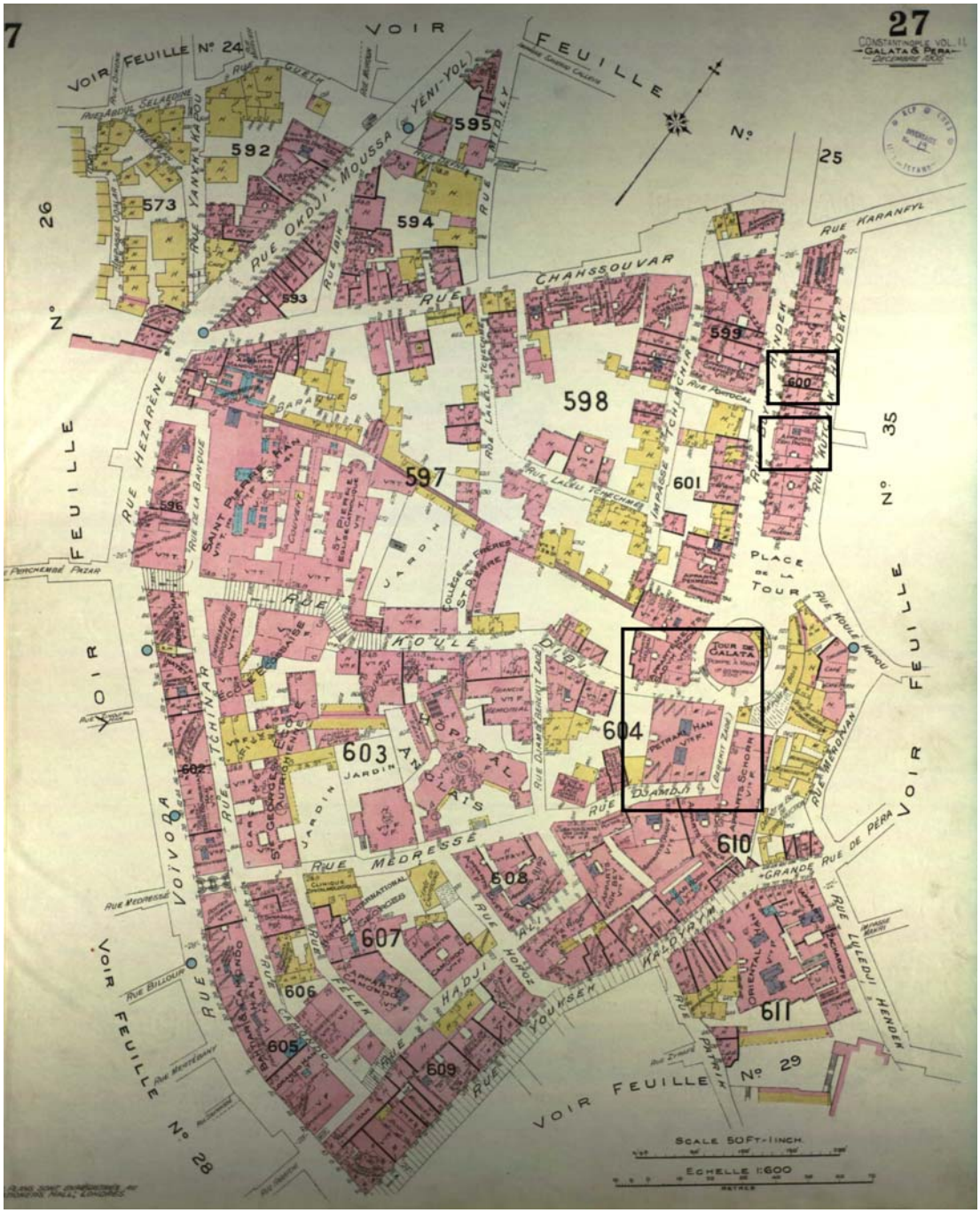

Figure 88 a. The insurance map of Goad, nr: 27, Galata and Pera, İstanbul, 1905

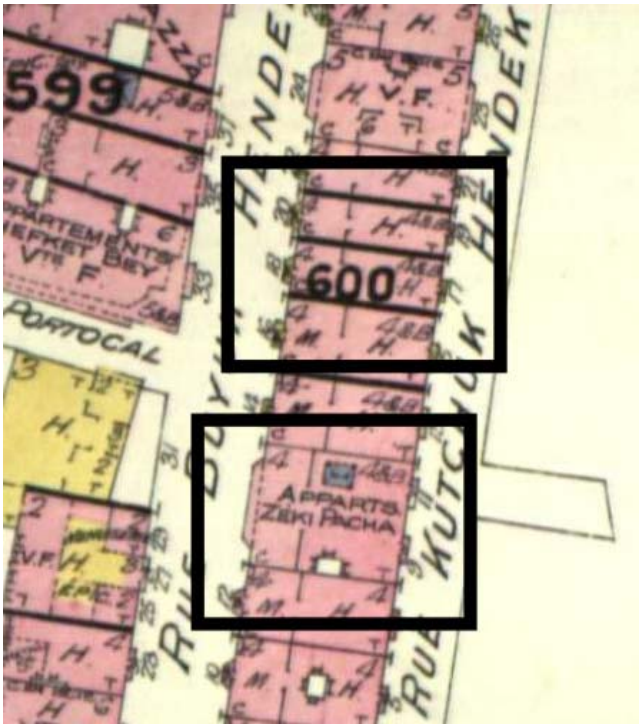

Figure 88 b. *Zeki Pacha* and *Küçük Hendek* apartments

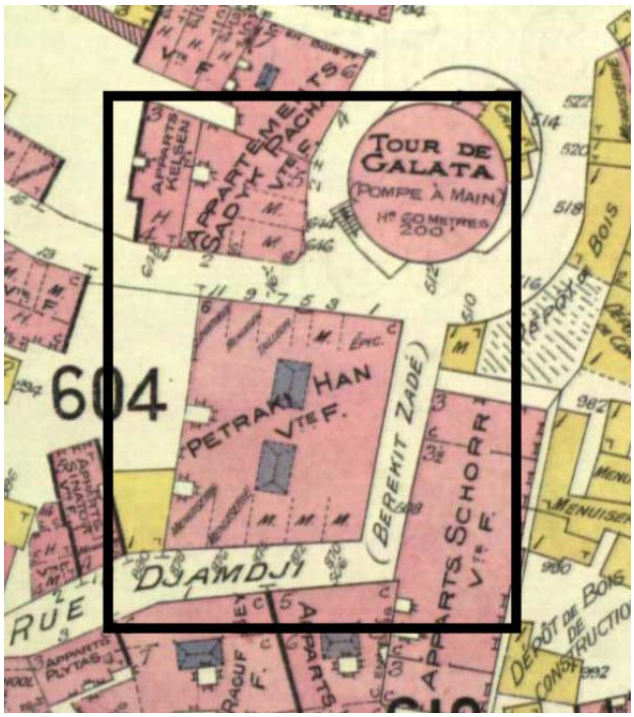

Figure 88 c. *Petraki Apartmanı*

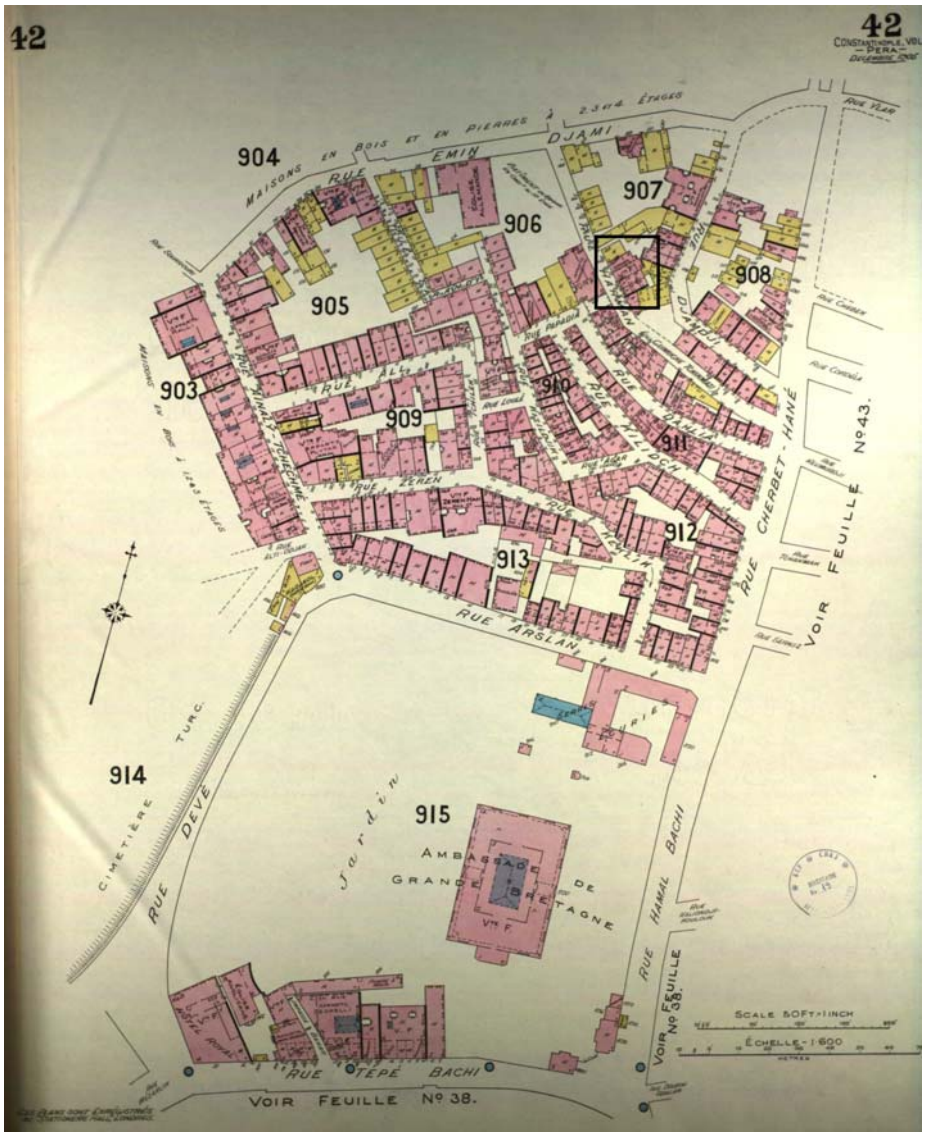

Figure 89 a. The insurance map of Goad, nr: 42, Galata and Pera, İstanbul, 1905

Figure 89 b. *Apostolidis Apartmanı*

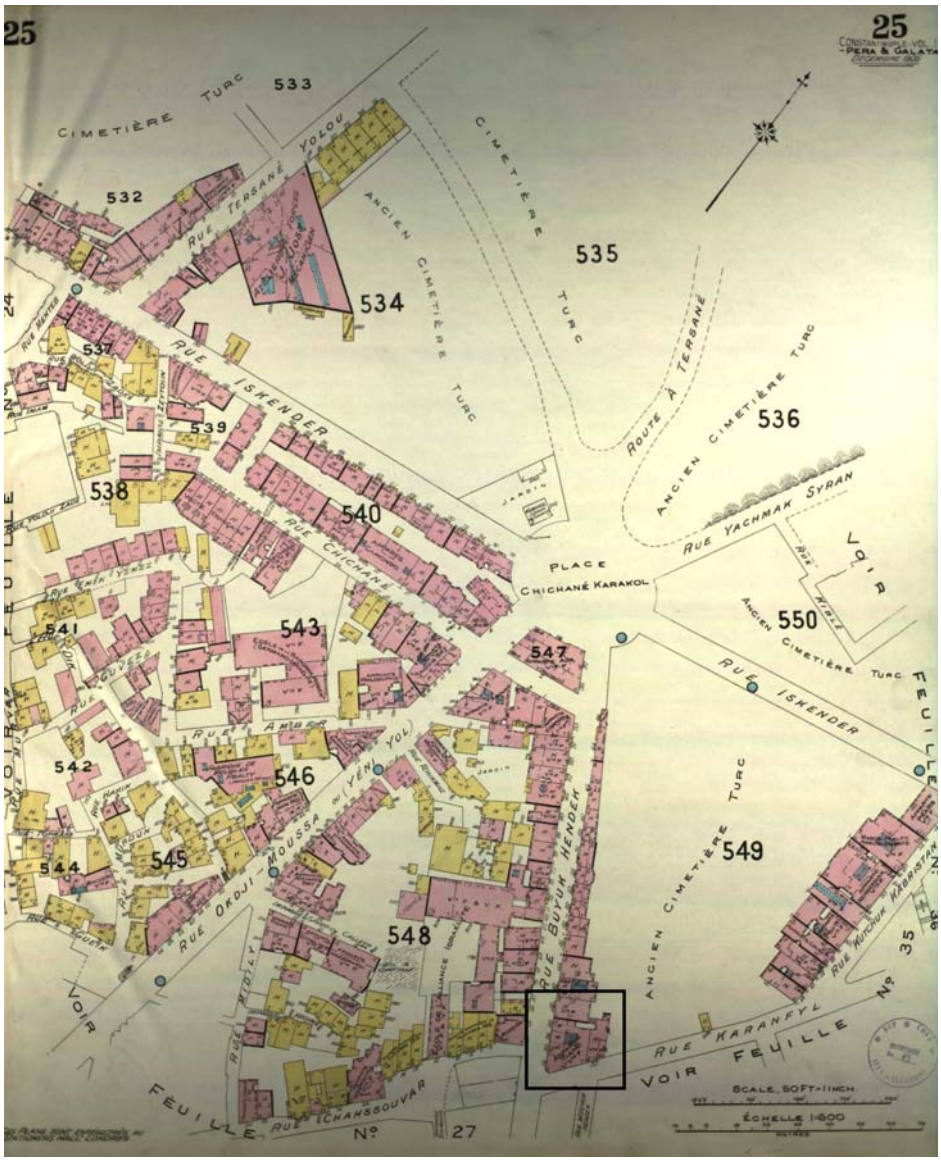

Figure 90 a. The insurance map of Goad, nr: 25, Galata and Pera, İstanbul, 1905

Figure 90 b. *Tiano Apartmanı*

Figure 91 a. The insurance map of Goad, nr: 36, Galata and Pera, İstanbul, 1905

Figure 91 b. *Trel Apartmanı*

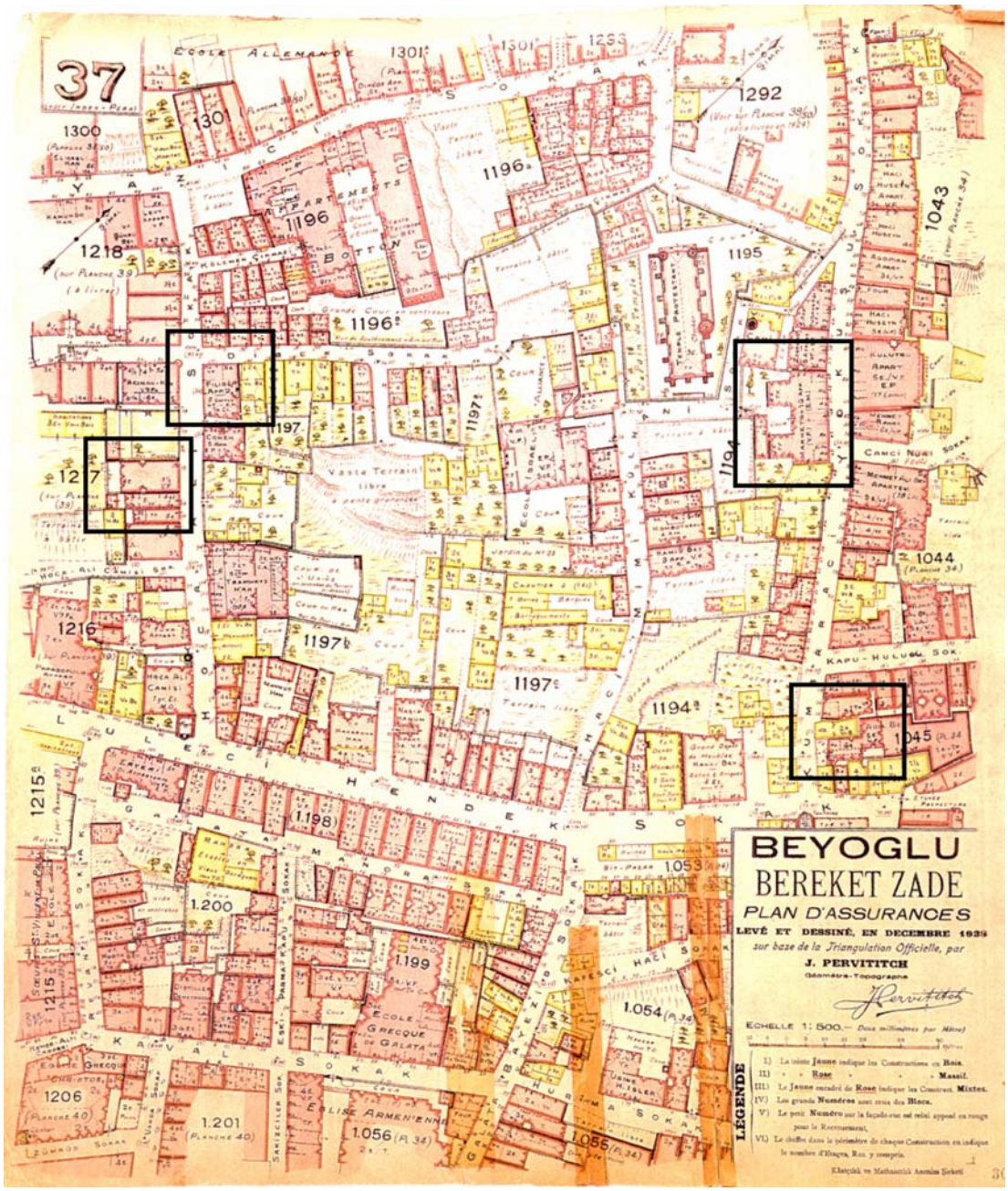

Figure 92 a. The insurance map of Pervititich, nr: 37, Beyoğlu, İstanbul, 1928

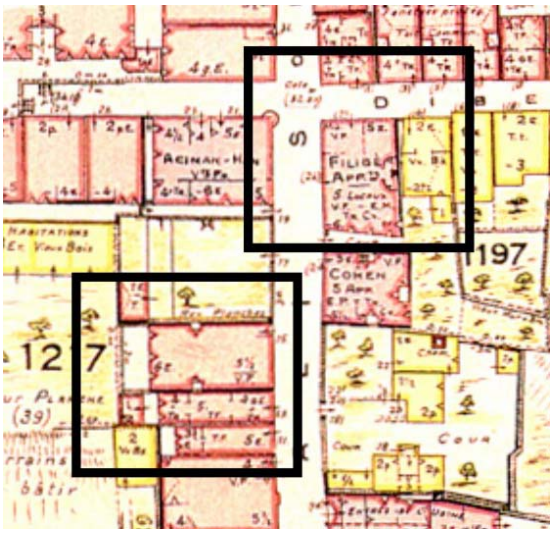

Figure 92 b. *Zuhdi Pacha* and *Barnathan* apartments

Figure 92 c. *Adil Bey Apartmanı*

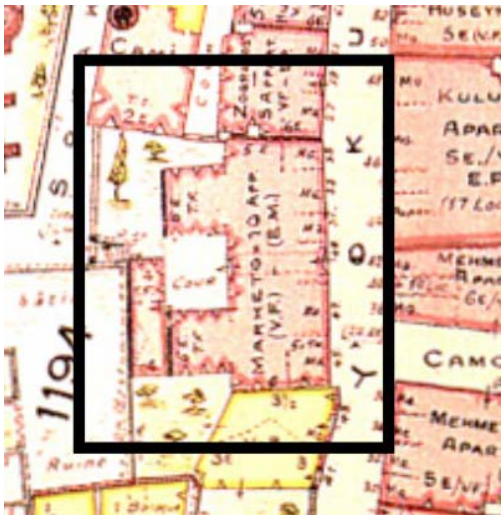

Figure 92 d. *Marketto Apartmanı*

Figure 93 a. The insurance map of Pervititich, nr: 35, Pera, İstanbul, 1927

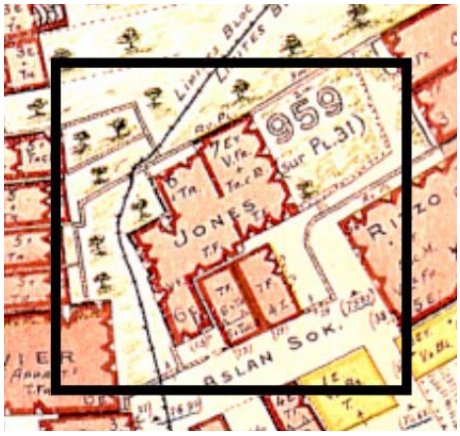

Figure 93 b. *Jones Apartmanı*

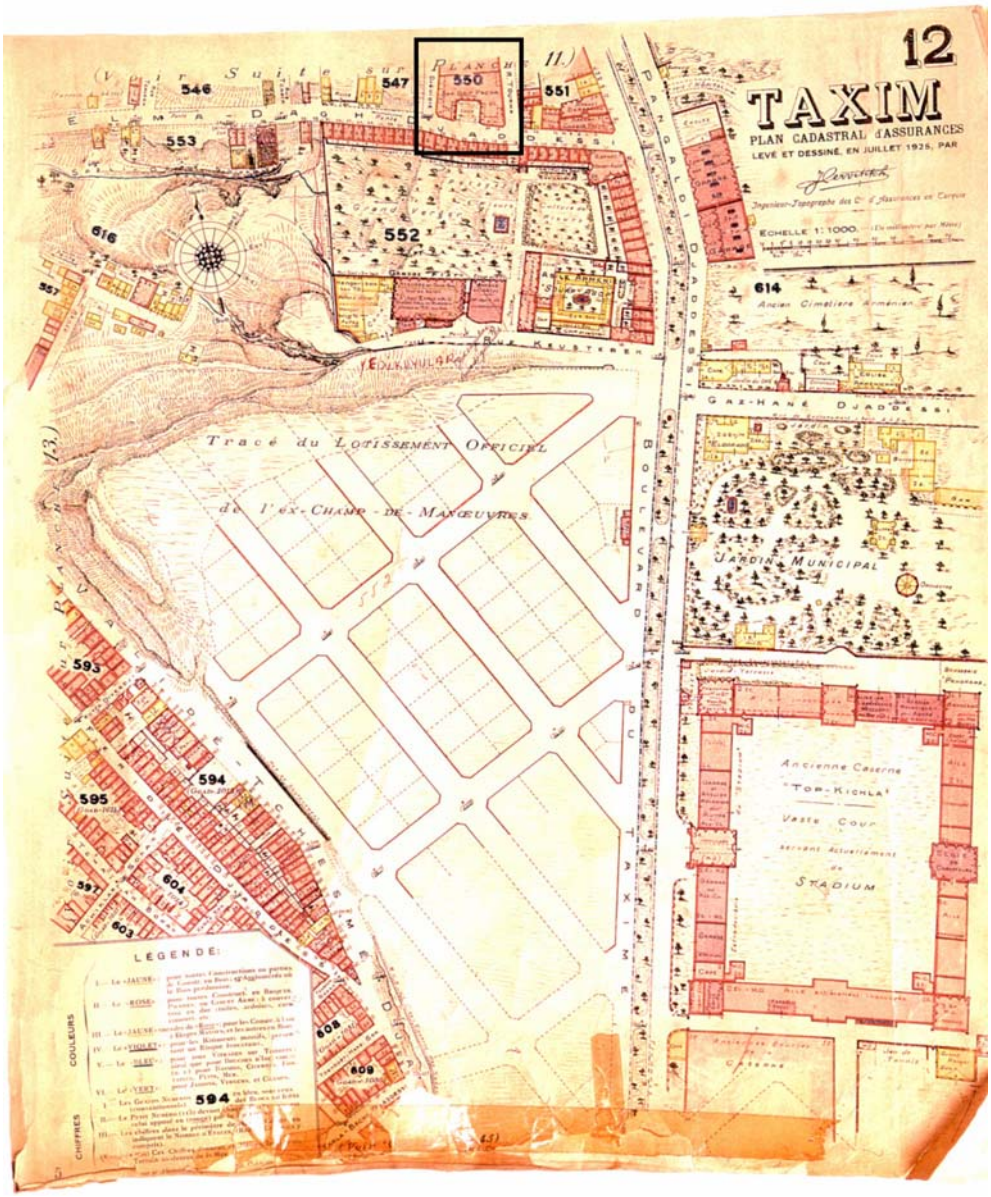

Figure 94 a. The insurance map of Pervititich, nr: 12, Taksim, İstanbul, 1925

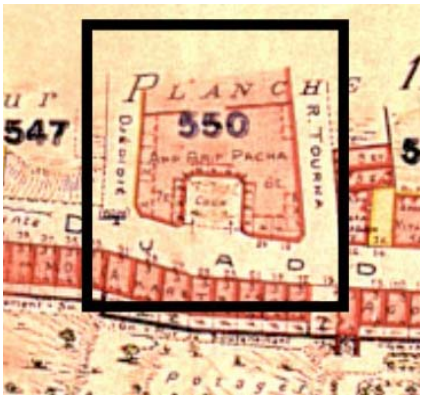

Figure 94 b. *Arif Pacha Apartmanı*

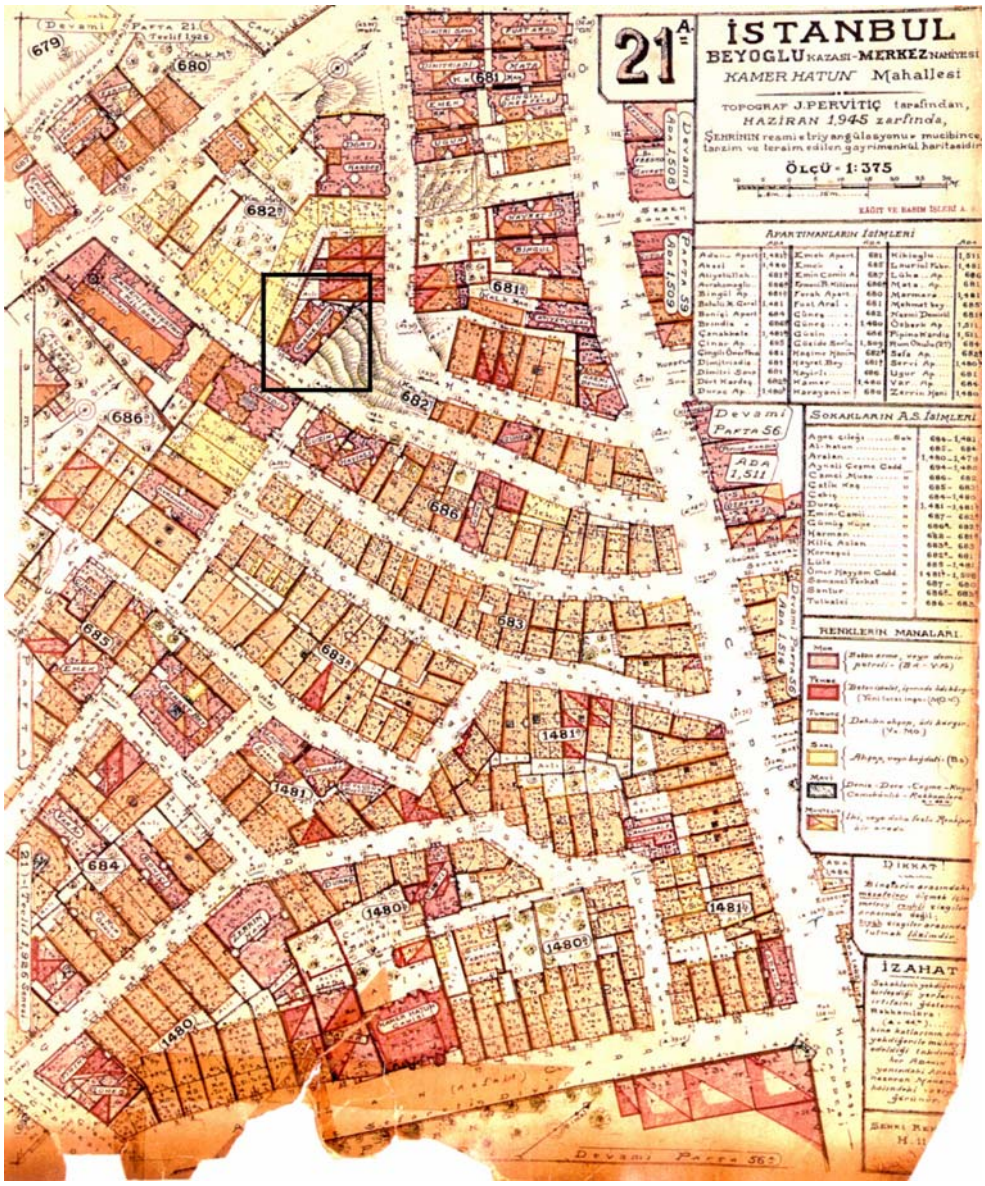

Figure 95 a. The insurance map of Pervititich, nr: 21, Beyoğlu, İstanbul, 1945

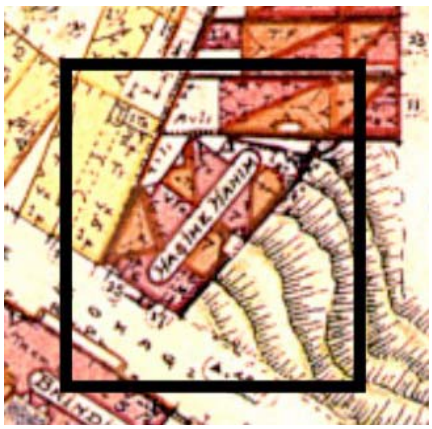

Figure 95 b. *Apostolidis Apartmanı*

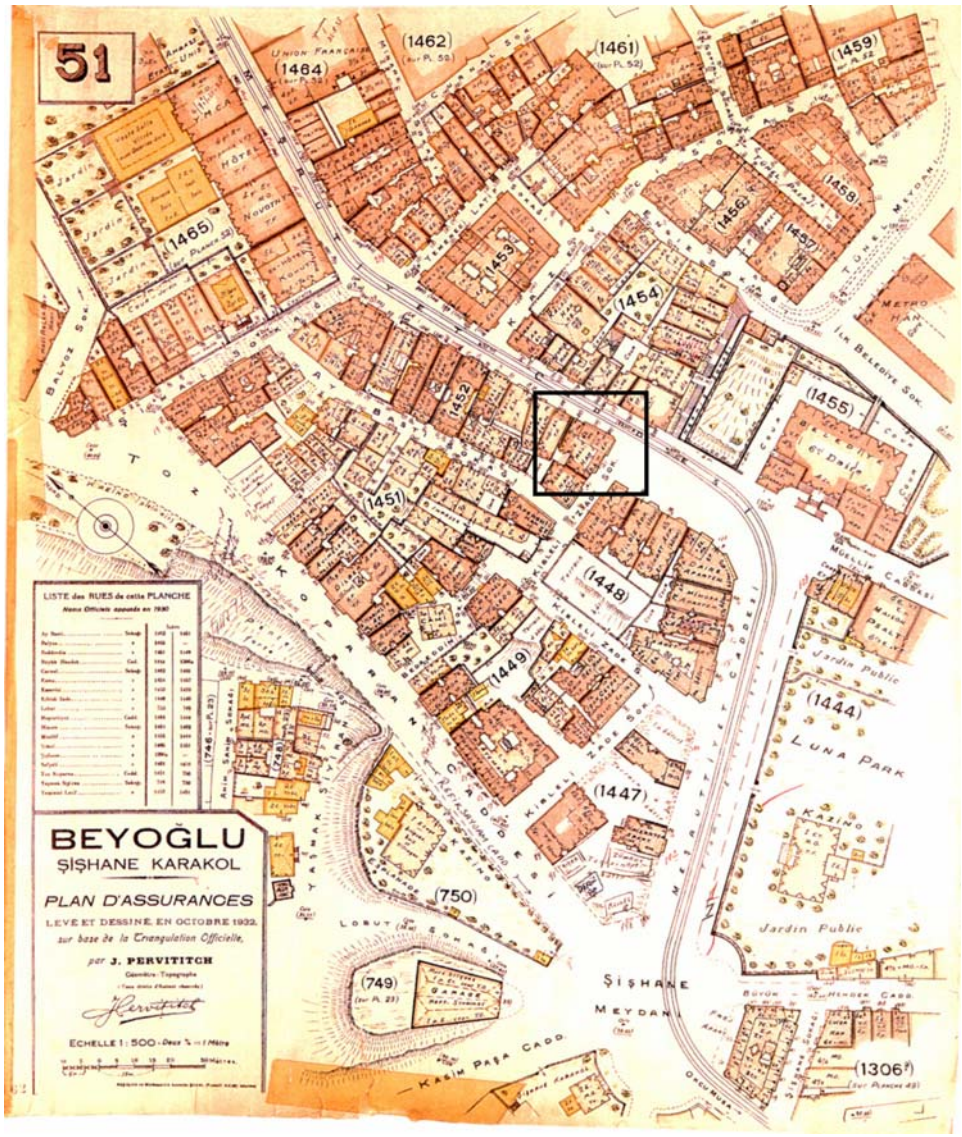

Figure 96 a. The insurance map of Pervititich, nr: 51, Beyoğlu, İstanbul, 1932

Figure 96 b. *Trel Apartmanı*

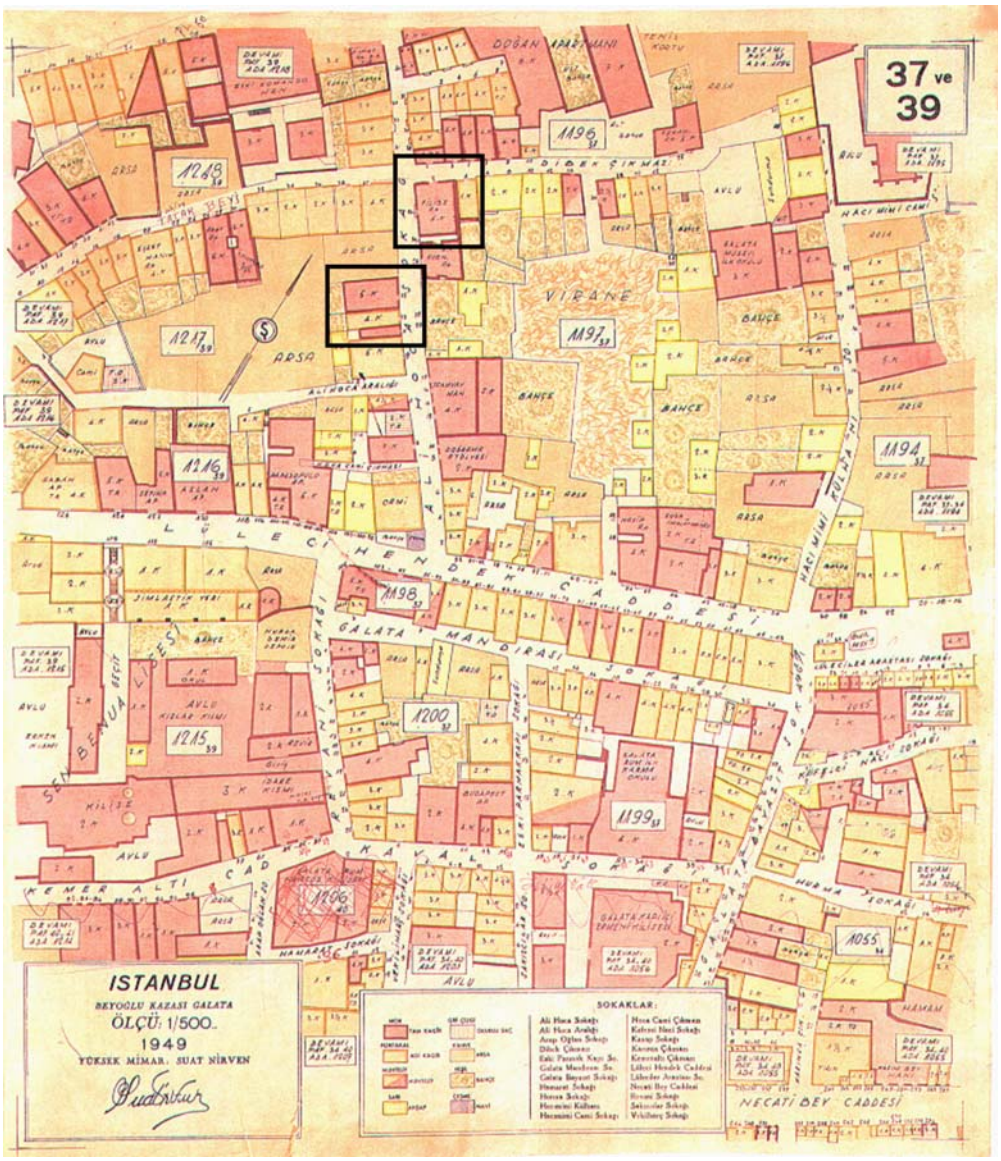

Figure 97 a. The insurance map of Nirven, nr: 37 and 39, Beyoğlu, İstanbul, 1949

Figure 97 b. *Zuhdi Pacha* and *Barnathan* apartments

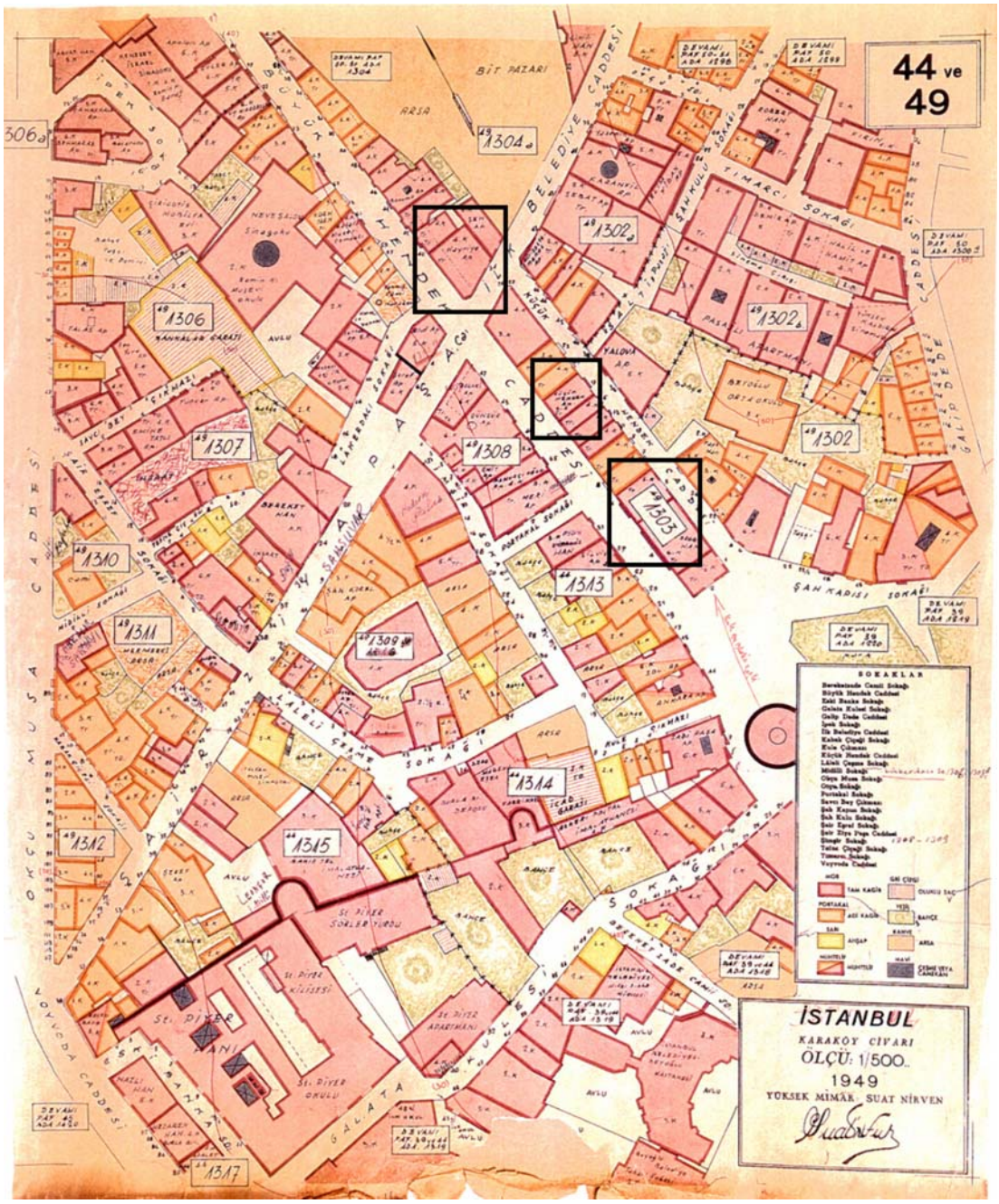

Figure 98 a. The insurance map of Nirven, nr: 44 and 49, Karaköy, İstanbul, 1949

Figure 98 b. *Zeki Pacha* and *Küçük Hendek* apartments

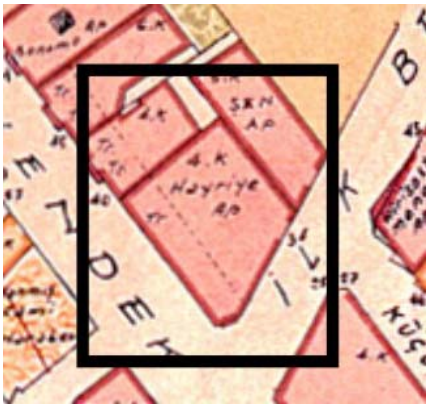

Figure 98 c. *Tiano Apartmanı*

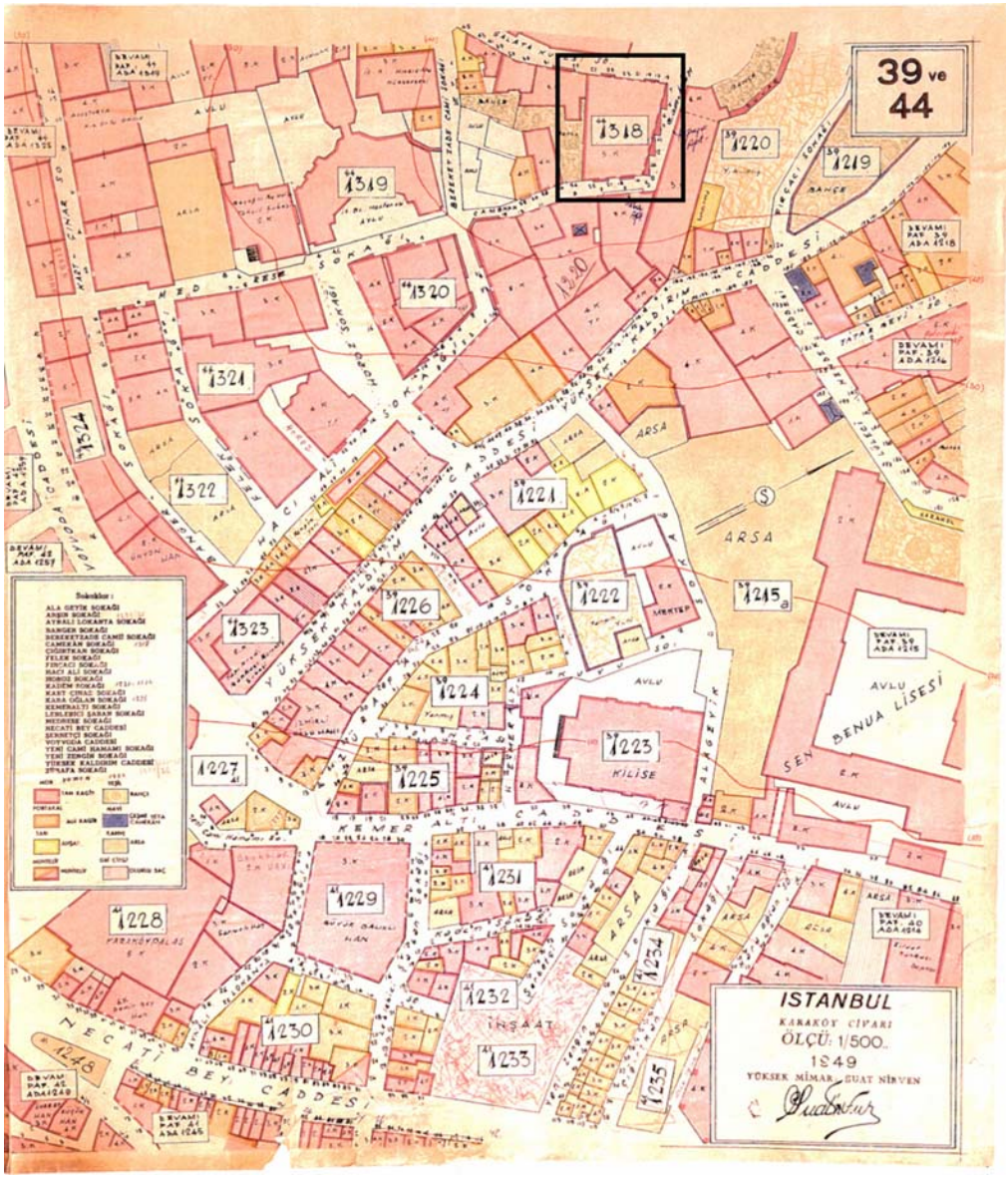

Figure 99 a. The insurance map of Nirven, nr: 39 and 44, Karaköy, İstanbul, 1949

Figure 99 b. *Petraki Apartmanı*

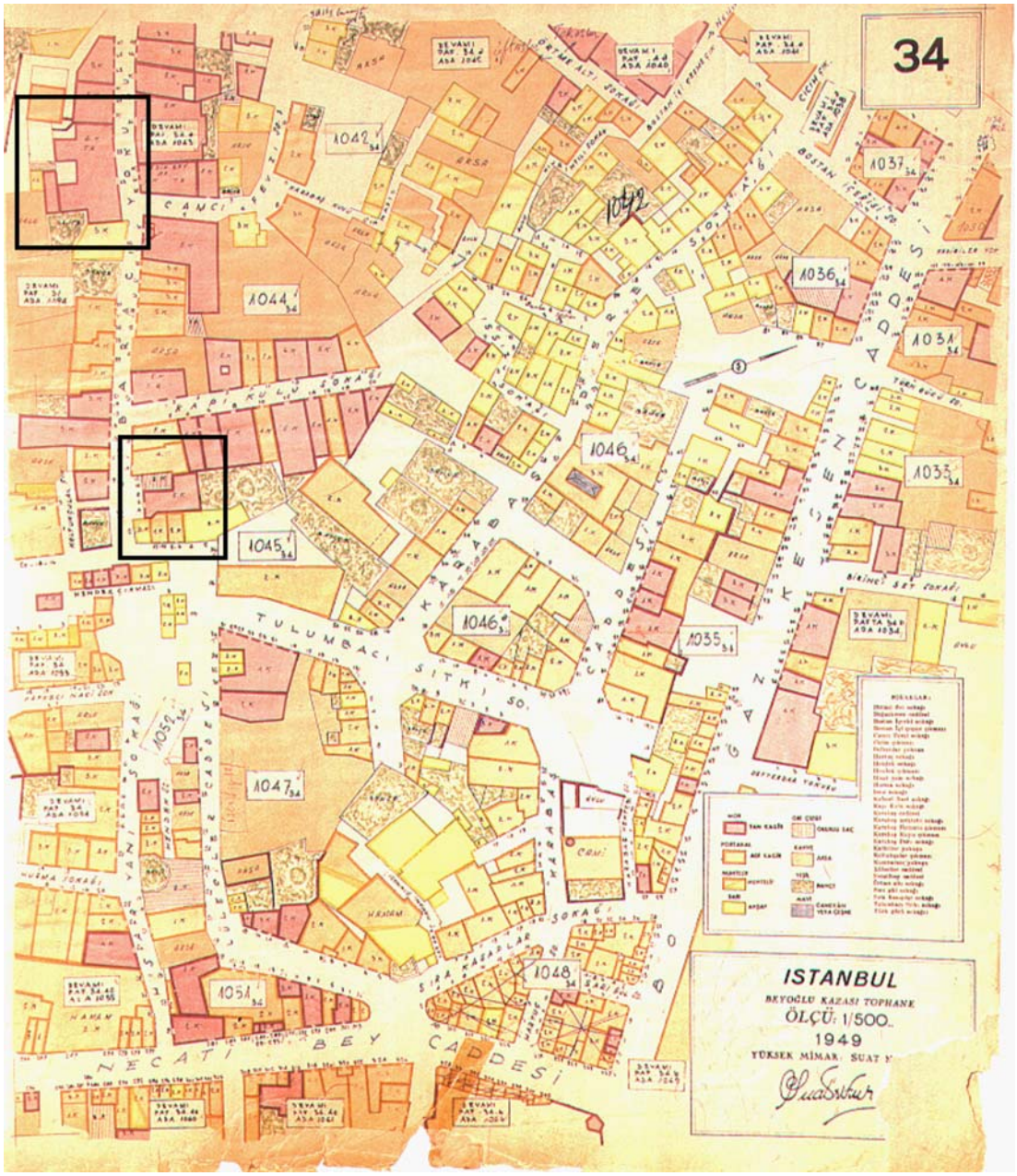

Figure 100 a. The insurance map of Nirven, nr: 34, Beyoğlu, İstanbul, 1949

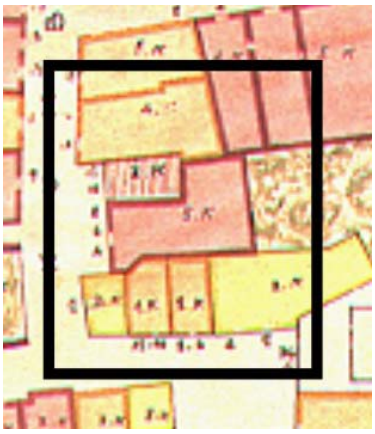

Figure 100 b. *Adil Bey Apartmanı*

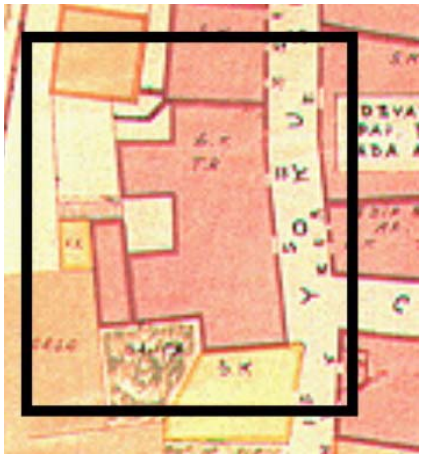

Figure 100 c. *Marketto Apartmanı*

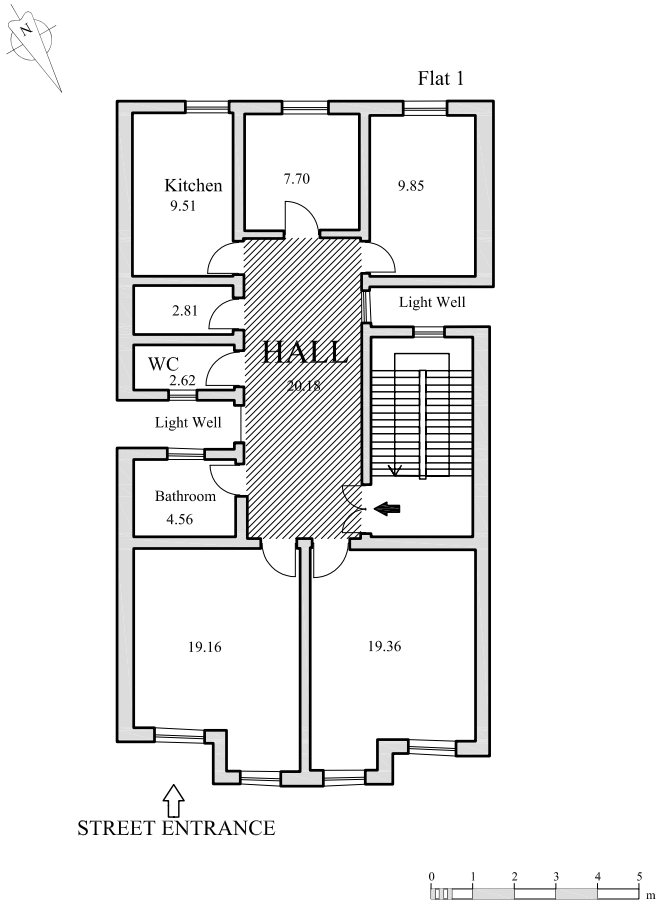

Figure 101 a. *Zuhdi Pacha Apartmanı* (Apartment 1), Plan

Figure 101 b. *Zuhdi Pacha Apartmanı* (Apartment 1), Entrance facade

Figure 101 c. *Zuhdi Pacha Apartmanı* (Apartment 1), detail: window head

Figure 101 d. *Zuhdi Pacha Apartmanı* (Apartment 1), detail: buttress

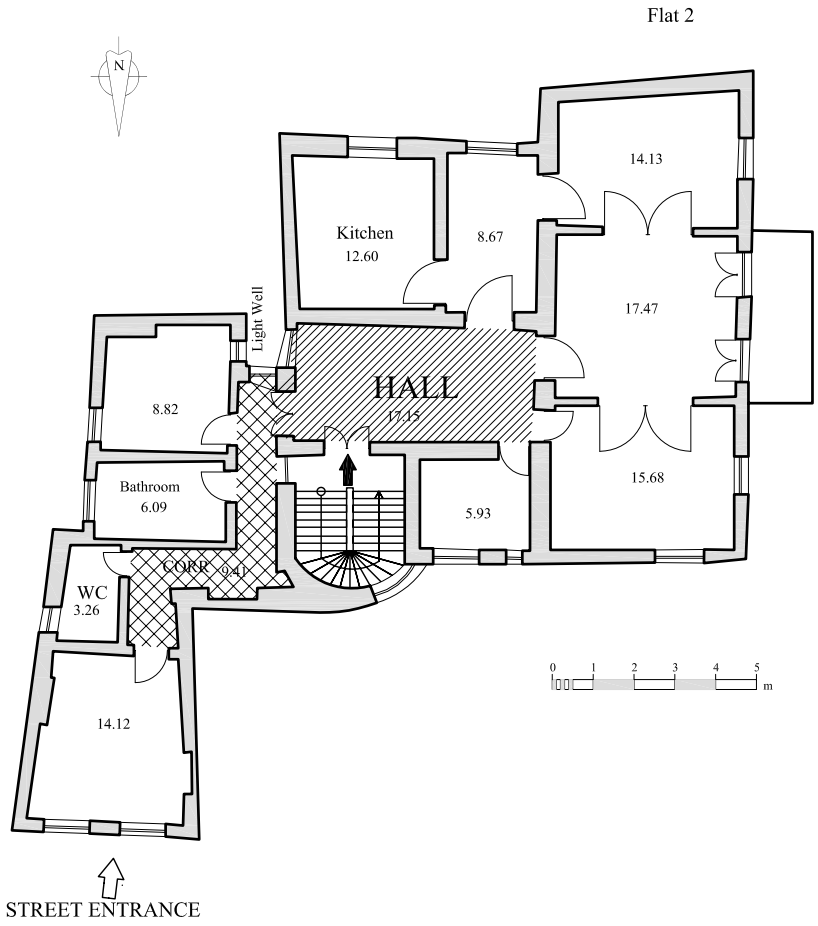

Figure 102 a. *Jones Apartmanı* (Apartment 2), plan

Figure 102 b. *Jones Apartmanı* (Apartment 2), entrance facade

Figure 102 c. *Jones Apartmanı* (Apartment 2), a view of 'substantial rooms'

Figure 102 d. *Jones Apartmanı* (Apartment 2), balcony facing the back

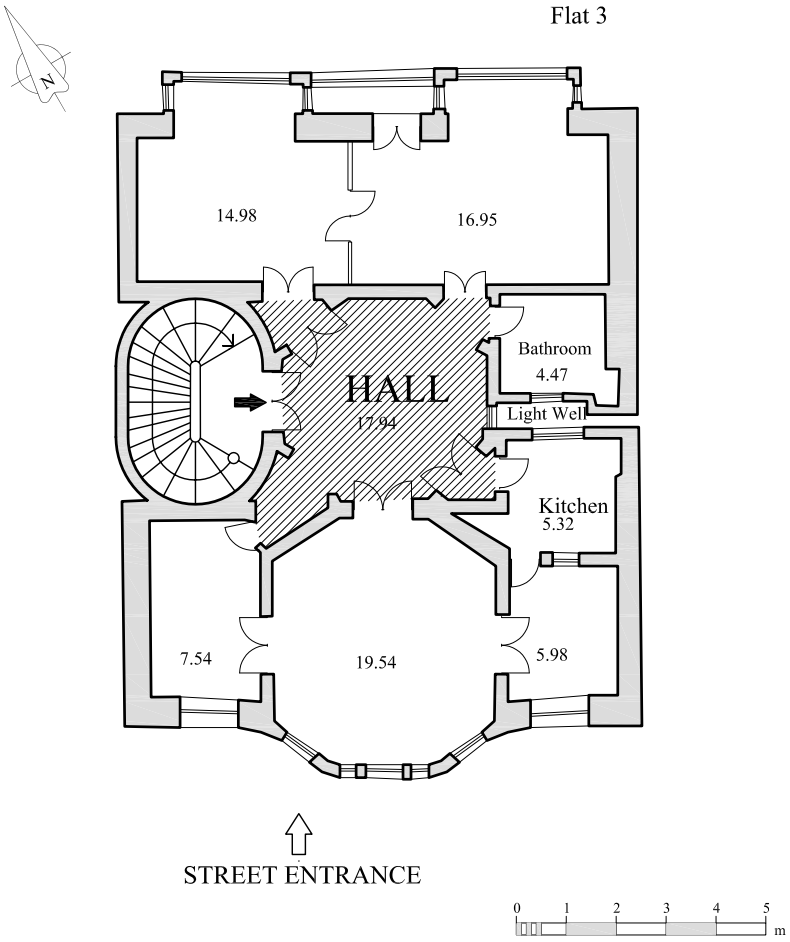

Figure 103 a. *Zeki Pacha Apartmanı* (Apartment 3), plan

Figure 103 b. *Zeki Pacha Apartmanı* (Apartment 3), entrance facade

Figure 103 c. *Zeki Pacha Apartmanı* (Apartment 3), detail: window head

Figure 103 d. *Zeki Pacha Apartmanı* (Apartment 3), entrance door

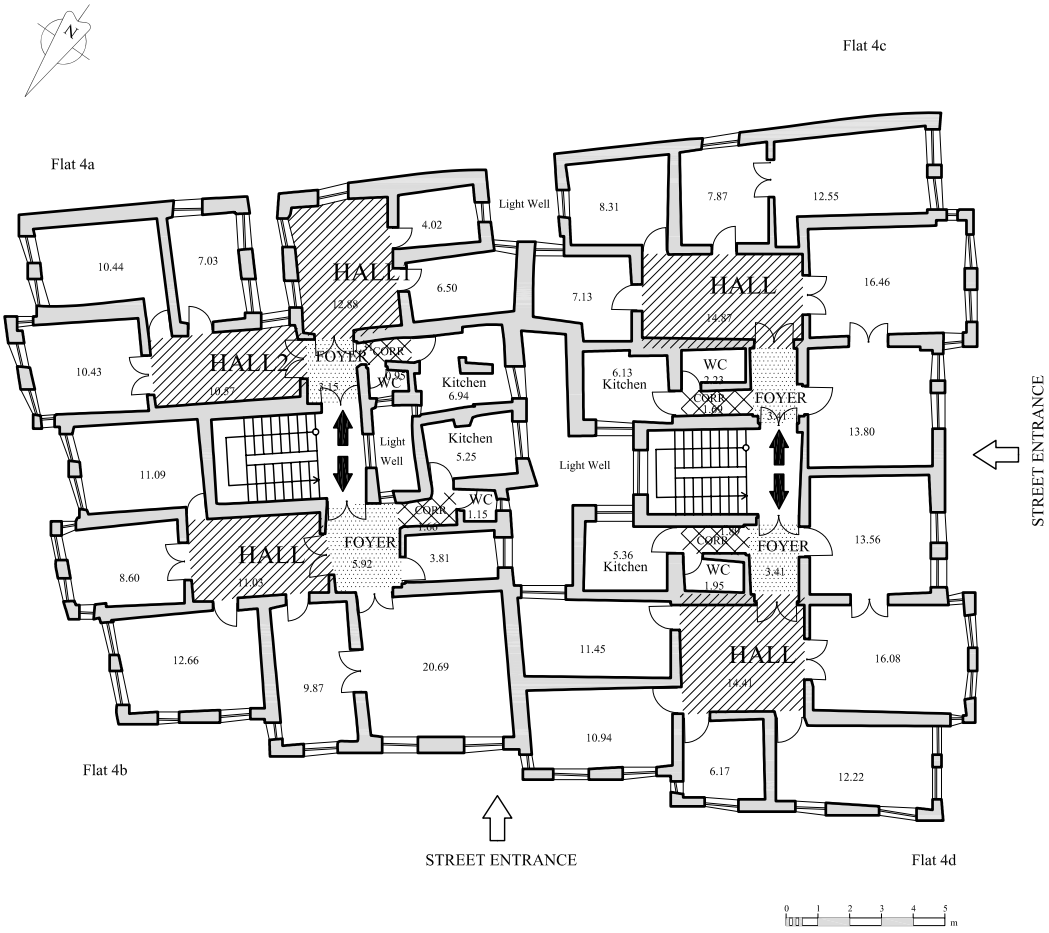

Figure 104 a. *Petraki Apartmanı* (Apartment 4), plan

Figure 104 b. *Petraki Apartmanı* (Apartment 4), entrance facade

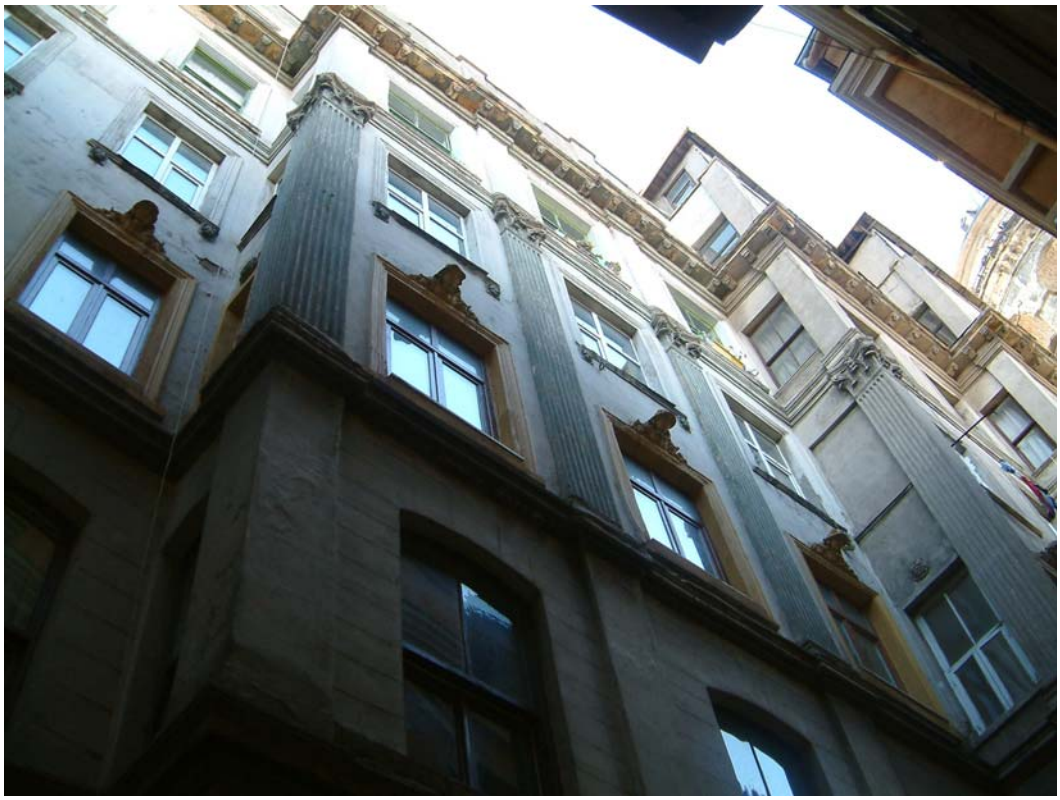

Figure 104 c. *Petraki Apartmanı* (Apartment 4), side facade

Figure 104 d. *Petraki Apartmanı* (Apartment 4), detail: window head and pilasters

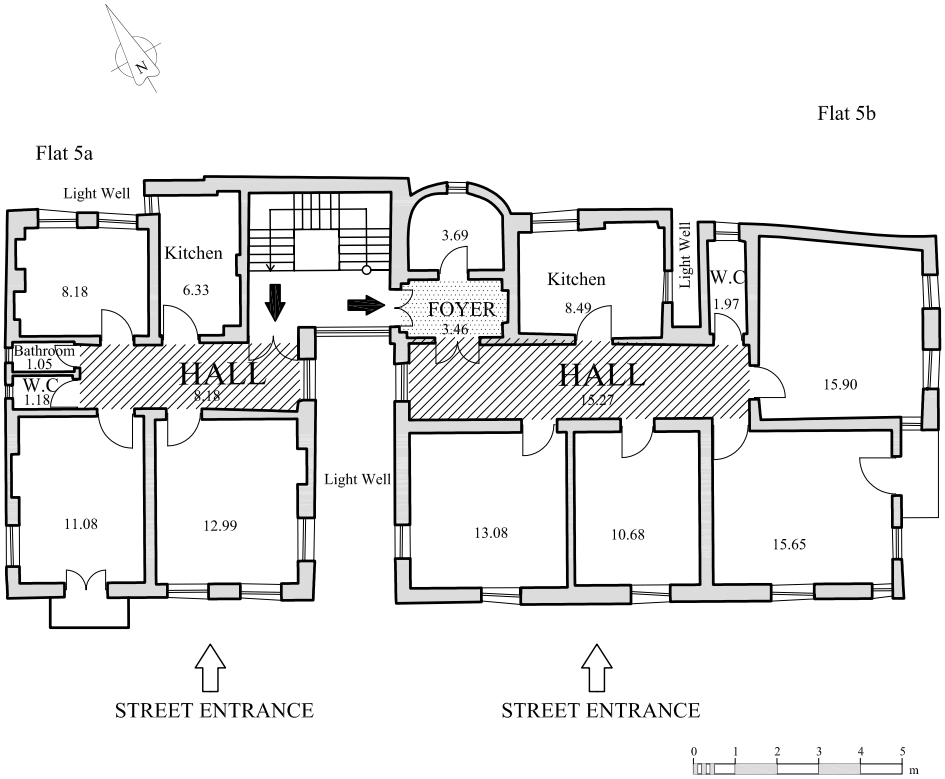

Figure 105 a. *Barnathan Apartmanı* (Apartment 5), plan

Figure 105 b. *Barnathan Apartmanı* (Apartment 5), entrance facade

Figure 105 c. *Barnathan Apartmanı* (Apartment 5), detail: buttress

Figure 105 d. *Barnathan Apartmanı* (Apartment 5), light well

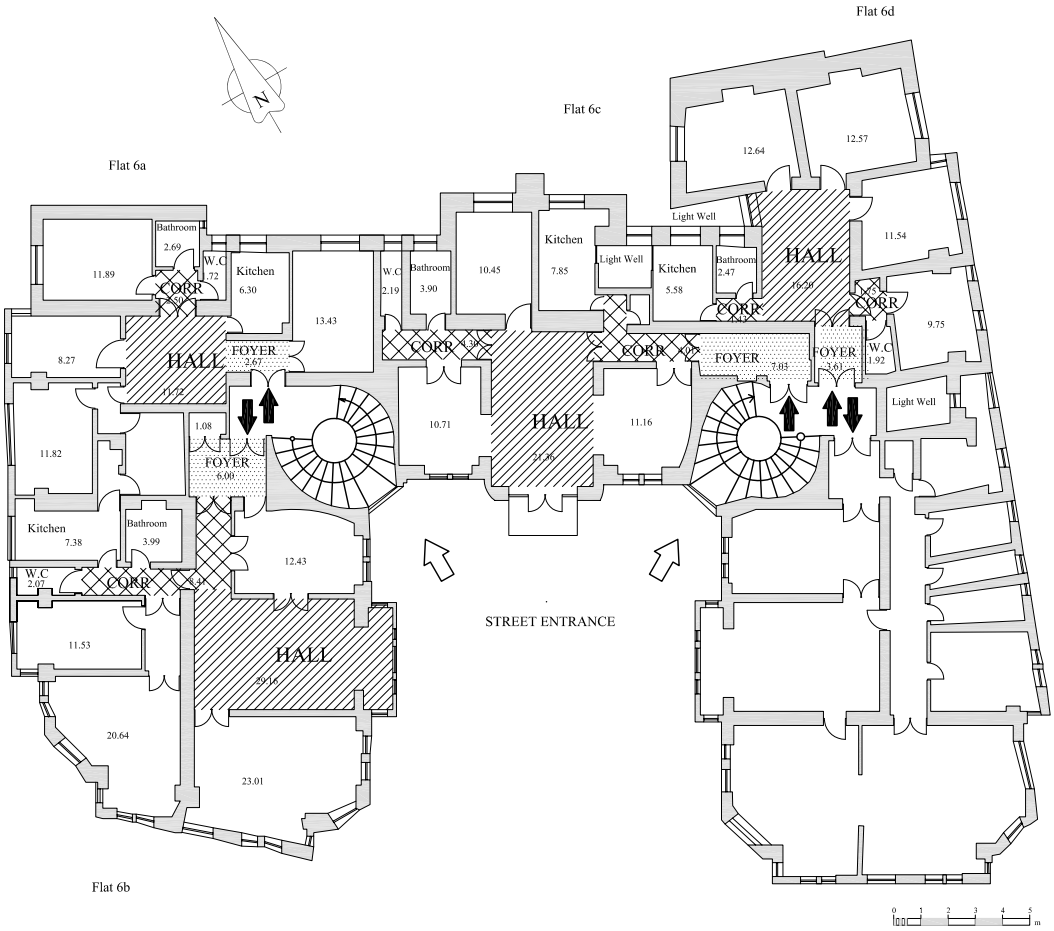

Figure 106 a. *Arif Paşa Apartmanı* (Apartment 6), plan

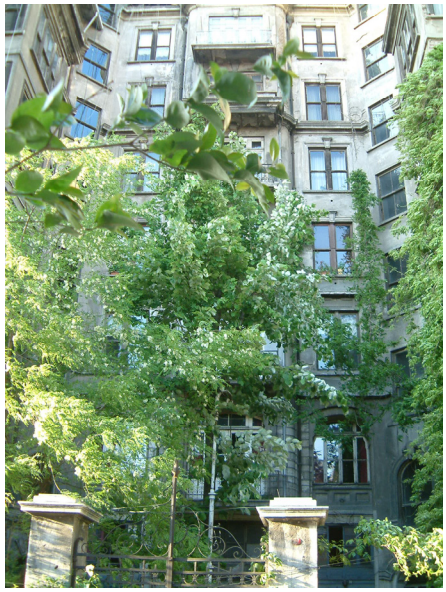

Figure 106 b. *Arif Paşa Apartmanı* (Apartment 6), courtyard

Figure 106 c. *Arif Paşa Apartmanı* (Apartment 6), upper floors

Figure 106 d. *Arif Paşa Apartmanı* (Apartment 6), staircase hall

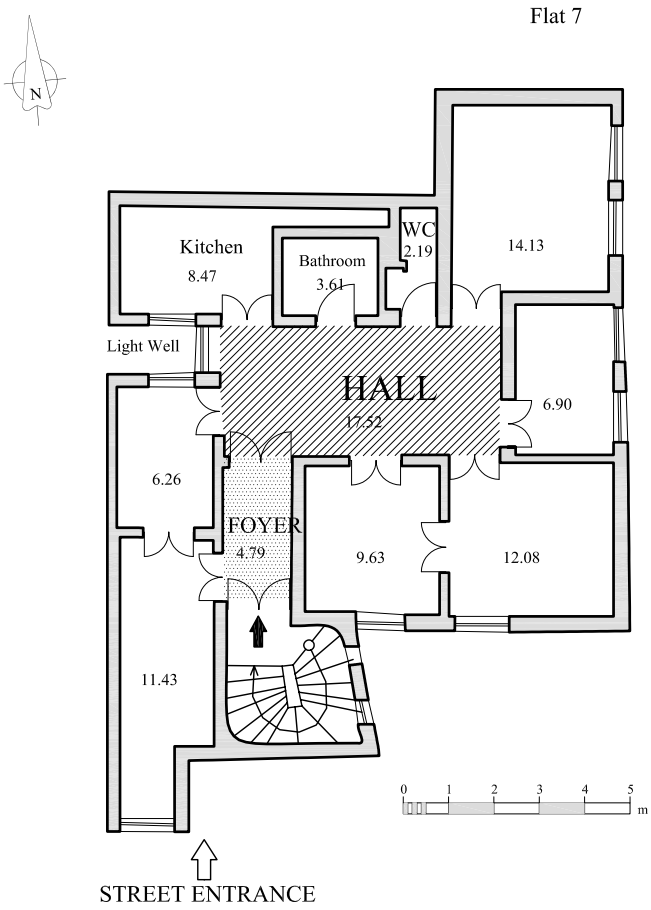

Figure 107 a. *Mavrides Apartmanı* (Apartment 7), plan

Figure 107 b. *Mavrides Apartmanı* (Apartment 7), front facade

Figure 107 c. *Mavrides Apartmanı* (Apartment 7), elevation

Figure 107 d. *Mavrides Apartmanı* (Apartment 7), entrance hall

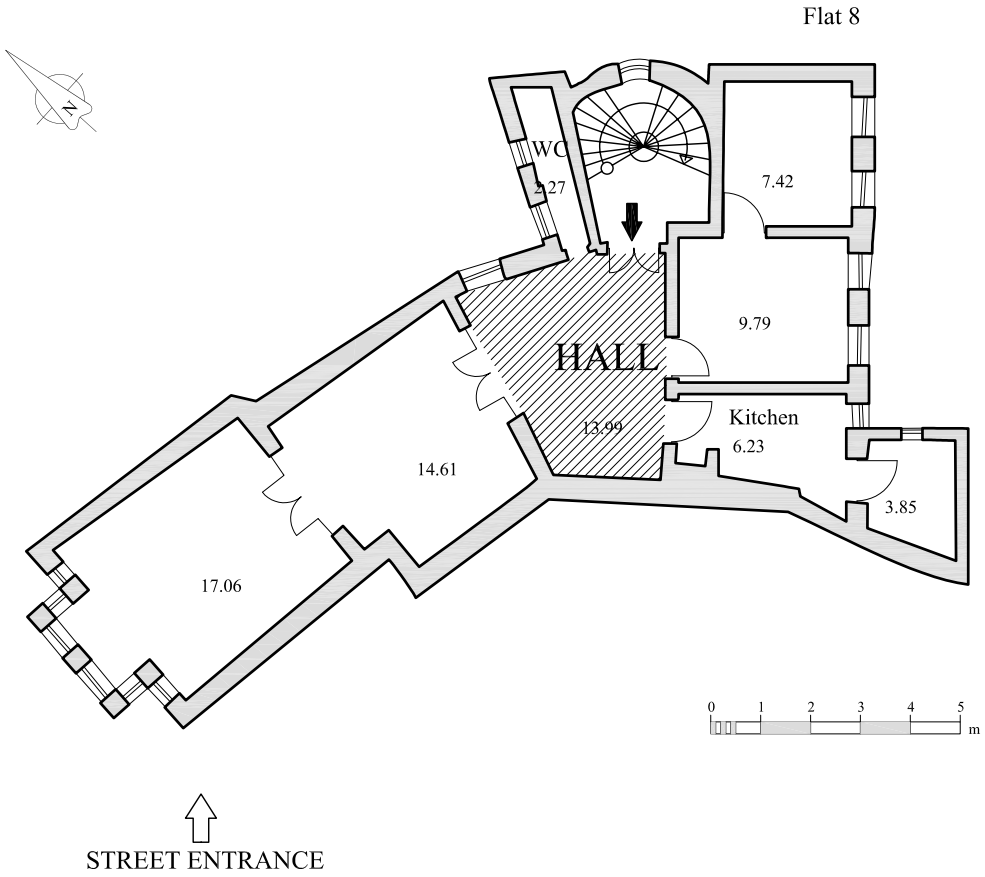

Figure 108 a. *Friedmann Apartmanı* (Apartment 8), plan

Figure 108 b. *Friedmann Apartmanı* (Apartment 8), entrance facade

Figure 108 c. *Friedmann Apartmanı* (Apartment 8), entrance facade

Figure 108 d. *Friedmann Apartmanı* (Apartment 8), Detail: window head and capital

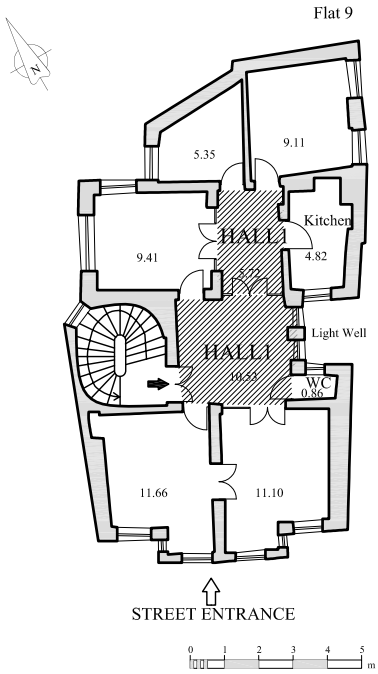

Figure 109 a. *Apostolidis Apartmanı* (Apartment 9), plan

Figure 109 b. *Apostolidis Apartmanı* (Apartment 9), entrance facade

Figure 109 c. *Apostolidis Apartmanı* (Apartment 9), entrance facade

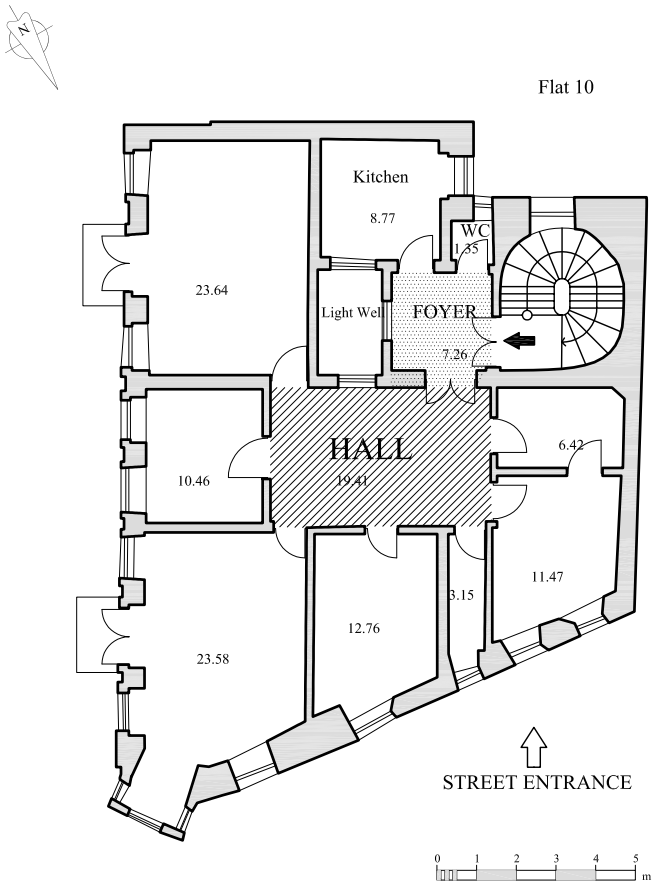

Figure 110 a. *Tiano Apartmanı* (Apartment 10), plan

Figure 110 b. *Tiano Apartmanı* (Apartment 10), entrance and side facades

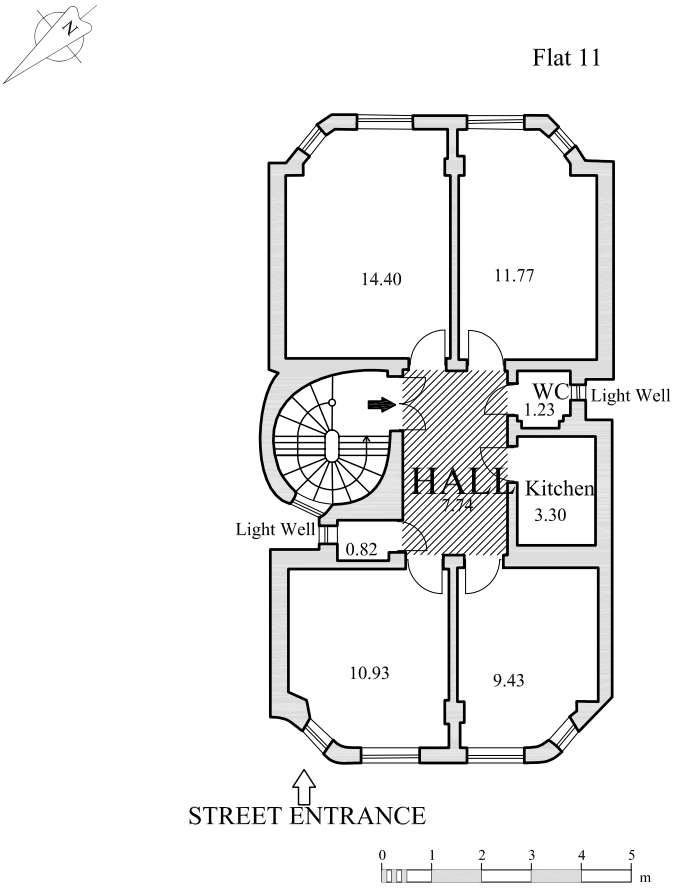

Figure 111 a. *Küçük Hendek Apartmanı* (Apartment 11), plan

Figure 111 b. *Küçük Hendek Apartmanı* (Apartment 11), entrance facade

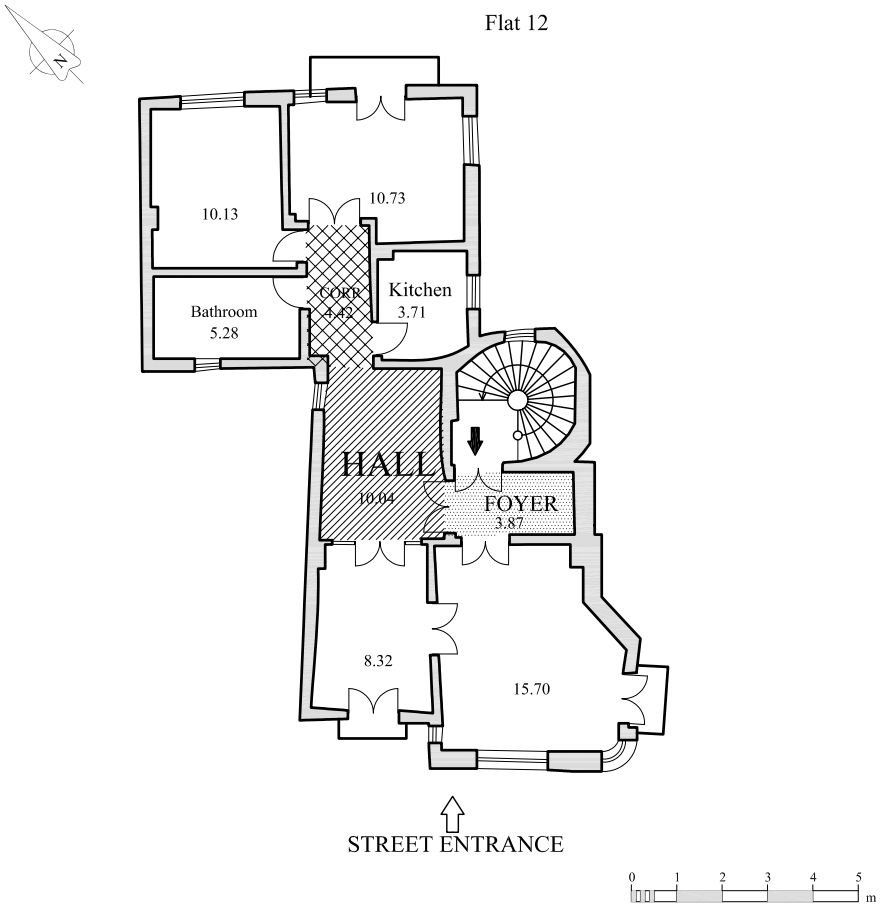

Figure 112 a. *Adil Bey Apartmanı* (Apartment 12), plan

Figure 112 b. *Adil Bey Apartmanı* (Apartment 12), entrance facade

Figure 112 c. *Adil Bey Apartmanı* (Apartment 12), detail: flower motif relief

Figure 112 d. *Adil Bey Apartmanı* (Apartment 12), the rear facade from the courtyard

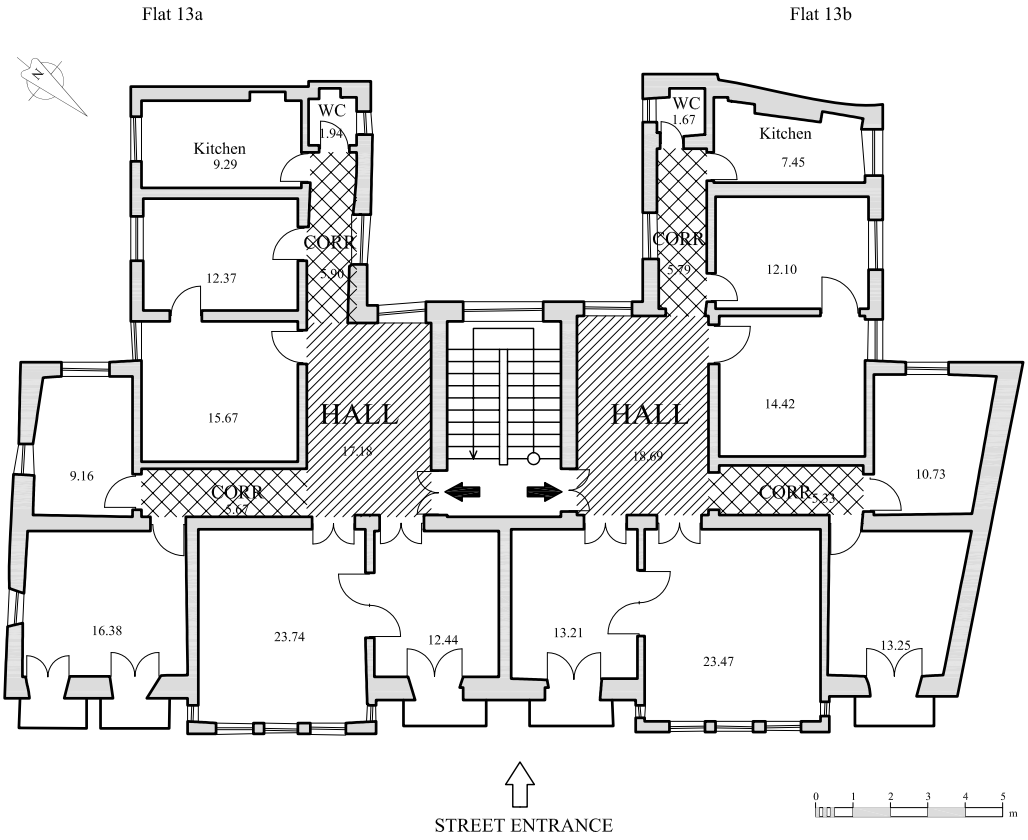

Figure 113 a. *Marketto Apartmanı* (Apartment 13), plan

Figure 113 b. *Marketto Apartmanı* (Apartment 13), entrance facade

Figure 113 c. *Marketto Apartmanı* (Apartment 13), entrance facade

Figure 113 d. *Marketto Apartmanı* (Apartment 13), staircase hall

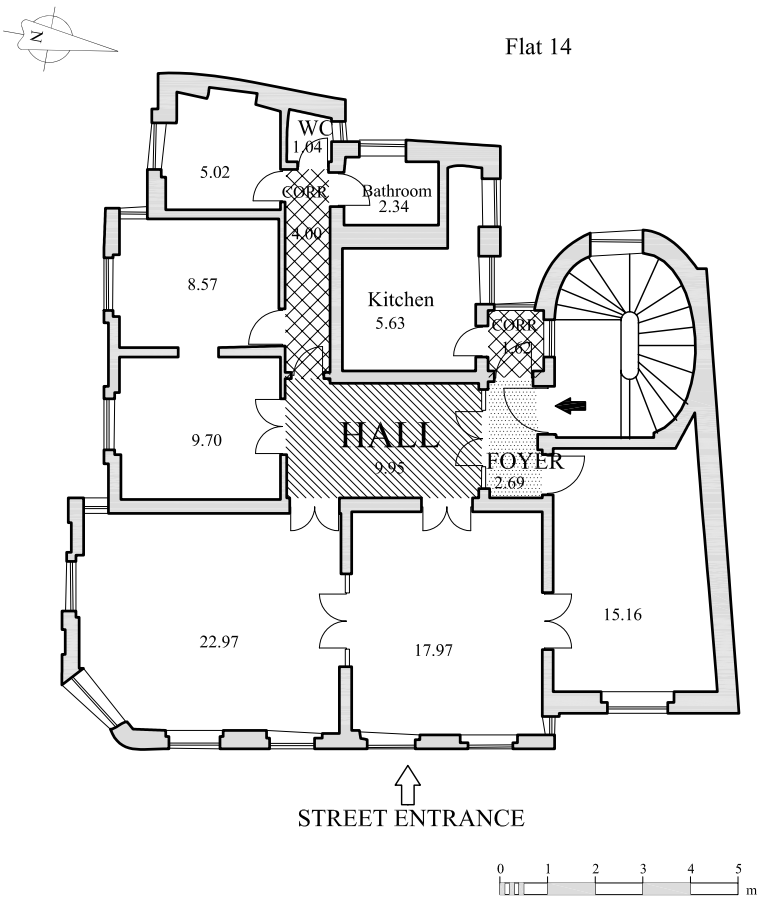

Figure 114 a. *Trel Apartmanı* (Apartment 14), plan

Figure 114 b. *Trel Apartmanı* (Apartment 14), entrance and side facades

Figure 114 c. *Trel Apartmanı* (Apartment 14), entrance facade

Figure 114 d. *Trel Apartmanı* (Apartment 14), detail: window head

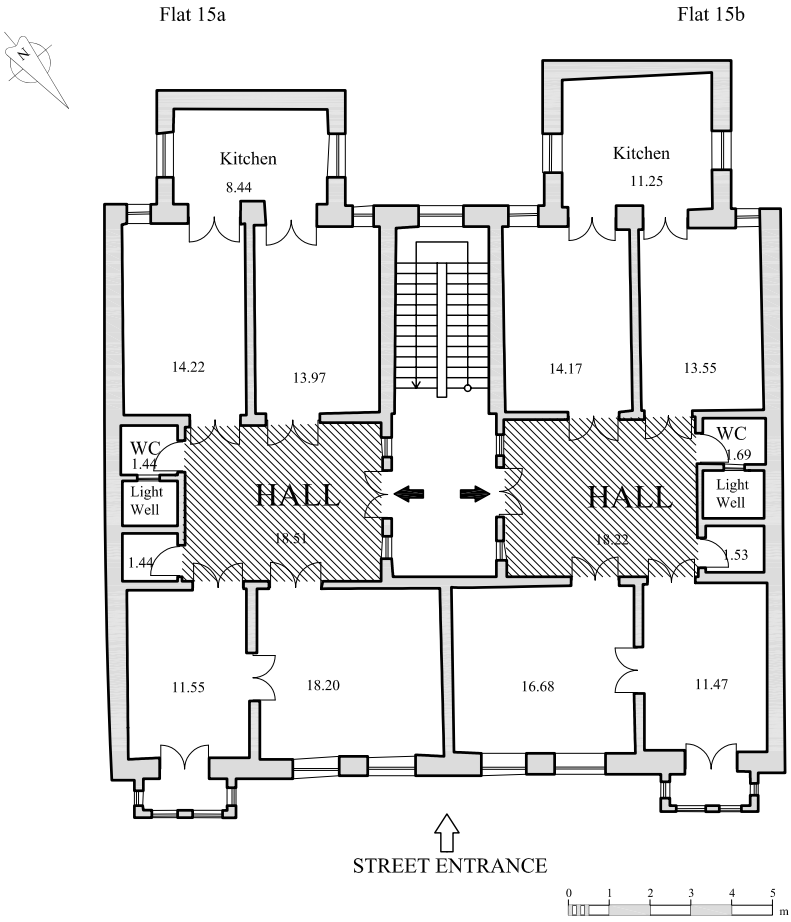

Figure 115 a. *Asseo Apartmanı* (Apartment 15), plan

Figure 115 b. *Asseo Apartmanı* (Apartment 15), entrance facade

Figure 115 c. *Asseo Apartmanı* (Apartment 15), projection in one of the flats

Figure 115 d. *Asseo Apartmanı* (Apartment 15), hall and rooms in one of the flat

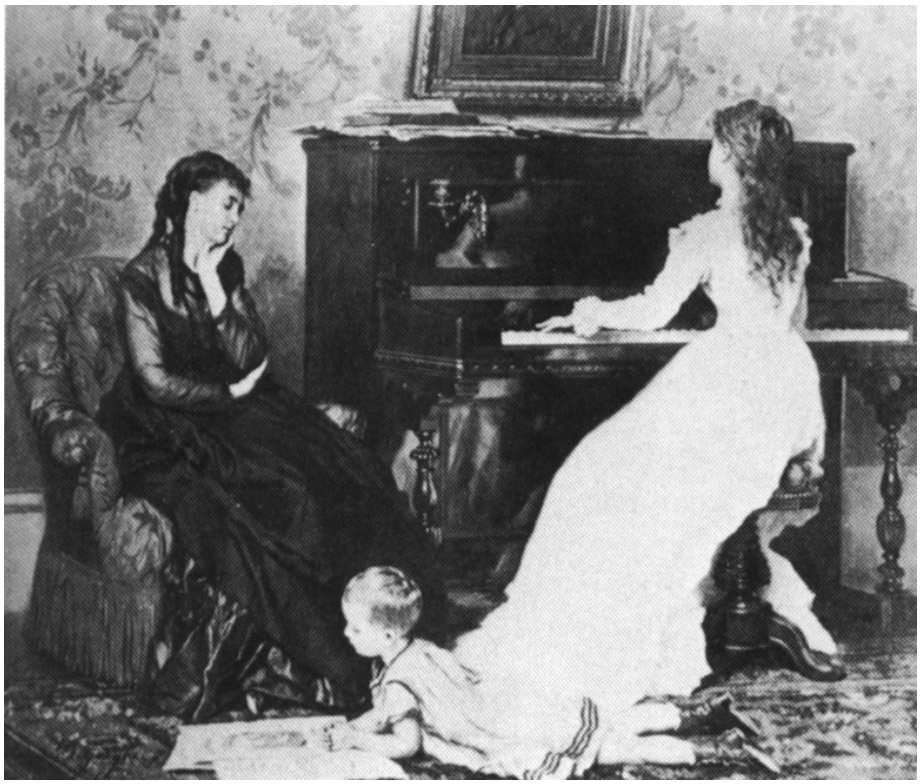

Figure 116 A woman playing piano

Figure 117 Family eating lunch

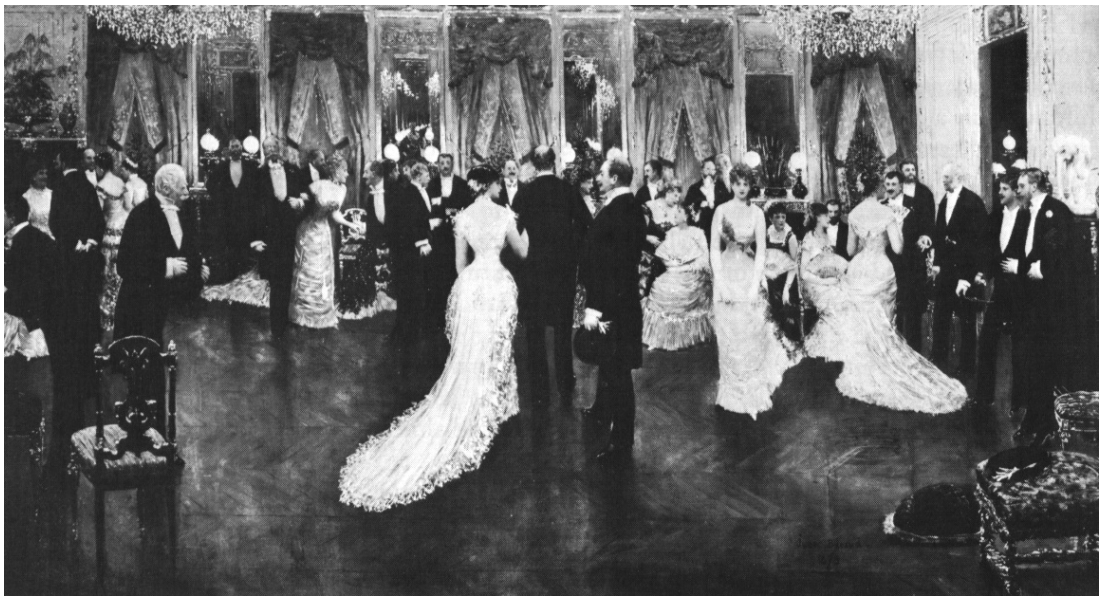

Figure 118 *The Ball* by Jean Béraud, 1878

Figure 119 *Sunday Stroll* by Henri Evenpoel, 1899

Figure 120 *Promenade on the Road to Fiesole* by Raffaelo Sorbi, 1878

Figure 121 Wedding in İstanbul in early 20th century

Figure 122 Wedding in Paris in late 19th century

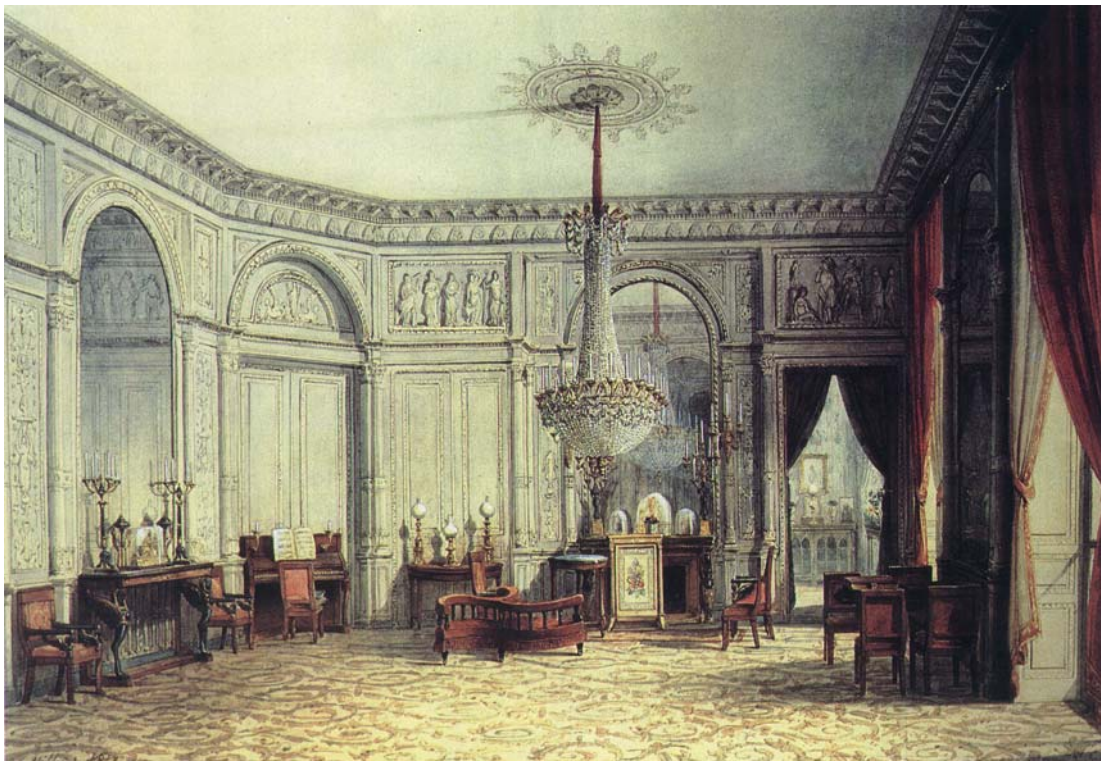

Figure 123 Salon of a house in Paris, 1843

Figure 124 Salon of a house in Paris, 1843

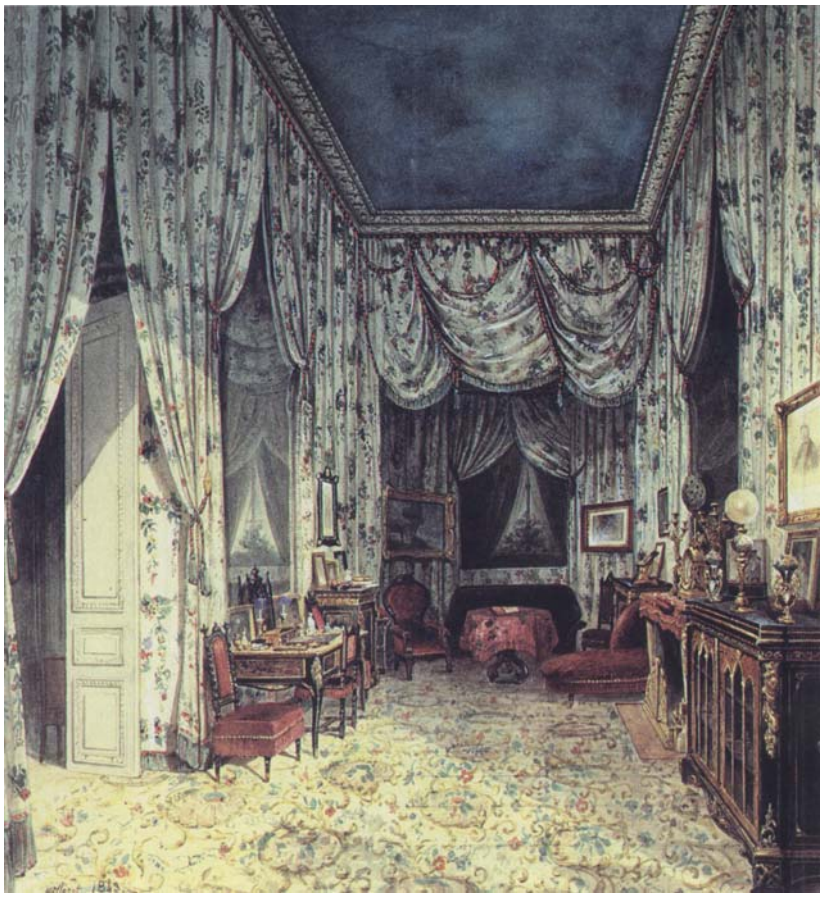

Figure 125 *Boudoir* of a Princess in Place Vendome, 1843

Figure 126 Bedroom in the Castel Madrid, Paris, 1843

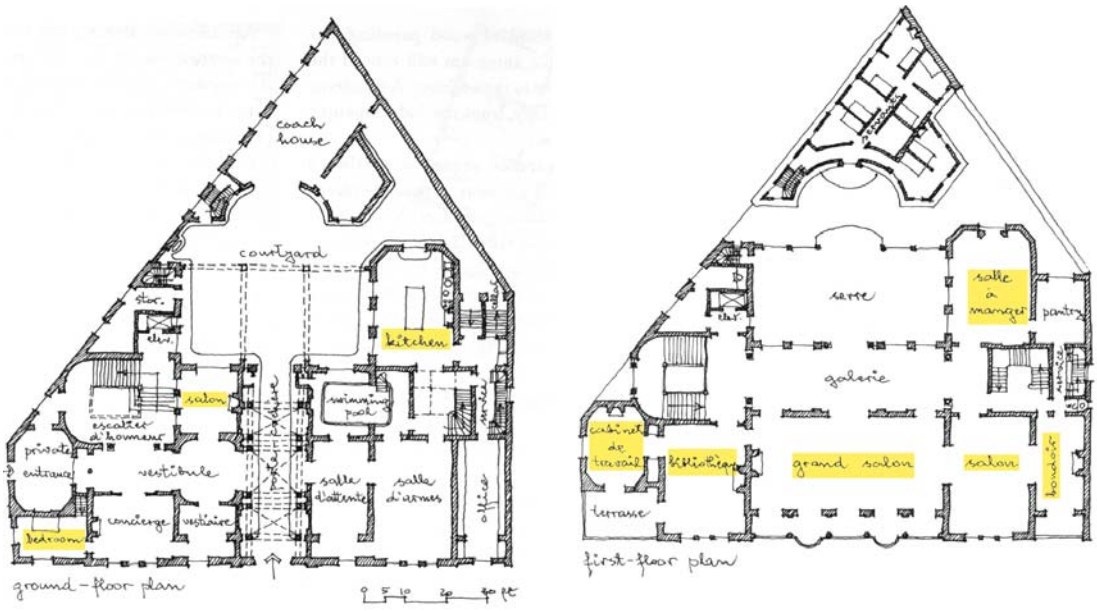

Figure 127 Plan of a h*ôtel particulier* in Paris

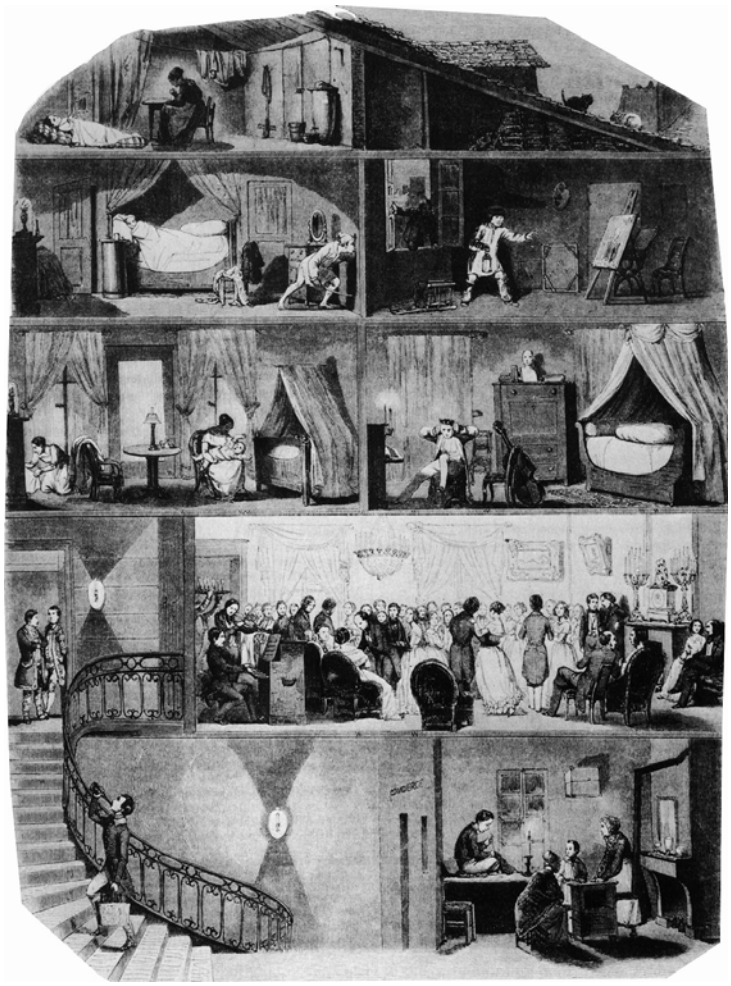

Figure 128 Cross-sectional drawing of a Parisian apartment

Figure 129 A street in Paris lined with apartments

Figure 130 Apartment blocks from Paris

Figure 131 A dining room displayed at the international Paris exhibition, 1900

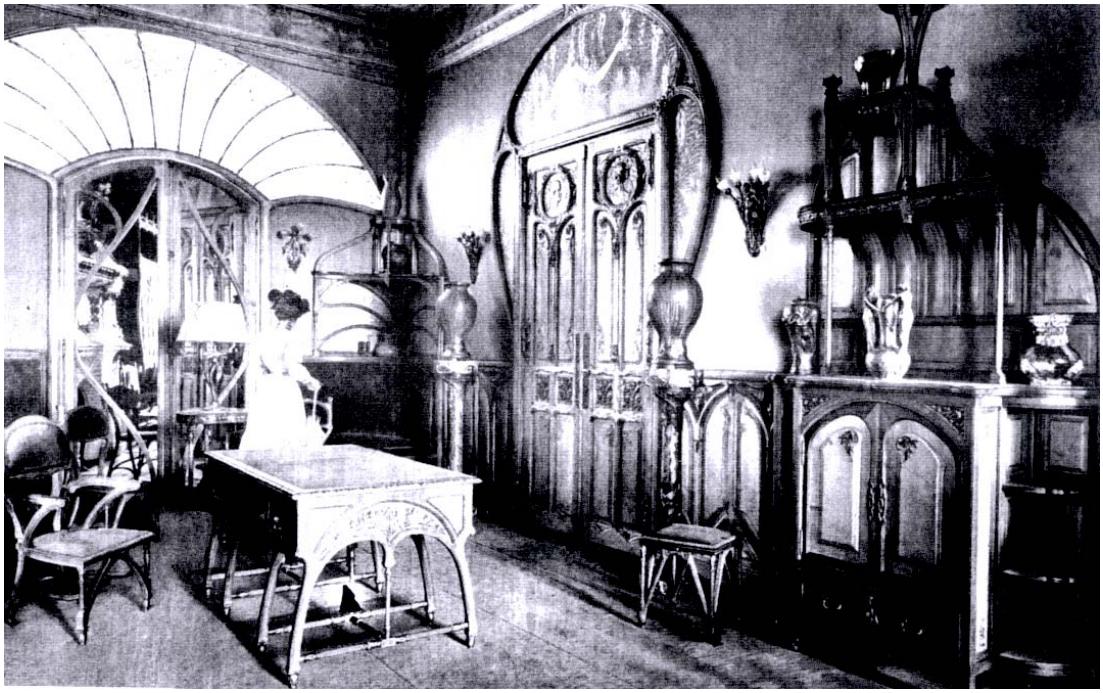

Figure 132 A living room displayed at the international Paris exhibition, 1900

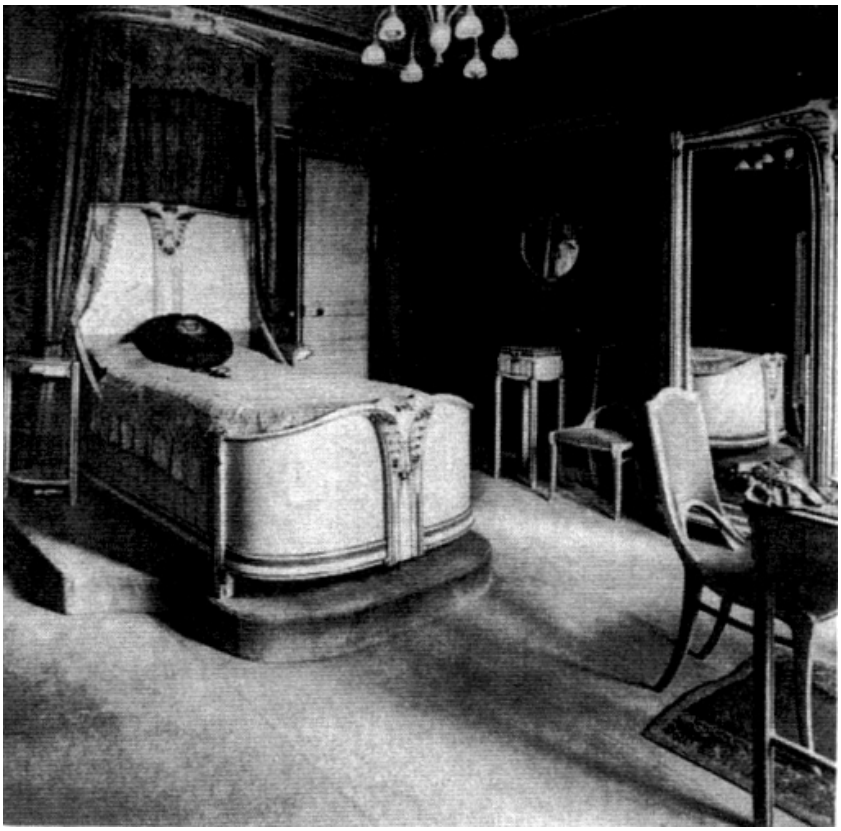

Figure 133 Bedroom by M. Dufrène, 1906

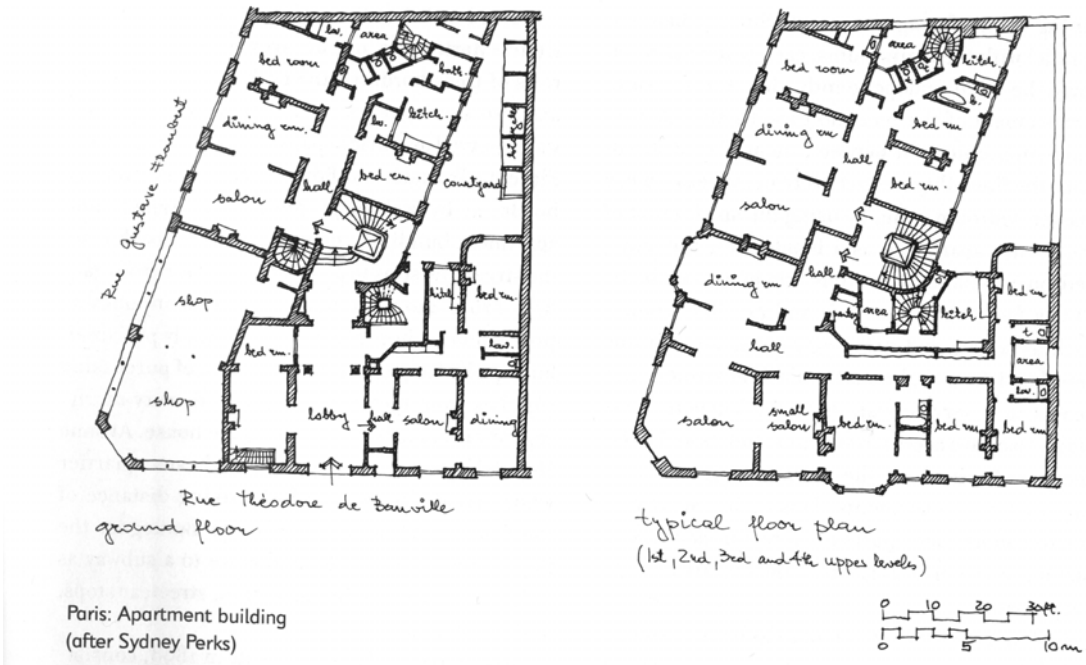

Figure 134 Plan of an apartment in Paris

Figure 135 A Western type of interior with various plants

Figure 136 A Western type of interior with extreme trimming

Figure 137 A late 19th century salon in Moulins, France

Figure 138 A 19th century interior: a chaos of objects

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APPENDIX A GOAD, PERVITITICH AND NİRVEN MAPS THAT SHOW THE SAMPLE APARTMENT BUILDINGS

	Goad			Pervititich			Nirven		
Name	**Fig. #**	**Dr. #**	**Year**	**Dr. #**	**Pafta**	**Year**	**Dr. #**	**Pafta**	**Year**
Zuhdi Pacha Apartmanı	87	35	1905	92	37	1928	97	37 and 39	1949
Jones Apartmanı	-	-	-	93	35	1927	-	-	-
Zeki Pacha Apartmanı	88	27	1905	-	-	-	98	44 and 49	1949
Petraki Apartmanı	88	27	1905	-	-	-	99	39 and 44	1949
Barnathan Apartmanı	87	35	1905	92	37	1928	97	37 and 39	1949
Arif Pacha Apartmanı	-	-	-	94	12	1925	-	-	-
Mavrides Apartmanı	87	35	1905	-	-	-	-	-	-
Friedmann Apartmanı	87	35	1905	-	-	-	-	-	-
Apostolidis Apartmanı	89	42	1905	95	21	1945	-	-	-
Tiano Apartmanı	90	25	1905	-	-	-	98	44 and 49	1949
Küçük Hendek Apartmanı	88	27	1905	-	-	-	98	44 and 49	1949
Adil Bey Apartmanı	-	-	-	92	37	1928	100	34	1949
Marketto Apartmanı	-	-	-	92	37	1928	100	34	1949
Trel Apartmanı	91	36	1905	96	51	1932	-	-	-
Asseo Apartmanı	87	35	1905		-	-	-	-	-

APPENDIX B NAMES OF THE SAMPLE APARTMENTS IN DIFFERENT SOURCES

As used in the text	**in Sunalp**	**in Goad**	**in Pervititich**	**in Nirven**	**in *Annuaire Oriental*, 1910**
Zuhdi Pacha Apartmanı	Zühtü Paşa Apartmanı	Apparts. Zuhdi Pacha	NA	NA	Apparts. Zuhdi Pacha
Jones Apartmanı	Apparts. Jones	-	Jones	-	Apparts. Jones
Zeki Pacha Apartmanı	Zeki Pacha Apartmanı	Apparts. Zeki Pacha	-	NA	Apparts. Zeki Pacha
Petraki Apartmanı	Apparts. Petraki	Petraki Han	-	NA	Apparts. Petraki Efendi
Barnathan Apartmanı	-	Apparts. Barnathan	Filibe App.	Filibe Apt.	Apparts. Barnathan
Arif Pacha Apartmanı	Arif Paşa Apartman Konutu	-	App. Arif Pacha	-	Apparts. Arif Pacha
Mavrides Apartmanı	Apparts. Mavrides	Apparts. Mavrides	-	-	Apparts. Mavrides
Friedmann Apartmanı	Friedmann Apartmanı	Apparts. Friedmann	-	-	Apparts. Friedmann
Apostolidis Apartmanı	Apostolidis Bey Apartmanı	Apparts. Apostolidis	Haşime Hanım	-	Apparts. Apostolidis
Tiano Apartmanı	Apparts. Tiano	Apparts. Tiano	-	Hayriye Apt.	Apparts. Tiano
Küçük Hendek Apartmanı	-	NA	-	Küçük Hendek Apt.	-
Adil Bey Apartmanı	-	-	Adil Bey	NA	-
Marketto Apartmanı	Marketto Apartmanı	-	Marketo App.	NA	Apparts. Marketto
Trel Apartmanı	Apparts. Trel	Apparts. Trel	Trel Han	-	Apparts. Trel
Asseo Apartmanı	Apparts. Asseo	Apparts. Asseo	-	-	Apparts. Asseo

APPENDIX C THE 1910 RESIDENTS OF SOME OF THE SAMPLE FLATS ACCORDING TO *ANNUARIE ORIENTALS**

Zuhdi Pacha Apartmanı (Apartment 1)

1. Parri (Giovanni), restaurateur à bond des bateaux de la C^{ie} Khedivie
2. Korologos (Nicolas), vins et mastic
3. Franco (Alberto di Marco), cicérone-interprète
4. Plathner (Adolphe), co-propriétaire de la librairie Otto Keil
5. Abelés (Edmond), commissionnaire

Odabachi, Hasan Agha

Jones Apartmanı (Apartment 2)

1. Jones (W.J.), mécan.-construct
2. Hamoudopoulos (A.D.), avocat
3. Ikiades (Ant. Efendi), kapar kehaya du patr. œumuenque
4. Coulant (E.), ingénieur
5. Toustain Pacha (V^{vo} de.)

Odabachi, Nakachian (Ohannés)

Zeki Pacha Apartmanı (Apartment 3)

1. Modiano (Michel), pharmacien
2. Angel (Aaron), musicien

« Angel (Albert A.), employé à la dette publique Ottomane

3. Levy (Simon D.), avocat
5. Emirze (V^{ve})

Petraki Efendi Apartmanı (Apartment 4)

1. Kohen (Jacob), de la maison Kohen frères
3. Besso (M.R.S.), commissionnaire
4. Gross (M^{me})
5. Moskovitch (Goldey), collect. De promesses à lots

« Granberg (Ferdinand), employé à lax banque impériale Ottomane

Odabachi, Kariboğlu (Bedros)

Barnathan Apartmanı (Apartment 5)

1. Lambardo (Alfred), typographe à la L'impr. Zellich
2. Vacalis (Dimo N.), vins et mastic
3. Zarocosta (Michel G.), vins et mastic
4. Alexandridis (M.), capitaine
5. Mexis (C.) propriétaire
6. Stoelting (Hermann), secrétaire de la post Allemande

Odabachi, Sideris (Pandeli)

Arif Pacha Apartmanı (Apartment 6)

1. Ferdy Bey (Albert), employé à la dette publique Ottomane
2. Bedrossian (Mardik), employé à la société générale d'assure Ottamane
3. Sehlesinger (Iless), bois
4. Meanedjidi (Const.), employé
5. Rossolato (L.)
6. Ivanitch (Ivan)
7. Lazar (Alfred), secrétaire du consulat d'Autriche
8. Comelbik (V^{ve})
9. Karaissis (Georges), commerçant
10. Zenovitch (Marco), employé à la légation de Serbre
11. Kahn (Leon)
12. Wustrow (Kurt), drogman de l'ambassade d'Allemagne
13. bis Sarriguian (Rodolphe), corresp.-comptable de la maison M. et K. Schamdandjian
14. Kahn (Maurice), fondé de pouvoirs de la masions Hugo et Friedr. Lautejung

Mavrides Apartmanı (Apartment 7)

1. Blum (Moise), tailleur pour dames
2. Balgi (Emilie), cartes post illust.
3. Macropoulos (N.) confiseur

Friedmann Apartmanı (Apartment 8)

1. Friedmann (Max), homme d'affaires
2. Ahlanli (D.), homme d'affaires
3. Poulovovitz (Hermann), employé
4. Chaterny (Robert), employé au consulat d'Autriche Hongrie

Odabachi, İsmail

Apostolidis Apartmanı (Apartment 9)

1. Politopoulon (Helene), couturière
2. Triandaphilidou (Anast.), court
3. Voudouri (Marie), robes et confections
4. Mulieri (Antoine), compos-lypo-grapte à la l'imprima Walla.
« Mulieri (Alfed), chef-comptable chez se D. delagrammatica
« Mulieri (Paul), employé à la société co-opérative

Tiano Apartmanı (Apartment 10)

1. Bakalia (Yechil), aiguiseur
2. Busson (M.), commissionnaire
3. Policar (Sal.), de la maison S. Asaria et S. Policar
4. Lucking (Hugo)

Odabachi, Hussein Agha

Marketto Apartmanı (Apartment 13)

2. Kaul (Robert), et C^{ie} œufs engrois
4. Morning, professeur à la l'école allemande et suisse
5. Grima (Henri), courtier d'assur
6. Madelis (Const.), employé chez Chrisso Verghi
7. Marketto (Christo), cordages
8. Marketto (Yerassimo), cordages
9. Siarich (Jean)
10. Andonopoulou (Marie)

Trel Apartmanı (Apartment 14)

1. Caraco (Is. A.), dentiste
2. Trell (A.M.), tailleur
3. Bojes (I.), médecin
4. Eskenazi (V^{ve}), moise Isaac
5. Himmighoffen (Hermann), de la maison Ph. L. Himmighoffen

Odabachi, Suléiman

Asseo Apartmanı (Apartment 15)

1. Noé (Jean), commissionnaire
2. Goldenberg (Gustave), employé chez Singer
5. Brisac (Albert et Léonce), de la maison Brisac frères
6. Schiffner (Edmond), employé chez Orosdi Bach
7. Coën (Salomon), employé
8. Asséo (E.), propriétaire

Odabachi, Mitsou (Basille)

* A*nnuaire orientales* were written in French. To avoid mistranslations, the occupations of the residents are also listed, in French, in the original language of the document.

APPENDIX D GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE APARTMENT BUILDINGS

Name	Address	Apartment #	Figure #	# of Floors	# of Entrances	# of Flats on One Floor
Zuhdi Pacha Apartmanı	Ali Hoca Sk. Nr. 15	Apartment 1	101	5	1	1
Jones Apartmanı	Arslan Yatağı Sk. Nr. 13	Apartment 2	102	6	1	1
Zeki Pacha Apartmanı	Büyük Hendek Cad. Nr. 6	Apartment 3	103	4	1	1
Petraki Apartmanı	Camekan sk. Nr. 10-12	Apartment 4	104	5	2	4
Barnathan Apartmanı	Dibek Sk. Nr. 4	Apartment 5	105	5	2	2
Arif Pacha Apartmanı	Elmadağ Cad. Nr. 22-40	Apartment 6	106	8	2	5
Mavrides Apartmanı	Galip Dede Cad. Nr. 37	Apartment 7	107	4	1	1
Friedmann Apartmanı	Galip Dede Cad. Nr. 67	Apartment 8	108	4	1	1
Apostolidis Apartmanı	Gümüşküpe Sk. Nr. 15	Apartment 9	109	5	1	1
Tiano Apartmanı	İlk Belediye Cad. Nr. 34	Apartment 10	110	5	1	1
Küçük Hendek Apartmanı	Küçük Hendek Cad. Nr. 17	Apartment 11	111	6	1	1
Adil Bey Apartmanı	Kumbaracı Yokuşu Nr. 6	Apartment 12	112	6	1	1
Marketto Apartmanı	Kumbaracı Yokuşu Nr. 49	Apartment 13	113	5	1	2
Trel Apartmanı	Meşrutiyet Cad. Nr. 154	Apartment 14	114	5	1	1
Asseo Apartmanı	Serdar-ı Ekrem Sk. Nr. 23	Apartment 15	115	5	1	2

APPENDIX E SPATIAL FEATURES OF THE SAMPLE FLATS

Name	Flat #	Figure #	# of Rooms	# of Storages	# of Halls	# of Foyers	# of Corridors	# of Interconnected Rooms
Zuhdi Pacha Apartmanı	Flat 1	101	5	1	1			-
Jones Apartmanı	Flat 2	102	7	-	1		1	3
Zeki Pacha Apartmanı	Flat 3	103	5	-	1			2,3
Petraki Apartmanı	Flat 4a	104	5	-	2	1	1	-
"	Flat 4b	"	5	1	1	1	1	2
"	Flat 4c	"	6	-	1	1	1	2,2
"	Flat 4d	"	6	-	1	1	1	2
Barnathan Apartmanı	Flat 5a	105	3	-	1			-
"	Flat 5b	"	5	-	1	1		-
Arif Pacha Apartmanı	Flat 6a	106	4	-	1	1	1	-
"	Flat 6b	"	4	1	1	1	1	-
"	Flat 6c	"	3	-	1	1	2	-
"	Flat 6d	"	4	-	1	1	2	-
Mavrides Apartmanı	Flat 7	107	6	-	1	1		2,2
Friedmann Apartmanı	Flat 8	108	4	1	1			2,2
Apostolidis Apartmanı	Flat 9	109	5	-	2			2
Tiano Apartmanı	Flat 10	110	6	1	1	1		2
Küçük Hendek Apartmanı	Flat 11	111	4	-	1			-
Adil Bey Apartmanı	Flat 12	112	4	-	1	1	1	2
Marketto Apartmanı	Flat 13a	113	6	-	1		2	2,2
"	Flat 13b	"	6	-	1		2	2,2
Trel Apartmanı	Flat 14	114	6	-	1	1	1	2,3
Asseo Apartmanı	Flat 15a	115	4	-	1			2
"	Flat 15b	"	4	-	1			2

APPENDIX F FLOOR AREA OF THE SAMPLE FLATS AND THEIR INDIVIDUAL SPACES

Name	Flat #	Figure #	# of Rooms	Total Area	Kitchen	Toilet	Bath	Subst. Rooms			Rooms				Storage	Hall(s)		Foyer	Corridor(s)	
Zuhdi Pacha Apartmanı	Flat 1	101	5	95,6	9,51	2,62	4,56	19,36	19,16		9,85	7,7			2,62	20,18				
Jones Apartmanı	Flat 2	102	7	133,3	12,6	3,26	6,09	17,47	15,68	14,13	14,12	8,82	8,67	5,93		17,15			9,41	
Zeki Pacha Apartmanı	Flat 3	103	5	92,72	5,32		4,47	19,54	7,54	5,98	16,95	14,98				17,94				
Petraki Apartmanı	Flat 4a	104	5	74,22	6,94	0,95		10,44	10,43		7,03	6,5	4,02			12,88	10,57	3,15	1,31	
"	Flat 4b	"	5	91,73	5,25	1,15		20,69	9,87		12,66	11,09	8,6		3,81	11,03		5,92	1,66	
"	Flat 4c	"	6	94,45	6,13	2,23		16,46	13,8		12,55	8,31	7,87	7,13		14,87		3,41	1,69	
"	Flat 4d	"	6	97,44	5,36	1,95		16,08	13,56		12,22	11,45	10,94	6,17		14,41		3,41	1,89	
Barnathan Apartmanı	Flat 5a	105	3	49,14	6,33	1,18	1,1	12,99	11,08		8,18					8,18				
"	Flat 5b	"	5	84,7	8,49	1,97		15,65	13,08		15,9	10,68				15,27		3,46		
Arif Pacha Apartmanı	Flat 6a	106	4	72,62	6,3	1,72	2,69	11,89			13,43	11,82	8,27			11,72		2,67	2,5	
"	Flat 6b	"	4	125,7	7,38	2,07	3,99	23,01	20,64		12,43	11,53			1,08	29,16		6	8,41	
"	Flat 6c	"	3	82,96	7,85	2,19	3,9	11,16	10,71		10,45					21,36		7,03	4,3	4,01
"	Flat 6d	"	4	79,46	5,58	1,92	2,47	12,64	12,57		11,54	9,75				16,2		3,61	1,75	1,43
Mavrides Apartmanı	Flat 7	107	6	97,01	8,47	2,19	3,61	12,08	9,63		14,13	11,43	6,9	6,26		17,52		4,79		
Friedmann Apartmanı	Flat 8	108	4	75,22	6,23	2,27		17,06	14,61		9,79	7,42			3,85	13,99				
Apostolidis Apartmanı	Flat 9	109	5	68,56	4,82	0,86		11,66	11,1		9,41	9,11	5,35			10,53	5,72			
Tiano Apartmanı	Flat 10	110	6	125,1	8,77	1,35		23,64	23,58		12,76	11,47	10,46	6,42		19,41		7,26		
Küçük Hendek Apartmanı	Flat 11	111	4	58,8	3,3	1,23		10,93	9,43		14,4	11,77				7,74				
Adil Bey Apartmanı	Flat 12	112	4	72,2	3,71		5,28	15,7	8,32		10,73	10,13				10,04		3,87	4,42	
Marketto Apartmanı	Flat 13a	113	6	129,74	9,29	1,94		23,74	12,44		16,38	15,67	12,37	9,16		17,18			5,9	5,67
"	Flat 13b	"	6	126,11	7,45	1,67		23,47	13,21		14,42	13,25	12,1	10,73		18,69			5,79	5,33
Trel Apartmanı	Flat 14	114	6	106,66	5,63	1,04	2,34	22,97	17,97	15,16	9,7	8,57	5,02			9,95		2,69	4	1,62
Asseo Apartmanı	Flat 15a	115	4	87,77	8,44	1,44		18,2	11,55		14,22	13,97			1,44	18,51				
"	Flat 15b	"	4	88,56	11,25	1,69		16,68	11,47		14,17	13,55			1,53	18,22				
			Average m²	92	7	1,77	3,7									15,51		4,4		

APPENDIX G LIST OF ROOMS AND SUBSTANTIAL ROOMS IN THE SAMPLE FLATS

Different types of flats in a single Flat are named consecutively as a and b.

Flat 1:	four rooms two substantial rooms side by side; similar in size and form
Flat 2:	seven rooms three substantial rooms interconnected; two side ones are smaller
Flat 3:	five rooms an octagonal substantial room interconnected to two rooms, two side ones are smaller a large space divided into two with glass partitions
Flat 4a:	five rooms there is not a distinguished room in terms of size
Flat 4b:	five rooms, two substantial rooms interconnected, one is smaller
Flat 4c:	six rooms two substantial rooms interconnected, one is smaller two other rooms interconnected, one is smaller
Flat 4d:	six rooms two substantial rooms interconnected, one is smaller
Flat 5a:	three rooms two substantial rooms side by side, similar in size and form
Flat 5b:	five rooms two substantial rooms similar in size and form, a smaller room in between
Flat 6a:	four rooms there is not a distinguished room in terms of size
Flat 6b:	four rooms two substantial rooms side by side, similar in size and form
Flat 6c:	three rooms two substantial rooms similar in size and form, hall in between
Flat 6d:	four rooms two substantial rooms side by side, similar in size and form
Flat 7:	six rooms two other rooms interconnected, one is smaller two substantial rooms interconnected, one is smaller
Flat 8:	four rooms two substantial rooms interconnected, one facing the street, access to one is only possible through the other two other rooms interconnected, access to one is only possible through the other
Flat 9:	five rooms two substantial rooms interconnected, similar in size and form
Flat 10:	six rooms two substantial rooms similar in size, a smaller room in between

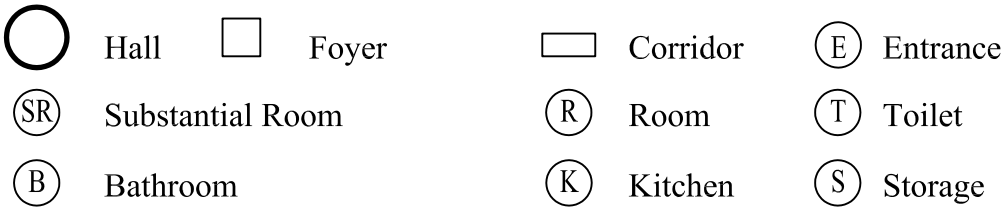
Flat 11:	four rooms two rooms side by side, similar in size and form two other rooms side by side, similar in size and form
Flat 12:	our rooms two substantial rooms interconnected, one is smaller
Flats 13a and b:	six rooms two substantial rooms interconnected, one is smaller two other rooms interconnected, one is smaller
Flat 14:	six rooms three substantial rooms interconnected, in different dimensions and forms two other rooms interconnected
Flats 15a and b:	four rooms two substantial rooms interconnected, one is smaller

APPENDIX H LIST OF TRANSITIONAL SPACES IN THE SAMPLE FLATS

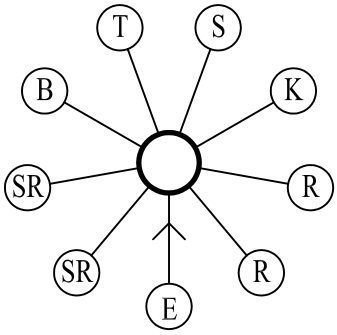
Different types of flats in a single flat are named consecutively as a and b.

Flat 1:	a rectangular hall (only transitional space)
Flat 2:	a rectangular hall, a corridor
Flat 3:	an octagon hall (only transitional space)
Flat 4a:	two rectangular halls, a foyer, a corridor
Flat 4b, c and d:	a rectangular hall, a foyer, a corridor
Flat 5a:	a narrow rectangular hall (only transitional space)
Flat 5b:	a narrow rectangular hall, a foyer
Flat 6a:	a rectangular hall, a foyer, two corridors
Flat 6b:	a rectangular hall, a foyer, a corridor
Flat 6c and d:	a rectangular hall, a foyer, two corridors
Flat 7:	a rectangular hall, a foyer
Flat 8:	a trapezoid hall (only transitional space)
Flat 9:	two halls
Flat 10:	a rectangular hall, a foyer
Flat 11:	a rectangular hall (only transitional space)
Flat 12:	a rectangular hall, a foyer, a corridor
Flats 13a and b:	a rectangular hall, two corridors
Flat 14:	a rectangular hall, a foyer, two corridors
Flats 15a and b:	a rectangular hall (only transitional space)

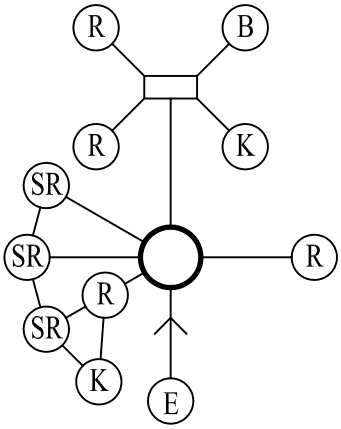
APPENDIX I THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION AND ACCESSIBILITY IN THE SAMPLE FLATS



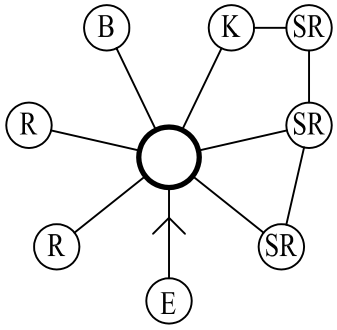
Apartment 1, Flat 1



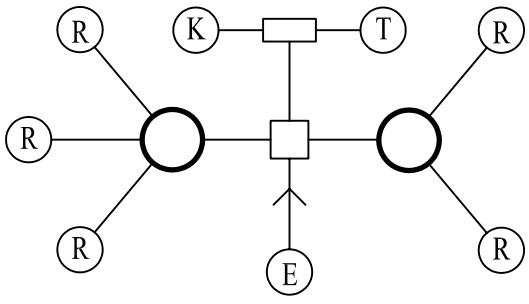
Apartment 2, Flat 2



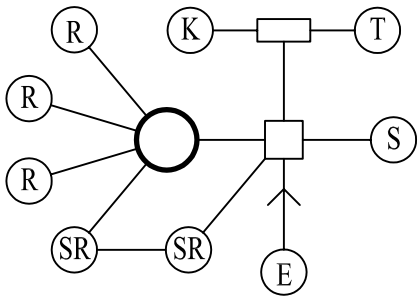
Apartment 3, Flat 3



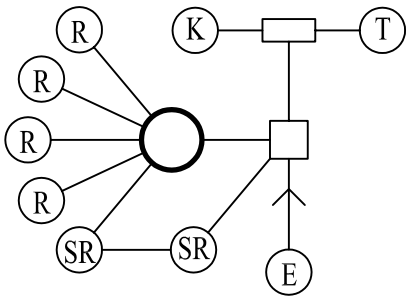
Apartment 4, Flat 4a



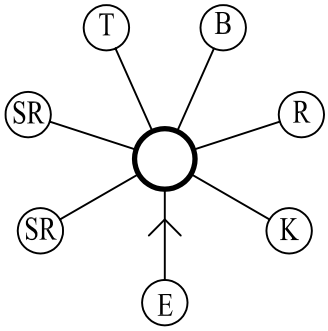
Apartment 4, Flat 4b



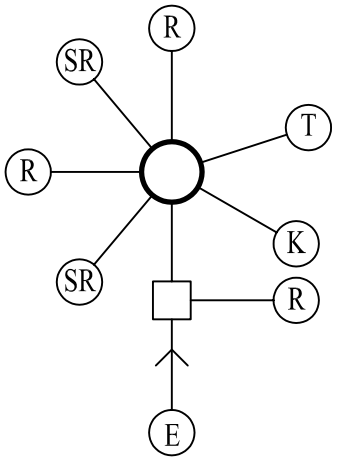
Apartment 4, Flats 4c and 4d



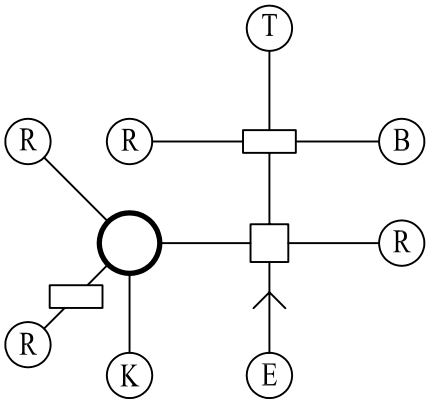
Apartment 5, Flat 5a



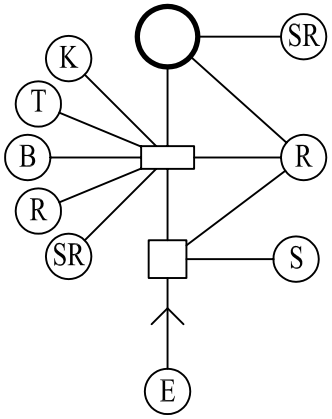
Apartment 5, Flat 5b



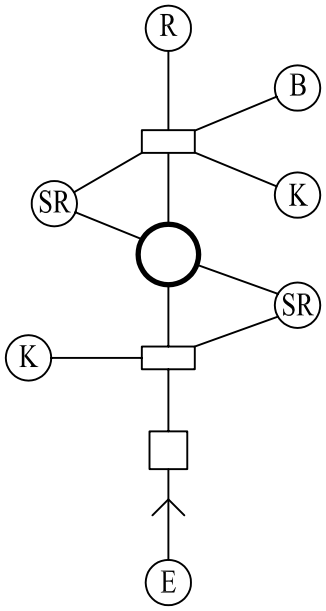
Apartment 6, Flat 6a



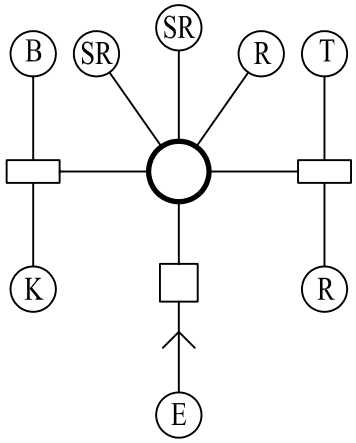
Apartment 6, Flat 6b



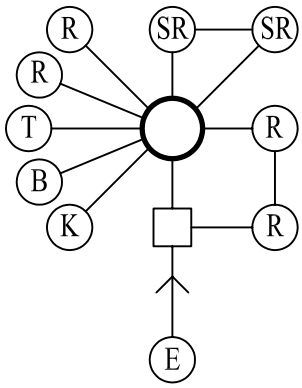
Apartment 6, Flat 6c



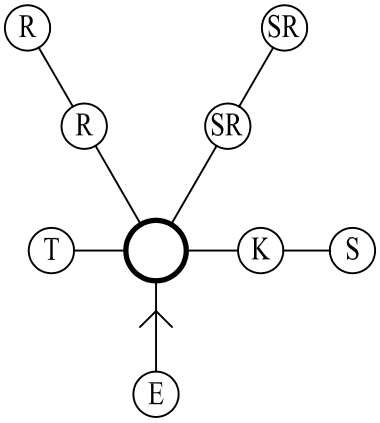
Apartment 6, Flat 6d



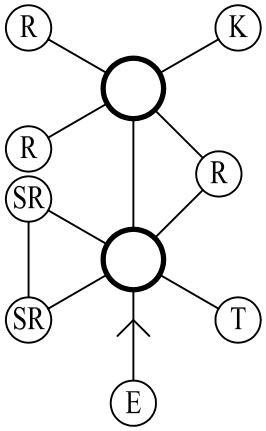
Apartment 7, Flat 7



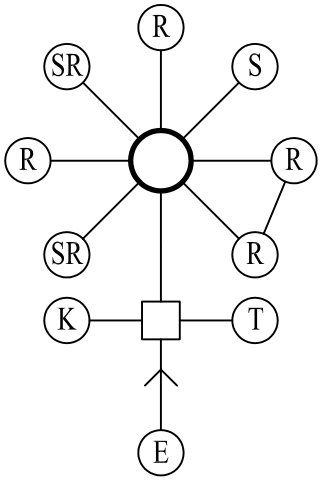
Apartment 8, Flat 8



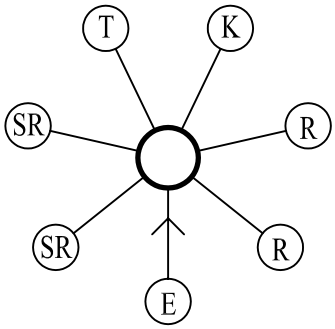
Apartment 9, Flat 9



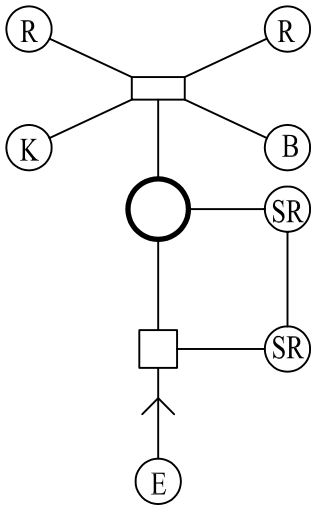
Apartment 10, Flat 10



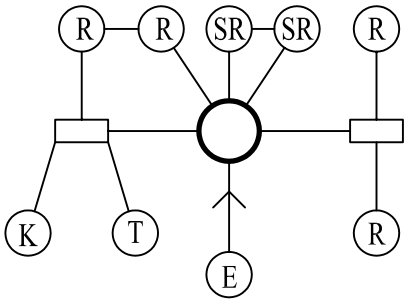
Apartment 11, Flat 11



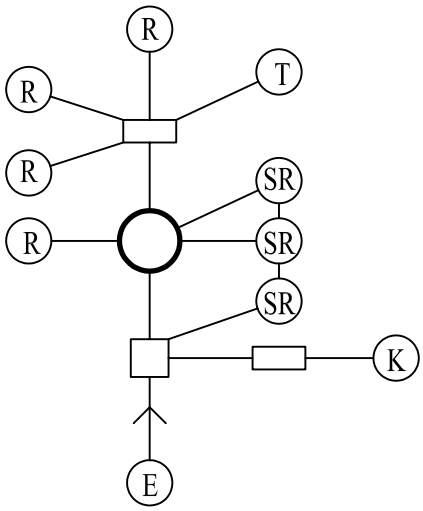
Apartment 12, Flat 12



Apartment 13, Flats 13a and 13b



Apartment 14, Flat 14



Apartment 15, Flats 15a and 15b